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Social Enterprise for Low-Income Women: A Valuable Component of Anti-Poverty Work in Canada

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Social Enterprise for Low-Income Women: A Valuable Component of Anti-Poverty Work in

Canada

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Abstract

Canadian women, and particular groups of women, are disproportionately burdened by poverty. Social enterprise is a possible solution to unemployment and low income, but little research pertains to women. A collective case study method, with three women-specific social enterprises in three Canadian cities was employed. Data was collected in 2012 from interviews with staff members and participants, site visits, observations and documentation.

Results indicate these models train and employ women who have little opportunity. Through a women-informed, intersectional model, services can be customized to respond to the needs of particular populations of women. Women's chance of success increases when programs provide combinations of soft and hard skill training, followed by employment in an environment that simultaneously offers comprehensive support.

Women are thus supported economically by learning important transferable job and life skills, gaining employment experience and earning an income. Socially, women are helped through various support services and through the building of relationships and self esteem. Organizations receive income generated from the business activity, increase their social standing in the community, and contribute to addressing public needs. The creation of social capital is another advantage.

Two main challenges were identified. First, women's social enterprise appears to be consistently under-funded, leaving these organizations in a position where tough financial decisions occur, often at the cost of the social objective, or vice versa. Further, lack of financial resources also restricts the ability of the enterprise to effectively market their

business, thus impacting business generation and employment opportunity for women. Second, there is evidence that questions the long-term economic sustainability for women. Due to low wages, inconsistent hours, lack of further training and additional employment opportunities, women are earning little and continue to depend on other financial supports. These difficulties are linked with an under-resourced sector, begging the question: if funding increased, would these challenges be mitigated?

Women's social enterprise is a valuable approach to alleviating women's unemployment, exclusion and poverty. However, these models requires further subsidy and ongoing support, and need to be part of a wider structural response to these issues, which include involvement from government, community and other social services.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Background

Poverty is one of the most pervasive social issues of our day. In 2013, 4.6 million people were living on low-income in Canada, including 1.1 million children (Statistics Canada, 2015a). Those on low-income face startling realities including remarkably poor physical health (Lightman, Mitchell, & Wilson, 2008), high incidence of mental illness (Government of Canada, 2006), housing insecurity (Kathari, 2009), and greater risk of homelessness (Laird, 2007). It is estimated that poverty costs Canada $24-30 billion dollars annually (Laurie, 2008).

Though the poverty gap between men and women in Canada is narrowing (12.9% versus 14.1%, respectively) (Statistics Canada, 2015a), certain groups of women bear higher rates of poverty than their male counterparts. Aboriginal women, senior women, immigrant women, disabled women, young women and visible minority women, all experience disproportionate levels of poverty and unemployment compared to men (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2013; Chui, 2011; Polanyi, Johnston, Khanna, Dirie, & Kerr, 2014; Statistics Canada, 2011b). This is largely because women, as a group, are more likely to be unemployed (McInturff, 2014b), work part-time or in casual employment without benefits or job security (Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action, 2008), earn minimum wage (Statistics Canada, 2009), and depend on government income supports (Townson, 2009). They are also far more likely to be solely responsible for children (Statistics Canada, 2006, 2011a) and, as a result, women lone-parent families face

poverty three times more often than male lone parent families (21% versus 7%

respectively) (Williams, 2010).

In response to widespread economic hardship, poverty reduction measures are

abundant. One model, re-emerging as an innovative and promising anti-poverty strategy, is

'social enterprise'. In its most basic form, the term social enterprise reflects a model that is

"part business, part social" (Alter, 2007, p. 1). It is often used to refer to a business run by a

non-profit organization where profit is funnelled back into the social mission. Quarter,

Mook and Armstrong (2009) cite the original prototype of social enterprise as that of

Goodwill Industries, a non-profit organization founded in 1902 in Boston which opened the

for-profit Goodwill Thrift Shops to fund their community programs. A sub-type of social

enterprise particularly focused on poverty reduction is known as a work integration social

enterprise. This strategy aims to counter social and economic exclusion by hiring

marginalized people into the business activity acting as both an income generator and a

social intervention.

The concept of social enterprise has received considerable attention over the last 20

years (Kerlin, 2009) largely because many view the model as a possible panacea for solving

society's ills (Dart, 2004; Mendell, 2010). This high regard is reflected in the Organization

for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2003), which refers to this type of

enterprise as a beneficial approach to local development, job creation, reintegration into

the labour market, and supplying social and economic services. Others credit social

enterprise as having the potential for transformation of the welfare system, employment

creation, social cohesion, evolution of the third sector (Borzaga & Defourny, 2001) and to

advance the development of a sustainable and just society (Hulgård, 2010 as cited in Defourny, Hulgård, & Pestoff, 2014).

This societal attention has resulted in a very active practice sector. In the United Kingdom for example, over 55,000 social enterprises were documented as of 2005, generating over £27 billion pounds for the national economy (Peattie & Morley, 2008). Likewise, in Canada, the Canadian Revenue Agency in 2002 recorded charitable organizations generating $27.9 billion dollars in market activities (Enterprising Non-Profits, 2005) and more recently, in Western Canada alone, Elson and Hall (2010) confirmed 295 active social enterprises, employing 4,500 people, and generating $63 million dollars in wages and salaries.

Yet, despite the immense on-the-ground practice, the academic literature is far behind and little is known about the success (Cooney, 2011; Defourny & Nyssens, 2006; Germak & Singh, 2009; Haugh, 2005; Peattie & Morley, 2008; Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2011). The bulk of scholarship has predominately focused on the individual social entrepreneur while often overlooking organizational trends in social enterprise (Kerlin, 2009). Furthermore, literature encompassing social enterprise is disjointed, spanning several domains including economics (Spear, 2006), business (Chell, 2007), and not-for-profit organizational management (Alter, 2008) with very little focused on the social value or impact of social enterprise on impoverished people (Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010). Several exceptions include small exploratory studies demonstrating the promise of social enterprise for those with psychiatric disabilities (Morrow, Wasik, Cohen, & Perry, 2009) and street youth (Ferguson & Islam, 2008).

What's more, little research is available specific to low-income women and social enterprise (Fotheringham & Sanders, 2014). The majority of articles are those from an international context. The results of a comprehensive review yielded no North American articles (Fotheringham & Sanders, 2014). Women though, are identified as a common target group of work integration models (Heeks & Arun, 2010; Pättimiemi, 2004; Phillips, 2005; Xiang & Luk, 2011) but beyond this, little scholarship is available. The grey literature has some exceptions including work by the Canadian Women's Foundation (2004, 2010).

Since very little is known about this subject area, research examining women's social enterprise is warranted. Expanding our understanding of social enterprise models that support marginalized populations such as women, and particular groups of women, as well as establishing a feminist discourse on the phenomenon, would contribute towards continued maturation of the field. Further, given that women are disproportionately poor in Canada, more research is required in order to ascertain how social enterprise meets women's economic and social needs and whether these models can transform women's economic and social position in Canada.

Path to Dissertation and Positionality

I was first introduced to the ideas behind social enterprise in 2011, shortly after beginning my doctoral studies. Prior to this, the majority of my practice and my research involved violence against women. After 15 years of a focus on this work, I began to feel burnt out. I started to experience vicarious trauma symptoms and began to struggle in my personal life with feelings of fear, hyper vigilance and anxiety. I became frustrated with what seemed like a lack of progress in the areas of violence against women, and noticed a

backlash against a feminist analysis of violence against women – something I had identified with for close to 15 years. I decided I needed to leave this area and start with something new in my PhD. This was both an exciting and daunting decision. Exciting, in that, I needed to be rejuvenated and I looked forward to finding something interesting to explore throughout my studies. Daunting because I knew it would involve learning from the beginning the basics of a new social issue, the leading scholars and published articles, the research being conducted, and the current level of knowledge on the subject.

I do not remember the first time I was exposed to the ideas and practices of social enterprise. What I do remember is how the ideas of social enterprise made me feel. I felt excitement, optimism and hope – feelings that had long since left me when I was involved in anti-violence work. Social enterprise is enveloped in ideas of innovation. The creativity and resourcefulness of many social enterprises became an immediate source of inspiration and fascination. It drew me in because it demanded a different way of thinking about social service delivery and intervention. Could business models be a form of intervention? This was a fascinating idea for me as a social worker. While not without its shortcomings and critiques, I felt – and continue to feel – inspired by social enterprise.

The passion I have for issues that affect women however did not falter. While I needed to move away from violence against women in particular, I wished to continue my work in social justice issues for women. Indeed, once I discovered that little had been written on the topic, the idea of investigating women's social enterprise as a possible means to address women's social and economic needs was born.

What's more, this topic also permitted me to apply a feminist perspective – a worldview that has long been a foundation of my practice. For me, feminism is that which

places the ideas, experiences, situations and needs of women at the centre of analysis and promotes social justice for women (Preissle & Han, 2012). The concept of feminist intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) has further added to my critical thinking framework for this study. This theory offers a critique of gender as the sole means of oppression and instead, examines how various forms of oppression interlock creating distinctive experiences for women. Intersectionality has prompted me to go beyond understanding my own privilege (a white, highly educated, middle-class, able-bodied, straight woman) as separate identities relevant in only certain circumstances (such as my whiteness being relevant only in situations where someone is a person of colour) to one, which promotes the reflection of how my areas of privilege intersect. An examination of women's social enterprise from a feminist, intersectional perspective was thus also conceived as important.

Purpose of Study

The objective of this study is to describe how women-specific social enterprise support women in meeting their economic and social needs. More specifically, it seeks to understand how these programs function within a feminist framework and what value they bring to women and the larger community in efforts to increase women's economic and social equality.

This study has five research questions: 1) What are the common characteristics of women's social enterprise? 2) What are some of the challenges these models encounter? 3) How do these models support women in meeting their economic needs? 4) How do these models support women in meeting their social needs? 5) What value do these models have

for women and the larger community? In addition to these research questions, the study also has several objectives. First, this work aims to describe how these models function, including identifying their characteristics, strengths and challenges. The second objective of this research is to identify value. Third, is to apply a feminist analysis to social enterprise, and fourth, is to develop a women-specific social enterprise model.

The objectives of this research were achieved through the utilization of the collective case study outlined by Stake (1995). Multiple types of data was collected from three cases to provide depth including interview data with both service providers and participants, observations of the social enterprise program and the participants, and a review of documentation and reports. Data analysis included description of each individual case as well as cross-case analysis.

Definition of Key Terms

There are four key terms relevant to this research. For the purpose of this study, *social enterprise* is defined as a non-profit or collective organization that conducts business activities in the market as a means to achieve its social mission. *Work integration social enterprise* is a sub-type of social enterprise that hires marginalized people into the business activity acting as both an income generator as well as a social intervention. The *social economy* is understood as a third sector outside of the private and public sectors. It includes organizations such as non-profits, cooperatives, associations and social enterprise. Finally, *poverty* is defined as a multidimensional concept that is a "physical, social, and emotional experience…poverty [is] a lack of resources and few opportunities to achieve a

standard of living that allows full participation in the economic, social, cultural and political spheres of society" (Vibrant Communities Calgary, 2012, p. 4).

Contributions of Study

Considering the scholarship on this topic is sparse, this research provides several contributions. First, research examining social enterprise that targets women is strongly lacking in the literature. This study therefore addresses this gap by describing the function and characteristics of three models. Second, conducting work of this nature stresses women's distinctive experiences with poverty and resulting program needs, adding credibility to this direction of practice. What's more, by examining the value associated with these models at both the individual and community level, women's social enterprise is recognized as a meaningful strategy. Third, this work applies a feminist analysis to social enterprise, addressing another notable gap in the literature. Fourth, for people or organizations wanting to develop a women's social enterprise, this study provides a basis for how to do so. It offers a women's social enterprise model from which organizations can begin to build their own social enterprise. Furthermore, the identification of common challenges will help these new models mitigate, or at least plan for, similar difficulties. Finally, this work also has the potential to influence social enterprise policy in Canada.

Overview of Dissertation

This thesis is divided into several chapters. Chapter Two reviews the literature regarding social enterprise and related concepts. It begins by introducing the nature of women's poverty, followed by the construct of the social economy as a response to poverty. It then discusses social enterprise and a particular sub-type of social enterprise, referred to

as work integration social enterprise. Finally, the chapter examines the limited body of literature on women and social enterprise.

Chapter Three presents the methodology used to conduct the current study. It opens with an outline of the study's research questions and objectives in preparation for the methodological discussion. It then presents the rationale for using a qualitative design, followed by a discussion on pragmatism and the feminist research approach. This is followed by a description of the collective case study method, including rationale and limitations, data collection and analysis. The chapter closes with an examination of triangulation and ethical considerations.

Chapter Four, Five and Six present the individual case findings for each of the social enterprises examined. These chapters follow a similar format by beginning with a general profile of the social enterprise including establishing the business activity and the social purpose. These chapters then present a summary of the context of the social enterprise. This involves exploring the mission, vision and services of the parent organization followed by an investigation of the geographical context as it relates to employment, poverty, homelessness and violence against women. Findings are then given in the order of characteristics, challenges and value. Each chapter closes with a summary table of prominent themes.

The individual case studies are followed by Chapter Seven, which outlines the cross-case findings. Characteristics of women's social enterprise are first studied followed by an exploration of the challenges. Finally, the value of women's social enterprise is assessed and considered in relation to the economic and social needs of women living in poverty. This chapter closes by introducing a women-centred social enterprise model. Chapter Eight

entails the discussion part of the research. This chapter appraises how the study's findings compare to the research literature. This section includes an exploration of the relationship between themes as well as implications for social enterprise models. It also directly addresses the research questions and research implications. This chapter closes with a consideration of the strengths and limitations of the study, suggestions for future research and final conclusions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

Social enterprise has been gaining considerable attention across all levels of society and much of the world. Though an old practice of combining social goals with economic ones, social enterprise is experiencing a re-emergence due to the crisis of the welfare state and growing unemployment and poverty. As social enterprise gains increasing credibility many regard it as having the potential to transform the welfare system and solve many of society's social problems.

This chapter provides a critical overview of the literature on social enterprise and related concepts. It serves to situate the reader on social enterprise as theorized within the social economy and outline the context for the present study. A variety of literature was examined for this chapter including seminal and recent works, books, policy articles and practice literature. This chapter is divided into five sections.

The first section introduces the problem of poverty, in particular, women's poverty. It examines why women are disproportionately affected and introduces the need for anti-poverty initiatives that focus on women. Section two reviews the construct of the social economy as a response to poverty and an alternative to the mainstream economic system by predominantly focusing on Québec's well-established social economy sector. This section also familiarizes the reader with interrelated terms such as community economic development. The third section discusses social enterprise, an organizational structure within the social economy. Known as a model that blends economic and social goals, this part of the chapter presents a description of social enterprise, paying particular attention

to its re-emergence in the last few decades and its various conceptualizations throughout the United States, Europe and Canada.

Part four of the chapter establishes a particular sub-type of social enterprise, referred to as work integration social enterprise. Popular in Europe, this model's chief focus is poverty reduction and social inclusion for economically marginalized populations such as women. The fifth and final section examines the limited body of literature on women and social enterprise. Scholarship using a feminist analysis or gender lens on the topic is largely absent. This chapter therefore contributes to the literature in that it details this issue and opens a critical discourse on social enterprise and women. This final section also applies the community economic development literature with that of social enterprise as it relates to work with women. While these terms are closely connected, and at times used interchangeably, the scholarship has not yet bridged these ideas. This is the second major contribution of this chapter. The chapter concludes with a brief synopsis of all five sections and justification for the study at hand.

Women and Poverty

Globally

Global poverty[1] is one of the most pervasive social issues of our day. During the 1990s the number of those living in extreme poverty peaked at over two billion compelling the United Nations (UN) and world leaders to establish eight Millennium Development Goals, including cutting extreme poverty in half by 2015 (United Nations, 2012). While the

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recent progress reports demonstrate marked improvement in efforts to reduce poverty, the UN forecasts extreme poverty will continue into 2015 for well over one billion people (2012).

Of these staggering numbers, estimates indicate that the vast majority, as much as 70%, are women (The United Nations Development Fund for Women [UNIFEM], 2013). Women across both developing and developed countries are disproportionately burdened by poverty. What's more, during times of economic crisis, women's employment is often the first to be extinguished (Emmett, 2009). The International Labour Office for example, projected a further 22 million women would become unemployed due to the 2008 economic global crisis (2009).

In addition to issues of unemployment, employment inequity and wage discrimination are two other key factors directly contributing to women's poverty (Grown, Gupta, & Kes, 2005). Around the world women continue to be subjected to systemic wage discrimination by earning, on average, 78% of that of men (UNIFEM, 2013). Women are also more likely to work in the informal economy – an economy rife with long hours, little pay, job insecurity, limited to no benefits, and difficult working conditions (Chen et al., 2005; United Nations, 2012). Chen et al. (2005) posit that building women's economic security is fundamental to poverty reduction and that efforts need to focus on the creation of decent work for women involving adequate income, employment rights, opportunities for advancement and social protection.

The affects of poverty on women are well known and wide-ranging. As well as limited access to basic needs such as food, water and shelter, poverty also impacts women's physical and mental health (Lightman et al., 2008), creates housing insecurity (Kathari,

2009) and increases risk for violence against women (UNIFEM, 2013). Further, because women are the primary caregivers of children, women's poverty also affects the health and well-being of children, families and communities.

In recognition of the economic and social consequences, poverty is now conceptualized along economic and social dimensions. The definition of poverty established through the United Nations (1998) emulates this broadened view:

> Fundamentally, poverty is a denial of choices and opportunities, it is a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or a clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one's food or a job to earn one's living, nor having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence and it often implies living on marginal and fragile environments, not having access to clean water and sanitation. (para. 3)

With women accounting for close to 70% of the one billion people facing extreme poverty, and the known social and economic consequences of such situations, continued anti-poverty efforts targeted at women are imperative.

Canada

Though the gender gap is narrowing, women continue to experience higher rates of poverty in Canada (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2013; Collin & Jensen, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2011b; Townson, 2009). They are more likely to work part-time or have casual work without benefits or job security, earn a minimum wage, and depend on government income supports (Block, 2013; Ontario Women's Directorate, n.d.; Parkland Institute, 2012;

Polanyi et al., 2014; Townson, 2009). What's more, particular groups of women are disproportionately affected. The Canadian Women's Foundation (2013) reports that 21% of single mothers, 36% of Aboriginal women, 35% of visible minority women and 26% of women with disabilities are living in impoverished conditions.

There are two main reasons for women's economic inequality in Canada, according to the Women's Economic Council (2010). First, women continue to be primarily responsible for unpaid domestic work and child rearing (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2013; Lindsay, 2008; Statistics Canada, 2011a). These unequal domestic responsibilities restrict employment opportunities for women by forcing them to accept part-time work and other types of non-standard employment to balance their home obligations (Canadian Women's Community Economic Development Council, 2005). Statistics support this claim stating women account for 67% of those working part-time in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2012). This is significant because these jobs typically have lower wages, few benefits, job insecurity and few opportunities for advancement (Townson, 2009).

Second, women earn less than men. Women in Canada are subject to systemic wage discrimination by earning, on average, just 72% of that of male cohorts (Williams, 2010). In Alberta for example, women make on average $34,000 per year, while men earn almost double: $61,700 (Statistics Canada, 2011b). Further, women are overrepresented in minimum wage jobs accounting for 60% of all minimum-wage workers in Canada, yet represent under half of all employees (Statistics Canada, 2009). The Women's Economic Council (2010) adds that in addition to lower earnings: a "lack of family-friendly policies leaves women at an incredible economic disadvantage: without them, women simply cannot participate in the labour market on an equal footing with men" (p. 5).

Feminist organizations blame the continued gender inequality on the de-prioritizing of women as a group by the Conservative federal government (Women's Economic Council, 2010). For example, Service Canada, under this party, has abolished targeted women's services (Conn, 2006) and the Status of Women Canada has withdrawn its promotion of women's equality as its mandate and has discontinued research activities (Women's Economic Council, 2010). Moreover, women centres and women's organizations across the country have faced defunding and closure crippling their influence over policy (Amoroso, 2010; Dobrowolsky & Jensen, 2004; Grace, 2006; Toupin, 2001). These actions have only contributed to an atmosphere that appears to be unconcerned with women's plight.

Close to two million women and their children face economic insecurity and low-income situations in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). Women do not have access to employment opportunities and resources in the same way as men. Further, government economic policies create often insurmountable barriers for women largely by neglecting their family responsibilities and assuming a male bread winner family structur. Approaches that work towards addressing women's inequality and reversing the many consequences of poverty across all dimensions are critically needed.

The Social Economy as an Alternative

Capitalism, the dominant economic system, is structured in such a way that goods and services are produced and distributed based on the aims of maximizing profit (Silver & Loxley, 2007). However, while the profit motive of traditional economics can be very lucrative for some, for many others it results in widespread poverty, unemployment, economic insecurity and social exclusion (Elsen & Wallimann, 1998; Silver & Loxley, 2007).

This has resulted in a growing disparity between the rich and the poor and the continued pervasiveness of homelessness and hunger (Restakis, 2006). The "failure of mainstream economy theory" (Restakis, 2006, p. 2) has led many to question the current economic system and seek new approaches to addressing social and economic well-being (Elsen & Wallimann, 1998; Klein & Fontan, 2009). Amin (2009) is but one such example:

> As the capitalist crisis deepens around the world…it is increasingly felt…that free market capitalism has increased environmental and economic risk, rampant individualism and consumerism and the gap between rich and poor…today more voices are calling for other ways of organizing the economy in order to achieve a better balance between economic efficiency, ecological sustainability and social equity…this is the context in which an interest in the "social economy" has gown. (p. 30)

The social economy is understood as an alternative to contemporary economic and political policies (Restakis, 2006). MacLeod, McFarlane, and Davis (1997) refer to it as "the remedy to the ills of capitalism" (p. 1306) as it offers an economic system based on solidarity, participation and cooperation with social and human concerns at its centre (Restakis, 2006; Tremblay, 2012).

Definition and terminology

One of the challenges in understanding the contemporary social economy is the use of various terms to describe this type of economic system. For example, "social economy" is the term used in Québec and the European Union, while "solidarity economy" is adopted in South America, "people's economy" in Asia, "associative movements" in Senegal and Turkey, "civil society" in South Africa, and "community economic development" in

Australia, New Zealand, and Anglophone Canada (Tremblay, 2012). What's more, the terms "social economy" and "third sector" are commonly used interchangeably (Bouchard, 2013; Defourny et al., 2014; Neamtan & Downing, 2005). These various terms share similar ideals that involve socio-economic activity outside of the private and public sectors. For the purpose of this chapter, both the social economy and community economic development is used, reflecting the diversity of language, yet similar action across Canada.

The social economy is a sector that includes "organizations and enterprises that belong neither to the profit-seeking private sector nor to the public sector (state-owned corporations and public-administration organizations)" (Bouchard, 2013, p. 4). Canadian scholars Quarter, Mook, and Armstrong (2009) thus define the social economy as a "bridging concept for organizations" (p. 4). Québec, the province with the most established social economy, outlines the sector as: (a) purpose is to serve members or the community rather than make profits; (b) operates independently of the state; (c) promotes a democratic process; (d) preserves the primacy of people and work over capital in the distribution of revenue; and, (e) operations are based on principles of participation, support and a balance between individual and collective responsibility (Chantier de l'économie social, 2009). Cooperatives and credit unions are examples of organizations within the social economy (McMurtry, 2010; Neamtan & Downing, 2005; Novkovic & Brown, 2012; Noya & Clarence, 2007; Restakis, 2006). Other writers incorporate models that do not have any economic activity such as associations, foundations and not-for-profit entities because of their role in the creation of social well-being (Defourny & Nyssens, 2014; McMurtry, 2010; Neamtan & Downing, 2005; Novkovic & Brown, 2012; Noya & Clarence, 2007; Restakis, 2006).

The main objectives of the social economy are to reduce poverty and social exclusion (Neamtan & Downing, 2005; Tremblay, 2012) through the creation of jobs for those who are left out of the dominant economic system and by empowering marginalized people towards their own individual and community socio-economic success (Noya & Clarence, 2007). In Québec, actors view the social economy as a movement – a vision of an alternative social order (Mook, Quarter, & Ryan, 2010) or an "urgent cultural shift" in direct contrast to the dominant economic system (Neamtan, 2004, p. 5). In Europe, Defourny et al. (2014) share this stance emphasizing the social economy as a tool for social change: "we have reached a historical juncture where we have to choose between a greater role for civil society and the third sector/social economy as providers of welfare, on the one hand, or unregulated privatization, on the other hand" (p. 4).

History

The ideas of the social economy date back to early 19th century France (Neamtan & Downing, 2005; Noya & Clarence, 2007; Tremblay, 2012). In Canada, Neamtan (2004) and Cabaj (2004) have noted a long history involving the social economy, specifically the development of cooperatives and credit unions and McLeod et al. (1997) cites the emergence of "community enterprise" as a response to social problems caused by the private sector since the turn of the century. Canada's social economy continues to be well established today (Cabaj, 2004; Quarter et al., 2009; McLeod et al., 1997).

As previously noted, Québec has the most established sector in the country (McMurtry, 2010; Mendell & Neamtan, 2010; Neamtan & Downing, 2005). This is largely due to a long history of social economy development (McMurty, 2010) and a distinct cultural social cohesion in the province not seen anywhere else in North America (Mendell

& Neamtam, 2010). Bouchard, Filho, and Zerdani (2015) describe how Québec has had

several stages of social economy growth beginning in the 19th century when non-market

socio-economic initiatives began appearing. Agricultural and financial cooperatives

emerged in the years following and non-profit associations during the economic crisis of

the 1930s. However, it was the 1960s and "the Quiet Revolution" that dramatically

transformed Québec society and economy and created the institutional infrastructure of

today (Mendell & Neamtan, 2010). This period was marked by strong economic

nationalism (Bouchard et al., 2015; Mann, 2002) where the provincial government directly

intervened in the economy by nationalizing hydro-electricity (Hydro-Québec), founding a

public sector pension fund (Caisse de dépôt et de placement) and reforming education

(Mann, 2002; Mendell & Neamtan, 2010). Through these activities the government realized

that the state itself could be used as an instrument of economic development (Mann, 2002).

Several key movements also arose during this period including those related to labour and

unions, cooperatives, non-profit associations and the growth of a new entrepreneurial class

(Bouchard, 2015; Mendell & Neamtan, 2010).

Mendell and Neamtan (2010) explain that these state-led development strategies

radically changed Québec society. However, they concede, it was in the 1980s when the

limitations of such an approach became clear and economic difficulties ensued: "These

conditions led to a major cultural shift within the labour and community movements in

Québec; it also marked the rebirth of the social economy" (p. 3). As such, in 1996, the

Québec government brought together cross-sector stakeholders, including representatives

from labour unions and social movements, for the Summit on the Economy and

Employment (Sommet sur l'e'conomie et l'employ) to facilitate a discussion on economic

renewal strategies (Chantier de l'économie social, 2009; Levesque, 2013; Mendell & Neamtan, 2010). This marked institutional recognition of Québec's social economy (Levesque, 2013). From this process emerged the Chantier de l'économie social in 1999, founded to carry out the work from the summit, eventually becoming an independent, non-profit organization, accountable to its members who comprise the social economy of Québec (Levesque, 2013). Finally, in 2013, Québec passed a provincial law entitled the Social Economy Act, legally acknowledging the sector (Bouchard, 2015).

Today, Québec is unique, in that, it has an established and government-supported social economy sector (McMurty, 2010). Referred to as a multi-sectoral institutional space, the Chantier de l'économie social currently encompasses collective enterprises, social enterprises, social movements and territorial intermediaries (Mendell & Neamtan, 2010). Its mission is to "promote the social economy as an integral part of Québec's plural economy, and in so doing, contribute to the democratization of the economy and the emergence of a development model based on the values of solidarity, equity, and transparency" (Chantier de l'économie social, 2009, para. 2). Québec's long established social economy history in addition to its institutional recognition of this sector and the establishment of a collaborative multi-sectoral body, offers a way forward for the rest of the country.

In summary, the social economy represents an alternative economic system; one concerned with community well-being, social inclusion and poverty reduction. It represents a system of organizations that work to advance these ideals and generally are driven by combinations of economic and social objectives. Social enterprise is one such

model within the social economy. The next section discusses social enterprise including its re-emergence and various regional conceptualizations.

The Rise of Social Enterprise

The concept of social enterprise has been receiving considerable attention over the last 20 years (Kerlin, 2009) largely because many view the model as a possible panacea for solving society's ills (Dart, 2004; Mendell, 2010). This high regard is reflected in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2003) which refers to this type of activity as a beneficial approach to local development, job creation, reintegration into the labour market, and supplying social and economic services. Others credit social enterprise as having the potential for transformation of the welfare system, employment creation, social cohesion, evolution of the third sector (Borzaga & Defourny, 2001) and to advance the development of a sustainable and just society (Hulgård, 2010 as cited in Defourny et al., 2014).

In its most basic form, social enterprise is a model that combines social and economic objectives (Alter, 2007). While social and economic aims are the most common description for social enterprise in the literature, others add environmental goals to the equation, sometimes called the "triple bottom line" (Quarter, Ryan, & Chan, 2015a), cultural goals (Elson & Hall, 2010; Sengupta, Vieta, & McMurtry, 2015) and socio-political goals (Defourny & Nyssens, 2014). Often times these assorted objectives are referred to as a "blended return on investment" (Elson & Hall, 2010, p. 10). However, beyond this rudimentary description, social enterprise is a concept that is largely contextually based

and diverges widely across regions (Defourny & Nyssens, 2014; McMurtry et al., 2015; Mendell, 2010).

Though social enterprise is a new term, the practice of blending social and economic objectives has a long history. Quarter et al. (2009) cite the original prototype of social enterprise as that of Goodwill Industries, a non-profit organization founded in 1902 in Boston who ran the for-profit Goodwill Thrift Shops to fund their community programs. Another example of historical social enterprise models include Girl Guides cookie sales, starting in Regina in 1927 in an effort to generate money to support Girl Guide programs (Enterprising Non-Profits, 2005).

Yet it was the crisis of the welfare state and the materialization of neoliberalism in the 1980s that resulted in a fertile environment for the re-emergence and proliferation of social enterprise (Gray, Healy, & Crofts, 2003; Heeks & Arun, 2010; Lal & Mercier, 2009; McMurtry et al., 2015; Morrow et al., 2009; Quarter et al., 2015a). During this period, social problems became framed as individual problems, thereby erasing the social and structural context (Morrow et al., 2009). Germak and Singh (2009) attest:

> The tendency to scapegoat the welfare state for a broad range of social ills and to represent welfare workers and clients as passive and dependent gives cause for concern. The reconstruction of structural disadvantage as individual inadequacy is problematic when economic and social structures cause inequality. (p. 151)

Thus, welfare shifted from the responsibility of government to that of the private and non-profit sector (Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010; Germak & Singh, 2009) resulting in less government intervention and a reduction of social programs (Mendell, 2010; Quarter et al., 2015). This was a time of economic crisis, rising unemployment and poverty, retrenchment

of welfare systems and government withdrawal to varying degrees across Canada, United

States, United Kingdom and the European Union (Borzaga & Defourny, 2001; Boschee,

2008; Galera & Borzaga, 2009; Kerlin, 2006, 2010; Mendell, 2010; Peattie & Morley, 2008;

Zahra, Gedajlovic, Neubaum, & Shulman, 2009). Civil society-based initiatives grew to make

up for the gaps in services and added to an evolving relationship with the state; the forming

of a "new welfare mix" was the outcome (Mendell, 2010).

The United States

The 1990s saw two "parallel trajectories" in social enterprise evolution on either

side of the Atlantic, with little connection until the mid 2000s (Defourny & Nyssens, 2010,

p. 33). On one side, in the United States, social enterprise arose within the business sector

when the Harvard Business School initiated the first social enterprise initiative in 1993,

based in a philanthropic model of commerce (Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2011). Since this time,

other leading American universities have followed suit such as Yale, Columbia, and

Standford (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006). Perhaps the best-known definition of social

enterprise in the United States is the *Social Enterprise Spectrum* by Gregory Dees (1998) a

professor at the Harvard Business School. Kerlin (2006) summarizes his spectrum

definition: social enterprises include "profit-oriented business engaged in socially

beneficial activities (corporate philanthropies or corporate social responsibility) to dual-

purpose businesses that mediate profit goals with social objectives (hybrids) to non-profit

organizations engaged in mission –supporting commercial activity (social purpose

organizations)" (p. 248). This definition is expansive in description and demonstrates the

influence of the business model by including profit-oriented companies. What's more,

prominent business schools have further shaped the understanding of social enterprise in

the American context as that within entrepreneurialism thus, articulating two newer concepts: social entrepreneurship and the social entrepreneur (Grenier, 2008; Spear, 2012). Within this frame, two main schools of thought persist (Dees & Anderson, 2006).

The first is the "earned income" stream (Dees & Anderson, 2006) where social enterprise is based on the commercial activity of non-profit organizations (Defourny & Nyssens, 2014). Alter (2007) adds "social enterprise is fuelled by non-profit organizations' quest for sustainability, particularly in current times when support from traditional, philanthropic, and government sources is declining and competition for available funds is increasing" (p. 12). She coins this the "funding approach" where the primary reason for social enterprise development is to generate funds for the non-profit organization to survive. Further, because the focus is purely on revenue generation, the commercial activity is not always related to the social mission of the organization, so the advancement of mission related goals becomes secondary (OCED, 2009).

A second school of social entrepreneurial thought in the United States is that of "social innovation" (Dees & Anderson, 2006). From this perspective, social entrepreneurs are regarded as "individuals who reform or revolutionize the patterns of producing social value, shifting resources into areas of higher yield for society" (p. 44). The focus here is on the "hero", "innovator", "game changer", and "visionary" – highlighting "extraordinary individuals" who use business-type skills to tackle social problems and create system-wide change (Dees & Anderson, 2006; Defourny & Nyssens, 2006; Galera & Borzaga, 2009; Kerlin, 2006). This literature promotes "social transformation", "social change" and "solving social problems" (Drayton, 2008; Haugh, 2005; Mair & Martí, 2006; Nicholls, 2008)

with the perspective of "Schumpeterian" disruptive change processes as the foundational

basis (Dees & Anderson, 2006; Defourny & Nyssens, 2014).

Europe

In contrast to the United States, on the other side of the Atlantic, Defourny and

Nyssens (2006) explain that the concept of social enterprise emerged in Italy explicitly tied

to the third sector. To support the development of social enterprise, these scholars cite that

in 1991, the Italian parliament passed a law allowing for a specific legal form of "social-

cooperative". This inspired other countries to follow suit and resulted in the extraordinary

growth of similar initiatives (Defourny & Nyssens, 2014).

Shortly thereafter, in 1996, a network was formed across 15 European countries

named the Emergence des Entreprises Sociales en Europe (EMES) with the goal of studying

social enterprise in Europe (Nyssens, 2006). Today, the EMES is a central player in Europe

(Defourny, 2014) representing a high profile group of multi-disciplinary European

university research centres whose goal is to "build up an international corpus of theoretical

and empirical knowledge, pluralistic in disciplines and methodologies, around our 'SE'

concepts: social enterprise, social entrepreneurship, social economy, solidarity economy

and social innovation" (EMES, 2015, para. 1). Defourny (2014, p. 26) outlines the EMES

indicators of social enterprise which fall along two dimensions:

> Social dimensions: (1) an explicit aim to benefit the community; (2) an initiative
>
> launched by a group of citizens; (3) a decision-making power not based on capital
>
> ownership; (4) a participatory nature, which involves various parties affected by the
>
> activity; (5) a limited profit distribution.

Economic dimensions: (6) a continuous activity producing goods and/or selling

services; (7) a high degree of autonomy; (8) a significant level of economic risk; (9) a

minimum amount of paid work

These nine features are not to be used as criteria to judge whether an initiative is a social

enterprise, rather, to represent the "ideal type" (Defourny & Nyssens, 2014).

The growth of the EMES network and the above conceptualization of it have had a

large influence on social enterprise in Europe. In particular, it advances the notion that

social enterprise is a part of the European social economy (Borzaga & Defourny, 2001;

Defourny & Nyssens, 2014; Pearce, 2003). It focuses more on the way an organization is

governed and its purpose (Kerlin, 2006), including a participatory aspect and democratic

decision-making by those benefiting from the social enterprise (Defourny, 2001; Defourny

& Nyssens, 2006; Galera & Borzaga, 2009; Kerlin, 2006). It also embraces the notion of

collective entrepreneurship, with the emphasis on groups and communities, rather than

the individual (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006; Galera & Borzaga, 2009; Spear, 2006).

For many scholars connecting social enterprise with the social economy is an easy

link to make. Guy and Heneberry (2010) for example, affirm that social enterprises

prioritize their social mandate and that the business activity is simply the means to the

social end. While Kerlin (2006) and Seanor and Meaton (2008) contend that social

enterprise represents much more than merely revenue generation including aspirations of

social justice, community cohesion and social benefit. Defourny and Nyssens (2014)

advance "the concept of social enterprise...does not compete at all with the concept of

social economy. It rather helps to identify entrepreneurial dynamics which are at work in

the very heart of the third sector" (p. 42).

A final pro-social economy argument deals with the profits from social enterprise. Pearce (2003) asserts that the economic aims of social enterprise are only to support the social mission rather than operating with a focus on wealth creation for a few shareholders. Borzaga and Defourny (2001) and Laville and Nyssens (2001) likewise outline how any financial surplus is re-directed back into the social enterprise or re-invested into the broader community.

Canada

Social enterprise in Canada is still relatively new (Mendell, 2010). As such, the terms social enterprise and social entrepreneurship vary by region and are embedded in their cultural context (McMurtry et al., 2015; Mendell, 2010). The evolution of the concept has encountered influences from both the United States and Europe outlined above (Defourny & Nyssens, 2014) resulting in great diversity across the country (McMurtry et al., 2015).

Brouard, McMurtry, and Vieta (2015) and McMurtry et al. (2015) note the United States concepts of social entrepreneurship, earned income and self-sufficiency has had a strong influence on the Canadian Anglophone understanding of social enterprise in both practice and theory. Indeed, there are many such social enterprises in Canada whose primary purpose is to generate revenue to fund social programs (Elson & Hall, 2010; Quarter et al., 2015). Likewise, within Canadian Anglophone business schools ideas of social entrepreneurship and social innovation dominate, underscoring the use of business concepts to solve social problems (Diochon & Anderson, 2009; Peredo & McLean, 2006; Zahra et al., 2009).

Mendell (2010) and Defourny and Nyssens (2014) alternatively maintain that Canada's strong history of collective activity such as cooperatives, credit unions and

community economic development has had the most significant influence on Canada's social enterprise formation. Mendell (2010) further contends that even though the American model has had widespread influence internationally, including in Canada, the "distinct political cultures of the United States and Canada create important distances not reflected in their geographical proximity. The culture of individualism that underlies social entrepreneurship, for example, is less present in Canada than in the United States" (p. 251). She further adds that notwithstanding a current conservative federal government "there is an entrenched welfare state in Canada that has fought for the preservation of public goods" (p. 251). As such, Canada, and especially Québec, draw easily from European ideas on social enterprise and social economy.

McMurtry et al. (2015) provide evidence of multiple social enterprise approaches across Canada encompassing American and European influences to varying degrees. These authors describe five groupings of social enterprise across the country: Atlantic Canada, Québec, Ontario, Western Canada and the North, and what they call the First Peoples, referring to the Indigenous communities of Canada. In brief, social enterprise in Atlantic Canada is embedded in a history of community development and a continuous fragile economy with an emphasis on poverty reduction and income redistribution (Lionais, 2015). Québec theorizes social enterprise within the greater social economy and is strongly related to the EMES conceptualization (Bouchard et al., 2015; McMurtry et al., 2015). Indeed, the term social enterprise is rarely used in this region with preference given to the larger social economy construct (Bouchard et al., 2015; Mendell, 2010; McMurtry et al., 2015).

By comparison, Ontario appears to have a wide diversity of social enterprise models likely a result of mixed influences: a history of cooperatives in combination with a strong influence from the United States on social entrepreneurship (Brourad et al., 2015; McMurtry et al., 2015). Western Canada and the North blends entrepreneurship and community solidarity particularly through cooperative models and earned revenue strategies by non-profit organizations (Elson, Hall, Leeson-Klym, Penner, & Andres, 2015). In this part of Canada, the group Enterprising Non-Profits (2005) is strong and as the name suggests, focuses on businesses run by non-profit organizations. Finally, for the fifth group, the First Peoples, the notion of social enterprise is particularly contentious due to a long history of colonization and endogenous ideas (McMurtry et al., 2015). Social enterprise in Indigenous communities is instead characterized by "Indigenous entrepreneurship" which has multiple goals of economic self-sufficiency, bolstering socio-economic conditions, and cultural revitalization (Sengupta et al., 2015). Due to such widespread regional and cultural diversity, there is no unified concept in the country and debate and tension abound (McMurtry et al., 2015).

This section described the prolific re-emergence of social enterprise across three regions: the United States, Europe and Canada. In doing so, it illustrates the differing conceptualizations of the phenomenon, in particular in Canada, where both American and European influence is apparent. While recognizing a diversity of social enterprise models and definitions in Canada, the research presented by this dissertation is most interested in the non-profit model of social enterprise that runs a for-profit business to fund its social mission. This definition is one of the common ones found in Western Canada and used by

the umbrella organization Enterprising Non-profits (Elson et al., 2015). It is also one easily placed within Canada's social economy.

The next section focuses further on a sub-type of social enterprise run by non-profits, the work integration social enterprise. Unlike other social enterprise forms, the work integration social enterprise as the name suggests, directly integrates marginalized populations into its social enterprise activity, acting as both an economic and social intervention. Interestingly, work integration social enterprise is not a common term used in the Canadian literature though the practice is apparent. The section below examines the concept largely with literature from Europe where the model is common.

Work Integration Social Enterprise (WISE)

WISE[2] aims to integrate excluded people into the labour market by providing employment (Borzaga & Defourny, 2001; Carroll, Burke, & Carroll, 2010; Defourny & Nyssens, 2006; Galera & Borzaga, 2009; Ho & Chan, 2010; Kerlin, 2010; Ngan & Arun, 2011; Nyssens, 2009; Teasdale, 2010b). Started in Europe in the 1970s, WISE was founded without public support by civil society actors such as social workers and community activists (Defourny & Nyssens, 2014). Today, WISE comprise a major type of social enterprise in Europe (Defourny & Nyssens, 2014; Defourny & Nyssens, 2006; Van Opstal, Deraedt, & Gijselinckx, 2009) yet, with a few exceptions, the term is relatively unused in Canada and the United States.

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As a sub-type of social enterprise, WISE is unique in that it acts as both a social and

economic intervention for marginalized people and thus, is of interest to the study at hand.

Cooney and Williams Shanks (2010) explain WISE as a "social enterprise strategy that

attempts to alleviate poverty by using business to create employment and work-training

opportunities…[where] the business activities are an integral aspect of the social

intervention" (p. 40). WISE provides training and skill development (Ho & Chan, 2010;

Spear & Bidet, 2005), employment and income generation (Cooney, 2011), and the

reintegration of disadvantaged and excluded groups into the labour market (Cooney, 2015;

Defourny & Nyssens, 2006; Ho & Chan, 2010; Van Opstal et al., 2009). Alter (2007) refers to

this type of social enterprise as an "embedded" social enterprise where the "enterprise

activities are embedded within the organizations' operations and social programs, and are

central to its mission…[where the] social programs and business activities are one and the

same" (p. 55).

Like that of the social economy, WISE has existed for many years. The oldest form is

that of the sheltered workshop which were specifically developed to create employment

for people with disabilities (Cooney, 2011, 2015; Pättimiemi, 2004; Spear & Bidet, 2005;

Van Opstal et al., 2009). Spear and Bidet (2005) indicate that these models continue to be

common today especially in Europe; while Morrow et al. (2009) and Cooney (2015) add

that more progressive programs are phasing out sheltered workshops and moving into

supportive employment programs in the mainstream labour market. Other WISE models

include social cooperatives, associative structures providing temporary/permanent

employment, community owned structures, and transitional employment enterprises

(Spear & Bidet, 2005). However, the vast majority of WISE models are part of non-profit

parent organizations (Carroll et al., 2010; Cooney, 2011, 2013; Spear & Bidet, 2005) that provide several additional support elements such as life skills, emotional support, employment coaching/mentoring, income supports, and for some, subsidized housing (Carroll et al., 2010; Cooney, 2015; Cooney, 2011; Lal & Mercier, 2009).

While WISE were traditionally set up for people with disabilities, a newer, wider range of clients is beginning to emerge (Cooney, 2015). Using data from a national WISE database in the United States (N=231), Cooney (2011) reported the two largest target populations were the developmentally disabled (14%) and the physically disabled (12%). Yet she also found evidence of a "new generation" of WISE, one that supports a broader array of clients (Cooney, 2011, p. 95). These include homeless people (Carroll et al., 2010; Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010; Nyssens, 2006; Teasdale, 2010b), women living in poverty (Heeks & Arun, 2010; Pättimiemi, 2004; Phillips, 2005; Xiang & Luk, 2011), those living with mental illness (Lal & Mercier, 2009) or substance abuse problems (Cooney, 2013), and the unemployed (Nyssens, 2006; Spear & Bidet, 2005). Other less common groups include youth and formally incarcerated adults (Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010).

WISE models also operate in a variety of industries (Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010). These include landscaping, snow removal and neighbourhood revitalization projects (Carroll et al., 2010; Lal & Mercier, 2009), Information Technologies (Cooney, 2011; Heeks & Arun, 2010), domestic services (Ho & Chan, 2010; Pättimiemi, 2004), horticulture, health services, restaurant and food services, retail and maintenance (Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010; Ho & Chan, 2010). Cooney (2011) establishes that close to half of all WISE businesses in the United States (N=231) fall into four general industries: (1) light manufacturing; (2) restaurant/catering/café; (3) retail; and, (4) cleaning and janitorial services.

Cooney's (2011) work also notes an important limitation of WISE operations. Of particular interest, she found that the vast majority of jobs in WISE (72%) fell into the low-skill category; jobs characterized by low pay, low benefits and unpredictable hours. Cooney (2011) thus asserts:

> A key challenge for WISEs is that the businesses that are easiest to launch and best suited to absorb large numbers of unskilled workers may be located in the same low wage labor market sectors out of which these interventions are designed to catapult workers. (p. 90)

Additional considerations from Morrow et al. (2009) questions the ability of WISE to offer full-time employment due to seasonal work or slow periods and Cooney (2011) inquires about the successful integration of clients into the WISE business activity when funding allows for only temporary or transitional employment stints. Along a similar vein, Nyssens (2014) reports that there are some sub-groups of vulnerable workers where a temporary employment strategy with expectations of integration into the regular labour market may not be reasonable: "lack of qualifications, mental disabilities and social problems may have long-term effects on the workers' productivity" (p. 226). For those in these difficult situations, Nyssens (2014) advocates for some to be able to remain in the WISE for a longer duration.

Notwithstanding these important concerns, WISE is often promoted as an effective means to solving social problems such as homelessness (Teasdale, 2010b). Yet, despite anecdotal support of the benefits (Morrow et al., 2009) little evidence about its effectiveness exists (Cooney, 2013; Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010; Teasdale, 2010a, 2010b). Some promise is shown for improved self esteem, increased independence,

improved social networks and economic security (Chan et al., 2015; Heeks & Arun, 2010; Ho & Chan, 2010; Meinhard, Lok, & O' Connor, 2015; Morrow et al., 2009; Pättimiemi, 2004; Teasdale, 2010b) yet the current emphasis remains on economic outcomes (Teasdale, 2010a). Defourny and Nyssens (2014) further suggest, that for WISE models that provide a quasi-public good such as childcare, added value is also arguable at the community level.

There are but few examples of evaluations that provide evidence of the impact of WISE. While offering a starting point from which to build our knowledge, several of the current evaluations have important limitations and demonstrate a lack of methodological rigour rife in social enterprise research (Peattie & Morley, 2008). Further, another major problem with current evaluations is the use of the terms social enterprise, or WISE. Of the evaluations located, although the terms social enterprise or WISE was referenced, most did not meet the typical conceptual criteria. Whether they should be included in determining the effectiveness of social enterprise is questionable. Denny, Hazenberg, Irwin, and Seddon (2011) for example, evaluated a six-week employment skills program provided by a WISE targeted at young people who are not in education, employment or training. Pre/post semi-structured interviews and standardized measures of self-efficacy and attitudes to enterprise were employed on a sample of six. Findings from this study include improved self-confidence and motivation, and increases in general self-efficacy. These findings are significantly limited due to the small sample size and the study lacks a convincing discussion about how this program fits within a social enterprise framework.

Ferguson and Xie (2007) had similar problems defining and justifying their program as a social enterprise. The methodology consisted of a sample of 16 homeless youth in a treatment group and 12 homeless youth in a control group. Depression, self-esteem and

internalizing and externalizing behaviours were measured using various standardized tests and structured interviews. Significant improvement was found in life satisfaction, family contact, peer social support and depressive symptoms in comparison to the control group. Again, because of the small sample the significance of the results are diminished.

Lastly, Borzaga and Loss (2006) also attempted to document positive outcomes on 949 workers across 11 European countries by interviewing program managers about the situation of the workers. It was recorded that 58.5% of workers were still employed by the WISE after two years and that income levels over time increased. Further, the program managers reported an increase in improved personal abilities and improved autonomy in daily life and relationships amongst the participants. These findings are again limited however, in that, the methodology involved asking program managers about the situation and improvement of the participants, raising the issue of the accuracy of the program managers viewpoint, as well as their desire for their programs to be deemed successful.

In addition to a lack of evidence of the impact of WISE, these models also face external challenges. The majority of WISEs are heavily subsidized and draw funding from several resources (Carroll et al., 2010; Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010; Cooney, 2015; Nyssens, 2014; Spear & Bidet, 2005; Teasdale, 2010b). Cooney (2011) and Teasdale (2010b) emphasize the importance of such subsidies, as they protect the social goals of the social enterprise by providing help such as wage subsidies and other social supports that may not be possible from the revenue generated from the enterprise alone. Yet the ability to effectively manage these many funding sources when each has various requirements, time limitations and logistics is a key challenge as is the financial sustainability of such funding (Morrow et al., 2009; Spear & Bidget, 2005). Other challenges of WISEs include the

ability to compete effectively with other businesses who are often not constrained by social goals (Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010; Cooney, 2015; Nyssens, 2014), lack of business experience amongst staff (Ho & Chan, 2010), competition for resources between the social and economic goals (Cooney, 2011; Teasdale, 2010a), inter-sectoral collaboration (Lal & Mercier, 2009), the need for government support (Morrow et al., 2009; Ngan & Arun, 2011), and how to promote the model to the public (Meinhard et al., 2015; Spear & Bidet, 2005).

Women and Social Enterprise

This final section examines women and social enterprise (including WISE) through a gendered or feminist lens. The limited literature on this topic is reviewed. In doing so, this part of the chapter prompts a critical discourse on social enterprise work with women. Further, it bridges the community economic development (CED) scholarship on women with that of social enterprise by identifying five practice characteristics common in the CED literature.

     The social enterprise literature[3]

Though women living in poverty are a frequent participant of WISE (Heeks & Arun, 2010; Phillips, 2005; Xiang & Luk, 2011), published literature on this topic is limited. Articles that were found are largely from an international development context. No North American or United Kingdom papers were located.

For example, Heeks and Arun (2010) examined the impact of information technology outsourcing to women's social enterprises in Kerala, India. Through interviews with women participants (N=133) and case study research, the project assessed this model across five areas of livelihood (financial, human, physical, social and political capital). Findings from this study suggest gains were made across all five areas. Women reported an increase in income, development of skills, improved social and business networks, increased confidence and greater respect and acceptance from families.

In another example, Phillips (2005) explored the potential benefits and risks of social enterprise and women in Ukraine using ethnographic interview data from 11 women leaders. While this work identified positive benefits of social enterprise for low-income women such as small business development and economic empowerment, it also uncovered challenges to women's empowerment and the marginalization of women to traditionally gender-segregated industries. Phillips (2005) contends:

> The danger here is that women's business endeavors are being ghettoized into the marginal, devalued service sector...we must also be concerned about the potential long-term effects of empowerment strategies for women that emphasize women's roles as caregivers and matrons of the market, yet fail to address women's declining influence in the halls of government and "meaningful" politics. (p. 259)

While presented in the circumstances of Ukraine, others have identified social enterprises across Europe that involve traditional women's work such as social care and domestic related businesses, are also vastly occupied by women (Borzaga & Loss, 2006; Van Opstal et al., 2009).

In a final third example, Fotheringham and Sanders (2015) investigated the potential of social enterprise as a poverty reduction strategy for women. Through a literature synthesis, the researchers identified specific factors that contribute to women's poverty and hypothesized how social enterprise can mitigate these factors in practice. These authors propose an integrative framework that first emphasises the need to have a firm policy foundation in place prior to providing several key support mechanisms such as child care, health access, social supports, and flexible hours, amongst several others. Fotheringham and Saunders stress that support mechanisms need to be context specific and identified by the women themselves.

The Community Economic Development literature

Due to the shortage of available literature on women and social enterprise specifically, works from the CED sector were sought. As previously stated, CED is often the Anglo term for the social economy in Canada. A review of this literature revealed that women have long been meaningfully involved in CED work and the building of the social economy in the country (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2004; Côté & Fournier, 2005; Gittell & Ortega-Bustamante, 2000; Toupin, 2001). At both the local and national level, women have played critical roles in evolving the CED/social economy sector through the creation of organizations, including the Women's Economic Council, Canadian CED Network, and the Chantier de l'economie sociale (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2004). Yet, despite the substantial role of women in CED, the literature on women's involvement and gender/feminist perspectives in CED work is unfortunately, also quite limited (Amyot, 2007; Stratton & Jackson, 2008; Stratton & Levine, 2000; Toupin, 2001). Of published works found, four common practice features were identified: women's CED is typically

women-centred, holistic, participatory and socially transformative. In addition to these four characteristics, a fifth idea is added based on the growing influence of feminist intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989).

In 2000, Stratton and Levine argued that CED practice with women often requires "specific and different supports than those of men" (p. 5). Referred to as a "woman-centred approach", this idea values women's unique experiences and needs and centres them in CED practice (Canadian Women's Community Economic Development Council, 2005; Conn, 2006; Gittell & Ortega-Bustamante, 2000; Women's Economic Council, 2010). Conn (2006) refers to this as a "bottom-up" method, where initiatives work respectfully alongside or on behalf of women rather than as experts that dictate to women.

Women-centred CED is further built on the principle that all women have strengths, assets and resources (Conn, 2006) and these are brought with them as they start to rebuild their lives through a CED program. This is dissimilar to traditional programs, which often focus on deficits and faults. Instead, the Canadian Women's Foundation (2010) asserts that essential elements of a woman-centred approach include a safe and respectful learning environment where women are supported to identify and build on their strengths, try new ideas, experiment and take risks. This often involves maintaining a woman-only environment (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2004).

The second common feature outlined in the CED literature is the notion of a holistic practice with women. A holistic approach means that women's CED aims to provide a complete spectrum of support, addressing the range of women's social and economic needs, rather than just one aspect (Amyot, 2007; Conn, 2006; Gittell & Ortega-Bustamante, 2000; Women's Economic Council, 2010). This concept is based on the belief that women's

social and economic challenges are intricately related and if meaningful, sustainable change

is to occur, CED practice needs to attend to the wide range of issues (Canadian Women's

Foundation, 2010). Holistic CED therefore often includes programing that focuses on

women's economic and employment-related skill development and income generation,

while also meeting additional needs such as housing, food, childcare, health, and

emotional/crisis support (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010; Canadian Women's

Community Economic Development Council, 2005; Conn, 2005, 2006; Notwell, Reynolds, &

Katz, 2010). The Canadian Women's Foundation (2004) has taken this concept one step

further and identified five assets meant to reflect all areas of a woman's life: physical,

financial, human, personal and social. For the Canadian Women's Foundation, effective

holistic CED practice with women has programming that responds to all five areas.

In addition to women's CED practice being women-centred and holistic, it is also

often participatory. At the macro level, CED work with women strives to challenge the

male-dominated power dynamics that have long constrained women's ability to participate

in economic and community development (Conn, n.d. as cited in Amyot, 2007). Women are

instead invited and encouraged to participate in program and community level planning

and development platforms (Conn, 2006; Gittell & Ortega-Bustamante, 2000).

At the micro level, participatory CED supports women in becoming more confident

and independent by engaging them in decision-making, self-direction and priority

identification (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010) unlike traditional programs, which

are prescriptive. Further, women may also be invited to develop abilities as community

leaders and staff members (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2004). McMurty (2010) adds

that for cooperative CED organizations, participation often means democratic practices,

with women sharing in all organizational decision-making and planning. Ultimately, these macro and micro empowerment strategies endeavour to engage women in community economic activity in a manner that has often been unavailable to them.

The fourth and final characteristic of women's CED from the literature is the idea of social transformation. Gittell and Ortega-Bustamante (2000) proclaim that women's CED is unique from its mainstream form in that it confronts and challenges women's unequal economic status thereby acting as an agent of social change. Conn (2006) likewise emphasizes the radical tendency of women's CED as it aims to challenge systemic elements of women's economic and social exclusion.

For Amyot (2007), women's CED is a "socially transformative practice" that is "informed by an understanding of the complexities of both gender and locality. It must be rooted in an understanding of its work as part of an attempt to create broad changes to the worldviews that cause the marginalization of social groups" (p. 86). She argues that traditional CED literature focuses on women as participants versus examining gender as a fundamental reason for women's economic disempowerment. As such, according to Amyot (2007), much of the current CED practice concentrates on women's economic participation and improved access to economic resources while neglecting larger systemic structures that contribute to women's economic alienation in the first place. Further, Amyot stresses women's CED must remain radical and focused on change.

Women centred, holistic, participatory and socially transformative are the four common features of women's CED identified in the small number of articles and reports found. Work by Stratton and Jackson (2008) however add an important fifth element that was not apparent in the previous articles. Closely tied with intersectional feminism

(Crenshaw, 1989), Stratton and Jackson declare "considering gender alone is not enough" (p. 126). Indeed, acknowledging how race, class and sexual orientation for example, intersect with gender should be a critical aspect of any CED practiced with women. CED work needs to challenge earlier feminist notions, which essentialized women's experiences to those of white, middle-class and heterosexual perspectives (Hankivsky et al., 2010).

Women-centred Community Economic Development models

The literature reports that women-centred CED programs span across several sectors including those that are deemed traditionally female such childcare and food service, and more recently, the non-traditional sectors such as technology, construction and carpentry (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2004). Program types are equally vast consisting of social enterprise models, skills training and employment placement, co-op development, and micro/peer-lending structures (Notwell et al., 2010).

The Canadian Women's Foundation (2004) created the first inventory of women-centred CED organizations in Canada. Out of 88 organizations surveyed, 75% were based in cities. The majority of programs provided either employment assistance such as career counselling, life-skills and job search services, and/or enterprise development with business plans and business coaching. Most of the programs surveyed were engaged in the business development sector (69.3%), health and social services sectors (44.3%), or food (22.7%) and housing (21.6%). Most organizations targeted women as a general group (74%). Others targeted ethnic and visible minority women (28%) or First Nations women (17%).

There are few examples in the literature of successful models or best practices for women's CED (Amyot, 2007). The most prominent exception is extensive work conducted

by the Canadian Women's Foundation (2010) and their development of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. The aim of this framework is to influence and promote a "more women-focused, holistic approach to program delivery in the field of women's community economic development in Canada" (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010, p. 5).

The first part of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework is the external context that perpetuates women's economic vulnerability. This element recognizes that traditional gender roles, policy and institutional structures and processes contribute to women's poverty. The second element of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework is asset development (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010). This aspect is based on the belief that women are more susceptible to economic insecurity and poverty when they have a limited range of assets. As such, the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework promotes the development of these assets in women-centred CED work.

In the framework there are five types of assets that "combine to create a holistic picture of women's resources and capabilities" (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010, p. 11). The five assets are physical, social, personal, human and financial. Physical assets are those such as housing, food, information and services. The Canadian Women's Foundation (2010) notes that without established physical assets it is difficult to build assets in other areas. Social assets comprise connections, networks and contacts aiming to build a woman's support system. Personal assets involve a woman's sense of her personal and cultural identity and include self-esteem and the motivation and strength for personal change. Human assets are knowledge, skills, education and leadership – capabilities that enhance employability. It also includes a woman's health status. Finally, financial assets consist of earnings, benefits, savings, possessions and financial literacy. Women-centred

CED programs that utilize the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework provide strategic and practical interventions at all five asset areas. This, and an understanding of the dynamics of change as proposed by the framework, allows women to exit poverty successfully, moving towards a sustainable livelihood (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010).

Effectiveness of women-centred Community Economic Development

Anecdotally, women-centred CED is tremendously effective (Conn, 2006). In terms of research however, there is little published. Again, the one exception is evaluation of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework through the Canadian Women's Foundation (2010). The Canadian Women's Foundation collected information on 1045 women who participated in women-centred CED programs across Canada was collected. Demographic data, participation data, progress information and qualitative interviews were key sources. One of the significant findings of this work was that women made significant gains in all five asset areas. For example, 77% of women who initially had trouble meeting their basic needs improved their access; 83% became more employable; 65% improved their ability to communicate; 48% improved their political literacy; 94% had more self-confidence; 65% launched a small business that generated regular income; and, 51% increased their household and personal incomes. Further, in less than two years, 84% of women receiving social assistance were able to reduce their dependence.

This recent research maintains earlier conclusions by the Canadian Women's Foundation (2004) that programs of this nature provide women with the means to move out of poverty. Yet, importantly such work also stresses that this outcome takes time and is not a straightforward process. Hence, one of the most important findings from this research is:

When women start from a position of having too few assets…they tend to develop

financial assets last. Not until livelihood 'readiness' is well under way do women tend

to make substantial financial gains. It takes time to secure employment and/or build a

business that generates good income. (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010, p. 25)

Overall, the Canadian Women's Foundation asserts that CED work with women is effective

in supporting them to become economically engaged and to build a secure future. Yet, they

also note that the continued challenge is for women-centred models to demonstrate value

and that a gender-analysis to Canada's CED policy and practice is gravely needed.

Challenges of women-centred Community Economic Development

Several papers note the difficult policy climate for women-centred CED (Canadian

Women's Foundation, 2010; Conn, 2006; Women's Economic Council, 2010). The Women's

Economic Council (2010) states "recent trends in government funding and policy are

harming - not helping – women…taken together, [this] represents a serious blow to

women's equality" (p. 9). Markedly, is the lack of gender analysis on economic and social

policies at the government level (Notwell et al., 2010; Women's Economic Council, 2010).

Gender-neutral policy assumptions are harmful as they create additional barriers for

women, contributing to their unequal economic position and thus, limiting the potential

success for women-centred CED (Canadian Women's Community Economic Development

Council, 2005).

Indeed, current labour policies such as employment standards, wages and benefits,

working conditions, paid leaves, and employment equity legislation create numerous

barriers for women as they were intended for standard types of employment that assume

full-time, continuous labour more characteristic of the male breadwinner family structure

(Canadian Women's Community Economic Development Council, 2005; Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010). Contrarily, because of women's domestic and care-giving responsibilities, flexible and family friendly policy is needed. Other policies regarding childcare, social assistance, minimum wage, employment insurance and maternity benefits are likewise identified as strongly problematic in the CED literature (Conn, 2006; Canadian Women's Community Economic Development Council, 2005; Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010).

What's more, because the government has failed to recognize the importance of gender analysis and women-centred CED, the sector is severely under-resourced (Canadian Women's Community Economic Development Council, 2005; Gittell & Ortega-Bustamante, 2000; Notwell et al., 2010). Amyot (2007) and Stratton and Levine (2008) cite a lack of funding as one of the most significant barriers facing women-centred CED success. One reason for a lack of appropriate funding is the disappearance of women as a priority group within the government (Women's Economic Council, 2010). Accordingly, funding that aims to improve women's economic marginalization is difficult to attain (Amyot, 2007).

In addition to the changes at the government level, another difficulty is the demand for immediate and tangible results by funders. The Canadian Women's Foundation (2010) argues that women-centred CED can be successful but it takes time and results are often difficult to identify. As a result, many CED programs use conventional training-based programs to meet these short-term funder expectations, but long-term sustainability of such poverty reduction projects is highly questionable (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010).

Greater attention of women-centred CED work is needed. A gender analysis that explores women's unequal economic and social status is critical, especially in light of recent anti-woman developments by the federal government. : "We appear to have entered a post-feminist era, in which the 'women's agenda' is presented as complete. Gender-neutral programs and policies are judged sufficient to reach and service women" (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010, p. 77). However, poverty, unemployment and social issue statistics suggest otherwise, providing evidence that women's unique experiences need to remain on the policy agenda. Conn (2006) advances that women's CED has the potential to "confront and reverse women's systemic marginalization, including the deeper and different forms of discrimination and inequity experienced by immigrant women, Aboriginal women, women with different abilities, senior women and others" (p. 134). A gender-neutral assumption ignores the essential role gender plays in determining the outcome of women's lives. Women have long been involved in CED and the building of the social economy of which social enterprise is a part (Gittell & Ortega-Bustamante, 2000; Toupin, 2001). Further, women's social enterprise is abundant in practice. Yet, women's experiences, perspectives and unique needs remain sparse in the mainstream discourse.

Poverty is a continuing problem in all countries of the world including Canada. Much like global statistics, Canadian women too are disproportionately burdened by poverty, notably certain groups such as single mothers, immigrant and First Nations women. There are many initiatives that strive to reduce economic hardship, increase employment and integrate marginalized communities back into the social and economic mainstream. These groups make up what many call the social economy, a sector driven by goals of community well-being, social inclusion and poverty reduction. Social enterprise is one such model

within the social economy. It is commonly a non-profit organization that runs a business in the market to generate funds for its social programs. WISE is a particular type of social enterprise that integrates marginalized people into the social enterprise activity and provides social supports thereby acting as both a social and economic intervention. Because women face overwhelming levels of poverty, they are common target groups of such work. Literature examining such initiatives however is sparse. CED scholarship offers several characteristics of good practice with women such as women-centred, holistic, participatory, socially transformative and intersectional, which can be applied to women's WISE models. More work is needed to understand how social enterprise works with women in reducing poverty and what value they provide women and their communities. Further, a wider critical feminist analysis is needed to ensure gender-neutral models do not dominate. Women have unique experiences of poverty that differ than that of men, and consequently require social enterprise models that are gender-responsive. Otherwise, women will be further victimized in this growing movement and their disproportionate experiences with poverty will only continue to grow.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology used to conduct the current study. It first outlines the study's research questions and objectives in preparation for the methodological discussion. It then presents the rationale for using a qualitative design, followed by a discussion on pragmatism and the feminist research approach. It then describes the case study method, process used for recruitment, data collection and data analysis. The chapter closes with an examination of triangulation and ethical considerations.

Research Question(s) and Objectives

The primary research question for this study is: what is the role of social enterprise in helping women meet their economic and social needs in Canada? In addition, this research has five secondary research questions and four objectives. The research questions include inquiry into the common characteristics, challenges and value of the social enterprises. Research objectives include aims of describing these models, identifying value, developing a women's social enterprise model and bringing a feminist analysis to social enterprise. Table 1. presents these questions and objectives.

Qualitative Paradigm

Research is governed by two dominant research paradigms: quantitative and qualitative research. Quantitative research aims to "discover relationships and facts that are generalizable, [it is] research that is "independent" of subjective beliefs, feelings, wishes and values" (Unrau, Krysik, & Grinnell, 2001, p. 545). Patton (2002) contends this type of

research is best used for "measuring the reactions of a great number of people to a limited set of questions thus facilitating comparison and statistical aggregation of the data" (p. 14).

Table 1. Research Questions and Objectives

Research Questions	Research Objectives
What are the common characteristics of women's social enterprise?	To describe how these models function, characteristics, strengths and challenges
What are some of the challenges these models encounter?	To identify value
How do these models support women in meeting their economic needs?	To develop a woman's social enterprise model in Canada
How do these models support women in meeting their social needs?	To bring a feminist analysis to social enterprise
What value do they bring to women and the larger community?	

Qualitative research by comparison, instead aims to produce deep and unrestricted knowledge of a small number of cases; it is not intended for wide generalization (Patton, 2002). By definition, qualitative research is:

A situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3)

This definition describes several features that characterize qualitative research, including

the collection of data in the natural setting, the researcher as a key instrument, use of

multiple sources of data, inductive data analysis, an emergent design and interpretive

inquiry (Creswell, 2007).

Rationale for qualitative research.

For the purpose of this study, a qualitative design was deemed the most suitable for

several reasons. First, as presented in the review of the literature, relatively little is known

about women's social enterprise and its role in supporting women to meet their economic

and social needs. According to Grinnell, Unrau, and Williams (2005) a qualitative design is

the most fitting methodological choice when little is known about a topic.

Second, a qualitative design allows for the in-depth exploration of an issue or topic

(Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2002). The primary objective of this study is to understand how

women's social enterprise function and how it supports women in meeting their economic

and social needs in Canada. In order to achieve this objective, in-depth exploration of social

enterprise cases is warranted.

Third, qualitative designs are emergent and flexible. Patton (2002) explains "the

naturalistic and inductive nature of the inquiry makes it both impossible and inappropriate

to specify operational variables, state testable hypothesis, or finalize either

instrumentation or sampling schemes. A naturalistic design unfolds or emerges as

fieldwork unfolds" (p. 44). Due to the nature of the research question and the focus on the

social enterprise as the unit of analysis, data was best obtained in the field. The design

therefore needed to be able to respond to situations and experiences as they unfolded.

The fourth, and final reason for choosing a qualitative design is its ability to optimally address pragmatic and concrete issues such as organizational and community development (Patton, 2002). As illustrated in the previous chapter, social enterprise is an organizational form inspired by community economic development and social economy ideals. With the social enterprise entity the focal point of this study, coupled with the practical nature of the research objectives, this study is heavily pragmatic and best suited to qualitative research.

Pragmatism

While there are a number of theoretical approaches to qualitative designs, I choose the pragmatic paradigm – that is a paradigm that remains outside of allegiance to a particular methodology. Pragmatism instead takes an applied approach to research where the research question and the best approaches to answering the question are more important than methodological alignment (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2002; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Wicks & Freeman, 1998). One of the best-known pragmatists, Patton (2002), explains, "Not all questions are theory based. Indeed, the quite concrete and practical questions of people working to make the world a better place…can be addressed without placing the study in one of the theoretical frameworks" (p. 136).

Pragmatism is instead concerned with the applicability or usefulness of the research. In fact, one of the key interests of pragmatism is whether the research can be used for social or political change (Wicks & Freeman, 1998). This focus on utility is one of the foremost reasons pragmatism uses the research question - and the best means to answering the research question - as the guiding principal in place of methodology.

Schatzman and Strauss (1973) explain, "As a methodological pragmatist, the field researcher concerns himself [or herself] less with whether his [or her] techniques are 'scientific' than with what specific operations might yield the most meaningful information" (p. 8).

By remaining outside of traditional methodology, pragmatism offers the researcher an inherently flexible and emergent design. Feilzer (2010) illustrates, "pragmatism is a commitment to uncertainty...the acknowledgement of the unpredictable human element forces pragmatic researchers to be flexible and open to the emergence of unexpected data" (p. 14). As such, pragmatism is very adaptable, yielding to multiple methods of data collection including both qualitative and quantitative forms (Creswell, 2007; Feilzer, 2010; Patton, 2002).

As stated, there are several other approaches from which I could choose, but were deemed insufficient for the current study. These include grounded theory, ethnography, and phenomenology. Grounded theory is intended to "move beyond description and to generate or discover a theory" (Creswell, 2007, p. 63). As the objectives of this study were primarily description based, this methodology was considered unsuitable. Likewise, phenomenology focuses on exploring how a group of people creates shared meaning of an experience or concept (Patton, 2002). While a phenomenological focused study would suit a research question aiming to understand women's shared meaning of poverty for example, it does not allow for the exploration and identification of the descriptors, characteristics and barriers experienced by the social enterprise organization itself. Finally, the focus of ethnography is on an entire cultural group, wherein the researcher interprets and describes the learned patterns of values, behaviours, beliefs, and language of a cultural

group (Creswell, 2007). The focus of my work is not on the women in social enterprise programs as a cultural group, it is on the social enterprise itself. Further, ethnography will not attend to my overarching goals of describing the organizational entity and creating a women's social enterprise model, reflecting the need for a flexible, pragmatic paradigm.

A pragmatic approach is arguably best suited due to my focus on the organization and the strong pragmatic objectives of my study. Because my study is not methodologically driven, adhering to pragmatism allows me to respond to the research as it emerges, make methodological decisions along the way, and base these decisions on the most effective means to answering the research question.

A Feminist Research Approach

While this study remained outside of a particular methodology, it aligned with a feminist research approach and feminist theory. Importantly, feminism is unique in that, there is no one feminist epistemology, methodology or theory. Instead, feminist research permeates the full spectrum of knowledge creation, including epistemology, methodology, and method (Hesse-Biber, 2012). In general, feminist research can be described as placing women, their experiences and perspectives at the centre, often seeking social change and social justice for women (Creswell, 2007; Lather, 1991; Preissle & Han, 2012). Further, gender is the frame of reference used from which to see and understand the world (Lather, 1991). In doing so, feminist theory and praxis challenges the idea that women – who are often excluded as a unique group – fall under the perspectives of the dominant male group (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Feminist research therefore aims to "correct both the invisibility and

distortion of female experience in ways relevant to ending women's unequal social position" (Lather, 1991, p. 71).

Feminist research fits well within my proposed study. As demonstrated in the literature review, women and social enterprise have not had the same academic attention. Instead, the literature commonly assumes gender-neutrality in the discussions of social enterprise, an assumption that concerns feminists. One of the objectives of my work is to bring a feminist analysis to social enterprise and highlight the unique experiences and needs of women engaged in social enterprise models. Further, this work aims to establish a women's social enterprise framework with the intention of creating social change for the betterment of women in Canada.

Intersectionality

Feminism is a heterogeneous theory encompassing several perspectives and various standpoints, for example, Africana feminism, Queer theory, radical feminism, liberal feminism and socialist feminism (Agger, 2006). While earlier feminist theories focused on gender as the predominant construct of women's inequality, a more recent theory instead centers on the intersections of oppression, such as gender, race and class, and how these intersections create differing realities of inequality for women. The theory proposes that these forms of oppression do not act in isolation, but instead intertwine and co-construct contributing to systematic social inequality (Dill & Kohlman, 2012).

Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) is credited with coining the term intersectionality in 1989 (Davis, 2008; Hankivsky et al., 2010; Simien, 2007; Yuval-Davis, 2006). The term was originally used by Crenshaw (1991) "to denote the various ways in which race and gender

interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's employment experiences" (p. 1244). Later in 2001 during a speech, Crenshaw uses metaphor to expand and states:

> Intersectionality is what occurs when a woman from a minority group…tries to navigate the main crossing in the city…The main highway is 'racism road'. One cross street can be Colonialism, then Patriarchy Street…She has to deal not only with one form of oppression but with all forms, those named as road signs, which link together to make…a many layered blanket of oppression. (Crenshaw, 2001, as cited in Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 196)

Today intersectionality is understood as a conceptual tool that is used to examine "the interlocking effects of race, class, gender, and sexuality, highlighting the ways in which categories of identity and structures of inequality are mutually constituted and defy separation into discrete categories of analysis" (Dill & Kohlman, 2012, p. 155). It is conceptualized in direct contrast to earlier feminist notions, which essentialized the experiences of women and largely reflected those of white, middle-class and heterosexual perspectives (Hankivsky et al., 2010).

Intersectionality is a growing concept in feminist research (Hankivsky et al., 2010; Hesse-Biber, 2010; Olesen, 2011), yet its operationalization remains highly debated and is the concept's chief limitation (Bowleg, 2008; Davis, 2008; McCall, 2005; Mehrotra, 2010). Ultimately, intersectionality provides a tool for "critical thinking about inequality" (Dill & Zambrana, 2009, p. 1) while clearly focusing on and valuing the differences amongst and within groups of women (Davis, 2008; Dill & Zambrana, 2009; Hankivsky et al., 2010).

Feminist theory in general, and intersectionality in particular, has influenced the conceptualization of the purpose and objectives of this study. The topic focuses on women's

unique needs and experiences related to poverty and social enterprise and was viewed and interpreted through a feminist intersectional lens. Further, the goal of a women's social enterprise framework has the intention of creating social change for the betterment of women. Feminist principles including attempting to reduce power and promote connectedness and equality between the researcher and the participants; valuing and acknowledging women's ways of knowing; researcher reflexivity; and, using research knowledge to enhance women's lives were implemented (Patton, 2002).

The Collective Case Study Method

The case study has long and notable history across several disciplines including medicine, law, cultural anthropology, political science, psychology, sociology and social work (Humphries, 2008; Meyer, 2001; Noor, 2008; Stake, 2006; Swanborn, 2010; Yin, 2009). It is a prominent form of inquiry in qualitative research (Humphries, 2008; Patton, 2002) and has made significant contributions to research in general (Yin, 2009). For the social work profession, the case study is considered fundamental. Gilgun (1994) refers to it as a "basic unit" of social work practice and Brandell and Varkas (2001) designate it as a social work "tradition", noting its use by historical social work figures such as Mary Richmond and Helen Harris Perlman.

Case studies are noted for their flexible design (Meyer, 2001; Yin, 2009) placing it appropriately within the pragmatic paradigm. They can be qualitative or quantitative, applied or pure, have inductive or deductive links to theory, use a wide range of data sources, collect data over several settings, over several points in time and can range from explanatory to exploratory designs (Grinnell, 2001). As such, the case study method does

not have an agreed upon definition or purpose (Merriam, 1998; Meyer, 2001; Swanborn, 2010). The most common elements of a definition of case study include the in-depth inquiry (Noor, 2008; Patton, 2002; Simons, 2009; Swanborn, 2010; Yin, 2009) of a phenomenon or issue (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Creswell, 2007; Humphries, 2008; Swanborn, 2010; Yin, 2009) in its natural context (Simons, 2009; Swanborn, 2010; Yin, 2009).

The context appears to be particularly important in definitions of case study research (Humphries, 2008; Patton, 2002; Stake, 2005). For example, Stake (2005; 2006) emphasizes that each case is located in its own unique situation, reflecting a historical, physical, cultural, social and political context. Grinnell (2001) adds that this context affects how the case functions and as such, the case is always studied in its natural setting. Another aspect of the definition includes reference to the case boundaries or the "bounded system" of the case (Creswell, 2007; Stake, 2005; Swanborn, 2010). In other words, a distinguishing part of the case study is its need for boundaries, determining both what is and what is not the case (Stake, 1978). Finally, case studies are unique in that, they utilize multiple sources of data – another common part of the definition – allowing for an issue to be explored through multiple viewpoints (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Creswell, 2007; Humphries, 2008; Noor, 2008; Simons, 2009).

The two most significant experts in the realm of case study research are Robert K. Yin and Robert E. Stake. While both scholars recognize the ability of the case study to be exploratory, descriptive or explanatory, each holds a particular emphasis. Yin (2009) focuses on the explanatory case study by emphasizing "how" and "why" questions, theoretical propositions, rival hypothesis and replication designs; features characteristic of the positivist paradigm. Stake (1995) by contrast, centres on exploratory and descriptive

designs within constructivism. He states: "I develop a view of case studies that draws from naturalistic, holistic, and ethnographic, phenomenological, and biographic research methods. I do not pay as much attention to quantitative case studies" (Stake, 1995, p. xi). He instead focuses on the use of case study towards understanding, description and interpretation of the case (Stake, 1978, 2005) with the aim of considering multiple realities about what is occurring (Stake, 1995).

Stake (1995) describes constructivism as "the belief that knowledge is made up largely of social interpretations rather than awareness of an external reality" (p. 170). In research, constructivism assumes reality is co-created, that the researcher and the participant create a shared experience (Patton, 2002). Most qualitative researchers share the belief that knowledge is constructed rather than discovered (Stake, 1995; Patton, 2002). Constructivism is apparent in Stake's (1995) case study design when he discusses his openness to multiple realities and acknowledges his interpretations do not represent "truth". Stake (1978) instead, describes case study as more of an "expansionist than reductionist pursuit" (p. 7). This study conforms to that of Stake because of his priority on exploratory and descriptive designs as well as his emphasis on constructivism.

The case

Stake (2005) describes case study not as a methodology, but as a "choice of what to study" (p. 443). For Stake (2005) it is a tool or a strategy, one that can be used within any methodology. He maintains the "case study is defined by interest in the case, not by the methods of inquiry used" (p. 443). As such, Stake (1995) provides a rather wide characterization of the case study: "The study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances" (p. xi).

Stake (2005) defines the case as a "specific, unique, bounded system" (p. 445) in which the case strictly exists. It is a "noun, a thing, an entity, it is seldom a verb, a participle, a functioning" (Stake, 2006, p. 1). He adds:

The case is dynamic. It operates in real time. It acts purposively, encounters obstacles, and often has a strong sense of self. It interacts with other cases, playing different roles, vying and complying. It has stages of life – only one of which may be observed, but the sense of history and future are part of the picture. (Stake, 2006, p. 3)

For Stake, the case could be a person, an organization, a policy or an event – something within a bounded system. It cannot be an abstract thing without boundaries such as an attitude or belief.

One of the greatest challenges of case study work is defining the case (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 1998; Patton, 2002; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2009). Baxter and Jack (2008) point out that a common problem is having too broad of a definition or having too many research objectives. They assert that this can be mediated by determining not only what makes up the case, but also what the case is not. This is the reason for the emphasis on the case as a bounded system; boundaries around the unit of analysis are essential (Stake, 2005). In case study research, the case is the unit of analysis. As Patton (2002) describes, the unit of analysis is that which informs the specific data collection methods, focal point for the data analysis and manner in which statements about findings and conclusions are made. He adds that when the unit of analysis is an organization, "qualitative methods involve observations and description focused directly on that unit" (p. 228). The case in this study is the social enterprise as an organizational structure. It includes the staff, the participants, and the business activity. It does not include the funder, the parent organization or other

organizational partners (however, these aspects make up part of the context). The social

enterprise is the unit of analysis.

Stake (1995, 2005) also presents three types of case studies: instrumental, intrinsic

and multiple. An instrumental study he defines as one in which "a particular case is

examined mainly to provide insight into an issue or to draw a generalization" (2005, p.

445). The case plays a supportive role, facilitating the understanding of the phenomenon

under study. An intrinsic case study alternatively, focuses on the case itself because it

presents an unusual situation. Finally, Stake's (1995) third type of case study is the

multiple case study, or collective case study. This is simply when there is more than one

case to examine within a single research investigation.

A collective case study was utilized for this study (Stake, 1995). Multiple case

studies focus on how a particular topic functions in different contexts (Stake, 2006). This

design allows the researcher to choose cases from different regions, providing the

opportunity to examine regional and cultural variations (Simons, 2009) or highlight social,

economic, political and ethical differences (Stake, 2006). This study included three cases of

women's social enterprise with the intent to compare and contrast their similarities and

differences.

Rationale for the case study

I choose this method for several reasons. First, as described above, case studies are

known for their flexible design (Meyer, 2001; Yin, 2009). This design flexibility places the

case study well within the pragmatic approach where data collection methods are chosen

based on the best means to answering the research question. It also allows for the

researcher to be responsive to variations in context and case. For this study, each social

enterprise was situated in a unique context and engaged in differing business activities under various organizational models. As such, I needed a research design that would allow me to be receptive to different data collection needs.

Second, the case study design allows for the collection of multiple sources of data, thereby supporting the in-depth exploration of a phenomenon through multiple viewpoints (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Creswell, 2007; Humphries, 2008; Noor, 2008; Simons, 2009). Collecting data from multiple sources enhanced the depth of understanding women's social enterprise - one of the chief objectives of my study. As is further discussed, data was collected through various methods: documentation, observations and interviews.

Third, the case study emphasizes the examination of a phenomenon in its natural or real life context (Humphries, 2008; Patton, 2002; Stake, 2005) as well as across differing contexts (Stake, 2006). This design grants the researcher the opportunity to choose cases from different regions, providing the opportunity to examine regional and cultural variations (Simons, 2009) or highlight social, economic, political and ethical differences (Stake, 2006). It also allows the researcher to collect data in the phenomenon's natural state. In this case, I was able to observe and directly participate in the social enterprise activity. This provides a unique look into the phenomenon of social enterprise rather than having someone explain the social enterprise activity. A multiple case study design facilitates comparing the cases and social enterprise activities across various settings.

The case study design was the most suitable method for my research because of its flexible design and ability to accommodate the in-depth study of phenomenon. Through the use of multiple sources of data, and across natural contexts, the case study has much to offer qualitative research.

Limitations of the case study method

As with all research designs, the case study has limitations. Some writers claim case studies lack rigour (Humphries, 2008; Meyer, 2001; Noor, 2008; Yin, 2009) and unfortunately, many poorly done case studies support this assertion (Yin, 2009). However, concerns about rigour can also be reflective of the positivist paradigm where adherence to strict research protocols is common. Stake (1995) instead asserts a fully emergent design arguing that too much structure and protocol is problematic. Design procedures are helpful as a guide in keeping the researcher focused on the research purpose he suggests, yet, too much restricts the emergent nature of qualitative research; the researcher needs to be prepared to respond to emergent issues, including those during data collection (Stake, 2005). For this reason, careful documentation of each step in the research process is required for conducting a strong qualitative case study.

In addition to concerns about rigour, scholars also critique the lack of generalizability (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Meyer, 2001; Simons, 2009; Yin, 2009) and objectivity (Flyvberg, 2006; Simons, 2009) as foremost case study limitations. However, Humphries (2008) keenly notes that these suggested limitations are also based in positivist perceptions using quantitative rules to measure the quality of qualitative case studies. In regards to objectivity, objectivity means without bias (Cowger & Menon, 2001), a goal of quantitative research (Humphries, 2008). In qualitative research, however, "bias has come to be assumed, and concern about bias is not about whether it exists but rather about whether researchers are aware of their bias and are honest in…foreclosing those biases" (Cowger & Menon, 2001, p. 476). Simons (2009) instead refers to subjectivity, noting that in the qualitative paradigm, subjectivity of the researcher is the main concern as it is both

unavoidable and essential for understanding and interpreting the case. She suggests

monitoring one's subjectivity by documenting values, feelings, reactions, observations and

anything unexpected. I have followed this recommendation by carefully recording and

monitoring my subjectivity by documenting values, feelings, reactions, and observations as

well as anything unexpected in my research journal. This is further described in the

reflexivity section in this chapter.

As stated, the issue of generalization is another common noted drawback of case

studies (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Humphries, 2008; Swanborn, 2010; Stake, 1995). This is because

statistical generalization cannot be applied to the case study since the case is not

representative of a population (Swanborn, 2010). Yet again, "this critique is only valid if we

assume the rules governing quantitative approaches…qualitative approaches need to be

understood on their own terms" (Humphries, 2008, p. 101).

Creswell (2007) notes that generalization is not the goal of qualitative case studies

with Simons (2009) adding, "The aim is particularization – to present a rich portrayal of a

single setting to inform practice, establish the value of a case and/or add to knowledge on a

specific topic" (p. 24). Case studies instead offer a different opportunity for generalization.

This is deemed analytic generalization (Yin, 2009) or theoretical generalization (Grinnell,

2001; Meyer, 2001) referring to a process of building up evidence, adding to the pool of

knowledge, so that a clearer picture is constructed on any given phenomenon (Humphries,

2008).

Sampling

Case selection

Purposive sampling is commonly cited as the sampling strategy for case study research (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 1998; Noor, 2008; Stake, 2006). According to Patton (2002), purposive sampling occurs when the researcher selects cases strategically and purposefully because they are information-rich. He offers 16 different types of purposive sampling including critical case sampling, intensity sampling and deviant case sampling to name a few.

Two further types of purposive sampling were used in the course of this study: snowball and criterion sampling. Snowball sampling is the means to identifying cases of interest through key informants (Patton, 2002). At the outset of this study, I generated a list of 15 key informants from across the country known for their work in the social enterprise sector by examining websites and known networks. Many of the key informants were directors of social enterprise and community economic development umbrella organizations and networks (Appendix A.). Each key informant was emailed requesting their assistance in identifying social enterprises that met specific criteria (Appendix B.). Using criterion sampling, a strategy that involves choosing cases based on established criteria (Patton, 2002), key informants helped in identifying women's social enterprise.

The criterion used for identifying social enterprise cases involved three points:

1) The social enterprise fits the definition of a for-profit business run by a non-profit or collective organization.

2) The social enterprise targets or works almost exclusively with women

3) The social enterprise hires marginalized women into their business activity

These were the original criteria used to identify social enterprises. After the initial

responses from key informants and examination of some of their suggestions, it became

apparent the use of the term "for-profit" in the first criterion was an inaccurate reflection of

the type of social enterprise I was trying to identify. For example, some social enterprises

did not identify as for-profit businesses even though they were engaged in business activity

in the economic market. Either they did not turn a profit or any profit generated was put

back into the organization. Thus, the use of the term "for-profit" was confusing for some

key informants. Consequently, this term was subsequently dropped from the criterion.

   The second issue with the above criteria was related to the third point. Many

women's social enterprises in practice are unable to hire and pay women in the business

activity because of funding limitations. As such, I revised the criteria to be more open of the

various ways social enterprise can engage women directly in the business activity. The final

three criteria became:

1) The social enterprise fits the definition of a business run by a non-profit or collective
   organization.

2) The social enterprise targets or works almost exclusively with women

3) The social enterprise directly engages marginalized women into their business
   activity where they are able to learn skills, gain work experience and in some cases,
   earn an income

From this, 10 key informants made 29 social enterprise suggestions. Each social enterprise

was subsequently searched on the Internet and compared to the above criteria to assist in

narrowing down the most suitable cases (Appendix C.). From this action, 13 social

enterprises were deemed ideally suited (indicated with an asterisk) and 10 were contacted

over a period of 10 months (Appendix D.).

Sample size

Three social enterprises agreed to participate in this study (see Table 2.). Stake

(2006) states that the number of cases for multi-case designs ranges considerably. He notes

that while fewer than four cases can limit the examination of interactivity, he adds that for

many good reasons multi-case studies often have less than four and that this is acceptable.

Creswell (2007) and Swanborn (2010) likewise indicate that studies involving under four

or five cases are ideal because anything more results in too much data and limits the ability

of the researcher to examine a case in depth. For Yin (2009), the sample size is largely

determined by the purpose and design of the study and therefore can range from two to ten

cases.

The sample size of three cases was deemed appropriate for the study at hand. First,

due to the small number of women's social enterprises in Canada, full access to three social

enterprises was considered a good response. Second, the three social enterprises were

studied in depth, across several data forms, providing a substantial amount of data. Third,

this data allowed me to adequately meet the research objectives and answer the research

question, while also providing diversity across contexts (three major cities) and ability for

cross-case analysis and comparison.

Data Collection

This study utilized three types of data collection: documentation, observation and

individual interviews. These three methods are common data sources for case studies in

general (Humphries, 2008; Noor, 2008; Patton, 2002; Simons, 2009; Stake, 2006; Swanborn, 2010). For the most part, data was collected on-site with documentation via email being the exception. For Venue 1008, based in Calgary, data collection was conducted over eight site visits. For the non-Calgary based social enterprises, one week was spent at each social enterprise.

Table 2. Social Enterprise Cases

Social Enterprise	Location	Description
Venue 1008 (Servants Anonymous Society)	Calgary, AB	Event space and food catering service Agency supports women involved in the sex trade
Childminding (West Central Women's Resource Centre)	Winnipeg, MB	Provides childminding services to other organizations Agency supports low-income/marginalized women
Interpreter Services Toronto (Barbra Schlifer Commemorative Clinic)	Toronto, ON	Provides interpretation services in Toronto Targets immigrant and refugee women to become professional interpreters Agency supports underserved women who have experienced domestic and sexual violence

Documentation

The first method used in this study was the collection of documentation. Data from documentation is useful for case studies as it can aid in developing interview questions, trace the history of the organization, reveal organizational or personal values, beliefs and attitudes, provide understanding about context and, obtain a general orientation about the case (Bowen, 2009; Meyer, 2001; Simons, 2009; Swanborn, 2010)**.** Most importantly, documentation is used to confirm, corroborate and enhance evidence from other sources (Bowen, 2009; Miller & Alvarado, 2005; Noor, 2008; Yin, 2009). Bowen (2009) notes

several advantages to using documentation as a data source, including: a) documentation is an efficient method as it is less time-consuming; b) documents are generally more available and easy to access via the internet and public record; c) document analysis is more cost effective than other methods; d) documents are less obtrusive and unaffected by the research process; e) documents are stable, in that they are not influenced by the presence of the researcher; f) documents offer exactness such as names, dates, and details; and, g) documents offer broad coverage in terms of time, events and settings.

Documentation also has certain limitations. Records may be incomplete or inaccurate (Patton, 2002), may lack sufficient detail (Bowen, 2009), may not be easily accessed in some cases and can be vulnerable to 'biased selectivity' in that the documents available may be of a particular agenda or principle (Yin, 1994).

Documents were collected in two ways. First, contact persons at the social enterprise were invited to share three types: organizational, program and impact/outcome documentation. These documents varied amongst the social enterprises but generally included annual reports, training manuals, policy manuals, program forms and any research/outcome reports. Second, I conducted a search of the Internet, including the social enterprise website, to uncover any additional documentation such as news articles or other media/social media attention.

In regards to how documents were selected, Miller and Alvarado (2005) explain choosing documents does not always follow a sampling procedure, as the documents are often not meant to represent a larger body of documentation. Instead they argue selection is based on availability, comprehensiveness of the documentation and the appropriateness related to the research goals. These criteria were used to narrow down the documentation

that would comprise the data to be analyzed. Each document was first reviewed to determine comprehensiveness and appropriateness to the research question. Generally, five to seven documents were chosen for each social enterprise.

Observation

Observation was the second form of data collection used in this study. Observation is important in case study research because it is able to collect data that is unobtrusive by not requiring direct contact with participants (Meyer, 2001). It also provides opportunity for participation from those who may be less articulate, face language barriers (Simons, 2009) or may be unwilling to talk about sensitive issues (Patton, 2002). Observations also compliment other forms of data collection (Swanborn, 2010) by uncovering norms, values and organizational culture (Simons, 2009) and providing greater understanding of the phenomenon within its context (Noor, 2008; Patton, 2002). In short, observation provides a much fuller experience (Patton, 2002).

Observations also have important limitations according to Patton (2002). He states that an observer may affect the behaviours of the people being observed in an unknown manner. What's more, "the selective perception of the observer may distort the data" (Patton, 2002, p. 306). Patton further contends observations are limited in that they focus only on external behaviours, or that which the observer can see.

Yin (2009) describes two types of observation. The first is direct observation, which permits the researcher the opportunity to passively observe the phenomenon in its natural setting. The second type, participant observation, occurs when the researcher directly participates in the event or activity under study. This style of observation increases the chance to see reality from the viewpoint of someone engaged in the event or activity (Yin,

2009). Patton (2002) refers to both types of observation as well, but instead occurring along a continuum and varying over time. For example, a researcher may first begin with passive observation, slowly increasing engagement to more direct and participatory styles of observation.

The nature and extent of observational opportunities varied greatly in this study. For example in one case, I was able to directly participate alongside women in the social enterprise activity (a food service and event space) whereas at another site this was not possible; instead in this social enterprise, I conducted passive observation (child minding). The level of observation depended on the accessibility and nature of the social enterprise as well as the comfort level of the women participating. Informed consent was obtained from women in cases of direct observation (Appendix E.).

During the observations, I collected observational data across four general areas outlined by Patton (2002). First, I used observation to describe the physical setting of the social enterprise. This description is intended to "permit the reader to visualize [the] setting" (Patton, 2002, p. 281). Second, I collected data on the social environment of the social enterprise. Observing and recording patterns and frequencies of interactions, direction of communication, interactions amongst people, decision-making and group organization are examples of this type of observation data. Third, I observed the formal programs within the social enterprise, which included the business activity, and any other social or supportive programs available to the participants and suitable for me to observe. Determining suitability for observation was a combined decision amongst the social enterprise manager, the women involved in the social enterprise activity and myself. It largely depended on the nature of the social enterprise activity. The goal of this type of

observation was to describe what goes on in the program, what the participants and staff members do, and what it is like to be a participant (Patton, 2002). Finally, where possible and appropriate, I observed informal interactions among women participants, such as those during coffee breaks or lunchtime. All observations were extensively recorded in field notes.

Interviews

Interviewing was the third, and final method of data collection used in this study. Observations cannot capture everything and as such, interviews are one of the most important sources of information for case studies (Humphries, 2008; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2009). Interviewing people helps expose feelings, thoughts, intentions and past behaviours (Patton, 2002; Simons, 2009). This type of data collection "allows us to enter into the other person's perspective" (Patton, 2002, p. 341) permitting the researcher "to understand not just single events or actions, but the ways in which these are linked together" (Sheppard, 2004, p. 140).

According to Patton (2002) there are three basic approaches to interviewing: informal interviewing, the general interview guide, and the standardized open-ended interview. For this study, I used the general interview guide. This strategy provides a more systematic way of collecting data than does the informal interview, while also maintaining flexibility unlike in that of the standardized interview. In the general interview guide the researcher outlines a set of themes or questions to be discussed with every interview participant, thereby enhancing the systematic collection of data. Yet, the researcher is still able to ask other questions, explore and probe on a particular theme maintaining a degree of flexibility and spontaneity. This same flexibility and spontaneity however, may result in

great variation in responses, thus diminishing the researcher's ability to compare answers (Patton, 2002).

In total, I conducted 24 interviews (see Table 3.) using maximum variation sampling. This type of sampling "aims at capturing and describing the central themes that cut across a great deal of variation" (Patton, 2002, p. 235). It is a strong sampling strategy for this aspect of my study because "any common patterns that emerge from great variation are of particular interest and value in capturing the core experiences and central, shared dimension of a setting or a phenomenon" (Patton, 2002, p. 235). Staff members ranged in position from senior management to front-line workers. Women who were participants of the social enterprise ranged in terms of age, ethnicity, family status, education, and income level. Thus, by maximum variation, I was able to get at the core aspects of women's economic and social needs and how these are or are not met by the social enterprise.

Table 3. Number of Interviews

Case	Staff	Women Participants	Total
Venue 1008 (Servants Anonymous)	3	3	6
West Central Women's Resource Centre - Childminding	3	6	9
Interpretation Services Toronto (Barbra Schlifer Commemorative Clinic)	4	5	9
Total			24

Staff was recruited via email invitations (Appendix F.). Once on-site, individual interview times were set up and informed consent obtained (Appendix G.). Women

participants were recruited through an email or other forms of communication (Appendix H.). In some cases this involved hanging posters up around the social enterprise or handing them out to women as a leaflet (Appendix I.). In other cases women were told verbally through a program meeting about the study or information was posted on the social enterprise Facebook page when appropriate. In all cases, women who were interested in participating in the interview needed to contact me directly to indicate their interest and set up an interview time. Informed consent was obtained for all women interviewed (Appendix J.). The number of interviews with woman participants ranged. Some cases had relatively small social enterprises, and thus, a small sample of women engaged in the business.

The interview guide for staff included themes about the purpose and objectives of the social enterprise, support services offered, perceived impacts, perceived challenges and ideas about the future of social enterprise for women (Appendix K.). The interview guide for the women participants involved themes regarding their experiences in the social enterprise, perceived impacts, and perceived challenges (Appendix L.).

Sensitizing framework

A final way to manage and support my data collection was through the use of a "sensitizing framework" (Patton, 2002). Patton asserts a sensitizing framework can assist the research (especially the novice researcher) in organizing and managing observational data. Sensitizing concepts are loosely operationalized within the framework, in an effort to provide initial direction to the observer. I developed a brief concept framework to guide the collection of my data and used it to inform my document review and interviews. The sensitizing concepts used for this study were generated from the literature review. They

include the following themes: women-centred, holistic, participatory, and socially

transformative. These are described further in the literature review chapter (Appendix M.).

Research protocol

Meyer (2001) points out the data collection phase of case study research raises

many questions such as: how many times should data be collected? When to enter the

organization? Should data be collected on a continuous basis or at distinct periods? From

what parts or areas should data be collected? Because of the flexible research design, the

case study method does not declare a specific method of data collection and as such, does

not provide answers to the above questions (Merriam, 1998). Yin (2009) and Swanborn

(2010) affirm that a research protocol is an effective way to guide case data collection. The

research protocol outlines field procedures and acts as an aid in keeping the researcher

focused on the research purpose. Stake (2005) cautions the emergent nature of qualitative

research contrasts that of a strict research protocol, as the researcher needs to be prepared

to respond to emerging issues. As such I drafted a loose research protocol (Appendix N.) to

help guide and focus me while in the field, while also preserving flexibility and

responsiveness.

Analysis

Analysis, simply put, involves making sense of data. In qualitative research there is

no formula for how this is done (Patton, 2002). While various methodological traditions

have guidelines, the analysis phase of case study research is one of the most

underdeveloped aspects (Simons, 2009; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2009). For qualitative case

studies, any form of qualitative analysis can be used such as coding and categorizing,

concept mapping, constant comparative and content analysis (Merriam, 1998; Simons, 2009). As a result, general qualitative methods were employed consistent with that of the pragmatic approach (Patton, 2002). Analysis for each case was informed by Patton (2002) and Stake (1995) and for cross-case analysis, by Stake (2006).

Stake (1995) affirms, "There is no particular moment when data analysis begins" (p. 71). He refers to meaning making as an "art" and an "intuitive process" (p. 72), and offers two strategic methods to assist researchers in analysis: direct interpretation (key meanings can be drawn from one instance) and categorical aggregation (the aggregation of instances until they become a category). Stake (1995) also offers the concept of "correspondence" in the search for meaning (p. 78). He explains correspondence as a "search for patterns, for consistency…we can look for patterns immediately while we are reviewing documents, observing, or interviewing – or we can code the records, aggregate frequencies and find patterns that way. Or both." (p. 78).

I conducted analysis through a blend of both approaches. Direct interpretation, categorical aggregation and correspondence were employed in the field. During observations, touring the site, and while engaged in interviews I was constantly engaged in a process of interpretation, pattern searching and meaning-making. As Stake (1995) explains, this is more of an intuitive process: "Analysis should not be seen as separate from everlasting efforts to make sense of things" (p. 72). This is an expected process as ideas about sense-making naturally emerge during data collection (Patton, 2002). Much of this process was recorded in my field notes and is further described in the section on reflexivity.

In addition to the concepts put forth by Stake (1995; 2006), I also employed general

qualitative analysis methods advanced by Patton (2002). This included content analysis,

coding and categorizing. Content analysis "is used to refer to any qualitative data reduction

and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify

core consistencies and meanings" (Patton, 2002, p. 453). This was achieved by uploading

interview transcripts, observation notes, and document reviews into NVivo (QSR

International Pty Ltd., 2014), a qualitative data analysis computer software program.

Coding and categorizing was conducted through this program.

All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim by a professional

transcriptionist. Verbatim transcription entails transcribing all spoken words without

editing, as well as noting non-verbal comments such as laughing or crying (Coleman &

Unrau, 1996). In the NVivo software program, I constructed a preliminary coding scheme

from the interview data by first previewing the first few transcripts in consideration with

the research questions and objectives. Stake (1995) emphasizes:

> Full coverage [of data] is impossible, equal attention to all data is not a civil right.
>
> The case and the key issues need to be kept in focus. The search for meaning, the
>
> analysis, should roam out and return to these foci over and over. (p. 85)

This opening review was the first attempt towards thematic organization. Once this coding

scheme was constructed transcripts were reviewed and coded accordingly, adding to the

coding scheme as new themes emerged (Coleman & Unrau, 1996; Patton, 2002). This is

considered first-level coding, which does not involve searching the data for deeper

meaning; the coding remains at the surface.

I then performed second-level coding to "identify similarities and differences between the categories in an attempt to detect relationships" (Coleman & Unrau, 1996, p. 107). This process involves a deeper, more abstract and interpretive exploration of the data than the first level of coding entailed. This required a shift in focus of analysis from the "context of the interviewee to the context of the categories" and facilitates the consideration of data in alternative ways (Coleman & Unrau, 1996, p. 107). I then examined the categories, themes and patterns to create the case.

Document and observational analysis were conducted in much the same way. Bowen (2009), like Patton (2002), describes document analysis as an "iterative" process involving both aspects of content analysis and thematic analysis. Through content analysis, documents are first "skimmed" looking for categories of information related to the research question(s). For Bowen (2009), this phase entails identifying meaningful passages and text. The second phase involves a thematic analysis process where patterns and themes are identified in the document passages, which thus form the analytic categories. This second stage involves a much more thorough examination and interpretation of the document. In line with this process, I conducted a first reading of the documents with the aim of getting a general understanding of their content, their purpose and looking for initial themes. Next, I conducted a second review using the sensitizing framework and thematic coding. I recorded new emerging themes in my journal. This same method was used for observation notes.

The individual case

With multiple case studies the researcher first focuses on the analysis of each individual case describing and interpreting its functioning (Stake, 2005; 2006; Patton,

2002) and presenting a detailed description of the case and its context (Creswell, 2007). Following the above analytic process for each data collection method, themes and patterns across methods were compared and contrasted, looking for themes and patterns to emerge. These findings were then used to provide a thick description of each case, followed by interpretation (Patton, 2002). Interpretation is the process by which significance is attached to the findings, patterns are put within a framework and the research question is answered (Creswell, 2007). When presenting each individual case, I began by describing the physical context followed by a description of the parent organization and narrowing down to a detailed account of the social enterprise aspect.

Cross-case analysis

Stake (2006) explains that conducting a multiple case study is different than a single case study. He maintains:

The ultimate question shifts from "What helps us understand the case?" toward "What helps us understand the [phenomenon being studied]?" It is a move away from holistic viewing of the cases to constrained viewing of the cases – a viewing constrained by the domination of the [phenomenon being studied] over the cases. (p. 6)

The objective of this research is to understand women's social enterprise. As such, meeting this objective and answering the associated research questions informed the cross-case analysis. Stake's (2006) notion of correspondence is pertinent here as well – I looked for correspondence across cases.

Cross-case analysis involves an examination of the individual case reports and the application of their findings and themes to the overall research question (Stake, 2006).

Stake (2006) cautions however, against abrupt merging of issues from individual cases to the research questions. He instead promotes a "dialectic" approach "where attention to the local situations and attention to the phenomenon as a whole contend with each other for emphasis" (p. 46). He offers three alternative procedures and various worksheets to assist the cross-case analysis. I referred to the second procedure which he deems as "track 2" where the merging of case findings is emphasized. This procedure is useful for those who seek to go beyond the situationality of the individual case findings and move towards generalization (Stake, 2006). While I examined each case study individually, my goals of the research were to describe the role of social enterprise in helping women meet their economic and social needs in Canada. Thus, merging findings across the cases is warranted to answer this research question. This involved comparing and contrasting key issues identified amongst the cases, noting similarities and differences and using the evidence to create assertions towards the phenomenon under study (Stake, 2006). Writing up each case study in a similar format allowed for an easier manner of comparison.

Triangulation

Various words and criteria are used in qualitative research to judge the quality of inquiry. Trustworthiness (Coleman & Unrau, 2005), credibility (Patton, 2002), validation (Creswell, 2007), and triangulation (Stake, 1995; 2006) are some examples. In case study research, triangulation is the term used by Stake (1995) to denote practices and protocols that enhance research accuracy and credibility. While there are several types of triangulation and related processes, I chose to use triangulation of data sources, member checking, thick description and reflexivity.

Triangulation of data sources

Triangulation in general, is a defining feature of the case study due to its use of multiple sources of data. It involves comparing multiple perspectives to corroborate the analysis and build credibility of the study (Coleman & Unrau, 1996; Franklin & Ballan, 2005; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007; Patton, 2002; Stake, 2006). Triangulation "assumes that any biases inherent in one particular method [or source] will be neutralized when used in conjunction with other research methods" (Grinnell & Unrau, 2005, p. 486) and reflects an "effort to assure that the right information and interpretations have been obtained" (Stake, 2006, p. 35). Yet, Patton (2002) cautions that the purpose of triangulation of data is not always to determine one consistent finding, but to explore how different types of data may produce different findings and the potential reasons for these differences.

Stake (1995) explains data source triangulation as the practice of examining whether the topic under study is the same or different across time, space or people. In other words, "it is an effort to see if what we are observing and reporting carries the same meaning when found under different circumstances" (Stake, 1995, p. 113). This strategy most often involves comparing the consistency of information across different sources of data and amongst different perspectives within qualitative methods (Patton, 2002). This includes comparing observation notes with interview transcripts, checking interviews transcripts against document reviews and examining findings amongst various stakeholders.

For the study at hand, all three sources of data (observations, interviews and documentation) were triangulated with each other. As seen in the results chapter,

significant findings and assertions from this research are supported from data across

various sources. When one source uncovered an alternative explanation or finding, this

was noted and discussed, examining potential implications and various meanings. This

study also permitted the triangulation of various perspectives since staff from three levels

of employment positions (front-line, middle management and senior management) was

interviewed as well as women participating in the social enterprise. I was thus able to

triangulate findings amongst staff and between staff and participants; again, identifying

areas of concurrence and divergence. Finally, I was also able to triangulate data from across

social enterprise sites.

Member checking

This technique involves confirming the accuracy of the data collected from those

who participated (Creswell, 2007; Baxter & Jack, 2008; Simons, 2009; Stake, 1995). Patton

(2002) states that this process warrants accuracy assurances, but also data completeness.

This may include review of any qualitative interview transcripts or observation notes with

participants or other stakeholders. There are various means to achieving member

checking. For example, Creswell (2007) declares he reports his analysis back to a focus

group of participants, rather than presenting them with the raw data while Stake (1995)

sends participants his raw transcripts for review.

For the study at hand, focus groups or additional one-on-one with the women

participants of the social enterprise was not possible once off site. Further, many of the

women do not have access to email. Member-checking thus fell primarily to the members.

Once the case study was drafted it was sent to staff members that were interviewed for the

research. Staff was encouraged, where possible, to also run the drafts by some of the

women participants. However, due to common literacy limitations with these populations (to be discussed in the findings chapter), this was not always feasible. Stake (1995) admits, he typically receives little feedback through this process, but when he does, the information is valuable. No feedback on the case study drafts was received for this study.

Thick description

Thick description involves the collection of rich data so one is able to provide detailed descriptions of the participants' experiences (Patton, 2002). The intent of this is to provide sufficient detail so that others can judge and evaluate one's conclusions and transferability of the findings (Franklin & Ballan, 2005). Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007) determine that thick description is best accomplished through verbatim transcription; Patton (2002) adds direct quotations are an important part of providing thick description to readers.

As described in the analysis section of this chapter, each case study opens with a thick description of each case, prior to any interpretation. This includes details about the geographical context, a physical description of the site, particulars about the parent organization, programming and the social enterprise aspect. It also provides narrative about the women who access the social enterprise. Direct quotations are offered to provide in-depth understanding about the social enterprise and women's experiences, as well as used to provide evidence of any conclusions or assertions from the research.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a means of "emphasizing the importance of self-awareness, political/cultural consciousness, and ownership of one's perspective" (Patton, 2002, p. 64). It is a process of reflection that involves thinking about how one's actions, values, beliefs,

preferences and biases influence the research process (Simons, 2009). It is critical to credible qualitative work because:

> A human being is the instrument of qualitative methods. A real, live person makes observations, takes field notes, asks interview questions, and interprets responses…judgments about the significance of findings are thus inevitably connected to the researcher's credibility, competence, thoroughness, and integrity. (Patton, 2002, p. 64)

Reflexivity is thus a common qualitative principle (Creswell, 2007).

Feminist researchers also promote the use of reflexivity, framing it as a means to "expos[ing] the exercise of power" in the research process (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012, p. 559). In line with feminist intersectionality described earlier in the chapter, feminist reflexivity is likewise important when dealing with issues of difference in research. Hesse-Biber (2007) asserts that reflexivity can be the means to identifying areas of privilege, postionalities, gender, race, ethnicity and class as potential factors related to the research process. She contends that difference "guides the projects we select, informs the questions we ask, and directs how we collect, analyze, write, and interpret our data" (p. 144). As with qualitative research in general, reflexivity is also an important aspect of conducting credible and ethical feminist research.

Despite the concept of reflexivity being a widely accepted qualitative process, historically it has not been tended to in a meaningful way (Peshkin, 1988). Declarations such as "I am a feminist", or "I am a white middle-class woman" abound but purposeful and critical reflection in research appears to be sparse. For a somewhat novice researcher, I often struggled with how reflexivity is properly conducted beyond a laying out of one's

position; examples of well-done reflexivity have been difficult to come by in published research. Two authors, Simons (2009) and Peshkin (1988), have been tremendously helpful in guiding my reflexive process for this research.

Simons (2009) explains that reflexivity is about one's subjectivity. As a credible researcher, she asserts one is required to seek out one's subjectivity by "sensing when your emotions and feelings are engaged" (p. 84). Peshkin (1988) adds that subjectivity – a phenomenon operating throughout the entire research process – should be actively sought out. In his article, *In Search of Subjectivity – One's Own*, Peshkin demonstrates how he actively identified six subjective "I's" in one of his research projects. He further illustrates how these subjective I's influenced his work, offering a rare example and meaningful guide to subjectivity and reflexivity.

Simons (2009) lists numerous ways to engage and explore one's subjectivity in relation to a research study. I have chosen to enlist six of her suggestions in my research journal: 1) Identify your personal values, which have influenced your choice of what to study; 2) Explore any strong feelings associated with your research topic. Often people choose a topic in which they have an emotional investment; 3) Note your reactions to people, politics, events and context; 4) Note issues that trouble you and those that provoke strong feelings – positive or negative; 5) Record anything unexpected, surprising or unusual; 6) Begin to identify your "subjective selves" (Peshkin, 1988, p. 88) and how this has influenced your interpretations of the research. This addressed in the following several paragraphs in addition to more common reflections such as professional experience, gender, race, age and class.

Background

I was introduced to feminism during my undergraduate degree in psychology at the University of Victoria when I took my first women's study courses almost 20 years ago. As a young woman entering into a new realm of academia, specifically psychology, this was a riveting experience. From these courses one critical life-lesson emerged, something deceptively simple, yet one that remains foremost in my mind today: the importance of questioning. To illustrate, I remember one course in particular where the binary division of biological sex (male or female) was disputed and instead a wider more fluid definition (and evidence to support this view) was proposed. It was these types of discussions that stretched me beyond my then current reality and it was here that I realized everything – even that which appears to be absolute – could be subjected to critical examination and inquiry.

During this same period, I became involved with the local rape crisis centre as a volunteer on the crisis line. I underwent weeks of training about sexual assault and trauma and was introduced for the first time to a radical feminist analysis of violence against women. I also volunteered at the campus sexual assault centre as a peer-counsellor and participated in local activism about funding the campus centre. I suspect I was drawn to anti-violence work, specifically sexual violence, because it was – and continues to be – an issue shroud in secrecy, stigma and shame. To say I volunteered at the local sexual assault centre resulted in wide eyes and silence amongst many of my peers. It was a source of pride and passion, and resulted in a strong feeling of commitment to the cause. Throughout the duration of my undergraduate degree I embraced the ideas of radical feminism and anti-violence work.

Following the completion of my undergraduate degree, I moved back to Calgary and began working at Calgary Communities Against Sexual Abuse – the local sexual assault centre. I was employed there for close to four years working across the service spectrum from crisis work, short-term individual and group counselling, community development and child and youth education. Radical feminism was the framework for violence here as well. It was while working in this context that I was also exposed to the ideas and practices of social work and it was here that I decided to apply for my MSW at the University of Calgary with an interest in community development and leadership.

In my first year of the MSW program I took on my first research contract, Identifying potential for collaboration: comparing and contrasting the service delivery needs of clients of women's shelters with clients of sexual assault centres in Alberta (Fotheringham & Tomlinson, 2009), a partnership between the Alberta Council of Women's Shelters and the Alberta Association of Sexual Assault Centres. This, combined with my positive reintroduction to research in the MSW program, persuaded me to conduct a master's thesis. My work entitled, The Potential for Collaboration between Women's Shelters and Sexual Assault Centres: The Voices of Women (Fotheringham, 2008) was an intimate experience with both the issues of domestic and sexual violence, but also to the process of qualitative inquiry. I conducted qualitative interviews with nine women who had experienced both sexual and domestic violence. The primary purpose was to understand the possible connection between these two forms of violence, and how services could better collaborate to support women who have survived both sexual and domestic violence.

Once I completed my MSW, I worked for the YWCA of Calgary in their research department, where I soon became a manager. During my time at this organization, I led two major qualitative research projects in partnership with two professors from the Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary. Both projects maintained a focus on women and services and used a feminist analysis: The service needs of women mandated to domestic violence counselling by Child and Family Services (Fotheringham & Tutty, 2012) and "A place to rest": The role of transitional housing in ending homelessness for women. A photovoice project (Fotheringham, Walsh, & Burrowes, 2013). In total, I have led four qualitative research projects and feel very competent in conducting such work. Common themes throughout these projects have focused on women, service needs and issues of social justice such as violence, homelessness and poverty. These same threads are apparent in my current study as well.

Personal values and situating myself

Perhaps my most obvious value is that of feminism. My feminist roots began in the violence against women movement, which has largely been influenced by radical feminism. Radical feminism attests that the oppression of women is a result of patriarchal power and control (Agger, 2006). This power and control of men over women has been the prominent means to explain domestic and sexual violence against women. Over the years, I have come to appreciate the complexities of social issues and have thus found radical feminism less and less suitable. At present, I do not place myself in a box of feminist theory such as liberal feminism or transnational feminism, though I've been exploring the concepts behind feminist intersectionality.

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As discussed in the introduction chapter, intersectionality is a feminist concept I

have been personally exploring and have used as means of critical thinking about

inequality in this study (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). Intersectionality has prompted me to go

beyond examining my positionality as separate entities (a white, highly educated, middle-

class, able-bodied, straight woman) to one where these areas of privilege intersect. It is

challenging to consider how these areas may converge as demonstrated in an excerpt from

my research journal:

> I am sure aware of my privilege coming here – walking here through one of the
>
> poorest neighbourhoods in Winnipeg. I realize the privilege/class of my
>
> neighbourhood back home – a middle-to-upper-class area in Calgary. I'm also struck
>
> by my level of education – it feels normal in my social circles, but is such a source of
>
> advantage here with the some who come into the women's centre for services. Many
>
> have only obtained a grade nine education! I feel self-conscious of my class and
>
> education – how should I present myself? What should I wear? Should I wear
>
> jewelry/makeup? How about the fact that I'm white and there are many Aboriginal
>
> and immigrant women here? I feel exposed. How do all these areas intersect? How do
>
> I appear to others? (September 29, 2014)

In some respects, I think I worried more about my differences with the women than I did

consider my commonalities. Certainly, there were blatant areas of difference such as

around literacy and education, but there was also much acceptance, laughter and informal

chatting. The manager of the social enterprise remarked that she was struck by how

friendly and approachable I was. I was reminded, that women – of all varieties and

variations – generally respond well to these personal characteristics. As long as one is

genuine and respectful, many areas of differences can be crossed. Intersectional feminism was a constant theme in my research journal and was useful for cultivating a reflexive practice.

Feminism is undoubtedly one of the strongest influences on this research and so too is my professional background in dealing with trauma and violence. While not a personal value per se, my professional experience and educational background related to issues of violence against women has acclimatized me to being sensitive to issues related to trauma and violence. I believe this to be an asset, in that the need to examine issues of women's social and economic needs can easily intersect and interact with issues of violence against women. Yet, does it intersect for the women who are participating in the research? This was another important area of reflection as demonstrated in another research journal excerpt:

> For the three women I interviewed, none have discussed prior experiences of violence or sexual exploitation even though this organization only works with women who have been involved in the sex trade. All the women mentioned drugs and alcohol as reasons for services here. This is somewhat interesting. Is it stigma? Shame? Trust? I'd like to try and understand the prior experiences of women before entering into the social enterprise. As someone who is aware of violence against women issues and statistics, I believe they are important areas to consider when investigating service needs for women. Further, trauma and violence against women is integrated into the social enterprise curriculum and training guides. So far, it is not explicit in the interviews. Perhaps it is the way I ask about prior experiences or perhaps these issues are not relevant to the women in the moment or related to their experience in

the social enterprise. By the time they are involved in the social enterprise, they are

far along in their treatment and are safe. (August 28, 2014).

Exploring if, and how, violence and trauma are common experiences for women engaged in

social enterprise and if there is any relation to the type of services they require was an

important area of reflection for me.

Finally, reflecting on any strong feelings, reactions, unexpected experiences, or

troubling issues are a part of reflexivity according to Simons (2009). One example of

something unexpected was related to the literacy levels of women with whom I engaged. In

hindsight I had assumed certain levels of written and verbal literacy for the women I would

be interviewing and speaking with. This is a notion separate from English as a Second

Language or class (although it is often related to class). In my research journal I reflected:

I am reminded about the importance of literacy – something I take for granted. An

assumption I had going into the project. Today's interview with W. is an example. She

clearly didn't understand some of the questions I was asking. This was also the case

for another woman who didn't understand the use of the word "economics". When

she asked me what it meant, I really struggled with how to explain it. Several of the

women have struggled with answering what I would call "higher-level" or

mezzo/macro questions – questions that were beyond their personal experiences

related to service delivery. Such as the question, "What would you change to make the

social enterprise better?'" and "Pretend you are the manager of the social enterprise,

what would your social enterprise be like?" For example, W. was asked the question,

"If you were the manager and you had all the money in the world, how would you

change the social enterprise?" to which W. responded, "I don't have any money".

This journal reflection is an example of an unexpected experience that uncovered both an assumption I had going into the research as well as another area of privilege for me to consider.

Reflexivity is a challenging but necessary process. I found myself often grappling with how particular thoughts or feelings potentially influenced the research. It is certainly not a simplistic and straightforward process and I am grateful for finding the works of Simon (2009) and Peshkin (1988). Despite my difficulties, I have learned to appreciate how one's personal values, feelings and subjectivity can influence the research. Without this recognition, reflection and transparency, research can lack credibility and quality.

Ethics

Ethical issues are important to all forms of research involving human participants, but they are particularly important for qualitative studies: "Qualitative methods are highly personal and interpersonal…because in-depth interviewing opens up what is inside people – qualitative inquiry may be more intrusive and involve greater reactivity than surveys, tests and other quantitative approaches" (Patton, 2002, p. 407). Case studies, like most qualitative research, often focus on the personal views, experiences and circumstances of people (Stake, 2005). Official ethical approval for this study thus was sought and received from the University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Ethics Review Committee.

Two of the most common ethical issues are informed consent and confidentiality (Patton, 2002; Reamer, 2005). Informed consent holds that, "research participants must be *informed* about the purposes, methods and risks associated with the research study, and they must voluntarily *consent* to participate" (Reamer, 2005, p. 36). Prior to conducting any

interviews or observations, written consent was obtained from all participants. This was done by explaining the purpose of the study, what was being asked of the woman/staff member, what type of personal information would be collected and what would happen to that information and finally, any risks or benefits of participating. Participants were also told they could stop the interview/observation at any time.

Anastas (2004) refers to the second ethical issue, confidentiality, as a "specific ethical hazard" in qualitative research because "the thick description it offers [runs] the risk of inferred identification" (p. 60). Codes of ethics therefore require certain assurances to protect people's identity and prevent exposure (Christians, 2011). The safeguards used to protect privacy and confidentiality in this study was as follows. First, no personal information was collected such as birth date, identification numbers or client service information. Second, women participants were asked about age, ethnic identify, educational background, marital status and number of children. This was only presented in an aggregate format and used to describe the population of women who access social enterprise. Third, women were offered the opportunity to use a pseudonym but due to the small sample size at each social enterprise I decided that any quotes used would be referenced generically as: "interviewee 1", "interviewee 2", etc. Fourth, no one except my transcriptionist, my advisors and myself had access to any of the audiotapes or transcriptions; they will never be played in public. Finally, all data was aggregated to protect confidentially and all identifying information removed and disguised.

These confidentiality and informed consent measures help to address some of the ethical issues of qualitative research. Yet, beyond these standard ethical issues addressed by academic review boards, rest additional considerations. Feminist researchers offer

supplementary ethical considerations such as goals of social change and reflexivity (Lather, 1991; Preissle & Han, 2005). Preissle and Han (2005) also promote the importance of examining ethical issues of power and relationship. These involve redefining knowledge authority and fostering equal, respectful and participatory relationships: "challeng[ing] the assumed division between who is the researcher and knower and who is the researched or the known (p. 592). Hesse-Biber and Piatelli (2007) add that feminism "takes people as active, knowing subjects rather than passive objects of study. Knowledge is produced and mediated through lived experience and communicated through interaction in the form of face-to-face encounters" (p. 147). Some have termed this the "ethics of care" (Preissle & Han, 2005) in feminist research where an engaged and reciprocal relationship is privileged.

This study attended to these themes by viewing the women participants as experts in their lives and experiences. The case study method could have involved documentation, observation of social enterprise activity and interviews with staff only. I believed that involving the women participants more directly was a crucial aspect reflecting feminist ethics. I felt it important to ask about their experiences with social enterprise, but more so, to inquire about what they would like to see from social enterprise models. It was important to me that these women did not become invisible in the search for understanding social enterprise and poverty.

Finally, this study has goals equating to social change for women, with the hope of creating women-responsive social enterprise strategies. This methodology lends itself to this aim by identifying the value of women-centred social enterprise according to the women who participate and through describing the characteristics and processes of these models. This type of information is important, first by affirming the need for women-

specific social enterprise models and second, through establishing the features necessary to effectively support women engaged with social enterprise. Research such as this draws attention to these issues; provide evidence for increased support and continued development of such models, and, ultimately aid in the social and economic position of women in Canada.

In closing, the case study is a rigorous methodology for examining contemporary phenomenon in a real-life context using a wide variety of evidence and the process of triangulation (Meyer, 2001; Noor, 2008; Yin, 2009). It can explain the how and why of things, is helpful for understanding process and change (Simons, 2009), and enables the researcher to acquire a holistic perspective of a phenomenon (Noor, 2008). Considered both a strength and a weakness, the case study is not constrained by method, having a flexible design shaped pragmatically by the research question and purpose (Meyer, 2001; Simons, 2009). The qualitative case study, influenced by pragmatism and feminism was the best way to address the research problem presented here. Multiple types of data was collected from each case to provide depth including interview data with both service providers and participants, observations of the social enterprise program and the participants, and a review of documentation and reports. Data analysis included description of each individual case as well as cross-case analysis.

This concludes the methodology section of this thesis. The following three chapters present the findings for the individual case studies. Venue 1008 is the first case study profiled followed by West Central Women's Resource Centre childminding and then Interpreter Services Toronto.

Chapter 4: Case Study #1: Venue 1008

Introduction

This chapter presents the results from the first case study, Venue 1008. Multiple

types of data were collected from this site including interview data with three staff

members and three social enterprise participants, observations of the program and the

participants, and a review of several documentation and reports. Data analysis at this level

included description of the bounded case and within-case analysis.

The Social Enterprise

Venue 1008 is a social enterprise run by Servants Anonymous Society of Calgary

(SAS). In short, the social enterprise provides event space, food and catering services to the

Calgary community. According to SAS (2014) history, the original version of Venue 1008

began in 1994 as a business-training centre for women named, the Fireworks Cooperative .

In 1998, SAS moved locations and re-opened its business-training centre by adding a new

component: an event space. Designated La Joie De Vivre, the event space became an

important part of the Fireworks Cooperative. In 2010, major renovations were conducted

on the space and a newly renovated, re-branded business opened in 2011 under the name

of Venue 1008 (Servants Anonymous Society, 2014).

Today, Venue 1008 remains part of the Fireworks Cooperative of SAS. The mission

of Fireworks is to provide training and employment opportunities for women, while the

vision of the cooperative is to become a well-known and sustainable business that is able to

financially contribute to SAS. The detailed mission and vision of Fireworks is outlined in

Table 4. (Fireworks Cooperative, 2014). While Venue 1008 and Desktop Catering are the

two businesses presently in operation under the Fireworks Cooperative, the primary focus

of this case study is on Venue 1008. This section of the case provides an overview of Venue

1008, describing its business and social purpose.

Table 4. Mission & Vision of Fireworks Cooperative

Mission	Vision
To provide training and employment opportunities for women in recovery. To provide long-term, sustainable funding to support the operations and mission of [SAS]	Fireworks Cooperative is a well-known, fully self-sustainable and strong financial contributor to the operations of the SAS. Fireworks offers best-practice, evidence-based, and high performing Social Enterprise businesses. It provides excellent learning, growth and opportunities for learning, growth, and experience for all of its employees, and especially for work experience Participants.

The business

As a social enterprise, Venue 1008 is a model that combines business with social

purpose. The website describes the business component as a 5000 square ft., two room

event space with in-house catering and bar service (Veneu 1008, n.d.). Offering one large

room that can accommodate up to 200 people for a seated event or 250 for a reception

style event. This room boasts a beautiful mosaic tin ceiling and rich wall colours; eclectic

artwork including statues, vintage guitars and a painted skateboard decorate the walls. The

second room, can host smaller gatherings of 65 seated or 100 reception-style events. This

room has an antique fireplace, chandeliers, and fine artwork.

When set up for a function, Venue 1008 shows well. The large round tables in the

extensive room are set up tastefully with fresh black tablecloths, red cloth napkins, and

candle centerpieces. The food area is likewise set in black tablecloths with stainless steel

pans and white dishes with the food items stylishly arranged. The Venue 1008 kitchen is

much like that of a standard restaurant. It has several fridges, an industrial dishwasher, large stainless steel counters and shelving full of pans, jugs, utensils, spices/herbs, and plates and glassware. The cooking area has two large ovens and two large stoves; set up to manage large food orders.

The social purpose

Outwardly, Venue 1008 resembles a typical business in the event and food service industry. Atypically however, it also has a strong social purpose with two objectives. First, any profit from Venue 1008 is used to fund the social programs of SAS. Second, Venue 1008 is utilized as a training and employment ground for SAS women.

The women

SAS serves women who have been formally involved, or at risk of involvement, in the sex trade. According to staff members interviewed, the majority of women are between the ages of 20 and 35 years old, with one quarter considered youth under the age of 25. They are generally a transient population, with some coming from other parts of Canada, in particular, from British Columbia and the East Hastings area of Vancouver. One quarter of these women identify as First Nations, Inuit or Métis and the rest typically Caucasian (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013c). The vast majority of women who come to SAS also struggle with addiction, mostly that of alcohol and drugs. One woman interviewed for this case study stated she was "addicted to crystal meth" and had her children apprehended. Another said she was "homeless, on drugs, in trouble". She had "15 years of hard core crystal meth" use and was an alcoholic.

Staff explained that many women have children but have had them apprehended by social services. Some are reunited with their children after becoming involved with SAS. A

staff member for example, stated: "It's a very rare thing to see these [women] early enough that they don't have any [children]". One woman interviewed was preparing to have her children returned to her care.

In addition to addictions and social service involvement, most of the women who come to SAS have never had traditional employment (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013d). One woman shared, "I've never had a job. I've never had a job out in society other than paid under the table. I did waitressing for two months [once]…" This is a common occurrence for this population. Complicating this is a low level of education. A staff member estimated that the majority of women had a Grade seven or Grade eight education. One woman stated she had not been to school since she was 14 years old.

Finally, many women have a history of trauma. For some, this is child sexual abuse or other types of violence experienced as a child in the family, while for others, it was violence experienced while on the street such as sexual or physical assault (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013d). The experience of being sexual exploited can also be a form of trauma, especially for those who have been involved in the sex trade since they were youth. As a result, it is common for women to struggle with issues such as anxiety, depression, Post-traumatic Stress Disorder and other challenging mental illnesses. One interview participant, for example, finds it difficult to take public transportation due to her anxiety disorder.

As the above suggests, in general, many of the women who access SAS for services are dealing with a multitude of very complex problems. The extensiveness of SAS programming is understandable given the challenges these women face. The SAS Annual Report (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013c) demonstrates positive outcomes following

service involvement. For example, 77% of women were able to maintain sobriety and housing stability, 79% reported that SAS helped them heal from sexual exploitation and past trauma, 85% reported improved self-esteem and 85% reported developing healthy personal relationships and a positive social network.

As a social enterprise, Venue 1008 is a business with a social purpose. It is an event space and foodservice that trains and employs women formally involved in the sex trade. Table 5. summarizes the business and social aspects of the venue.

Table 5. Business & Social Aims of Venue 1008

The Business	The Social Purpose
An event space and catering business for weddings, banquets, meetings and other functions. • One large room for a 200 seated event or 250 for a reception style event • A second room for a smaller gathering of 65 seated or 100 reception events. • In-house catering & bar service	Job training, paid work experience and employment for women involved in, or at risk of involvement in, sexual exploitation and human trafficking. Related issues to the sex trade faced by many of these women include homelessness, poverty, addictions, and physical/sexual violence

The job shadowing and work experience program

The job shadowing and work experience that occurs in Venue 1008 is part of a wider program of SAS. In this program, women are able to job shadow and seek temporary paid employment across four SAS business areas, one of which is food services and event planning in Venue 1008. The other three include childcare, reception and donor relations. The purpose of the job shadowing is to help women assess their strengths and interests, refine skills and identify potential employment interests (Servants Anonymous Society,

2013f). Further, it aims to foster job confidence and transition to employment outside of the organization.

Following this involvement, women are then able to choose a six-month paid work contract. Similar to the job shadowing goals, the work experience also aims to increase confidence, build skills, and develop healthy work-place attitudes and behaviours helping women succeed in outside employment (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013e). The following excerpt explains why employment training is an important part of the SAS program:

Providing this 'post life-skills classroom/day program recovery' support, where women can practice applying all they have learned in a safe, yet real work environment is critically important. Past participants tell us [this combination] makes the SAS program unique and effective in helping them to rebuild their lives…they have the opportunity to gain confidence and build the skills necessary to reintegrate fully into society. (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013b, para. 5)

Each of the four business areas comes with particular work-place training components. For Venue 1008, these involve competencies related to food, catering and event planning such as sanitization, safety procedures, inventory and menu planning. Table 6. specifies the various hard skills attained during the work experience in Venue 1008 according to the employment curriculum (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013e, p. 25).

These hard skills reflect common expectations and employment responsibilities in the food and service industry, providing women with transferable abilities. In addition to the above-mentioned skills, women also receive 21 units of soft skill training and support to facilitate their success in employment. The Servants Anonymous Society Follow-Care

and Supervisor Guide (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013d) explains why soft skill development is necessary:

The majority of program participants has, on average, minimal employment experience and in some cases none at all. Similarly, their formal education can be quite limited. Grade nine is often the last grade completed and only a few women will have graduated high school. (Background, para. 1)

The [21 units] recognize and addresses the unique issues that women recovering from sexual exploitation face as they join the workforce (Unit guides, para. 1).

Women receive the 21 units of training through weekly and monthly meetings with a key worker. Skills covered include dealing with authority, teamwork, time management and appropriate dress. Table 7. presents the units as outlined in the employment curriculum (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013d).

Table 6. Venue 1008 Work Experience - Hard Skills

Food Services	Event Planning & Venue Management
• Proper food handling • Sanitization • Kitchen safety and cleanliness • Operating the dishwasher • Using all kitchen equipment • Setting up for events • Banquet order reading • Doing inventory • Portion sizing • Effective time management	• Client relations • Event booking, planning & logistics • Menu planning • Rentals (dishes, electronics, etc.) • Invoicing, cost control • Profit loss statements • Payroll, banking (i.e. deposits) • Staff supervision • Quality control • Public relations and internal/external communications

As can be seen, the soft skills listed above are particular to the population that SAS serves, reflecting common experiences and challenges with integration into the workforce.

From dressing appropriately and resolving conflict to managing time and working with men, these competencies are a necessary addition to the hard skills of the food and service industry for women exiting the sex trade and addictions.

The context of Venue 1008

Attending to the context of the case is an important element of case study research. In multiple case studies such as this one, considering the context of each case offers an additional area of cross-case comparison. The following section presents a more detailed overview of Venue 1008's parent organization, SAS, as well as its geographical context, Calgary, Alberta.

Table 7. Venue 1008 Workbook Units - Soft Skills

Workbook units	
1. When I feel afraid	11. Handling a performance review
2. Dealing with authority	12. Money (how we feel about it, wage, promotion and salary negotiations)
3. When I've made a mistake	13. Work ethic
4. What to say, what not to say (establishing professional boundaries)	14. Choosing my attitude
5. Being a team player	15. Staying engaged on the job (strategies for remaining interested and continuing to learn new skills)
6. Taking confidence to work (valuing my strengths and locating my self esteem)	16. Work-life balance
	17. Conflict in the workplace
7. Effective communication (how to take to managers and coworkers)	18. Office politics
8. Dress (what we communicate about who we are via our outer style)	19. Staying healthy (coping with stress and overcoming defense mechanisms)
9. Body language (what we communicate about who we are via our posture, gestures and expressions)	20. Working with men who are supervisors, co-workers, or clients/customers
10. Time management	21. Self-advocacy and employee rights

The parent organization: Servants Anonymous Society

SAS is the parent organization of Venue 1008. It is a non-profit organization formed in 1989 to support women (and their children) involved in, or at risk of involvement in, sexual exploitation and human trafficking. Related issues to the sex trade faced by many of these women include homelessness, poverty, addictions, and physical/sexual violence. Table 8. presents the vision, mission and beliefs of SAS (Servants Anonymous Society, 2012). As can be seen, the organization is rooted in Christian values and has a mission of providing long-term support to women who have been sexually exploited.

SAS offers an integrated support system that provides women and girls with the opportunity to learn skills needed to start a new life in a supportive environment. They offer three stages of housing; life skills programming, trauma support, employment skill development, childcare and family development, and long-term community support. Each is briefly summarized from the Policy and Procedure manual (Servants Anonymous Society, 2012).

Table 8. SAS Vision, Mission & Beliefs

Vision	Mission	Beliefs
For all women who are at risk of, or who have experienced sexual exploitation; to know faith, hope and love, and be empowered to rebuild their lives. For society; to know of these women, to understand, to care.	To provide long-term programs, ongoing support, hope and wholeness to women, age 16 and over, with or without children, who are victims of, or at risk of, sexual exploitation.	i. That God inspired the founding of SAS and is the inspiration of the practice of our ongoing work. ii. That the life and teachings of Jesus Christ are examples of love and restoration. iii. The God-given intrinsic worth of every person. iv. The value of a safe community as a place of healing and growth. v. That Servanthood towards those in need is a fundamental orientation of SAS.

Housing. SAS provides three stages of housing for women. Stage one is the Servants Anonymous Facilitated Exit (SAFE) house. This program runs 24 hours a day, seven days a week and provides a professionally staffed, residential stabilization program for women (and their children) immediately exiting sexual exploitation/human trafficking, addictions and street life. Shelter, basic needs, support, counselling and assessment are provided. Stay is generally 30 days.

The second stage of housing involves five front-line houses where women live when they enter the A.S.K life skills program (described below). Here they are able to stabilize their recovery and learn positive life skills in a supported environment. Each house has space for three women and a live-in volunteer. Women have their own rooms and stay for the duration of their individual program generally between 6-12 months.

The third and final stage of housing provided by SAS is ten transitional apartments. Women who are completing their life skills program or are seeking support for employment or school are housed here. These are independent apartments located on the main SAS site. A live-in volunteer acts as the apartment manager and supports women in addressing issues such as loneliness, landlord/tenant procedures, budgeting and problem solving.

A.S.K. Life Skills Program. This is a recovery-focused life skills classroom for women. It covers topics such as budgeting, job searching, positive relationships, positive parenting, communication, and problem solving. It also includes therapy and a Women's Health and Wellness component. Classes are very individualized and strive to help women achieve mental, physical and emotional health. Women generally take six to 12 months to complete.

Job shadowing and work experience. Participants are able to job shadow in SAS across four business areas (Reception, Food Services & Event Planning, Donor Relations, and Childcare). The purpose of this program is to help women assess their strengths and interests, refine skills and identify potential employment interests. Job shadowing fosters job confidence and aids in transition to employment outside of the organization.

A six-month work experience contract is available to women who complete the job shadowing. Similar to the job shadowing goals, the work experience also aims to increase confidence, build skills, and develop healthy work-place attitudes and behaviours that help women succeed in outside employment. Women are paid minimum wage during their work experience contract.

School and employment support: career network. SAS supports women who want to return to school or employment. Women who are returning to school are helped with researching courses and schools, visiting school sites, school application processes, and tutoring. SAS also provides a scholarship fund for women who are returning to school. For women seeking employment, SAS likewise provides support in job searching, writing resumes, interview skills and financial aid to help in attaining the necessary tools and work attire required for particular occupations.

Follow-Care services and support. Follow-Care provides outreach case management to women in the community in order to support them in maintaining permanent housing and a healthy lifestyle. Follow-Care services are extensive and include support for positive landlord/tenant and good neighbour relationships, budgeting, child care, employment/retraining/education upgrading supports such as small loans or grants to facilitate access (e.g. school fees, work clothes, transportation), advocacy, connection with

community resources/activities, and crisis intervention to prevent eviction or a return to street life. Follow-Care is available to women who have participated in SAS whenever needed (no time limit), so if a crisis occurs women are always welcome to contact the Follow-Care worker for support. Follow-Care workers also help reduce social isolation and build a healthy sense of community (positive peer relationships) by staying in touch and inviting women to participate in SAS community events and/or volunteer activities. Women also have the option to join the SAS alumnae community group Ventures, which provides support, friendship, and mentorship to past and present participants.

Cuddle and Care Daycare service/ Healthy Families Development Program. SAS also provides child and family related program. Through Cuddle and Care, daycare services are available free and on-site for women involved with SAS. The Healthy Families Development Program aims to strengthen parenting skills and attachment for women in recovery. It further strives to improve the family's healthy functioning and support the successful development of children.

Program process from entry to social enterprise. In general, women enter SAS society through the SAFE house program where they receive 24-hour professional support to stabilize and come off of drugs and alcohol. After an approximate 30-day period, women then move into front-line housing where a live-in volunteer provides support and positive life-skills modeling. Women stay here for six-12 months while attending the A.S.K program. Ten weeks prior to graduating from the A.S.K program, women then begin to job shadow through four business areas of SAS, including that of the social enterprise. If a woman wants to pursue one of these areas, she has the option of a six-month paid work experience. During this time, women move into the transitional apartments where they live while they

work or return to school. Women have access to the Follow-Care program for support during this period and onwards. Figure 1. illustrates the general process for women from the time they enter SAS programming to a work experience position at Venue 1008.

Figure 1. Process from Program Entry to Social Enterprise (Venue 1008)
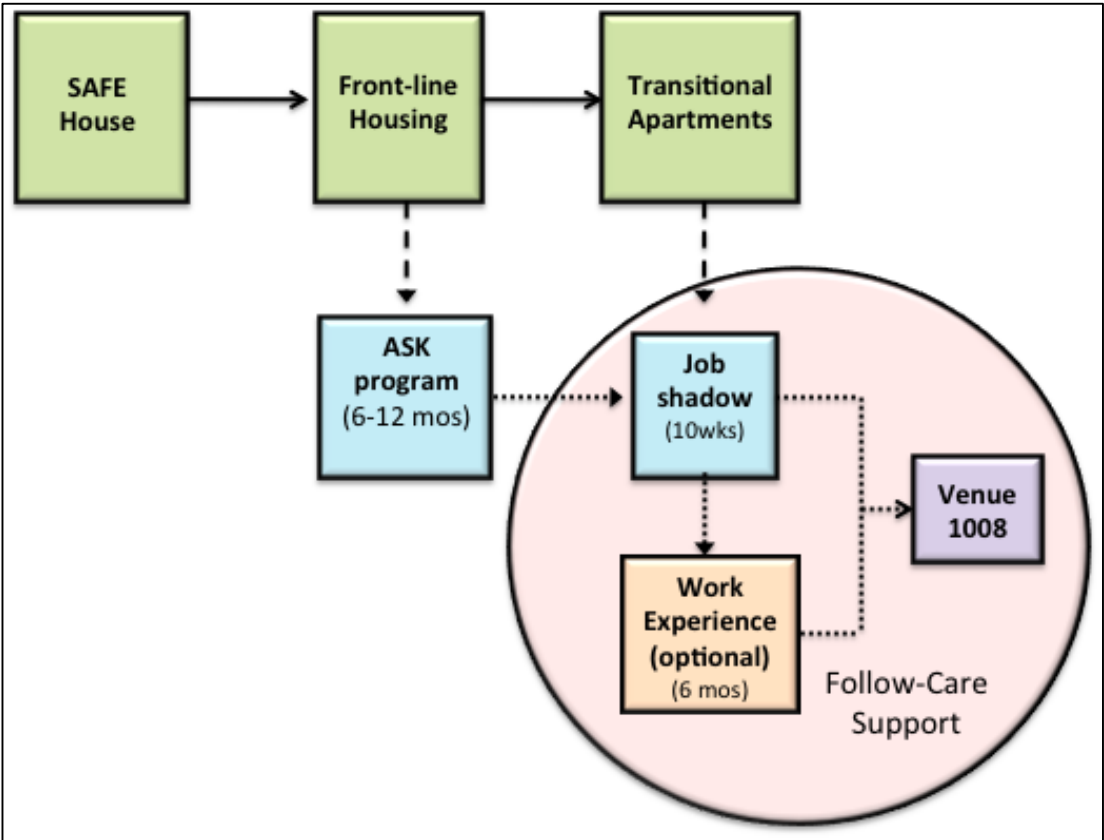
Geographical Context

Venue 1008 is located in Calgary, Alberta. This segment explores the status of women in this geographic location, by considering key social indicators such as employment/unemployment status, poverty, homelessness and violence against women in the region. In doing so, the case is established in a specific context that summarizes the particular barriers women in the area face.

Calgary is a city in the province of Alberta. It is located in the southern part of the

province close to the Canadian Rockies. With a population of 1,149,552 (City of Calgary, 2013), it is the largest city in Alberta and the fifth largest metropolitan area in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2014). While other industries such as financial services, film, transportation and logistics are a part of Calgary's economy; the energy sector is the "key driver" (Calgary Economic Development, n.d.). Calgary is regarded as Canada's energy capital (Calgary Economic Development, n.d.), and is home to the second-most corporate head offices in the country (Roach, 2010). The city has been recognized as one of the top 200 local economies in the world by the Brookings Institution (Abma, 2012) and was voted third in quality of life among North American cities in the 2011/12 period (American Cities of the Future, 2011).

Subject to economic boom and bust cycles characteristic of the energy sector, Calgary, like other large metropolitan cities, also has significant social problems. While generally known for a strong economy and high personal incomes (Roach, 2010), many are left out of this prosperity. Aboriginal peoples, immigrants and those on low-income are groups who disproportionately suffer from poverty, unemployment, homelessness and violence (Calgary Homeless Foundation, 2012; Citizens for Public Justice, 2012; Laird, 2007; Statistics Canada, 2011a). In particular, women from these groups often fare worse than their male counterparts (Statistics Canada, 2006).

Employment. The City of Calgary (2011) reports that economic growth has resumed in Calgary following the 2008-2009 recession. Yet, unemployment has continued to rise for those employed in precarious work (part-time, contract and/or low-waged), particularly for women and immigrant populations (City of Calgary, 2011). Indeed, women make up the majority of precarious workers in Alberta. In 2011 for example, women accounted for 70%

of part-time workers in the province (Parkland Institute, 2012). This is significant because precarious-type employment is often the first to be impacted by a weakening economy, typically have lower wages, job insecurity and few opportunities for advancement (Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action, 2008). As Alberta moves through another recession, the affect on women's employment has yet to be seen or understood.

In regards to women's earnings, on the positive side, women's wages and incomes are improving in relation to men in the city; a positive development (City of Calgary, 2011). Yet, the province of Alberta continues to have the highest pay gap between genders in the country. Women, on average, earn $34,000 per year while men receive close to double: $61,700 (Statistics Canada, 2011b).

Poverty. Precarious work, unemployment and underemployment often result in living on low-income or in poverty. Calgary's poverty rate increased to 11% during 2009 with 118,000 Calgarians struggling to make ends meet (City of Calgary, 2011). While no gender breakdown of this rate was available, at the provincial level, almost half of all women in Alberta's workforce earn less than $25,000 per year by comparison to 30% of men (Parkland Institute, 2012), suggesting the majority of low-income earners are women.

What's more, according to the Retail Council of Canada (2015), Alberta's minimum wage currently sits at $10.20 per hour; the second lowest only to that of the Northwest Territories. Vibrant Communities Calgary (VCC, 2015), an anti-poverty organization, has worked towards the idea of a living wage for people. Recognizing that earning the minimum wage does not cover most basic needs, VCC is advocating for a wage that permits a person to meet their basic needs including housing, transportation, and adequate nutritious food. Further, a living wage allows a person to maintain a "safe, decent, and

dignified standard of living" (VCC, 2015, para. 1). VCC (2015) has calculated Calgary's living wage at $17.29/without benefits or $16.14 with benefits. This reflects a significant discrepancy between six to seven dollars per hour. Further, VCC (2015) notes that the majority of those earning below a living wage, are women at 62%.

Many women survive on these low incomes while also raising children. Consequently, women lone-parent families experience much higher rates of poverty then male lone-parent families in the province (38% versus 13%) (Alberta Human Resources and Employment, 2006). Compounding the situation of poverty and low income is that Alberta has one of the lowest welfare provisions in the country (Faid, 2009). Monthly income support rates are just $583 dollars, which is clawed back when employment is obtained (Stapleton, 2012), making it very difficult to get ahead. Finally, Alberta is also one of the few provinces that does not provide a provincial child benefit for low-income families; a program deemed essential for reducing women and children's poverty (Parkland Institute, 2012).

Homelessness. Low-income, poverty and homelessness or risk of homelessness, are closely associated. While housing affordability has improved in recent years, Calgary's rent and utility costs are among the highest in Canada (City of Calgary, 2011). This situation has contributed to an increasing homeless population that was once deemed the fastest growing in the country (Laird, 2007).

As stated by the Calgary Committee to End Homelessness (2008), the rate of homelessness has increased 650% in the previous decade. It was projected that if this rate continued, without intervention, more than 15,000 would be homeless on any given night by 2016. New initiatives such as Calgary's 10 Year Plan to End Homelessness has managed

to curb this trend (Calgary Homeless Foundation, 2012). In general, homelessness is perceived as a men's social issue and unquestionably, statistics support that the majority of the homeless are male. Yet, homeless women are a growing group and now constitute 30% of recent homeless counts in Calgary (Calgary Homeless Foundation, 2012). What's more, homeless women face additional threats than that of men, such as higher rates of sexual assault, sex trafficking and domestic violence; making this group particularly vulnerable (Khandor & Mason, 2008; Laird, 2007; Neal, 2004).

   Violence against women. Homeless women are among many groups of women who face higher rates of violence. For women in general, domestic violence is an all too common reality in Alberta. Research demonstrates that Alberta has the fifth highest level of domestic violence reported to police and the second highest level of self-reported domestic violence in Canada (Wells, Boodt, & Emery, 2012). The number of women annually affected by domestic violence in Alberta is estimated to be around 9,167 (Wells, Boodt & Emery, 2012). In Calgary, the Calgary Police Service receives over 16,000 domestic violence related calls every year (Calgary Police Service, 2013) and over 400 sexual assaults are reported to police annually (Statistics Canada, 2013b). Importantly, research also finds that the majority of sexual assaults (90%), as well as many incidents of domestic violence, go unreported to police (Statistics Canada, 2013), suggesting true rates of violence are much higher.

   The above brief summary of social issues facing women in Calgary is further evident in recent work by McInturff (2014a). McInturff rated the best and worst places to be a woman in Canada, focusing on the gap between men and women. Calgary was ranked at 17 out of 20, with 20 being the most unfavourable. McInturff cited a large gap between men

and women's employment and income, low political representation and senior management positions, and rates of sexual and domestic violence as reasons for the low ranking.

Merging research on employment, poverty, homelessness and violence against women consequently, offers a context for the status of women in Calgary and Alberta. In sum, Calgary and the province of Alberta have:

- The highest wage gap in the country

- A high rate of domestic violence

- A growing group of homeless women

- Among the highest rent and utility costs

- No child benefit for low-income families

- Minimum wage, precarious forms of employment are predominantly occupied by women

- Low welfare provisions

The above demonstrates the many barriers faced by women in Calgary. Venue 1008 and SAS operate in this climate and support women daily who directly are impacted by poverty, homelessness and violence.

Findings

This section presents the findings from the data analysis of interviews, documentation and observations from Venue 1008. It is based on the research questions outlined earlier in Table 1. (p. 51). The first segment introduces the characteristics of Venue 1008, followed by the challenges. It closes with a look at the value of Venue 1008

both for the women who participate in the social enterprise as well as for the larger

organization and the community.

Characteristics of Venue 1008

One of the research objectives was to establish the characteristics of women's social

enterprise. In regards to Venue 1008, five characteristics were identified from the data.

These are: 1) provision of support, 2) a strong community, 3) a combination of hard and

soft skill training, 4) informed by women's needs and lived experiences, and, 5) embedded

in the parent organization.

Provision of support

The first feature of Venue 1008 identified from the data is the delivery of support for

social enterprise participants. This theme refers to the structured support women are

provided while working in the social enterprise. It involves the creation of a safe

environment, access to a support person as needed (both informal and formal), as well as

an approachable social enterprise manager.

A safe environment. Creating a safe environment through the principle of hospitality

is an essential part of the SAS philosophy. Hospitality is described as "creating a free and

fearless space where people come to know their unique gift…in the powerless state of

women made poor by sexual exploitation, where the gift of who they are has been 'taken'

versus freely given, hospitality is truly about uncommodifying" (Servants Anonymous

Society, 2013b, SAS Philosophy and Background, para, 13). Hospitality recognizes that

women who have been sexually exploited and have faced addiction have not had safe

spaces. This principle seeks to counter this experience by welcoming women and "coming

alongside the women" through the process of healing (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013b,

SAS Philosophy and Background, para, 14).

One part of hospitality is the acknowledgment of trauma many women have

experienced and the need for an emotionally safe environment while rebuilding their lives.

SAS documentation adds:

Because we are all part of one community we can ensure it is emotionally safe for

your trainee to attend to these [trauma] issues and not leave her employment. She

learns new skills among familiar people in an environment that continues to nurture

and build her recovery and confidence. In contrast, some participants who move

immediately to external employment struggle in a potentially unforgiving

environment. (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013d, Your Role, para. 6)

As these passages attest, creating a protective space for women means recognizing the

importance of emotional safety, attending to trauma needs as they emerge, and having the

freedom to learn new skills in a supportive environment. It also involves giving women

room to make mistakes without fear of termination as indicated in the employment

curriculum: "Your onsite work experience provides a safe environment and a unique

opportunity where issues can 'be named' and problems 'worked out' without you feeling

the need to quit or being fearful of termination" (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013d, p. 4).

Finally, this theme was also apparent in staff interviews as illustrated by the following

quote:

There's been difficult times for sure, but its that's why we do it. To work out those

kinks hopefully and to have a safe environment to discuss concerns between

supervisor and employee…a lot of [the women] seem to be grateful for the

opportunity to have a safe environment to learn things like expectations… Because of

the history of the ladies, I think they think of it as a very safe environment because

there are only women here. (Interviewee #03)

The establishment of a safe environment for women while engaged in the social enterprise

is one means to providing a comprehensive support system.

Access to a support person. An important part of building a safe environment and

maintaining support for women includes providing access to key support persons as

needed. In Venue 1008, this occurs both in a formal manner through weekly scheduled

meetings with the Follow-Care program, as well as informally, when needed. Staff

interviewees explained:

We're here to talk and kind of guide them…we have the key workers and we have

some counsellors that they can go talk to. (Interviewee #05)

Usually it starts with the manager pulling them into the office and like "Ok, things

aren't really going so great for you today, what's happening?" or "You really handled

that situation wrong". If it's something that they can't resolve between each other

then they'll go and get the Follow-Care worker that helps them. They also have once a

week meetings with [the Follow-Care worker]. Um, just to like, what's working,

what's not working, are you showing up every day are you not showing up, it's really

hands on in those 6 months. (Interviewee #06)

We understand the population, we know, usually there's an issue ok, what's behind

that? So there's the room for that communication that's the biggest part of it…the

women are very comfortable with saying to [staff] directly "this is going down…my

boyfriend's relapsed and I don't know how to deal with that" – or whatever that looks

like…just the fact that it's here, they're comfortable here they know it's a safe

environment. (Interviewee #03)

Staff understands that most women face difficulties while engaged in the social enterprise.

For many women, this may be their first place of employment. Having access to a support

person is a critical means to managing crisis, conflicts and other behavioural or trauma-

related problems. Women participating in the social enterprise also discussed the

importance of support during their work experience:

I think that they have more time to actually sit there and teach us and you know, be

there for us - there's a lot of people in this building that are there to support you. So if

you're having a hard time, go and talk to somebody and work it out. You know, if I'm

having a stressful day in the kitchen then there's always someone there to talk to and

figure it out….They're really there for you. (Interviewee #01)

Whenever I was having a really bad time or things were getting overwhelmed I could

just stop what I was doing and go talk to somebody. Talk to [the manager] - they

would set me aside, whatever crisis I was going through at the time, and just talk me

through it. (Interviewee #04)

The girls that come from the program, myself included, tensions sometimes run high

and we get stressed out and life isn't always rainbows and butterflies. Like sometimes

life sucks and sometimes we can't leave it at the door when we come to work….There

was that support right there and it wasn't only from [the social enterprise manager] it

was also from the other women that work in the building. So I think yeah, there's a lot

of support….If I went to another job crying they'd be like "What the fuck is wrong with

you?" Whereas here they're like "Oh my God what's wrong with you?" (Interviewee

#02)

The final sentence in the last quote represents the essence of social enterprise and the idea of support. The key difference between a social enterprise and a traditional employment setting is the recognition of women's challenges, acceptance that these challenges occur during employment, and the provision of support to help women manage through issues as they arise.

An approachable social enterprise manager. Alongside the concept of a safe environment and access to support people, a final aspect of support involves the social enterprise manager. An approachable, respectful and understanding manager is a key aspect of creating a safe and supportive environment. Two interviewees commented:

She's just laid back, she's easy going, she's easy to talk to - if I'm not doing something that I think is proper than you know, she's easy to ask. Yeah. Fun, we like to laugh and have fun at work for sure. (Interviewee #01)

But it's not even like…it is like a boss… but it doesn't feel like that with her. Yeah, she's really, really cool. I don't know how to explain it, she's really understanding, just the way she asks you to do things. She asks you to do things; she doesn't like tell you to do it. Like even though you know you've gotta' do it, just her approach was really, really good for me anyways… I have a lot of respect for her. (Interviewee #04)

Staff also discussed the importance of this relationship referring to the current manager as "understanding" and "patient". One stated: "We have a really good manager in there right now who they get along with really well and they build a rapport with early" (Interviewee #06).

The combination of an approachable manager, access to support from the Follow-Care program as needed, and the creation of a safe environment that recognizes women's challenges following sexual exploitation, are all important components of a comprehensive support system for women engaged in social enterprise.

A strong community

The second characteristic identified from the analysis is the notion of community. This theme was evident across all three forms of data (interviews, documentation and observation), making it a prominent theme from the analysis. Community in this context refers to a feeling of fellowship, solidarity and association amongst SAS women.

Indeed, community is another underlying principal of SAS. It is directly referenced in one of the organization's belief statements: "The value of a safe community as a place of healing and growth" and is again regarded in the introduction of the Policy Manual where the following statement is present: "More than an agency, SAS is above all a community" (Servants Anonymous Society, 2012, p. 4). While this philosophy is apparent across the organization it is also evident in the work experience documentation. The employment curriculum for example, explains why the idea of community is important to SAS women:

> Women who have survived the sex trade, addiction, violence and poverty often feel powerless. Most significantly they often feel they do not belong anywhere. In response, SAS offers a community where women in recovery from exploitation are heard, valued, enjoyed, advocated for – and, also needed. It is so important that SAS offer a community where the women can both discover – and then contribute – their unique gifts, and where their abilities and voices must be heard. (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013b, SAS Philosophy and Background, para. 7).

Community is also clear in practice. In the case of Venue 1008, the physical space of the social enterprise has become the hub of the community. As interview respondents indicated, the kitchen in particular, is the central gathering place for SAS women and staff:

A lot of people come into the kitchen you know, to visit us and hang out. The kitchen is the main hangout place. So if the kitchen wasn't there I don't know, we would probably be in different places in the building. Usually at lunchtime we all come to the kitchen and hang out. (Interviewee #01)

Like when you're bored or want a break you go to the kitchen and there's always someone to talk to and you hang out for a little bit. That's where we all eat at the counter in there - we don't even use the lunchroom. [The Venue] does lunches two times a week and breakfast once a week for $2. So that's again, bringing the community so the ladies can come and buy lunch. We can buy lunch, the biggest part is probably the social interaction. I don't know how much money they actually bring in, but I think that's the lesser at this point. (Interviewee #03)

It's really, the last two years I've been here like I said we've really brought people together. Like the kitchen is kind of the heart of the building. Because of the lunch programing they're eating together they're not scattering… it's kind of has drawn the community in. (Interviewee #05)

This finding was also noted during an observation. When I was working alongside the women in the kitchen, I noticed how many SAS participants popped in to say hi, catch up, check-in with each other, and at times, sit at the counter and discuss various aspects of their lives. One woman for example, came to the kitchen area in tears. The women present

responded with hugs, soothing words and encouragement suggesting the kitchen area often functions as a place of support.

Like the social enterprise kitchen, the event space also has a role in community building. Staff stated that many functions are held in and hosted by the social enterprise such as a fun-themed Bollywood night, the SAS Annual General Meeting, and the graduation lunch occurring every five weeks. I was fortunate to be able to attend a graduation lunch and ceremony. In this capacity, I was able to observe the SAS community in practice and the role the social enterprise plays in its cultivation. The following reflection from my research journal describes the graduation and notes the strong sense of community amongst women observed:

> Today was the graduation lunch for two of the SAS women. They are graduating from the A.S.K classroom program – an intensive and lengthy program. The two women are able to request a special lunch made by the staff of Venue 1008 and hosted in the event space. Anyone from the SAS community is invited – alumnae, board members, staff, current SAS participants, church members (who regularly support SAS). Around 40-50 people usually attend… When I arrived the kitchen was bustling. Two large salad bowls had been prepped and waiting on the counter for dressing, angel food cake cut and placed on 50 plates along a counter, frozen shrimp skewers and chicken skewers laid out on pans thawing and waiting to be seasoned and baked. Punch was being made in a large juice container with a tap. Tables had been set up with table clothes, cloth napkins, and silverware. The buffet table set up with the stainless steel pans. Venue 1008 set up the venue for the graduation to the same level as they would a wedding or banquet. It was explained that many different people attend the

graduation ceremony. Women who are new to SAS and in the SAFE house stage, alumni to the program, classmates, staff, the executive director and usually a board member. Family, friends and other community supports are present. I was quite struck by the turnout for one woman (graduation happens every five weeks) and the cross section of people. About 50 people streamed in to hugs and hellos. People were waving at each other from across the room, making space for people to sit beside them, hugging, laughing and chatting. Clearly, everyone belongs. Hugs across groups of participants and community members, crossing age, and ethnicity. At the outset of the ceremony, boxes of Kleenex were being passed around in anticipation of emotion for the woman graduating.

The observation of community is further supported by one of the women interviewed. She regarded SAS as a "family community" adding, "it's not only a community for us women, it's a community for the children too" (Interviewee #01).

Community appears to be an integral element of the SAS organization both in philosophy and practice. Venue 1008 has a key role in the development of a sense of fellowship and association by bringing women together in the kitchen informally as well as through formal SAS events. Finally, because women who are employed in the social enterprise are a part of the wider SAS community, this sense is brought into the work environment as well.

A combination of hard and soft skills training

A third characteristic of Venue 1008 is the combination of hard and soft skills training for women. Three quotes from the interviews conducted with staff illustrate the need for this type of instruction in Venue 1008:

We have to teach them a lot of conflict resolution and...it's a lot about how do you talk to your employers and what does it mean to have to show up on time and dress appropriately... there's a lot of the soft skills that need to be taught. So in that six months they have a lot of opportunity to make those mistakes and then have the support of us and their key workers and their Follow-Care workers to say "Ok, in this situation, in the real world, this is how you would handle this, these are your responsibilities." (Interviewee #06)

When they come and work with me for the 12 weeks they learn a lot, maybe they never had a job before. So learning things like interpersonal skills is a big one. How to deal with conflict without you know, getting into a fight or punching someone out or whatever the case may have been right? So conflict resolution and then I've noticed the last couple... it's literacy is not their strongest suit so, training someone on the computer who can't spell or read very well...they learn pretty quick. (Interviewee #05)

I think being able to trust your coworkers. Some of the women maybe they're in conflict, continuous competition on the street with other women. But then they go into the [A.S.K] class and they kind of deal with that then they come to the kitchen and they work with women like myself or maybe a past participant who has become an employee, and they learn that it's not, you don't compete. Like you work together and you get more done. (Interviewee #05)

The social enterprise has been structured to provide training in both types of skills. As described in the Follow-Care Handbook, the social enterprise manager is to provide the hard skill training while the Follow-Care worker is to provide the soft skills support

(Servants Anonymous Society, 2013a). An established process ensures women receive both types of training (Servants Anonymous Society, 2013a, p. 9):

- Supervisor will provide direction and supervision for the "hard skills"

- Follow-Care staff will provide support to both the Trainee and the Supervisor for "soft skills" as needed

- Trainee will meet weekly with the Follow-Care staff member to work through the 21 "soft skill" units; each week will identify examples of particular "soft skills" learning/experiences

- Trainee will meet monthly with Follow-Care staff member and supervisor to review their personal learning plan, assess progress on goals and set new goals, identify learnings

- Supervisor will provide an evaluation and reference letter at the end of the work term

Through formal engagement with the 21 units of soft skills such as communication, conflict resolution, teamwork and punctuality, women are able to practice these new behaviours alongside their work responsibilities in a supportive environment.

Informed by women's needs and lived experiences

Much of the programing, including the development of the social enterprise, has involved a strong appreciation and respect for the population of women SAS serves. One staff member explained:

I think there's a lot of understanding of women's issues - child care which we have, the women can access our child care program while they're working...There's a

strong understanding of the barriers women face especially when they may have a

lowered level of education, lacking employment experience, having children on top of

that…Um, and that's the basis for the work experience program really is to help build

that up. (Interviewee #03)

This awareness is also apparent in the 21 soft skill units. Each opens with a

description about why the topic is relevant to the SAS population of women and how the

subject can affect one's work performance. For example, in the unit titled "Dealing with

Authority", the following is written:

Many of the trainees have been physically, sexually and emotionally abused by

authority figures who were supposed to be protecting them…these women have

learned through their life experiences that authority figures tend to abuse their

authority and limit the woman's freedom. It is important to keep this in mind as you

work with girls that are not listening to the directions you are giving them. (Servants

Anonymous Society, 2013d, p. 11)

The acceptance of women's challenges while engaged in the social enterprise is a result of

many years working with this particular population of women. It is also the outcome

however, of involving the women themselves in the program development as was done

with the Employment curriculum. There is clear evidence of this across soft skills units as

each has an excerpt written by a former SAS participant. In the same unit, "Dealing with

Authority" for example, the following personal experience is found:

When I first started working it was very difficult to follow directions and respond

appropriately to feedback from managers. Because of my life experience I struggled

with a sense of entitlement, and believed that no one had the right to tell me what to

do…(Servants Anonymous Society, 2013d, p. 13)

Vignettes from work experience graduates such as the one above are available throughout

both the staff and trainee manual.

In addition to the employment curriculum, other SAS services have been developed in

response to the needs of women recovering from sexual exploitation. For women involved

in the social enterprise, they continue to have access to housing and childcare; areas that

often create additional barriers for women. One woman reflected on how she and her

children are living upstairs in SAS housing and using the childcare service while employed

with Venue 1008. When asked what difference this makes she stated:

Oh, incredible, lots of difference for sure…not having to spend that hour and a half on

a bus to go and take them to daycare, you know, the money…it's all covered here. I

would definitely struggle for sure [without the housing and childcare]. (Interviewee

#01)

Another woman shared:

Yeah I was living upstairs that's even better too. Yeah… it's so hard for me to just like

travel somewhere in the mornings. Like go there every day on time…it was really

hard for me…We also get cheap rent here like we don't have to pay. So that's a huge

thing too - I'm saving money. (Interviewee #04)

For this woman, living in SAS housing helped her to be successful working in the social

enterprise because she did not have to commute. This same woman now has employment

outside of to SAS.

A final aspect of recognizing women's needs in the social enterprise is the flexibility available. Interview respondents discussed the importance of flexible work hours to attend to areas such as appointments, childcare and schooling:

Ah, for appointments, we're quite flexible with those kinds of things. If they need to make an appointment outside of here, for whatever reason, personal or professional [they are able]…Also it's been done in the past where if someone is going to Bow Valley [College] for example, they're able to also work. So you know the part time, we're pretty flexible with hours so if one of the ladies needs to go to class from 1 to 4 we can make it so that they work in the mornings. So we still, if they're interested in working in Fireworks, then we try to accommodate that for work experience. (Interviewee #03)

I took a Humanities 101 course at St. Mary's University. Oh that's another good thing about Fireworks! I got to do that for two afternoons a week. Yeah just to check out that school life. Then I was able to work in the kitchen still. So they worked around my school schedule so that I could still make money. (Interviewee #04)

Well the hours are flexible like if I can get a sitter for the weekend sometimes I'll work ten hours. That's overtime so that's more money and the events that we do during the week those help me too right? Like so the hours are pretty good. I wish there was more. Yeah. (Interviewee #02)

The above quotations illustrate how the social enterprise is responsive to women's life circumstances by offering flexible work hours in addition to housing and childcare. Further, the work experience program has been created based on the experiences and input from SAS women.

Embedded in the parent organization

This is the fifth and final characteristic of Venue 1008. During the data analysis and the writing up of the findings it became clear that Venue 1008 could not be discussed as an entity separate from SAS. The two have strong areas of connection and overlap, leading to the characterization of its embedded nature.

First, Venue 1008 is physically housed in the same building as SAS leading to a tangible basis for the integrated relationship. As a result of its close proximity, the social enterprise kitchen has become a central place of informal community gathering. The effect of this can be seen in the following quote from a social enterprise participant:

So it's…it's not like there's different places in the program. You know, we may have the daycare and we may have the kitchen, we have a receptionist, we have all these areas but we don't really think of it as areas we think about it as a whole community.

(Interviewee #01)

In this regard, Venue 1008 is not separate from SAS programing.

Second, the legal regulations surrounding charitable status and administration of social enterprise also greatly contributes to the embedded nature. Management explained:

We're mandated by [Canadian Revenue Agency] so…the only way that we can run it is if it actually follows the mission of the charity. So, they're not actually two separate entities, the venue is run within the power of Servant's Anonymous and it falls under our GST number, it falls under our business number and so…we keep the books separate but at the end of the year we amalgamate them and everything becomes one. As long as the mission stays the same and all the gross revenue comes back to support the charity and that it's still used to primarily focus as a work experience program

where the women are served and taught in that environment we can run it as a social

enterprise. (Interviewee #06)

For charities in Canada to run a social enterprise, they must follow regulations that in many

ways contribute to the embedded nature of many social enterprises in their parent

organization.

Third, the provision of comprehensive support further attends to an integrated

relationship. As discussed, when women are employed in the social enterprise, they have

access to support such as the SAS Follow-Care program as needed. One of the key support

workers explained that this direct access brings SAS social programming right into Venue

1008 business in a positive manner:

I think the fact that the enterprise is in the building, they have direct access to me and

my coworkers in Follow-Care so like it's happened when one of the ladies in the

kitchen, work experience woman had a breakdown, just a conflict between her and

the supervisor so they pulled me out of whatever I was in and I was able to work on

that directly at that time and mediate basically. That's a big part of my role has been

mediation. Um, and I think that's really important because you're able to diffuse that

situation as quickly as possible…But we're there in an understanding supportive role

to help balance that business side and social side…So again the positive of having it

here is an actual support worker like myself can help diffuse that situation and make

it not affect the business side of things. (Interviewee #03)

Providing social support during the operation of the business has greatly added to the

embedded nature of Venue 1008 within SAS. For women involved in the social enterprise,

this too, has led to the perception of a strong association between Venue 1008 and SAS.

Referring to it as "very closely knit socially" one interviewee stated, "I don't really think of them as being different" (Interviewee #03). She further explained this was largely due to the fact that women working in the Venue are also socially supported by SAS.

Challenges of Venue 1008

The second research question sought to determine some of the challenges faced by women's social enterprise. From the data analysis, five major themes were identified for Venue 1008 including the tension between business and social goals, limited ability to advertise and generate new business, lack of funds, and the potential to create dependency for women. The final theme presented here is the finite opportunities available to women in the social enterprise.

Tension between business and social goals

The difficulty in managing a successful business while also satisfying the social purpose was one of the most commonly cited challenges of this social enterprise. The term "tension" was chosen to reflect the at times strained relationship between the business and social purpose. For Venue 1008, this took three primary forms: limited business background and understanding of social enterprise, serving a complex client population and the current funding structure.

Limited business background and understanding of social enterprise. The first sub-theme contributing to the tension between social and business goals is the limited business background in the organization. When faced with a decision between what is best for the social purpose or advantageous for the business, many decisions to date have been made in favour of the social aim at the expense of the business. As one respondent remarked: "It's been kind of trying to negotiate those sides of morally and ethically what's right and what's

business and what's the moral side of the social enterprise" (Interviewee #06). The following comments from staff further illustrate this challenge:

When you work in a non-profit…they don't have a lot of background in business. So when you talk about the lunch program for example, like we charge $2 but really if we didn't grab [money] from everywhere, like we're losing money everyday on that [but] we couldn't possibly raise it, because nobody could afford it here. It's like we have to do the greater good so often. (Interviewee #05)

We'll make money off the [event space] but we'll have five non profits call [the management] and get everything for free except for the food (laughs). Yeah. So that's the hard part is: linen costs money, utilities costs money - so it's great that we're helping the community by giving everything away for free but it's really, it's not doing us any good at the end of the day. (Interviewee #05)

It becomes a real struggle on making a profit off of the enterprise to put back into the charity. Because it always seems like the charity needs something. So we're always giving to the charity so when things do break down or things happen in Fireworks then we have to struggle like ok, where are we getting that money…yeah we have to keep this going so how do we rob Peter to pay Paul. (Interviewee #06)

A restricted understanding of social enterprise further compounds the inadequate business background in the organization. This has occurred since the inception of the social enterprise:

That's pretty much been my challenge since I got here. Why is the enterprise set up this way, why is Venue 1008 set up this way in our books and in our history…We could never really figure it out and we kind of back tracked it to "Ok, someone didn't

really understand what the idea of social enterprise was and that's why they started doing two separate books and having two separate boards. We're really just shooting ourselves in the foot 'cuz we don't need to do all of this". (Interviewee #06)

One interviewee felt the understanding of social enterprise was too narrow, with too much emphasis on revenue generation:

But to be honest a lot of the people around here have no idea what a social enterprise is…Like they think social enterprise is there to support our agency but really it's a little bit more than that - we create job training. We create income for the women…That's where the understanding isn't, it's "we need to support the agency". Make money so [SAS] doesn't have to get government funding. But [Venue 1008] can't make any money because [we can't] hire anyone because we have no money.

(Interviewee #05)

This passage exemplifies the pressure put on the social enterprise staff to generate profit to support the charity. But because of unfavourable business decisions, the success with generating profit is made more difficult. She continued:

I like that Servant's Anonymous is involved but I think I would have them not be so involved. I'd rather be more of a standalone company, keeping all the work experience and job shadowers, but there's so many opinions flying around that I would like to get rid of those. You know, and say like maybe get a social investor and advisor for that company and work on the company to grow and help the agency instead of the agency - they're very needy. We need this we need that, and it's a lot of pressure to put on one and a half staff members… So it could be more of a standalone business, you'd have social investment, really develop the business, be a bit more

separate from the parent organization but you'd still continue the work experience. (Interviewee #05)

For this respondent, a real focus on developing the business outside of the influence of the social agency is necessary to move forward with Venue 1008.

Serving a complex client population. Respondents identified the challenges associated with serving a complex client population also leads to tension between the social purpose and the business. As stated, the social purpose of Venue 1008 is to be a training and employment site for women formally involved in the sex trade, struggling with addictions and often, trauma. This naturally creates many difficulties as women recover and transition to a place of health and stability. Doing so within the context of a business adds several challenges, as seen in the following descriptions from staff:

> [The women] can be challenging...It can be a challenge, it's not always you know, rainbows and sunshine around here. Sometimes you will get them and they'll come in and be like "No, I'm not doing any of that there's no way I'm putting my hand in dirty water, there's no way I'm doing this, there's no way I'm doing that". It takes a lot of patience - it takes a ton. (Interviewee #06)

> I think some of our greatest challenges that we have found are the skill set. It's hard running a social enterprise with a revolving door of employees. Which is why we chose I think [to have] a standard staff for night events that can help us run it. You never know what you're gonna get on days with participants and if the sole purpose of the social enterprise is to help and teach the women, sometimes you're gonna get a bad day. Whether you have a function or not there's got to be someone else to pick it up afterward. So there are many times if there is a function and someone doesn't

show up or something happens and they are not getting the food out on time then it's all hands on deck and we're all making sandwiches and we're all helping out to make sure the event goes ok. So that is, that can be a big challenge for us. (Interviewee #06)

The training part is the easy part right? [I'm] used to that…you're training other cooks. So you get someone who applies for the job, I'm training them how to work in a different setting. Here I'm [teaching], how to crack an egg, how do you turn the computer on. It's challenging and it gets frustrating but I believe I have a lot of patience. (Interviewee #05)

Social enterprise participants also described their own behaviour as challenging:

So when I got here, I had lots of things to work on (laughs). Right? So I would argue, like I would have to do certain tasks and stuff like washing the washrooms and stuff. I didn't like it at first. I had a hard time. I was like "I do not wash toilets, I do not clean up after other people". Yeah. So, I had a few things to work through…So then I'd have to step aside and have a talking to, and I have to know why I'm doing these things and the outcome. Like, I have to know the reason right? So they were really, really, patient with me on that and ah, I learned so much there. (Interviewee #04)

Here because of where a lot of us women have come from, we have so many different problems. Some of us you know, have those commitment phobias so don't really show up for work. Some of us have attitude problems so it's like "Fuck you I don't wanna work". Then there's medical concerns so lots of people go - so you're dealing with different women all the time…Like you're dealing with women who are, have been excluded and drug addicts and you know with pasts and histories and families. You

have to have a little bit of empathy to be able to deal with anybody. Especially these

women. (Interviewee #02)

As a result of these types of difficulties with the SAS population, decisions have been

implemented in order to protect the business operation. During an observation of an

evening event at Venue 1008, I discussed this topic with the social enterprise manager.

Here is an excerpt from my observation journal that further illustrates this point:

[The manager] and I chatted about work ethics. She said often many of the girls do

not have a strong work ethic because they have not worked before coming here. I had

asked if Venue 1008 ever hires some of the work experience gals to help out with

these evening events. She said the lack of work ethics makes it difficult to operate a

well-run event for a business client. As such, she generally does not hire SAS women

to work evening functions. Sometimes she will ask a work experience gal to work if

she is demonstrating good work ethic and there is no bar service (no alcohol is being

served). This led us into a conversation about [one of the work experience gals]. She

started very keen and motivated but as she nears the end of her 6 months, she has

become less and less engaged. She has never worked before this and her lack of work

ethic is showing. [The manager] is planning on talking with her on Monday as there

were several tasks left not done before the weekend.

Understandably, many SAS women face challenges during their recovery process. Doing so

in a live-business context can add to the difficulties in some cases and create complications

for the operation of the business.

Funding structure. Another issue that adds to the tension between business and social

goals is the funding structure of Venue 1008. The work experience program, the program

that pays women a wage to work in the social enterprise, is the only part of Venue 1008 that receives funding. The funding is based on the expectation that women work 40 hours per week. Providing women with 40 hours of work a week in Venue 1008 has proved challenging as there may not be the equivalent amount of business:

> The only problem is the funder says the work experience has to be 40 hours a week and you know, needs to make x amount of dollars. [sometimes] we don't need [the women] all day that day but we have to pay them anyways. So they do a lot of cleaning sometimes. (Interviewee # 06)

At times, the Venue is overstaffed due to the work experience funder requirements but not enough business, and at other times it is understaffed due to heightened business but not enough women: "There's never an equal balance. So it's a struggle" (Interviewee #06).

Limited ability to advertise and generate new business

The second theme relevant to the challenges of women's social enterprise is the limited ability to advertise and generate new business. One interviewee discussed this as a key challenge of Venue 1008 expressing a desire to become busier. For her, the lack of advertising was a key driver of this problem:

> You know the advertising isn't the best; we're working on that right now…Getting the word out yeah. Because it's word of mouth now and then we have Facebook but I think you know, if we put it out there more, I think it would be better…I think if it was out there more it would help not only the community but it would be nice to work a little bit harder. (Interviewee #02)

> The other thing is the lack, the lack of work. Like, I think that we could do really good with our venue. But I think we lack a lot of advertising. There's not a lot of promotion

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and especially since we are so small and... I don't know, I just feel like that's the one

area we're really lacking is getting the word out and being like "We're here you can

use us all the time". So I think that would be the biggest thing. (Interviewee #02)

The recognition of the need for advertising is also apparent in the social enterprise

documentation. The Fireworks Cooperative (2014) Annual Business Operations Plan

identifies the need for advertising in order to increase business and generate more

revenue. Specifically, the goal is to advertise the Desktop Catering component using new

advertisement for both the venue and the catering business and attend several wedding

fairs.

Lack of funding

A somewhat more minor, but notable theme is that of lack of funds for general

business operations. Staff discussed the challenges running a business with a tight budget:

Definitely money because unlike a regular business, we don't have...like we're on such

a tight budget... so we're limited in the staff that we can hire. We're limited... our

kitchen needs a bit of TLC and we just can't do it. (Interviewee #05)

Most times we need new plates or we need new um, appliances and those are the kind

of things that we are looking at so that we can upgrade and keep everything

going...keeping the venue looking the way it does and up-to-date. That's been a

challenge - finding people that will actually fund those things. (Interviewee #06)

Having limited funds to support basic operating costs is a notable challenge of Venue 1008.

One of the deliverables from the Fireworks Cooperative Annual Business Operations Plan is

to "audit all equipment/venue update and renovation needs, including carpets, ice

machine, indoor grill, new ovens [and] develop a budget for such" (Fireworks Cooperative,

2014, p. 2), recognizing the need for this operational upkeep. Attracting a social investor with interest in this type of improvement is also part of the current business plan.

Potential to create dependency for women

The fifth challenge identified by the interview respondents is how, for some women, the supportive and safe environment of the social enterprise can create dependency in women. Two quotes from a staff member illustrate this:

I would say the biggest downside potentially is...like the work experience ladies kind of holding on too long. Like they, sometimes the work experience in social enterprise can become a bit of a crutch. So instead of moving forward they wanna' hold on to what's super, super comfortable - they're in that cocoon they don't want to break out of it. (Interviewee #03)

That fear of moving forward is sometimes very strong. That can sometimes lead to relapses, sometimes those pressures of re-joining the community in every way is very stressful and it's actually a very dangerous time for many ladies who have had addictions issues in the past. That's a lot of face right? They may be looking for housing too... Usually there's a lot going on when they're in work experience. Um, so I'd say that'd be one thing is the crutch. (Interviewee #03)

The concept of dependency was also noted in observation notes. Part of the "crutch" or "cocoon" is the subsidized housing and free childcare according to one woman:

[An employee] shared that "this place isn't real". She explained it's nice to have/use everything here, the housing, the childcare etc., but it doesn't reflect the real world. A woman pays $250 in rent for a three bedroom house upstairs in SAS. A regular apartment rental is $1050. A huge difference. [The employee] said when she finished

the programming she "got out of here" to get back into the real world and get by in the real world. (Interviewee #02)

In her opinion, having these additional features make it difficult for women to easily transition to the "real world".

Finite opportunities for women

The final theme for this section considers the challenge of having finite opportunities for women in Venue 1008. One staff member spoke at length about how the experiences in the social enterprise could change for women to one that held more opportunity:

I would want to see another chef in there that could do one on one with the girls...I really do think that a service back to the women first, I mean the venue is great and yes, there's upkeep that we can always do and that's the operation side, but the real goal would be to make sure that there is a different ratio between us and the women...I would really like to see them get more culinary skills. I'd like them to see the other side, the professional side of the venue and just have that well roundedness before they go out...I think that's my desire inside of me for women to not just be waitresses or just be servers. Like I want women to succeed and do bigger and better things in the world. (Interviewee #06)

Another staff person commented on the women learning more about the business operation:

But it would be really great for some of the ladies to really learn about the business side. How is it run? How do you make those orders? How do you deal with the customer service side of things. Because a lot of them don't interact so much with the business side. That would be I think really valuable. (Interviewee #03)

This line of thinking is also noticeable in the Fireworks Cooperative Annual Business Plan.

Several operational deliverables outline additional training in food services with the

intention of offering further opportunities for women (Fireworks Cooperative, 2014, p. 2):

- Hire a Red Seal chef

- Develop and implement a training program for participants wishing to develop
  careers in the catering/culinary field

- Partner with SAIT to host mentors in Venue 1008

- Supply each ongoing Culinary Arts student a set of chef's knives

In summary, Venue 1008 has various challenges associated with its operation. The

most prominent of which, are the many difficulties that arise from the tension between

business goals and social purpose. Part of the problem it appears is a lack of business

knowledge and understanding from the parent organization. This has created an

environment that burdens the model to continuously succeed and generate profit while, at

the same time, conduct business in a manner that limits this potential. In some measure,

the social and business goals work to counter each other.

The Value of Venue 1008

The final research question seeks to explore the idea of value. What value does

social enterprise have for women and in what ways are women supported in meeting their

economic and social needs? This closing segment separates the benefits for the women

individually, from that of those for the organization and wider community.

Value for women

Findings from the data found six areas of value for women who work in the social enterprise. These are: skill development, employment, income, self-esteem and confidence, and a sense of belonging and acceptance. A final theme is related to how their full experience in the social enterprise as well as SAS has contributed to general life improvement.

Skill development. One of the most significant themes found from the data is skill development. Working in the social enterprise gives women the opportunity to develop several types of skills and abilities. These include basic skills related to cooking and cleaning, life skills such as problem solving and conflict resolution, and specific work-place skills.

Basic skills. Many women from the streets and the sex trade have never had the opportunity to learn basic skills such as cooking and cleaning, especially those that have been involved since they were youth. A staff member explained:

The life usually involves a lot of abuse and drugs and there seems to be a lack of just life skills in the sense of... like taps are being broken everywhere in the building because they're really hard on appliances because they're not used to having them. Sometimes even holding a knife and carrying a knife around is foreign to the idea of like that's not the safest way to carry the knife. There's always a big struggle of putting knives in the water, everything gets thrown in the sink it's like "You can't do that someone's going to cut their finger off, someone's gonna' put their hand in there". But they don't, there's not that thought process yet of "Ok, I'm not just dumping things behind me". So what we may see as just being untidy or not caring is actually a

learned process from very young. So then trying to gather their idea of like

someone's going to hold me accountable if I don't pick up behind me or if I don't

actually do things the right way. Which they never had before. (Interviewee #06)

Involvement in the social enterprise allows women the opportunity to learn to cook, clean

up and meal plan. Two staff added:

Like a lot of women that come in to the program they don't know how to cook, and

they you know, like they don't know how to prep and that kind of stuff. I think [the

skills] brings it into their life a lot too right? You know, learning how to cook, learning

how to do the dishes. Like there's a lot of women out there that come into this

program that have never done that. (Interviewee #06)

I have a lady working in there who she has a few children, she's gonna' get them back

at the end of the summer is her plan. But she said "Like I never cooked for them, I

would bring them fast food or [Kraft Dinner] or whatever…So we're teaching her how

to cook like say spaghetti and meatballs… So teach them how to make like you know

fairly decent meals on a budget because we're on a budget. Because we're on a budget

and we kind of stress that. (Interviewee #05)

One woman admitted her reason for wanting to work in the social enterprise was so

she could learn these types of skills: "I thought that I could take it home and involve it in my

life with the children. With ah, you know preparing meals, easy way of eating and a healthy

way of eating" (Interviewee #01).

    <u>Life skills</u>. Life skills, otherwise known as "soft" skills, are another set of abilities

women acquire from engagement with the social enterprise. This type of value is easily

anticipated because the work experience program provides 21 units of structured soft skill

training in conjunction with workplace competencies. Soft skills such as punctuality, communication, problem solving, professionalism, and taking direction were specific examples provided by women and staff:

I really figured out how to work with difficult people or people that I really didn't want any involvement with. Like, [I had to work with a woman I had a connection with from my personal life]. It showed the kind of person that you are to go into those kinds of situations. Like I wasn't mean, I wasn't belligerent, and I did have to tell her what to do…it gives you a sense of responsibility and also a sense of um, professionalism. Like no matter what, my event comes first and whatever I have between a person that I need to work, it shouldn't come in the way of me succeeding in running a successful event. (Interviewee #02)

Just like um, coming here every day on time. Coming here every day on time was hard for me. But they held me accountable, like I held myself accountable. I had to call in like on the job if I was sick. Just all that kind of practice and stuff…I [also] had a hard time being told what to do. (Laughs) (Interviewee #04)

She continued:

Ok, so like I used to get frustrated and stuff in here or things would get overwhelming and people would ask me to do something and I'd roll my eyes at them. Like "Ohhhh". (Laughs). You can't do that, especially with customers! I didn't know that…I was coming from a place where I don't express myself very good and when I do it's not, it's like a child. It's like being retaught how to act and behave like an adult right? (Laughs) (Interviewee #04)

<u>Specific workplace skills</u>. The final type of competence acquired from social enterprise involvement is work-specific related to food and event planning. These include areas such as kitchen safety and cleanliness, doing inventory, event and menu planning, customer service and quality control. Women described many activities they conduct in a typical day:

> I'm working at 8:30 in the morning so I come here and make coffee for the girls. Then we set up the venue for when we [an event]. Setting up…it could go from 20 people to 120 people. Then we cook lunch for the girls or breakfast on Wednesday, clean up and then prepare and just organize the food and stuff for whatever event is for the next day. (Interviewee #01)

> Set up the tables put the tablecloths on and the chairs around the table. Then you'd have to set it up a certain say so, you'd have to put glasses, you'd arrange them on the table in a certain way with plates. Then you'd have your forks and knives, you'd wrap them, call them wraps we wrap them up and put them nice. Then you polish everything before you wrap them…Then in the meantime depending on what time it is then you have to start cooking. I like cooking so they put me on cooking right away. (Interviewee #04)

> Get out breakfast service while they're eating. If they're having lunch we have to get lunch ready so usually the majority of the lunches that I've made are sandwiches. We make all of our sandwiches, all the condiments all the bread, get all that stuff. Then you have to clear the breakfast from the room, clear all the dishes, do the dishes, finish the sandwiches um, plate the sandwiches whatever side dish they have get that ready then bring all that stuff out for the people and then clean up and then clear the

room, do all the dishes and then wait till they're done whatever they're doing. Then

clear the room again and if we have to reset for tomorrow, set the room, tables chairs

whatever and then lock up and get out. So it could be a long day. (Interviewee #02)

These descriptions of work-place activities are in fact, workplace skills. These too were

noted during observation; kitchen procedures, planning and executing events, food

preparation and service are all part of a typical Venue 1008 event.

For women, obtaining these types of abilities helps them to be successful in outside

employment. Two interviewees confidently shared:

I know all the procedures in the kitchen, I can delegate when others are in the

kitchen. So it's a really great experience and opportunity to be able to work so hard at

something and show and excel and then to be able to take those skills outside.

(Interviewee #02)

I was just recently put in a position where I got to work and had to train two girls. I

don't ever train people ok, I just do what I gotta' do…Holy shit I trained two girls!!

(laughing) (Interviewee #04)

These quotations illustrate the usefulness of the work-place skills obtained from

employment in the social enterprise. From a management perspective, these skills are

more transferable than other work experience programs offered through SAS:

[The Venue] is a transferrable skill that they can take to restaurants and other areas

that they can actually use somewhere else. I mean admin[istration] is a little hard to

get into, and accounting is a little hard to get into and not everyone likes kids. But if

you can learn to serve people, and clean up and you know, do food prep and that kind

of stuff, it's a skill that you can easily get into other places. (Interviewee #06)

Employment. The acquisition of skills leads to the next area of value: employment. The majority of those interviewed referenced women's ability to gain employment following their time in Venue 1008. One social enterprise participant shared, "I have my first real job out in society now. One that I call a real job" (Interviewee #04). She added:

It's like everything that I've learned [at Venue 1008], I definitely, without this I probably wouldn't have a job as long as I've had. Like, I've had a job now for five months. There's so much that I've brought over from here to there. Especially with my attitude… yeah it's really awesome. If I didn't have this before I went out there yeah, I don't think I would have a job. I don't think I would have been able to succeed. (Interviewee #04)

Another participant shared a similar experience:

When I came into the program, I had worked at carwashes and I had done some construction and I planted trees. It was jobs that I could get into that really didn't matter. It didn't matter who I was, I was just getting a paycheque. That's all I needed at the time. So coming into here and then going through the program, doing job shadowing, work experience, you get to learn all these different areas. Areas that you're not just someone there…at Fireworks you're learning how to do a good job and provide people with a service that's exciting and rewarding and busy all the time. I really like that. Something that not only teaches you but gives you that stepping-stone to go further. (Interviewee #02)

A staff member explained that two key components to obtaining employment is the work experience in the social enterprise that can be recorded on a resume and the transitional support offered by SAS:

It gives them something on their resume. We're not putting them back out in the world and just saying "Ok, we're giving you better life now go figure it out". You know, we're actually giving them something tangible that says "Ok, I did six months in a venue or six months in reception or [the childcare], I have at least six months of skills". (Interviewee #06)

Our Follow-Care [program] is really good at taking them to that level and helping them find that job. Helping them kind of situate. The idea of someone going through 30 days of treatment and then walking out and supposed to be ok I think are ridiculous. Everybody struggles afterwards. I think that whole Follow-Care component and the work experience component is essential that they actually have somewhere to go afterwards and they have something to do afterwards and we're not just leaving them still on welfare and with no necessities or means for anything. We've actually thought about the rest of the process. (Interviewee #06)

Because of these opportunities and supports, finding employment after a period at the social enterprise is possible for any woman according to one respondent. She felt that with the right mindset, the social enterprise experience could be an important stepping-stone:

I think you can succeed very well; it's your mind set. Like I've known previous girls who've worked in the kitchen and it was [the manager's] fault or it was this [person's] fault or they were always having personal problems that couldn't - work was not the priority. But I think if you come in here and think, "Well this is my stepping stone to bigger and better things" then it will work. I know plenty of other girls too who have used this and are now are working at bistros and cafés and doing things that they like.

So I think it just depends on what kind of attitude you're bringing to the table. (Interviewee #02)

Income. Closely related to employment, is earning an income. As discussed, women are paid minimum wage during their work experience in Venue 1008, providing a regular source of income. The opportunity to acquire an income through meaningful employment, rather than through the sex trade, was described as an important facet for women involved in the social enterprise:

"Now for the first time I made that money and it's mine and no one could take that away from me". So I think for a lot of women that come here, that's a big change for them. I've had girls put their first paystub on their wall. Like I've had other ones come back and tell me "Ok, so I made this much money how much should I put away and save for the next day?" All right, so you're starting to get the idea of like, we teach budgeting in the class but now you actually are applying those life skills that we've been teaching. They have this huge sense of pride and you can see it in them and it's different. (Interviewee #06)

What's more, if women have outside appointments or require support, they continue to receive pay during appointment hours, reflecting a belief that these additional activities are necessary to stabilizing women to obtain future employment. One staff member stated:

If they need to come and talk to me [for support] or if they need to work on their resume they're still paid for that time. So one lady's currently working in work experience, um, if we have a meeting from 2 to 3 o'clock, she's still paid for that time…also any outside meetings with Child and Family Services [for example] or any

other course to better their um, likelihood to get a job…So whether that means they took some computer courses or they were taking some sort of cooking class during the day, that would also be paid for. (Interviewee #03)

A consistent income is important, as one woman described, "Because I'm working and getting those paycheques and am able to support my kids" (Interviewee #01). Earning an income was poignantly described as helping "someone not be in poverty for a week" (Interviewee #05).

The data analysis of this theme however, also presented a downside. Working for minimum wage is a challenge for women. In Alberta, this is currently legislated at $10.20 per hour. One participant admitted, "You know like me working on minimum wage it's hard to save money and all that kind of stuff" (Interviewee #01). A staff member likewise commented on how the minimum wage is not a liveable wage in Alberta. Yet, she conceded that women in SAS have access to subsidized housing and free daycare, making their situations somewhat more manageable:

> In my opinion, I think the minimum wage is a ridiculous amount… it's not a liveable wage at all…Granted though, the ladies here, a lot of the ladies we also have the apartments upstairs and many of the women who are in work experience actually live upstairs…It is more liveable for these ladies because they're housing is usually subsidized…So many of the women I've worked with have found it's just comfortable to go from job shadow to work experience living upstairs. Then they're ok with the lower wage for a certain amount of time. (Interviewee #03)

One of the permanent employees (a former graduate of the work experience) found that even though she makes more than minimum wage, she still struggles to make ends meet:

I've been here two years and I've never gotten a raise. But then I also understand like

we're a social enterprise for another, another place (SAS). But some days I work my

ass off. I know I get gratuity but you don't get it on every cheque. So you know if I

work five events one month and none of them have gratuity then I'm just getting that.

(Interviewee #02)

Small pay increases for employees and work experience participants are a notable part of

the Fireworks Cooperative Annual Business Operations (Fireworks Cooperative, 2014).

Self Esteem and confidence. In addition to employment and income generation, five

respondents commented on the improvements in self-esteem and confidence for women.

The following three descriptions from participants illustrate this idea:

I think it really helps us girls…We're always praising each other and saying "Good job,

you're doing great". Yeah so you know, when you're working and somebody says "You

set the room really nice and you're bringing this into the kitchen". It builds your self-

esteem. (Interviewee #01)

I'm getting up every day, I'm going to work, I'm working hard to take care of my

family and take care of myself. Paying rent, you know that's not necessarily always a

good thing (laughs) but you know, it feels good when you do pay your rent and you

have your place and you're stable and you know, you've got a stable job. Yeah so, like

it builds your self-esteem up for sure. (Interviewee #01)

It gives you confidence right? Like I know I do a good job and [the manager] tells me

that I do a good job. So it gives me the confidence that "Oh well at least I'm good at

something" you know what I mean? Like other areas of life are hard. Being a mom is

hard, cleaning the house is hard, being a student and wanting to succeed is hard.

When I come to work I know exactly what I have to do. I know how it has to be done, and you strive to have it done the absolute best that it can be. So at least I know when I come to work, I'm just not gonna' do a piss poor job or it's not gonna' be as good as it can be. Like I know when I come to work I do a good job. (Interviewee #02)

A staff member shared similar thoughts about how working in the social enterprise and earning an income can help build self-esteem amongst women:

I think the other need is you know, when they earn their first paycheque, when they actually earn their money and it's not from selling their body and it's not from you know, having to work some "John" over there's actually, there's that sense of pride. Like "I put in a hard day's work and I helped this function go from A to B, start to finish and look what I created, look what I made. There is that sense of pride and that sense of accomplishment. Over time you can see that they start building a little bit more of an attitude, an ownership of you know, "I wanna' do the best I can 'cuz these people are counting on me". But it's more when they get that first paycheque and that second paycheque and they start learning like, I made this money, I earned this money. (Interviewee #06)

A sense of belonging and acceptance. Women also identified feeling a sense of belonging and acceptance as a result of working in Venue 1008. Frequently, women from the streets and sex trade have been marginalized and rejected by society. The building of community at SAS and within the social enterprise has contributed to a sense of belonging for many. Women used words such as "family", "community", "love", "sisters" to describe their experiences. One, in particular, shared:

I lost my mom and my brothers and sisters - so like I got into trouble right? Like just a sense of belonging here, I feel like I belong. (Interviewee #04)

For this woman, her experience of belonging was one of the reasons she chose to work in the social enterprise:

It's just where I felt more comfortable in the kitchen…When you work in the kitchen you not only set up for events and stuff like for the outside people to come in to have weddings or dinners or events right? But I wanted to work in the kitchen mostly because the girls here they all come into the kitchen at lunch and we give them hot meals too right? So, I don't know, it's just like where you can go, like you know how the kitchen is like where your mom cooks and stuff. That whole idea, that's what it's like here… I don't know I just have so much love for them girls and they always tell me to pop in if I have problems. It's just a nice place to go to, the kitchen. Everybody stops by at the kitchen. It's really, yeah, it's calming… (Interviewee #04)

While another described an experience of acceptance:

You know the people and especially me, I have a dirty humour, you know, I'm pretty loud and out there. The people here understand that that's who I am. That's who I've always been so it's not like going somewhere new and having to watch what I do, watch what I say. I don't have to be somebody else. (Interviewee #02)

General life improvement. This is the final theme regarding the value of social enterprise for women participants. For all three participants, being involved with the social enterprise and the larger organization has had a significant impact on their life in general. They stated:

My whole life has changed since I came on to Servant's Anonymous. I'm getting my kids back full time, I've been clean for 14 months you know, so like yeah it's changed my whole life... I think that you know, a lot of women should know about this program. I didn't know about this program forever, and if I would have then my life would have been different. You know, years prior to it. This program actually really does care. You know, Fireworks is willing to put you to work if you want to get that side of the fence right? (Interviewee #01)

It's so crazy, even once in a while I'll still get "whoo" sometimes I'll just be sitting there and I'll get so overwhelmed and I just cry like a little girl because I'm like "Oh my God" it just sinks in once in a while that I'm still here...this program saved my life and it's still doing it...I don't know if I lucked out or like what. It's just like everything fell into place as soon as I got here. I've never ever seen anything like this place here in my life. (Interviewee #04)

The professionalism, I like that too because when I do an event I hold myself to a certain standard. It needs to look good, it needs to be good, people need to feel comfortable, I need to be providing everyone the best service. I think that follows through in other areas of my life. When I'm at school I have to be proficient. It has to be correct, I have to do all these things and I think over time it's taught me that I shouldn't only apply it to my work just because I'm getting a pay cheque but I should be applying it in all areas of my life. (Interviewee #02)

These descriptions highlight the impact involvement in SAS and Venue 1008 has had on women in general. Specifically, it illustrates how Venue 1008 is one component of a much larger service.

Value for the organization and greater community

On top of benefitting individual women, the value of the social enterprise was also determined for the organization and the greater community. Generating a source of income was certainly an important outcome as was creating greater awareness about the issue of sexual exploitation and the services of SAS.

Source of income. Interview respondents identified monetary value for the organization as an important added benefit. As one staff member put it, "It's great to have that income [for the organization]" (Interviewee #03). Others added:

> So for the last two years we've made a profit. The idea that they had when they first opened Fireworks was eventually it would be a standalone company. So Servants Anonymous would rely less on government funding which the last 22 years that hasn't happened. So it's created now some hope I think for that. (Interviewee #05)
>
> I think one of the things like we always say on our invoices like um, "party for a purpose". So basically the idea is like you're having a party for a purpose, it has a cause. All the money that happens for the party is going back to a charity and it's helping a charity. (Interviewee #06)

Emphasis on income generation is also evident in the Fireworks Cooperative Annual Business Operations Plan. One of the three-year strategic intentions is: "Fireworks Cooperative is completely self-sustainable & achieves a level of profits that sustains an annual increasing percentage of the revenue required for the operations & work of the Servants Anonymous Society of Calgary" (Fireworks Cooperative, 2014, p. 1). The specific goal of this strategic intention is to increase revenues by a "minimum of 25% with half of this being transferred to SAS each year" (Fireworks Cooperative, 2014, p. 2). Indeed,

generating profit to support the social programs of the non-profit organization is an important outcome of running the social enterprise.

Build awareness. Further to a source of income, is the value of building awareness about the parent organization and the associated social issue. Because the social enterprise is a regular business available to the public, there is opportunity to advance societal understanding about the sexual exploitation of women and the services of SAS. Staff said:

It's been a way even for me when I talk about SAS… bringing interested parties in from the community explaining "Oh we also have a social enterprise and you can have events here". And when I've had individuals come um, guest speakers they're like "Oh yeah I actually went to an event here and it was great". So it's also another way to get the word out about SAS and about the whole community and how we work together. (Interviewee #03)

I think awareness - we've created a lot of awareness through people who have booked weddings here… not even knowing Servants Anonymous existed and not knowing there was a problem with sexual exploitation and drug abuse. It's quite interesting when people walk through the door and think they're just coming into a venue and then they ask what's this brochure here, Servants Anonymous and explaining what that is…They want to help so we have got a few volunteers that way. Ah, donations so what kind of donations can you accept and you know, an increase in, I know I'm not really sure about the financial, but we're always asking for baby stuff and I feel like we've met that quite well the last couple of years. (Interviewee #05)

I think the, the greater impact for the community is the awareness and the education because a lot of times when you tell someone about "Well you're actually helping a

social enterprise" and they say "What do you mean, what's the social enterprise?" and then you explain it to them and then you're able to tell them about the charity. For Servants Anonymous, in the past we weren't really known out there and now we have just another avenue of telling people who we are. And a way of people to give to us that's not just asking them for money. You know. We can say to them why don't you have your Christmas party with us and you're still helping the charity. (Interviewee #06)

The operation of the social enterprise results in several forms of value. The impact it has on women in terms of skill development, employment, income, self-esteem and acceptance, belonging and general life improvement are instrumental for women recovering from sexual exploitation and addiction. Venue 1008 creates further benefit by enhancing awareness of the social issue and the services of SAS as well as generating additional revenue for SAS social programing.

Analysis from Venue 1008 resulted in five characteristics of the model, five challenges and eight areas of value. Table 9. presents these themes in a tabular format. The following chapter presents the findings for West Central Women's Resource Centre's childminding social enterprise in Winnipeg, Manitoba, followed by the third case, Interpreter Services Toronto. A chapter dedicated to the cross-case comparison follows. The discussion chapter then takes the findings from all three cases, comparing and contrasting them and relating back to the literature with the ultimate goal of answering the research question.

Table 9. Venue 1008 Prominent Themes

Research Question	Venue 1008 (SAS)

What are the characteristics of the social enterprise?	1. Provision of support
	   a. A safe environment
	   b. Access to a support person
	   c. An approachable social enterprise manager
	2. A strong community
	3. A combination of hard and soft skill training
	4. Informed by women's needs and lived experiences
	5. Embedded in the parent organization

What are the challenges of the social enterprise?	1. Tension between business goals and social goals
	   a. Limited business background & understanding of social enterprise
	   b. Serving a complex client population
	   c. Funding structure
	2. Limited ability to advertise and generate new business
	3. Lack of funding
	4. Potential to create dependency for women
	5. Finite opportunities for women

What value does the social enterprise bring to women and the larger community?	Value for women: 1. Skill development 2. Employment 3. Income 4. Self-esteem & confidence 5. Belonging & acceptance 6. General life improvement Value for the organization/community: 1. Source of income 2. Build awareness

Chapter 5: Case Study #2: West Central Women's Resource Centre Childminding

Introduction

This chapter presents the results from the second case study, WCWRC childminding social enterprise. Multiple types of data were collected from this site including interview data with three staff members and six social enterprise participants, observations of the program and the participants, and a review of several documents and reports. Table 10. outlines the general ethnic background of the women interviewed and the employment position of the staff. Data analysis included description of the bounded case and within-case analysis. Cross-case analysis is presented in the discussion chapter of this thesis.

Table 10. West Central Women's Resource Centre Interview Participants

Interviewee Number	Position & General Ethnic Background
#07	Childminder; Immigrant woman
#08	Childminder; Aboriginal woman
#09	Childminder; Immigrant woman
#10	Childminder; Aboriginal woman
#11	Childminder; Aboriginal woman
#12	Childminder; Aboriginal woman
#13	Staff/management
#14	Staff/management
#15	Staff/management

The Social Enterprise

The WCWRC childminding social enterprise offers childminding services to the Winnipeg community. Local, inner-city women are provided with free training and skill development in childminding and are then matched with community agency requests for paid short-term childcare services (WCWRC, n.d.-a). As a social enterprise, the WCWRC childminding venture combines a business with social purpose. In this case, the business is

the childminding service available to the community and the social purpose is to provide

job skill training and casual employment to multi-barriered women, to add to the limited

supply of available childcare, and to reduce a critical barrier to women's economic and

social participation. The enterprise and social purpose are summarized in Table 11.

Table 11. West Central Women's Resource Centre Enterprise & Social Purpose

The Enterprise	The Social Purpose
Provides childminding services to women who access the WCWRC and the larger Winnipeg community.	To provide job skill training, casual employment and income to women who face multiple barriers to employment.
	To increase the supply of available childcare to women and their families.
	By providing childcare, a key barrier is reduced and women are able to access programs and services in the WCWRC and the wider community.

Started in 2001, the social enterprise was created in response to "to the need for

occasional childcare and the desire of many people to find work" (WCWRC, 2012b, para. 1).

According to management, this was determined through a community survey where local

women singled out lack of childcare and employment as critical areas they faced. The

WCWRC recognized that several community-identified issues could be addressed through

one venture, thus the social enterprise was conceived (The Canadian CED Network, n.d.).

As one staff interviewee explained:

> Yeah, so the need came from the community and we also wanted to provide
>
> childminding for women that come to our centre so they can attend workshops and
>
> trainings and different programs we offer. Then the idea came to provide that service
>
> to other centres in the city. (Interviewee #13)

Close to eight years later, the social enterprise has trained over 200 women. In 2013 alone, 80 childminders worked over 2,900 hours earning $31,659 (WCWRC, 2014). The remainder of this section provides an overview of the social enterprise by describing the site, how it functions, the women who participate, and the skills and training provided.

The childminding site(s)

The WCWRC is an eye-catching green building with purple awning on Ellice Avenue in Winnipeg. From one vantage point it has a colourful mural with a blue sky, green grass, a tree and a diversity of people reflected with the words "we are the world" inscribed. Upon arriving at the WCWRC, one enters a large open, bright and welcoming space. There are many chairs and couches in this area with a coffee and tea station. The walls are warmly decorated with quilts, fabrics and Aboriginal artwork. Various posters and notices abound ranging from information on the upcoming municipal election, announcements about community activism for missing and murdered Aboriginal women, to posters about respect and LGBTQ rights.

The childminding room is located down a corridor from the entrance area, in the centre of the building. There is a special door, called a "Dutch door" in which the top half opens and the bottom half remains closed allowing the childminders to chat with parents without the children leaving the room. The space also has large windows, providing an open view. When one enters the childminding room, they immediately see the play area complete with toys, paints, books, a table and chairs, chalkboard, and puppet theatre. Signs about respect, parenting tips and other notices are also apparent. When I first saw the childminding room, there were two young children on one side with a childminder. One child was sleeping in a stroller and the other was playing with the childminder. On the

other side of the room, two additional children were present with their mothers and three adolescents were quietly painting at the table.

Off-site the childminding spaces can range. Some organizations have a childminding room much like that of WCWRC. When this is not the case, organizations are asked to provide a room with toys, craft supplies and snacks (WCWRC, n.d.-c). While open to the wider community of Winnipeg, the primary requests for childminding come from other non-profit organizations. To date, 53 social service agencies have accessed WCWRC childminders (WCWRC, 2014). One of the women interviewed shared she's been to schools, churches, daycares, non-profits and community centres to provide childminding while another explained she once provided childminding to a wedding in a rural community.

The women of West Central Women's Resource Centre

The majority of childminders are newcomers, Aboriginal women and/or low-income women (WCWRC, 2013). Many have never had traditional employment and have faced many barriers in obtaining or improving literacy, education and skills. One newcomer woman revealed she had not worked before immigrating to Canada. Another Aboriginal woman, shared she had "never had a job before" other than temporary work in a warehouse and a third stated "I couldn't get a job because I'm a slow learner. It was very hard for me to find a job especially since [I have an illness] and I can't quite take too much of the job" (Interviewee #11). Limited work experience and difficulty finding work are common challenges for women.

According to WCWRC documentation, many childminders also have not finished high school and struggle with low levels of literacy (WCWRC, 2013). Of the four Aboriginal women interviewed, all had completed some high school. For the two women not born in

Canada, education levels were lower. One newcomer woman "didn't go farther than grade five, my parents got me married…back in my country married women cannot go to school" (Interviewee #07) and another obtained only a grade eight in her home country. Staff explained that for newcomer women and Aboriginal women alike, literacy often presents a barrier. Whether it is due to language and education obstacles, or dropping out of high school because of learning disabilities or trouble reading, many women who access WCWRC have difficulties finding employment as a result of limited education.

Poverty, and all the challenges associated with it, is also common for WCWRC women. Several of those interviewed discussed how they utilize social assistance to make ends meet and support their families. Staff added that as a result of poverty, housing, transportation and childcare issues are also frequent, further adding to a life of instability: "Poverty plays a big part in this area so women struggle with a lot of social issues and housing and childcare - you name it - like moving around, transiency, trying to find a good safe place to live" (Interviewee #13). Another interview respondent suggested that due to low-income levels women are unable to go to school or get further training: "I would say that the biggest reason that the women don't go on from one step to the next is that the financial support is not there for them to do it. It's not about a lack of desire" (Interviewee #15). Living below the poverty line can limit educational and employment opportunities.

All but one of the women interviewed had children. The number of children ranged from two to six. Staff added that often these women are single parents. In addition to their own children, many newcomer and Aboriginal women also care for other family members. One Aboriginal woman confirmed she had raised her nieces and nephews and another was caring for her grandchildren, one of whom was an infant, at the time of the interview.

Likewise, a newcomer woman explained that in addition to her two children, her mother, sister, her sister's husband and six other children live in her house and are under her care.

Many of the Aboriginal women who access WCWRC have had involvement with the child welfare system. One poignant story is from Interviewee #10:

Four years ago, sitting on the couch, I lost my children through [Child and Family Services], I had a choice to get them back, I had six months to get them back, I didn't like that they were out there like that, I came in to [WCWRC] and did everything in my power to get them back – I survived on $100 a month, I'm so proud that I didn't have to sell myself, someone above was watching over me…I got them back after six months.

Indeed, staff confirmed parenting challenges and child welfare involvement are common for women at the centre.

In addition to low education and employment levels, single parenting and poverty, Staff also revealed that many women have histories of trauma, including domestic and sexual violence, childhood trauma, and war-related trauma. One woman interviewed disclosed for example, she has an "abusive history" and has been "really mistreated". She declined to give her real name in writing during the interview and refused to be audio-recorded due to her ongoing fear of her ex-husband. Another woman shared her husband and father were both murdered in a civil war back in her home country in East Africa. Staff explained that many women come to the centre with histories of violence resulting in crisis and the need for trauma support.

While both newcomer and Aboriginal women share some general experiences such as poverty and limited education, there are also important distinctions that must be

understood for each population at WCWRC. One interview respondent shared the following:

> The newcomer population has very distinct barriers versus the Indigenous population. Both communities have very distinct barriers and they're not the same. Some of the strategies to overcome those barriers may be similar but for example, newcomers are generally working with things like lower levels of English and lack of Canadian work contacts whereas Indigenous women are working with lower levels of education and potentially, intergenerational trauma…involvement in the Child and Family Services system – which is not often the case on the newcomer side of things. Some of the challenges are the same around childminding, transportation, and poverty in general. (Interviewee #15)

The language barrier is one key area of difference between and Indigenous women. According to a staff member interviewed, newcomer women have really gravitated to working in the childminding program due to the low English requirements. She described:

> Newcomer women really latched onto the childminding program because um, you don't really need a, a super high level of English to be a childminder. For many jobs you need like a pretty high level of English like benchmark level seven to get even training in some areas. So childminding was an opportunity to get some paid work and experience. (Interviewee # 13)

As a result, the majority of childminders in the program are newcomer women, as much as 70-80% according to staff.

In summary, women who access the WCWRC face several complex and interconnected barriers, which result in significantly limiting employment opportunities.

Low levels of education and work experience, poverty, single motherhood, and histories of violence and trauma all converge to make it difficult for these women to succeed without intervention and support. The WCWRC childminding social enterprise was conceived to help such women.

Childminding training and skill development

Training for childminding takes place over three days. Child-related issues are addressed during the first two days and then First Aid/CPR training is provided on the third day. Childminding topics include behaviour management, activity planning, health and safety, and childminding rules and responsibilities (see Table 12.) (WCWRC, 2014). Women also undergo Criminal Record & Child Abuse Registry Checks and two days volunteering in the childminding space.

Table 12. Childminding Training Topics

Training Topics
- Exercises to reduce stress and increase concentration   - Attachment to children, separation anxiety   - Positive behaviour management, importance of play   - Communication, conflict resolution   - General safety & healthy food   - Child development, games, songs and crafts   - First Nations teachings, supports for newcomers

In addition to the regular training, WCWRC offers various workshops over the course of the year that childminders are encouraged to attend. Examples include resume writing, puppet story telling, self-esteem and helping kids with school. These supplementary workshops provide women with further skills and training related to caring for children, activity planning for children as well as finding employment in the child-care sector.

Along with regular childminding training, WCWRC has partnered with Red River College to provide advanced childcare training to women once a year. This is a unique offering in that, the WCWRC successfully advocated for a lower English requirement for newcomer women to enrol in the program. An interviewee from management affirmed:

> So they developed a course that's more accessible and we offer it at our centre so [the women] can get childcare, they can get some tutoring for their language needs. And um, and the [English] benchmark level is five instead of seven which the college usually requires. (Interviewee #13)

She further added that this type of training allows women to be eligible to apply for a childcare assistant job at a daycare centre or to set up a home-based daycare, thereby increasing a woman's chance of obtaining full-time employment. In other words, this training is the next step up from childminding but below that of a Childcare Educator, which requires a two-year college diploma in Early Childhood Education.

How the social enterprise functions

Childminders are available Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday afternoons between 12:00 – 4:00pm. The centre is closed Thursdays and over the weekends. When special programs are provided, the centre tries to provide childminding services outside of regular hours in an effort to increase participation by providing women with childcare. When a parent wants to utilize the childminding service they simply show up to the room and sign their child in. They must remain in the centre and be available for any concerns that may arise. Once the parent is ready to leave, they must sign the child out. One of the childminder interview respondents described the nature of childminding:

Childminding is just the same, just like a day care; to look after the children. People can come here and walk in and have their free time for half an hour, some people take 15 minutes and drop their child in the childmind [room]. If they have a coffee or they have an appointment with anybody here. So the childminders they look after the kid, make them be happy and play with them….make them be safe…keep them busy, not bored and have some activity with them, some drawing…until their parents need them back. They will come back and pick them up and go. But they need to stay in the building. (Interviewee #07)

The childminders interviewed described the various activities that are done with the children, such as singing, storytelling, drawing, painting, drumming, puzzles, and games. When there are no children present, the childminders disinfect and clean the childminding room and toys.

For off-site childminding requests, organizations are expected to fill out a childminding request form answering typical questions such as location, date and hours, and number of expected children and their ages. Organizations are also asked if there are any toys or supplies for children and any special duties or special needs required. This information helps the social enterprise coordinator match up appropriate childminders. Organizations are also asked to sign a contract agreeing to provide a suitable environment for childminding, an hourly rate of $11 per childminder paid upon completion of the job, and an administrative fee of $1 per childminder. Organizations are also asked to respect the appropriate ratio of childminder to children (6:1) and to provide permission for childminders to bring their own children, if there is space.

Childminders are also asked to sign a contract entitled the Childminder Rights and Responsibilities form. This form outlines the rights of childminders to receive appropriate support, ongoing training, access to supervision or assistance, and to be paid in a timely manner. The responsibilities aspect summarizes expectations of childminders related to child and parent interactions, health and safety and accountability (Table 13.).

Finally, whether on or off-site, there are particular rules and responsibilities that must be followed in order to ensure the best care for children and to adhere to provincial regulations. These are summarized in Table 14. and primarily have to do with ratio requirements and the need for parents to remain on-site.

In summary, WCWRC childminding social enterprise targets women with multiple barriers to employment and provides free childminding training and job skill development over the course of three days. Once women have obtained their childminding certification, they are then able to provide childminding services. The childminding program in WCWRC employs eight regular childminders; therefore the majority of women receive placements from outside the centre. In 2012, 80 childminders worked 3,460 hours and earned $38,576. About 7000 children were cared for across 53 community agencies (WCWRC, 2013).

The context of West Central Women's Resource Centre's childminding

The childminding social enterprise is part of the wider WCWRC organization, which is situated in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The following presents an overview of the greater WCWRC organization as well as its geographical context.

Table 13. Childminder Rights & Responsibilities

Rights	Responsibilities
To receive assignments in rotation and based on your availability	To arrive 15 minutes before start time to set up and stay 15 minutes after end time to clean up (or until area is clean)
To be paid for assignments by cheque (mostly) in a timely and convenient fashion	To participate actively and play with children throughout the entire shift
To be provided with an appropriate environment for childminding	To use positive behaviour management with all the children, all of the time
To be evaluated fairly for skills and challenges to be recognized	To vacuum carpet and clean dirty dishes in the kitchen at the end of your shift.
To be offered 6 workshops per year for skill growth and development	To always be sure that the child's own parent or another childminder is supervising the children if you need to leave the room
To receive appropriate support to improve child care skills	To provide appropriate child-centred activities throughout the assignment
To be provided with useful information regarding each child each day, including parent or guardian contact information when available	To help children with feeding, as required
	To positively parent your own children who are with you at the site (if applicable)
To request supervision or assistance from the Childminding Coordinator if needed	To be polite and respectful to children and parents at the centre at all times
To be paired with another childminder if the number of children to care for is more than six	To provide the manager with reliable, up-to-date contact information in order to be informed of shifts and confirm your availability.
To bring your own children with you if you contact supervisor first for permission	To report all concerns about assignments, conflicts or child abuse to the childminding manager as soon as possible.

(WCWRC, n.d.-b)

The parent organization: West Central Women's Resource Centre

WCWRC is a non-profit organization formed in 1999 in response to the high rates of

poverty for women in the West Central area of Winnipeg. The website the states that

WCWRC "exists to empower all women-identified people to help themselves, their families

and their community to safer, healthier lifestyles" (WCWRC, 2012c, para. 1). Their

organizational vision "is for a healthy, sustainable, equitable, just and peaceful community

where women's knowledge and experience is valued and respected. [It] includes women

having hope and strength while living out equal social, economic and political rights"

(WCWRC, 2012b, para. 3).

Table 14. Childminding Rules & Regulations

Rules & Regulations of Childminding
• Ratio of 6 children to 1 childminder (for children 2 years and older) • If there are more than 3 children under the age of 2 years or more than 6 children over 2 years, than an additional childminder is required • Childminders are allowed to bring their own children if the ratio can be maintained • Parents have to remain on-site • Parents have to sign-in and sign-out children • Childminders are not to change diapers. Parents need to attend to this.

The centre also promotes four "ways of working" which reflect particular principles

and values that are used to guide the "work, words and actions" of staff (WCWRC, 2012a,

para. 3). The first, a women-centred approach, refers to services that are informed by

women's lived experiences. This is implemented in conjunction with an empowerment

framework, the second principle, which reflects a capacity building structure with four

stages (breaking social isolation, networking, awareness and action). Harm reduction, the

third value, involves taking steps to reduce harm in people's lives by valuing where they

are and helping them move to a place of less harm. The final way of working is community

economic development. Here, the WCWRC aims to support local goods services,

investment, employment, decision-making and skill building while promoting

neighbourhood sustainability, human dignity and the environment.

WCWRC offers a series of programs to support women, families and the community, in addition to childminding and employment. They offer drop-in services, empowerment programs, housing and social assistant support and advocacy, healing groups and immigrant settlement resources. Each is briefly summarized here from the website.

Drop-In and general services. The drop-in area is located in the front space of the centre. It is a place for women to stop by, have snacks or coffee and chat with other women. The space provides a free community phone and computer, laundry and shower facilities, notice boards and resources. There is a drop-in coordinator that works to provide information and support to women. Childminding is available for women while they are in the drop-in space, during childminding hours.

Women Empowering Women into Leadership (WE-WIL). The focus of this program is to empower and give voice to women who have often been marginalized from society. It explores issues of exclusion, power, privilege and oppression and how these may have contributed to women's experiences. WE-WIL supports women in becoming involved in their community through social action, advocacy and politics. Women in this program have the option of becoming a mentor for other women in various areas such as housing, drop-in, nutrition and sewing with newcomers.

Housing Options, Mentorship and Economic Security (HOMES). The HOMES program supports women who are dealing with issues related to housing or income security. It trains community women as volunteer mentors, who in turn, provide support to other women. HOMES also works with other service agencies to assist in addressing housing and income concerns. The program aims to provide women with an opportunity to come

together and support each other through poverty and homelessness. Monthly discussion groups as well as workshops and information sessions are provided.

Red Road to Healing. Red Road to Healing is a program for women who have experienced domestic violence. It is based on traditional Aboriginal teachings and provides one-on-one support and counselling, a sharing circle, Elder support, and monthly events and activities to bring women together.

Traditional teachings. This service offers a variety of Aboriginal cultural and traditional activities to connect Indigenous women with their culture while also promoting these traditions to the wider community. Drumming circles and Sweat Lodge ceremonies are examples.

West Central Neighbourhood Immigrant Settlement Services. This program provides newcomer women and their families with support and assistance to become involved in the community. It works to strengthen connections between women and community resources and helps women with day-to-day living. Specific services include a weekly sewing circle, conversation circles (to support practice with English), and a family support circle.

Employment & Education Program. This program offers supports with education, training, employment and volunteering. It helps women with resumes, cover letters, as well as job search and interview skills. Further, women can use the service to help locate free and low cost training, enrol in high school or college and apply for student loans and scholarships.

Geographical context

The WCWRC is located in the West Central inner city neighbourhood of Winnipeg, Manitoba. This segment explores the status of women in this geographic location by

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considering key social indicators such as employment/unemployment status, poverty, homelessness and violence against women in the region. In doing so, the case is established in a specific context that summarizes the particular barriers women in the area face.

"Winnipeg" comes from the Cree words for "muddy water" due to its location at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers in Manitoba (City of Winnipeg, 2014b). Regarded as the "Heart of the Continent" for its near central position in North America, Winnipeg boasts a diversified economy spanning manufacturing, agribusiness, energy, financial industries and tourism to name a few (Economic Development Winnipeg, 2015). It is the ninth largest city in Canada with a population of just over 700,000 people (City of Winnipeg, 2014b) and has both the highest concentration and largest number of Aboriginal peoples in the country as well as a considerable immigrant population (City of Winnipeg, 2014a).

Employment. The Labour Market Information Division (2014) of Statistics Canada reported that Manitoba saw a slight increase in employment in early 2014. During this same period however, the province's unemployment rate also increased from 5.5% to 5.6% but continued to be notably less than the national average of 7%. This same report recorded a variance between male and female workers. For women, the unemployment rate rose in January 2014 to 6.1%, up a full percentage point, while for men the unemployment rate dropped from 5.9% to 5.2% (Labour Market Information Division, 2014). In addition to variations in employment rates, a large gender gap in wage also persists, though it is smaller than that of Alberta. The average total income for women in 2008 was $27, 900 while men earned $45, 400 (Statistics Canada, 2011a).

In regards to the city of Winnipeg, unemployment rose from 5.5% in 2012 to 5.9% in 2013 (City of Winnipeg, 2014a). While additional demographics about the unemployed in Winnipeg were unavailable, both provincially (Labour Market Information Division, 2014) and nationally (Statistics Canada, 2011a) women face higher rates of unemployment. It is therefore possible that this is also the case in Winnipeg. Furthermore, at the national level, Aboriginal women and immigrant women in particular, endure disproportionate levels of unemployment than their female counterparts (Statistics Canada, 2011a). For example, Aboriginal women are as much as two times more likely to be jobless than non-Aboriginal women (Statistics Canada, 2011a). Since Winnipeg has such a large Aboriginal population and a growing immigrant population, these statistical trends are likely present in the city as well.

Poverty. According to the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (2014), 88,000 people or 11.2% live below the poverty line. This rate is notably higher than the provincial level which sits at 9.2% (Citizens for Public Justice, 2012). In Winnipeg, women are more likely to live in poverty than men, with 13% versus 10% respectively (McInturff, 2014a). What's more, certain groups of women bear higher rates of poverty much like that of unemployment. Aboriginal women, senior women, immigrant women, disabled women, young women and visible minority women experience disproportionate levels of poverty than that of their male counterparts (Statistics Canada, 2011a).

Manitoba's minimum wage is currently $10.45 up 20 cents in 2013 (Retail Council of Canada, 2015). Manitoba also has a movement to establish a living wage to fight poverty. Set at $14.07 for a family of two working parents and $17.04 for a single person, the living wage "sets a higher standard [than the minimum wage] – it reflects what earners in a

family need to bring home, based on the actual costs of living in a specific community"

(Jarosiewicz, 2013, p. 2). According to this calculation, the current minimum wage in

Manitoba is short $3.62 per hour for a family and $6.59 per hour for a single person. Since

more women work for minimum wage than men (Statistics Canada, 2009), and are more

likely to be solely responsible for children (Statistics Canada, 2006, 2011a), this

discrepancy unequally affects women.

   Homelessness. Winnipeg also has a community task force set on eradicating

homelessness. Called *End Homelessness: A Community Task Force*, this collaborative group

produced a report outlining the context of Winnipeg's homelessness and a long-term action

plan to intervene (End Homelessness, 2014). The report, *The Plan to End Homelessness in*

Winnipeg, asserts a strong linkage between unemployment, poverty and homelessness

stating,

> The importance of employment in preventing homelessness cannot be
>
> underestimated" and that certain housing models "consider finding and maintaining
>
> some sort of employment as import as maintaining housing, not only for the benefits
>
> of added income, but also because of the benefits of increased social and economic
>
> participation in the process of recovery. (End Homelessness, 2014, p. 20)

   End Homelessness (2014) reports that Winnipeg also has a growing homeless

population of women who now comprise 30% of the total. It further notes that homeless

women encounter higher rates of violence and as a result, are often invisible in the shelter

system, suggesting the estimation may be higher. What's more, Aboriginal peoples are

highly overrepresented in Winnipeg homeless counts and Aboriginal women and girls in

particular, are at greatest risk when homeless for rape, murder and disappearance (End Homelessness, 2014).

Violence against women. Manitoba has the second highest rate of police reported domestic violence in Canada, only behind that of Saskatchewan (Statistics Canada, 2013a). Moreover, Winnipeg has the topmost rate of sexual assaults among 20 metropolitan cities across the country, with close to 500 incidents reported to police in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2013b). Importantly, research also finds that the majority of sexual assaults (as much as 90%) and many incidents of domestic violence go unreported to police (Statistics Canada, 2013b), suggesting much greater rates in reality. Statistics such as these indicate that violence against women is a very real concern in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Sadly, violence against women has an even greater affect on Aboriginal women and girls across the country. They are significantly more likely to experience domestic violence, sexual assault and homicide in Canada, than the rest of the female population (Statistics Canada, 2006, 2013b). Because Winnipeg has the largest grouping of Aboriginal peoples in Canada (City of Winnipeg, 2014a), violence against Aboriginal women is of critical concern. Recent disturbing crimes against Aboriginal women and girls in the Winnipeg area, for example, has re-ignited calls for a national inquiry into missing and murdered Aboriginal women and has positioned Winnipeg as an important location for this movement (Boesveld, 2014).

The above brief summary of social issues facing women in Winnipeg is further evident in recent work by McInturff (2014a). McInturff rated the best and worst places to be a woman in Canada, focusing on the gap between men and women. Winnipeg was ranked 12 out of 20, with 20 being the most unfavourable. McInturff cited gender pay gaps,

high rates of domestic and sexual violence, and low levels of female leadership with that of positive findings regarding education and health as reasons for the ranking.

Merging research on employment, poverty, homelessness and violence against women consequently, offers a context for the status of women in Winnipeg and Manitoba. In sum, Winnipeg and the province of Manitoba have:

- The largest and most concentrated population of Aboriginal peoples

- A growing immigrant population

- A large wage gap between genders

- Unemployment and poverty disproportionately affecting women (Aboriginal women and immigrant women in particular)

- A high rate of domestic violence and sexual violence

- A growing group of homeless women

The above demonstrates the many barriers faced by women in Winnipeg. WCWRC operate in this climate and support women daily who directly are impacted by poverty, homelessness and violence.

Findings

This section presents the findings from the data analysis of interviews, documentation and observations from the WCWRC childminding social enterprise. It is based on the research questions outlined earlier in Table 1. (p. 51). The first segment introduces the characteristics of the social enterprise, followed by the challenges. It closes with a look at the value of the childminding social enterprise both for the women who participate as well as for the larger organization and the community.

Characteristics of West Central Women's Resource Centre

One of the research objectives was to establish the characteristics of women's social enterprise. In regards to WCWRC childminding social enterprise, five characteristics were identified from the data. These are: 1) Informed by women's needs and lived experiences, 2) Social purpose-dominant, 3) Provision of support, 4) Inclusion and, 5) Embedded in the parent organization.

Informed by women's needs and lived experiences

Much of the WCWRC programing has involved a strong appreciation and respect for the population of women the centre serves. Using women's experiences and identified needs to inform service delivery is an important practice of this social enterprise. Evidence of this characteristic is apparent in the organizational vision and working principles (see Section 2). The vision emphasizes that "women's knowledge and experience is valued and respected" (WCWRC, 2012a, para. 2) which is achieved through a "women centred approach" to service delivery. By documenting these beliefs into the vision and working philosophy, the WCWRC demonstrates the significance of including and responding to the needs of women.

This feature is further established in the development of the social enterprise. As mentioned previously in this case study, the childminding venture evolved directly from neighbourhood surveys where local women identified the need for childminding, the desire to learn about childcare, and to gain employment as priorities (WCWRC, 2012b). One staff member confirmed: "I'm proud of the way we do program development because it's so driven by the need in the community and because we try to be so responsive and we facilitate what we hear from people" (Interviewee #14).

In addition to hearing directly from women, the social enterprise was also a response to the shortage of available childcare present in Winnipeg. Through understanding the needs and experiences of women, the WCWRC recognized this gap and understood how a lack of childcare presents significant barriers for women:

> More often than not, it's women who are saddled with the responsibility of making sure their kids have a place to go. Particularly if they are single parents, which in our case a lot of the women we're working with are. So lifting that barrier is like it's opening doors for women that would not otherwise be open. (Interviewee #15)

With the knowledge of how limited childcare can affect women's ability to engage in the community and obtain employment, the social enterprise sought to fill this gap. What's more, women are also able to bring their own children to the childminding jobs if the ratio of children to childminder has not been reached. This right is outlined both in the Childminding Contract between Hiring Organization and WCWRC and the Childminder Rights and Responsibilities forms: "Childminders are allowed to bring one or two of their own children if my organization has not surpassed the amount of children per childminder" (WCWRC, n.d.-b, para. 3). By providing this allowance, more women have access to employment.

A final aspect of recognizing and attending to women's needs in the social enterprise is the available flexibility. A staff member explained:

> The flexibility of the program too is really great...there's such a big pool of childminders right now that [we're] guaranteed to get somebody and childminders aren't under any pressure to say yes or no. They really can choose based on what their life looks like - if they're gonna' take the job or not. So yeah, I think that, that's a

huge benefit of social enterprise is just the flexibility in hours and the support around

that. (Interviewee #14)

For some of the women interviewed, the flexibility in work schedule allows them to

continue with other programs. Newcomer women, in particular, access English classes and

educational upgrading in addition to parenting: "Yeah I am so busy, I come here twice a

week, I go immigrant centre, I go my school everyday, I go home, my home I have my two

girls and my [other relatives]" (Interviewee #09). Having work that allows them to be

flexible in choosing their schedules is an important element of the program.

Another benefit of flexible work schedules is related to time off. Three of the

childminders interviewed mentioned that at times they have had to reduce the amount of

work they are doing on account of family and personal crisis, or illness in their lives. One

woman for example, said she was hospitalized for two months: "That's why I like the

childminding because they're able to give you some time off" (Interviewee # 11). Another

woman has been caring for her grandchildren full-time and as a result has been unable to

childmind. She says she has "been taking breaks, but I always come back" (Interviewee

#12). Since many of the women who access the WCWRC face several challenges and issues,

a flexible work environment that understands their situations and respects their need for

time off is an important part of providing a women-informed model.

The WCWRC childminding social enterprise is informed by women's needs and lived

experiences. It came from an identified community need, recognized women's quest for

childcare and employment and provides flexibility in choosing shifts and taking time off.

Through respecting and valuing women's knowledge and experience and by using this

awareness to inform all service delivery, this has naturally become a key characteristic of the social enterprise.

Social purpose-dominant

The second characteristic of WCWRC childminding social enterprise is its emphasis on the social purpose: employment for women with multiple barriers. This is evident, in that, unlike the first case study, this social enterprise does not have any goals of income generation for the organization. Instead, all decisions made involve how to increase employment opportunities and generate income for women. Employment for women as the primary direction is apparent in the following three quotes:

No, no way is [profit] our objective. If at the end of the day the business ends up being profitable great, but I would see that only being reinvested to be able to train more women. It's an employment strategy for us…Yeah, it's not a "Here's how we can make the centre some money"…it is predominantly around creating work and employment opportunities for women and then supporting them in many ways through that process to be successful. (Interviewee #15)

I think ideally it's for somebody with not, with a very small work history or no work history…Just because [the social enterprise] is really for people to have opportunities that wouldn't normally…Yeah, the target is really to let women find an open door to employment. (Interviewee #14)

No, we're not making a profit (laughs). Yeah. Because it's mainly to get income to the women so we don't see it as a fund raising plan for our centre. (Interviewee #13)

Helping women access employment, which otherwise would have little opportunity, is of chief concern and a distinctive feature of this social enterprise.

The importance of the social purpose is also evident in the change of the childminding coordinator position to that of an employment coordinator. Interviewee #13 shared:

I started off as childminding coordinator and just recently that's changed to employment coordinator. That's partly due to the needs of the childminding program because like over the years we've seen that um, women aren't making that much money with just the childminding. There's so many that are keen to get experience and get a job. So we've tried to create other employment opportunities for women. Now I'm doing much more of helping them with their resumes, trying to find other training opportunities for them. Try to find more employment, like network with more people who are in the employment opportunity field and help women see other options for them. (Interviewee #13)

By modifying the role of the coordinator from childminding in particular, to a broader, employment-focused role offers further indication of the importance of the social purpose over that of income generation or business development.

In addition to the above, much of the related documentation also supports this assertion. WCWRC reports that women receive training in various employment skills such as punctuality, problem solving and taking initiative and additional workshops provide employment-focused content such as "get ready for a child-care job" and "resume writing" (WCWRC, 2013). Finally, the bulk of WCWRC reports describes the program as an employment opportunity and identifies employment related outcomes for women such as training, skill development, job experience, and income generation.

Finally, while the existence of documentation and quotes from staff supports the presence of this characteristic, it is also the absence of certain documentation and

particular language that provides further verification. For example, unlike the first case study, there is no available business plan or related business goals documented. Further, during interviews, staff did not make any reference to business ideas or use business-related language suggesting a substantial emphasis on the social aspect of helping women obtain employment.

Provision of support

The third feature of WCWRC childminding social enterprise is its provision of many types of support. Support, in its various forms, was a common theme in the interviews and documentation, specifically across four areas: employment support, soft skills assistance, crisis management and access to other WCWRC programs and services.

Employment supports. The social enterprise provides supports around employment success. Part of this involves ensuring women have access to assistance during childminding shifts and are provided with ongoing opportunities to improve childminding abilities. The Childminder Rights and Responsibilities contract outlines that childminders have the right to "receive appropriate support to improve child care skills" and to "request supervision or assistance from the Childminding Coordinator if needed" (WCWRC, n.d.-b, p. 1).

A second part of this entails creating a learning environment where women and their situations are understood and respected and women are free to make mistakes without fear of reprisal: "We provide a work environment where we understand that they are facing multiple barriers. I think the traditional workplace operates on a three strikes and you're out sort of policy. That just doesn't work with multi-barriered folks" (Interviewee #15).

Identifying any further barriers to employment, such as language needs or transportation issues, is the third part of this sub-category. Once these areas are recognized, additional supports are put in place for women:

We put language supports in place for women who are accessing English as an additional language they can get language supports, we provide tutoring. Women who need some extra support around some of the concepts that are newer to them can come at a separate time voluntarily to receive extra support. (Interviewee #15).

So definitely, language support, navigating the city like just kind of those nuts and bolts. How do you get from point A to B and all the core skills that you need to juggle a job that we take for granted if we're from Winnipeg. That support, childminders get a lot from [the social enterprise coordinator]. (Interviewee #14)

Finally, women are assisted in finding employment. Sometimes this involves help with locating and connecting with opportunities or providing emotional support around lack of work or self-confidence:

The hardest part for me I find is there are not a lot of opportunities for women with low literacy levels and lack of experience. So some of it is, a lot of it is listening and encouragement and trying to create new opportunities because there aren't really a lot out there. Or helping women see that they have the potential to succeed in something that is out there when they don't maybe have the confidence. (Interviewee #13)

Through on-site childminding support, help with finding work, language and transportation-type assistance and an accommodating and understanding work

environment, women are offered several types of employment related support and services.

Soft skill supports. Part of the formalized childminding instruction incorporates soft skill training such as conflict resolution, communication, self-esteem, and exercises to reduce stress and increase concentration. Yet, the majority of soft skill assistance occurs informally through the childminding coordinator. This often involves coaching around transportation use, asking for directions, using a calendar, punctuality, and general communication:

> [The manager] provides a lot of support around that. Making sure that newcomer women are confident and you know problem solve those little things before they go out there. Talking through how are you gonna' get there, what are you gonna' say, who are you looking for? (Interviewee #14).

> Sometimes the communication is um, is difficult or like, um, explaining things over the phone is not really that effective (laughs) sometimes I have to get them to come here and I'll draw maps or I'll find maps on the internet to help them get to different places or um, just write stuff down for them even to work here. Like make sure they have the right dates and times. (Interviewee #13)

Crisis support. At other times, women require support related to personal or family crisis, which can interfere with their ability to work. Recognizing that many women who access the WCWRC have a history of violence and trauma, the provision of crisis support is an important element of successful employment. One staff member stated, "We recognize that sometimes personal crises are gonna' get in the way. Trauma at home is gonna' get in

the way, that they might be triggered in the workplace in a way that, that other folks aren't"

(Interviewee #15). As such, crisis management is provided as needed:

A lot of women are dealing with trauma. Like both Aboriginal and newcomer women

are dealing with a lot of upheaval. You know, colonization and racism and um, non-

acceptance in Winnipeg plus all the violence and the hurt of many decades

sometimes. So um, yeah I find I spend a lot of time talking to women about their

particular situation and um, trying to help them deal with the present trauma and

also look to the future um, yeah. So sometimes that's like crisis management or

referral or um, just listening. (Interviewee #13)

Access to other WCWRC programs. The final way that social enterprise participants are

supported is through the use of other WCWRC programs. Childminders have access to

additional services at the centre when needed, including: counselling, empowerment

programs, immigration settlement services, housing, and social assistance supports. Staff

confirmed that childminders have accessed the HOMES program, for help with housing and

social assistance, and language circles. Further, two women indicated they are also

involved in the empowerment programs and one used the housing program to secure a

place to live:

It's not only childcare that I do I'm doing WE-WIL here...It's for empowering women

almost like...mentoring. (Interviewee #08)

The centre empowered me to believe in myself and help other women, took courses –

Women's Voices...I took lots of things, and learnt about how to better yourself in life.

(Interviewee #10)

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There are lots of places you can have help for a job even for housing. Here they

helped me to find the housing. Because I used to live in [homeless shelter] I didn't

have a place to live. (Interviewee #07)

Provision of various means of support to childminders is another key trait of the

WCWRC social enterprise. Employment supports, soft skills, crisis management and access

to other programs are some of the ways childminders are supported in their employment.

Inclusion

The fourth characteristic of this social enterprise is inclusion. The WCWRC

childminding venture strives to ensure women, across areas of diversity, are included in

the social enterprise as well as the larger organization. Women that access the WCWRC and

those that train to become childminders are often those who face exclusion from the wider

community. Low levels of literacy and education, language barriers, and addictions are a

few of the challenges women face and can result in their marginalization. The social

enterprise works to contrast these experiences: "So the goal behind the program was to

provide women with training in a safe and inclusive space" (Interviewee #15). By

recognizing that many women are "feeling lonely and isolated", the social enterprise hopes

to "develop that community and help them feel connected in some way" (Interviewee #13).

These goals are in line with WCWRC's second working principle, "an empowerment

framework" which includes "breaking social isolation" and "networking" as ways to build

capacity in women (WCWRC, 2012a, para. 3).

Several women shared they spend a lot of time at the centre, outside of childminding,

suggesting the WCWRC is a place they feel welcomed and safe. The following three quotes

illustrate inclusion experiences:

I feel better, like being out, out here [at the WCWRC] and like these people are so, they're so nice to work with. They're very nice people, it's just the atmosphere…It makes me feel comfortable and um, I don't know I just like being here…It's like a safe place for me. It's not like I'm in danger or anything like that. (Interviewee # 12)

One of the pros is you feel comfortable 'cuz you've got some place to visit and hang out. I don't work all the time but I hang out…Yeah, so I hang out here for a couple of hours, then I go home and I've done something instead of sitting at home and doing nothing. (Interviewee # 08)

Yeah sometimes if I am not working, if I have free time I will bring [the kids] - especially summer time because they are not going to school. So I bring them and drop them off [at the childminding space] and have some time at the front (the drop-in space). (Interviewee #07)

If the space were unwelcoming, exclusive and disrespectful, women would not spend extra time here outside of their work hours. A sense of belonging is evident and is examined within the value theme of this case study.

In addition to a sense of belonging, inclusion also works to connect the Aboriginal community with the newcomer community. In doing so, the intent is to provide an open, welcoming and respectful experience for all women. One way this is achieved is through training and workshops. The standard childminding training includes for example, the topics First Nations Teachings and Supports for Newcomers. Another way is through the WCWRC newsletter. The Fall 2011 edition included a piece entitle *A Childminder Perspective: Common Ground between Aboriginals and Africans* (WCWRC, 2011). Written by

a woman from Ethiopia, she examined some similarities between her culture and that of the North American First Nations:

> Whenever I see Aboriginal people I remember my homeland. The love they have for the kids, sharing whatever they have and walking and living in a group reminds me of my culture. Ormo people have the same characteristics: we like to live together in a big family. It doesn't matter how rich or poor. (p. 2)

By teaching and learning about other cultures, the WCWRC strives for an inclusive and respectful environment specifically between its two largest communities: The Aboriginal and newcomer community.

On top of bridging these two communities internally in the centre, inclusion also involves promoting acceptance by the larger Winnipeg community. The social enterprise facilitates this by demonstrating that these women can be productive and valuable members of society. One interviewee explained the impact this can have:

> Women are getting to know each other. Like learning from their different traditions and cultures and I think that's good for the community at large. Like, for children and different agencies, adults in different settings to see newcomer and Aboriginal women performing a valuable function and seeing children you know, being exposed to all the different races and cultures…I think as a centre we're part of a positive movement to try and provide more of those opportunities. (Interviewee # 13)

While inclusion is facilitated through newsletters and workshops, it is also bolstered through the WCWRC's physical space. A welcoming and respectful setting was apparent during my site visit. An excerpt from my observation notes illustrates this:

I'm struck by how welcoming the WCWRC space is. The walls are littered with posters about acceptance and respect. This, with Aboriginal artwork, and a diverse looking staff really add to the openness of the centre. As I walk through the centre, including in the childminding room, I see so many different ethnicities working together. In my work in other social agencies in Calgary, this was often not the case, not to this extent anyway. It's more than just culture though; there are women in wheelchairs, women with obvious disabilities as well as those ranging in age. Some of these women are working in the small kitchen, preparing lunch for everyone, others are visiting in the drop-in area or just hanging out. The centre truly exudes one of acceptance and inclusion from what I can tell.

One placard that caught my eye was the WCWRC "respect policy". It stated:

Respect: Remember that all life is sacred and worthy of being treated with kindness, honesty and caring. Also, to show respect, means having respect for you, first. Begin to be kind and living to yourself, so you can be kind to others.

The physical space, including how the walls are decorated with messages and information about respect and culture, is an important aspect of building inclusion. Further, the women who attend the centre and the staff also range in diversity, contributing to a sense of openness and inclusion.

Embedded in the parent organization

This is the fifth and final characteristic of the childminding social enterprise. Much like that of the first case study, the childminding social enterprise cannot be separated from its parent organization. The social enterprise is an intrinsic part of WCWRC and has a strong relationship with the other programs.

First, the main childminding site is physically housed in the WCWRC, symbolically perhaps, right in the centre of the organization. One cannot access other programs without passing by the childminding room, with hallways on all sides. As a result of its proximity, and the presence of an open Dutch door, the childminders, parents and staff are able to check-in easily and visit. This was noted in my observation records:

I was heading out of my office to get some coffee and I noticed a few women hanging around the door to the childminding room. The childminder was inside the room, leaning through the door talking with some other women from the centre. There was a lot of laughter and visiting it appeared. I decided to join the conversation as I had been introduced to a few of the women there. We ended up talking about Aboriginal traditions with an upcoming sweat ceremony and drumming circle through the centre. Another woman explained how they are planning on sewing some traditional "regalia" with beading. It was a nice, casual conversation. I can see how the placement of the childminding room and the open Dutch door can lead to nice, casual encounters amongst women and facilitate a sense of community.

The physical location of the childminding room and the openness of the space to others contribute to its integrated nature within the organization. In this regard, especially for the women of the centre, the childminding space is simply another social program of WCWRC that is open to women's use. The off-site childminding jobs would not have the same experience however, but because the training and the social enterprise manager are on-site, the WCWRC remains the hub of the childminding social enterprise.

Second, the social enterprise is an integral part of WCWRC programing. By having accessible, free childcare available, women are able to attend more WCWRC programs and

services. Indeed, reducing one of the key barriers for women's participation is a fundamental part of achieving the vision of the centre. Programs depend on the childminding service to increase participation. As one staff interviewee observed, "all of our programming has childminding components with it" (Interviewee #15). Staff also commented that outside of regular childcare hours, if required, the coordinator endeavours to provide childminding for additional programs or workshops adding to its importance to WCWRC programing.

The social enterprise is a fundamental part of the organization. It is one part of a larger continuum of services that work in conjunction to support women across various areas of their lives. Together, these services create a holistic response to women in the West Central area of Winnipeg.

Challenges of West Central Women's Resource Centre's Childminding

The second research question sought to determine some of the challenges faced by women's social enterprise. From the data analysis, seven major themes were identified for the childminding social enterprise. These are: 1) Unbalanced supply versus demand, 2) Marketing limitations; 3) Unsustainable employment, 4) The need for more training and supports, 5) Limited funding, 6) Cultural tension, and, 7) Conflict with parents.

Unbalanced supply versus demand

The childminding social enterprise is currently faced with difficulties regarding supply and demand of childminding. With over 80 trained childminders on the roster, there is not enough work to provide sustainable employment for everyone. All three staff respondents commented on this challenge:

I think that amount of women that have been trained at this point have been a

challenge. Because the program really took off and it grew really, really fast. So we

have way more trained childminders that we can actually manage. (Interviewee # 14)

We've found the demand far outstrips the supply[4]. So in the case of our childminding

program we've put hundreds of women through the training but there isn't enough

work to get them all employed. (Interviewee #15)

Now the problem is we have too many childminders trained and not enough work. It's

hard to find part-time childminding work for all of those women. So that's why we,

we've tried to provide the next level like the childcare assistant training. (Interviewee

13)

The organization has tried to deal with this by providing more advanced training thereby

opening up more employment opportunities. However, this training is limited. One staff

member explained they are only funded to run this additional training once a year for 18

women.

Marketing

Related to the above challenge is the difficulty WCWRC has with marketing and

community promotion. WCWRC does not have someone dedicated to marketing the

childminding business; instead it is a part of the childminding coordinator's position:

Advertising is really tough because I find I don't have a lot of time for advertising.

(laughs) I'm so busy trying to do all the basic things. I think it takes a different skill set

too…I don't really know a lot about marketing and how to do it well and I think a lot

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[4] The use of the word "demand" is in reference to the demand for training and "supply" refers to the supply of training.

of non-profits are similar... we have to kind of learn the business world and um, but

we're usually hired for more our people skills or social skills and um, it's kind of a big

steep learning curve. (Interviewee # 13)

Skill set and time are part of the reason for limited marketing, according to the above

interviewee. This same respondent added that a lack of funding is another compounding

reason. The ability to create more employment opportunities for women however, hinges

on the social enterprise's ability to promote their service.

Unsustainable employment

Too much supply with not enough demand is, in part, responsible for insecure

employment for the childminders. By having so many trained childminders, there is not

enough work to sustain every woman. The other part however, is the nature of casual

employment in general: it does not provide enough work to move women out of poverty. A

staff member admitted: "So what we're doing is giving them little bits of employment here

and there but nothing that's sustainable. Nothing that can make a large enough impact on

their economic situation" (Interviewee #15). This quote and one from a social enterprise

participant, illustrates the reality of women's economic situations. For example, when

asked whether her childminding income helps, Interviewee #11 replied:

Yes and no. You get paid on that same day and if you're wanting to get bread or

something you're able to do that....but it's only a couple hours so it won't pay the bills

unless if you have a constant childminding job.

Another woman added:

Well yeah that really helps me a lot because I'm on social assistance. So I take in my stubs and that, I don't make no extra cash or nothing but I get to keep the money I make. 'Cuz I only get one shift a week 'cuz there's so many of us. (Interviewee # 12)

In addition to the lack of stable employment is the low wage of $11 per hour. While slightly above the provincial minimum wage of $10.45, it is significantly below Winnipeg's living wage of $17.04 for one employed adult. A staff respondent recognized this:

> They're still left making choices between "Well I can pay my rent and hydro or I can buy food but I can't do both". So they're still reliant on food banks and stuff like that. (Interviewee #15)

The majority of women interviewed stated that they remain dependent on welfare. One woman disputed the current wage and argued that for childminding, the income "should be higher. Like $13 or $14 dollars and hour - why can't that be a $20/hour a job, cause that's 'life'" (Interviewee # 10). For her, taking care of children should have much more value attached.

The WCWRC has goals of women making "a significant enough income that it actually moves them off employment income assistance so that they aren't dependent on a system to support them. That just frees their ability to make choices for their money" (Interviewee #15), but in reality, this is not the case for the majority of women due to little available work and low wage.

The need for more training and supports

Staff and participants alike, discussed the need for more training and supports for childminders. These fell into four different types: 1) Life skills training, 2) Literacy and

English language support (reading and writing), 3) Advanced training, and, 4) Access to job searching tools such as computers and resume writing and interview skills.

Life skills. Soft skills, or life skills, were mentioned in the characteristics section of this case study. While some, such as communication and conflict resolution, are provided as part of the standard childminding training, the social enterprise coordinator coaches the majority of these needs informally, one-on-one. Formalizing these skills, as part of the regular childminding training, is necessary:

> But I think you know, other really successful social enterprises have more life skills training or some of the stuff that [the social enterprise manager] does informally. Just from informally supporting participants one-on-one. We could probably formalize that a little. (Interviewee #14)

The organization recognizes the need for a formal life skills aspect in training. As such, soft skills training will be an important part of WCWRC new social enterprise under development:

> As we look forward, part of what we're doing is adding in another layer of training, which we don't currently do as extensively in the childminding training and that's around life skills. So about 50% of the training time will be spent just looking at life skills training…. half of the training time will be spent doing life skills training so looking at things like parenting, money management, work ethic, what does it mean to have a job. I think that's something that a lot of employers don't consider, if you've never see a model of what it means to get up and go to work every day that's a hard concept to wrap your head around. (Interviewee #15)

Literacy & language support. For newcomer women, additional help with learning English, including reading and writing, would be beneficial: "More literacy work. Like helping women improve their English reading and writing communication skills" (Interviewee #13). Indeed, the ability to communicate during employment is critical. Currently, the social enterprise coordinator preforms a lot of language-related coaching in relation to upcoming childminding jobs:

> Sometimes the communication is um, is difficult or explaining things over the phone is not really that effective (laughs) sometimes I have to get them to come here and I'll draw maps or I'll find maps on the internet to help them get to different places or um, just write stuff down for them even to work here. Like make sure they have the right dates and times. (Interviewee #13)

Literacy related challenges however, are also apparent in non-newcomer women:

> Calendars are sometimes a real challenge for women. Even, even women that are raised here, I find that sometimes they have some kind of learning disability or literacy issue ah, so um, remembering things. Like even to, like using a calendar and coming at the right time is sometimes a challenge and there may be other issues um, in their life too that are um, making it difficult to stick to a schedule. (Interviewee #13)

Providing supports for women that include language and literacy would be a helpful addition.

Advanced training. Finally, the need for further training for childminders was also identified. Staff and participants both discussed this desire. Additional, more advanced training, would open up further opportunities for women and help the supply versus

demand challenge the organization currently faces. Having extra funds to provide the childcare assistance training with Red River College would be one means to this:

I would do more of the childcare assistant training because I think that's a really good way of getting them into permanent full time work. Yeah more, longer training to help them to learn more skills and activities for children. (Interviewee #13)

In addition, childminders identified having additional on-going training opportunities such as activities to do with children, behavioural issues and age-appropriate programing. One of the childminders interviewed for example, said she felt "frustrated" because she "wants to learn more crafts, wants to keep [the children] busy" (Interviewee #10). She explained that some women are able to come up with activities on the spot, but for her, she needs "more training about what to do with the children", emphasizing in particular, older children ages nine to 12: "Some of the kids, they are so smart, they need something to do, something for them to learn…need to learn how to work with all ages of kids, not just little ones. More funding to train childminders better, educate them".

Other childminders identified learning about children with Attention Deficit Disorder, those that are hard of hearing, and those with mental illness or other special needs: "She's a child, and having those special needs - I don't have the training in handling them. So I kinda worry about that like what's this kid gonna' do…and how am I gonna' handle that" (Interviewee #12).

Job-related supports. Finally, a smaller theme related to this challenge is the need for more job-related supports such as computers, job-searching help, resume writing, and interview skills: "Have more supports for women trying to find work. Like more computers,

more help with resume writing and working on preparation for, for job searching, like interviewing" (Interviewee #13). The ability to provide this to women is currently limited.

Limited funding

Limited funding is the fourth challenge identified from the data analysis. Shortfalls of funding are largely responsible for the limited training and supports discussed above. As one interviewee shared, providing additional help to childminders costs money:

> Yeah well funding is the biggest one…it does take a lot of time and resources to give those supports to people with barriers to employment. Like helping with the life skills, the counselling, the extra supports that are needed at childcare, maybe some tutoring and providing that encouragement and reminders and, you know, helping people get used to kind of a regular routine. Um, you know, awareness of all the different supports that are out there and keeping connected and updated about that. Um, transportation like yeah, a lot of, a lot of people don't have money to take the bus. Trying to just provide kind of basic stuff. Bus tickets um, you know, ah, a phone um, access to computers um, stuff like that.

Without increased funds, these supplementary supports are unavailable or very restricted.

Part of the reason for inadequate funding is that the social enterprise does not turn any profit. In fact, the WCWRC charges $12 per hour for childminding where $11 goes to the childminder and $1 is an administrative fee taken by the organization (WCWRC, n.d.-c). This results in a very low income for the organization, limiting social enterprise development. Instead, WCWRC depends on funding from a variety of sources to support the childminding social enterprise:

Yeah we get a lot of funding to help pay for it. Like to pay our childminders here at our

centre we apply for a provincial grant that helps pay their wage...we get funding from

different sources: Provincial, Federal, United Way... (Interviewee #13)

Staff admitted the organization has considered raising the $12 fee for organizations, but if

so, the additional money would still go to the individual childminders, as the ability for

women to make an income continues to be the priority.

Cultural tension

Diverging from the challenges of supply and demand, wages and limited funding, is

the theme of cultural tension. During the interviews, staff and social enterprise participants

alike identified cultural tension between newcomer and Aboriginal women in the centre.

Newcomer women make up the majority of the childminders, according to staff, whereas

the mothers and children who access childminding are predominately Aboriginal:

We tried to balance [the childminders] with the culture groups that come to our

centre because we don't want to increase animosity between the Aboriginal and

newcomer community. Like, there's already some mistrust and miscommunication,

and um, jealousy sometimes....A lot of women who want to do the childminding are

newcomer women like the majority I would say maybe 70% or 80% now are

newcomer women and the majority of women that come to the drop in are Aboriginal

and so the majority with children in the childminding program are often Aboriginal

children. So there was some concern that we didn't have enough Aboriginal minders

looking after Aboriginal children and "Why do they get the jobs?" That kind of thing.

So we're trying to balance that out and just have, what we think is a fair

representation but sometimes that's hard to get exactly, you know, please everybody. (Interviewee #13)

Three Aboriginal women commented on some of the difficulties working with newcomer women, such as language barriers and different means of parenting. Some quotes to illustrate this are as follows:

The one thing that I find a difficulty is the language barrier…When you're working with another lady that's having trouble speaking English…I have to slow the person down and try to explain what's going on. Try to get her to explain how she felt or whatever she's experienced to help each other. That's one of the challenges of childminding. ..it's hard to solve that because you'll meet a lot of ladies that have that challenge of the language barrier. Because I know it will take time for a lady that's come from Africa. She'll have a hard time speaking our language and we'll have a hard time speaking her language. (Interviewee #11)

Muslim people cannot understand a Native child has been raised in one way is not gonna' go bending to the other way. They gotta' learn that they're in Canada now…and adapt it in their heads and if the child is Canadian raised, Canadian parents have raised it, it's totally different. (Interviewee # 08)

The one I work with, I forget her name, she's so nice. She's learning, she learned a lot of English. And they're getting really good to be childminders before they used to just sit there you know 'cuz they were strict. You know what I mean? They're trying to teach the kids their way but then I tell them, [the children] are not in your tradition. I don't always say that to them, but then they understand [the children are] different. They run around, maybe your kids are disciplined to sit you know, this and that but

these kids are different and we have to treat them, treat them like - that we have to

participate with the kids not just sit there and say "No you can't do that! No!".

(Interviewee # 08)

Staff described how the centre would "like to do more inclusion type workshops like

helping Aboriginal and newcomer women to learn about each other and see each other's

gifts and similarities and common issues they have" (Interviewee #13).

One Aboriginal woman questioned why there are not more Aboriginal childminders

(Interviewee # 10). In particular, she voiced concern about the barrier created around the

criminal record check stating that many Aboriginal women have had to "defend themselves

out there". She added that because of abuse, Aboriginal women might have low-self esteem

and "don't believe in [themselves], so don't apply". For her, engaging Aboriginal women in

childminding would help with keeping their language and promoting Indigenous teachings:

"I would like more of our people to get in there, learn our own language, Aboriginal

teachings – traditional teachings, beading, moccasins, blankets – all these teachings, respect

- number one, giving, helping one another…". Despite her hope for more involvement from

Aboriginal women, she also emphasized that she has had no difficulty working with women

from different cultures and has found everyone "really respectful".

Conflict with parents

Women also identified conflict with parents as an ongoing challenge. In some cases,

this was related to the cultural tension between an Aboriginal child and their parent and a

newcomer childminder, while in other cases, it was not:

They got some parents…that when you tell them the rules they get angry at you…

Yeah get angry at you or maybe like sometimes kids keep on crying, crying, so you

need to go find their mom and [the mom] is like, "Why is he crying"!!?? But still I don't

care because I know this, I have kids right? Kids are like that. (Interviewee # 07)

It just depends who's in there, there's been times with, the Muslims they don't

understand the Aboriginal people and the Aboriginal people get mad at them, and

they get mad sometimes. (Interviewee #08)

Well there was one time um, one of the child minders was in the childminding room

here and um, she wasn't taking care of the kids too well. So the mother went in there

and got really mad and started yelling at her. (Interviewee # 11)

These experiences are not the case for all childminders. One of the women interviewed, a

newcomer, stated she had not had any problems from any of the parents: "When I come I

don't see anything because everybody is smiling, I don't see anything" (Interviewee #09).

In summary, the WCWRC childminding social enterprise faces various challenges.

One of the most prominent is the large supply of trained childminders does not match the

small demand for childminding. This has left many women without ongoing employment.

As a result, employment is unpredictable and inconsistent, creating an unsustainable

situation for women. Limited funding is part of the challenge, as WCWRC is restricted in the

amount of extra training, ongoing supports and resource tools they are able to provide

childminders. Finally, tension between the newcomer population and Aboriginal women

has presented some difficulties. Conflict between parents and childminders has occurred

because the majority of women attracted to childminding are newcomers while most of the

children and their parents who access the service are Aboriginal.

The value of West Central Women's Resource Centre's childminding

The final research question seeks to explore the idea of value. What value does social enterprise have for women and in what ways are women supported in meeting their economic and social needs? This closing segment separates the benefits for the women individually from those for the organization and wider community.

Value for women

Findings from the data found six categories of value for women who work in the social enterprise. These are 1) Employment, 2) Income, 3) Skill development and job experience, 4) Improved self-esteem, 5) A sense of belonging, and, 6) Happiness.

Employment. One of the largest subthemes in this section is employment. This theme was consistently found amongst staff and participant interviews as well as organization reports. Gaining employment was a key area of benefit for the women and one of the ultimate goals of the social enterprise. All women interviewed discussed their various work positions since becoming a childminder. For example, one shared she works twice a week at the on-site childminding room while another is employed with an outside community organization.

These descriptions are also evident in reporting numbers. The WCWRC for example, employs eight women regularly in the on-site social enterprise. Some women have worked up to 20 hours a month on-site (WCWRC, 2014). Off-site employment is available to women as requested by organizations, though it is less consistent. A total of 80 childminders worked for 3,460 hours in 2012 according to a funding report (WCWRC, 2013).

Beyond the casual employment opportunities through the social enterprise, others have gone to accept part-time work in childcare centres and two childminders applied and

were accepted into, the Early Childhood Education diploma program at the local college (WCWRC, 2013). A staff respondent noted:

A lot have found more permanent full time work in child related work like a day care or setting up a home daycare. Ah, maybe some other helping, helping profession. Like a lot of the child minders have gone on to be health care aides or doing home care. Um, working as a TA, a teaching assistant in the school system. (Interviewee #13)

Two women discussed how childminding employment is good experience, favourable for their resume and positive for the future:

Before I worked here, since I moved to Canada I never work, so it's a good thing for me at least I gonna' find another job, good reference for me that I'm working so that's a good thing for me. (Interviewee #07)

I really encourage everyone to do the child minding because it really will help the future; it's also good on a resume too. (Interviewee # 11)

Employment is one of the key areas of value in this social enterprise. Of those interviewed, the two newcomer women identified a focus on continuing to improve their English and returning to school. A quote from Interviewee #07 illustrates this point: "What's next for me is doing my school, I need my level four [English] and grade 12 so I will find a better job or maybe I continue with the childminding job because I like to work with the kids". Of the other women interviewed, where language development was not a barrier to employment, three women stated they wanted to continue in the childcare sector.

Income. Naturally, related to employment, is the benefit of earning an income. Women earn $11 per hour for childminding (WCWRC, n.d.-c). In 2013, childminders worked over 2,943 hours earning $31,659.38 (WCWRC, 2014). The amount of income earned can be

small due to the casual nature of the employment but as one interviewee reported, this is "a significant amount considering these individuals' previous employment opportunities" (The Canadian CED Network, n.d., p. 2). Women too affirmed that a small amount is better than nothing:

> [The money] is not much but better than nothing, it's better than nothing the amount....the money. (Interviewee #07)
>
> I tell my husband I said even if it's small cheque, even if it's like $44 that we get every two weeks or something like that, it's something....for the house or something. (Interviewee # 08)
>
> I take every two weeks $87 no, $88 dollars and welfare....sometimes it help me because I have apartment ah, house its expensive. Rent is expensive...[it helps] with rent and what I need now, I have now I go to buy boots for winter...Sometimes when I need something I buy. Yeah it really help me with my children too. (Interviewee # 09)

Staff made similar comments about how every little bit of money helps:

> It's not a huge amount of money, like considering the amount of hours that the childminders work, they're not getting a ton of money but it is um, you know some women have said it helps them you know, especially to get more food on the table and help with you know, living, taking the bus and that kind of thing. (Interviewee #13)
>
> We do have participants um, we have a number of participants in the homeless program and they talk about how important the childminding income is to them... So just having a bit of extra income means that they can go visit a family member because it costs, right now it's $2.55 for a bus ticket so a two way trip somewhere is $5 that's a lot of money. So it just means that extra flexibility or they can attend

something in the community because they have transportation to go…. just every

little thing adds up and so I think to have just that little bit of disposable income is a

big deal. (Interviewee # 14)

Earning a small amount of income is often significant for women who are without other

options other than social assistance.

Skill development and job experience. Working in the social enterprise gives women

the opportunity to develop several types of skills and abilities related to childminding as

well as work experience. Due to the accessibility of the childminding training, such as it

being free of charge and having a low English benchmark, women who traditionally would

be unable to gain entry into job training programs are able to attend. Management

explained:

Having training, a lot of the women that come here really want more education and

more programming but aren't quite at the place where they can get into a mainstream

program where they don't quite have the education level or they don't quite have the

background that it takes to get into more mainstream programming. It's a way of

opening up the opportunities. (Interviewee #14)

Childminders are provided with three days of training, which includes skills related to

working with children as well as CPR/First Aid training. In addition, childminders have

continuing education opportunities such as workshops and ongoing support to improve

skills. Employment-specific skills are obtained such as punctuality, taking initiative,

problem solving, and following instructions (WCWRC, 2013).

The skills and opportunity for job experience is particularly important to newcomer

women who discussed the difficulty finding work and the need for Canadian job

experience. One woman stated: "Because if I need a job I [need to] have experience about work....I needed Canadian work experience yeah... skills, so I can get farther next job" (Interviewee #07). A staff member added:

> There are a lot of newcomer women that get trained and access the employment
> opportunities...What they're hoping for yeah more connection to community and
> more opportunities in the future if they're thinking about getting back into the work
> force. I'm pretty sure that's a pretty big motivating factor yeah. (Interviewee # 14)

Childminding also provides newcomer women with the opportunity to practice their English and enhance their language skills as noted in a recent funding report (WCWRC, 2013) and is further illustrated by the following quote:

> Meeting different people you know what I mean? It helped a lot to improve my
> English so I am so happy with that. Yeah if you want to learn English especially with
> the kids you know you will learn faster. So that's a good thing for me....Because before
> even to communicate before with you right now I need translate. (Interviewee #07)

A staff person agreed finding, "a lot of women get, get more fluent in English, like even, even over a year I've seen incredible changes in communication with a lot of the child minders" (Interviewee #13).

Women learn various skills from the childminding training and gain job experience from being a childminder. Both of these contribute to helping women find better employment in the future. For newcomer women, there are additional benefits. The ability to learn about Canadian culture, gain Canadian work experience and practice the English language are additional important outcomes of participating.

Improved self-esteem. Several women reported feeling more open, confident, and fulfilled following their involvement with the social enterprise:

I've opened up a lot more like I used to not say anything, I just keep it in....But now I feel like I'm more open, I can speak my mind now and that's one thing I never used to do. I'd just like think it in my head and like that's it. But now I express. (Interviewee #12)

It builds self-esteem because now I am employed...It's really hard when people look down on you when you are on social assistance. I was told that. I was told I was nothing. I never thought people would look at me like that, that's how close-minded people are. It really bothered me when they said that - "you'll never become nothing", "you'll be on welfare the rest of your life" – what a thing to say. I started thinking maybe its true...then I thought I'll go work, go educate myself, do something, I really wanted to do it because I wanted to help my kids...be a role model for them...It feels good! When you do something for yourself, you educate yourself, it feels good in here! (points to heart). (Interviewee # 10)

Staff also reported increases in self-esteem and confidence amongst childminders. One respondent described:

Yeah I think in lots of ways just in terms of building confidence and um, increasing their, the self-worth of a person um, to feel like you are trained and skilled and capable is something that not a lot of the women we work with have experienced in the past. (Interviewee #15)

A sense of belonging. Closely related to the Inclusion characteristic is a sense of belonging reported by women. Several discussed feeling isolated, "sad" and "bored" before

their involvement with WCWRC. As a result of becoming engaged with the social enterprise and the larger centre, interviewees reported they have met new people, become more open and have felt a part of something. For example, one woman stated:

> Ok, like before I used to just like do nothing, roam around, be bored and you know, like I was, my life was so boring. My life was so boring and like there was so many debts in the family I needed to get something positive in me and not do whatever, 'cuz I quit drinking and all that right? So I figured, well the kids [in the childminding program] will help me. 'Cuz they're so innocent. (Interviewee #12)

For another woman, a newcomer with no family in Canada, added, "I'm meeting different people than before, different country you look bored and sad - you know what I mean? So that's helped me too…I feel it's good for me. Because I like to meet new people every day" (Interviewee #07). Another social enterprise participant also noted the change a sense of belonging has for newcomer women:

> For other [newcomer] women it makes them more open….They'll be quiet at times to other people…So for other women you notice becoming a childminder has made them more talkative…More open, more talking to people instead of being all hushed and just nodding. (Interviewee #08)

    Happiness. This is a minor, but notable theme. From feelings of sadness and boredom mentioned above, is a resulting experience of joy and happiness working with children. All of the women identified being with children as one of their favourite aspects of childminding. The following four quotes illustrate this theme:

> I don't know, they're our next generation and it's time for us to help them grow… Well the way they make us laugh…And also at the same time they can teach us how to be

kids too… It just makes me happy to see the kids interact with each other.

(Interviewee #11)

I was, I would say in kind of a depression and I needed to do something with myself to

get myself out of depression. I tried the childmind and all I did was laugh at the kids

so to me, that was good therapy…I think more positive when I come here.

(Interviewee #12)

For me I'm happy with children. When I…with children, I'm so happy, really happy.

(Interviewee #09)

Value for the organization and greater community

On top of benefitting individual women, organizational and community value was also

determined. Two themes were identified from the analysis: increasing the supply of

childcare and general social benefit of employing multi-barriered women.

Increasing the supply of childcare. The social enterprise benefits both the WCWRC

organization as well as the wider Winnipeg community by providing accessible childcare

for families. During interviews staff indicated that lack of childcare is one of the biggest

barriers for women to access community services and programing. One staff member

detailed:

I would say [childcare] is probably critically important, one of the things, one of the

biggest barriers - when we have done focus groups around employment that woman

identified. Without being able to afford things like child care, even training

opportunities or courses they'd like to take aren't accessible because they have

nowhere for their children to go. So just by lifting that barrier we see our

participation increase in all of our programming. (Interviewee #15)

One staff member revealed the importance of having childminding on-site: "Yeah consistently and often we'll have women accessing all of our programming who will specifically come in the afternoons because we have child minding (Interviewee # 14)". And another added:

> Yeah it's definitely a bonus it's helping women coming and participating in the programs. In the evening they have a supper so that I think helps too. Like to have food, a place for the kids to be while the women are in some other activity. Um, yeah I mean it is an essential part of a lot of women's centres I think to have accessible programs so women can participate and be involved in activities and not have to worry all the time about what the kids are up to. (Interviewee #13)

Certainly, as outlined by the above quotes, the childminding social enterprise has value for the organization by increasing women's participation in WCWRC programing. For example, in 2013, childminders provided care for over 2,500 children on-site (WCWRC, 2014).

The social enterprise benefits other community organizations as well by providing a childminding service for hire. The WCWRC website states, "The Childminding Program benefits community organizations, learning institutions and others by supplying reliable childcare for workshops, programming, meetings and other gatherings. The availability of childcare assists local residents and families in accessing these services, programming or gatherings" (WCWRC, 2012b). As noted in prior sections, approximately 7000 children across 53 agencies were cared for by the WCWRC childminding social enterprise (WCWRC, 2013). Having available childcare is critical for increasing access to community programs for low-income families.

General social benefit of employing multi-barriered women. The final theme of
community value reflects the social benefit of social enterprise in Winnipeg. The WCWRC
working principles outlined previously include "community economic development". This
principle reflects a concern for the greater community and "promotes neighbourhood
sustainability, human dignity, and the environment" (WCWRC, 2012a, para. 3). For one
staff member, investing in social enterprise that employs people has multiple benefits for
the community. She argued:

> We're not just talking about giving someone a leg up; we're talking about
> transforming their lives and by extension their children's lives and their future
> generations' lives. It's about breaking cycles of poverty. It's about really investing in
> people when the traditional systems don't work. (Interviewee #15)

She continued,

> Every dollar that people spend in a social enterprise gets reinvested tenfold back in
> the community…I mean, just larger than that, the taxes on the systems are
> dramatically reduced by employing people through social enterprise. So on the health
> care system, on the justice system on policing, safety, all of those thing are reduced
> when we put people into meaningful employment that can be sustained and
> supported. Because we know statistically that those folks are in emergency rooms
> less frequently, they are involved with police less frequently, they are involved with
> addictions less frequently, they are involved with [Child and Family Services] less
> frequently and so all of those things provide social benefit and reduce costs to
> taxpayers. (Interviewee #15)

The WCWRC childminding social enterprise results in social benefit for the wider Winnipeg community by providing meaningful employment for people who are otherwise left out of traditional systems and have little other opportunity.

There are several areas of value that results from the social enterprise of WCWRC. For individual women, employment, income generation, skill development, and job experience are all positive outcomes. Participating in the social enterprise also appears to improve self-esteem, create a sense of happiness and belonging. For the organization and the wider community, the WCWRC childminding social enterprise has increased the supply of available childcare to the community, thereby improving access to programs for women and their families. It has added to the general social benefit of the community by providing employment for those who traditionally are hard to employ.

Data analysis for WCWRC childminding social enterprise revealed five characteristics, seven challenges, and eight areas of value. Table 15. presents these themes in a tabular format. The next chapter presents the findings for the third and final case, Interpreter Services Toronto, a social enterprise of the Barbra Schlifer Commemorative Clinic, followed by the results from the cross case analysis. The final chapter then conducts a discussion on the findings comparing them with that of the academic literature.

Table 15. West Central Women's Resource Centre Prominent Themes

Research Question	Childminding (WCWRC)

What are the characteristics of the social enterprise	1. Informed by women's needs and lived experiences
	2. Social purpose-dominant
	3. Provision of support
	   a. Employment supports
	   b. Soft skill support
	   c. Crisis support
	4. Inclusion
	5. Embedded in the parent organization

What are the challenges of the social enterprise?	1. Unbalanced supply versus demand 2. Marketing Limitations 3. Unsustainable employment 4. Limited Funding 5. The need for more training and support 6. Cultural tension 7. Conflict with parents
What value does the social enterprise bring to women and the larger community?	Value for women: 1. Employment 2. Income 3. Skill development & job experience 4. Improved self-esteem 5. A sense of belonging 6. Happiness Value for the organization/community: 1. Increasing the supply of childcare 2. General social benefit of employing multi-barriered women

Chapter 6: Case Study #3: Interpreter Services Toronto

Introduction

This chapter presents the results from the third case study, Interpreter Services Toronto. Multiple types of data were collected from this site including interview data with four staff members and five social enterprise participants, observations of the program and the participants, and a review of several documents and reports. Data analysis here includes description of the bounded case, and within-case analysis. Results from the cross-case analysis are provided in the following chapter.

The Social Enterprise

Interpreter Services Toronto (IST) is a social enterprise of the Barbra Schlifer Commemorative Clinic (BSCC) in Toronto, Ontario. The social enterprise provides interpretation and translation services in over 200 languages to organizations in the Greater Toronto Area, 24 hours a day, seven days a week (IST, 2014a). In addition, IST runs an extensive interpreter training course.

IST formally began in 2009 following a decision by BSCC to turn their original interpreter-training program into a social enterprise and extend services beyond the standard domestic and sexual violence sector characteristic of BSCC services. IST now serves over 1400 people annually through more than 7000 interpretation or translation assignments (BSCC, 2015e).

The business

IST's mission is "to offer interpreter and translation services to institutions/establishments in the Greater Toronto Area" (IST, 2012, p. 2). At time of

writing, IST is currently able to provide face-to-face interpretation in 96 languages, including American Sign Language and over-the-phone interpretation in over 200 (BSCC, 2015e). In addition to interpretation and translation services, IST also provides training. These services are summarized below and presented in brief in Table 16.

Interpretation

Interpretation services are offered in person, over the phone or through message relay. During face-to-face interpretation, interpreters may meet with a client one-on-one, or in a group and provide either consecutive (interpretation delivered after client speaks) or simultaneous (delivered while client speaks) interpretation (IST, 2014d). Interpretation over the phone can either be accessed through a scheduled appointment time or through an immediate connection via the Remote Interpreter Ontario (RIO) Network call centre. Through this network, IST is able to offer immediate interpretation 24 hours a day, seven days a week averaging connections within 30 seconds (IST, 2014d). The message relay service involves the interpreter simply delivering a brief message or asking a question.

Translation

Interpreters are proficient at converting written material from one language to another. This may be done in a written format or through an oral reading of a document, called sight translation. Interpreters are also able to transcribe an audio or video file (IST, 2014d).

Training

IST provides two types of training. The first is targeted at potential customers and community organizations. This training provides instruction in how to use interpretation

and translation services effectively. The second type, and largest component of IST, is its

interpreter training. IST delivers an intensive 154-hour interpreter training program:

> IST provides the longest-standing interpreter training program in Toronto. Our
>
> intensive training process equips immigrant and refugee women with the skill,
>
> certification, confidence and independence to become professional Language
>
> Interpreters and vital members of the community. We offer the most extensive
>
> interpreter training outside of the college system. As a consequence, our services are
>
> well known and respected. (IST, 2014a, para. 3)

Immigrant and refugee women are invited to apply to the yearly training program.

Qualifications to apply include: fluency and proficiency in English and another language,

successful completion of a language test, a minimum of a high school diploma, familiarity

with social services and issues of violence against women and training availability

(BSCC, n.d.-b). Applicants undergo further screening through an interview process to

"determine qualifications of applicants and more importantly if they possess the

appropriate aptitude for working with vulnerable clients" (BSCC, 2015e, p. 22).

Table 16. Services of Interpreter Services Toronto

Interpretation	• In person • Over the Phone (RIO Network) • Message Relay
Translation	• Written translation • Sight translation • Audio/video transcription
Training	• For the community - how to use an interpreter • For interpreters

(IST, 2014b)

Training modules. The intensive training program runs over 22 days consisting of 154 hours of training and skill development. It covers core competencies of interpretation outlined by the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration such as standards of practice, code of ethics, roles and responsibilities, modes of interpretation, memory retention and note taking. In addition, IST provides training and awareness around the issues of domestic violence, sexual violence, human trafficking and anti-oppression. Interpreters further learn about the domestic violence court process, offender programs, parole and probation, and attend the sexual assault care centre. They also study the various terminologies for the legal, health and social sectors. Finally, women receive five days of life skills-related content such as communication styles, conflict resolution, stress management and self-care, as well as business skills associated with being a self-employed interpreter (IST, 2014c). Trainees are granted certification if they attend 80% of the sessions, pass the language assessment test and successfully complete three to four assignments "to ensure theories learned are applied, specifically their role as interpreters when working with vulnerable clients" (BSCC, 2015e, p. 23).

The training space. IST is located down the hall from the main BSCC in an old brick building in a vibrant part of Toronto. The main door to the IST offices opens into a bright boardroom area. One wall is orange, one is bright blue and the third is soft beige. With a high ceiling and views of the city, the space is bright and welcoming. This boardroom is where the classroom portion of the interpreter training occurs. There is a small kitchen where trainees and staff can have coffee, tea and snacks. To the right is the office for the IST Director and to the left are several cubicles and offices, which comprise the administration aspect of the social enterprise.

Business clients

IST serves numerous sectors including legal, health, business, immigration, social services, and government (IST, 2014d), though, the majority of assignments are those related to domestic and sexual violence. The Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, Immigration and International Trade funds interpretation services for victims of domestic abuse, sexual violence and human trafficking across the province. IST clients who fall under this umbrella therefore do not pay for interpretation services. Instead, the government is billed directly. IST customers that fall outside of these issues pay the standard fee for interpretation services. A staff person explained:

> The Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration is funding the interpretation services to women who experience domestic violence, human trafficking and sexual assault…So, any service provider who asks for interpretation [related to these issues] its free… outside of that service…there's a fee. (Interviewee #23)

IST's largest client is BSCC, its parent organization. BSCC utilizes IST for all of its interpretation needs:

> [BSCC] family lawyers, immigration lawyers and counsellors from the counselling department…are the most popular users of our service. I believe out of the over 100 [clients] on our roster, I believe they have at least 26, 27% of the total service. So you can just imagine. (Interviewee #24)

As a result, the majority of assignments for IST interpreters are related to domestic and sexual violence. Figure 2. delineates the division in clients between those who can access interpretation for free (paid for by the Ministry) and those who pay the standard fee.

Figure 3. depicts the business relationship between IST and BSCC showing that IST provides the interpretation service for BSCC clients.

The social purpose

As a social enterprise, IST has two bottom lines: financial and social. The social purpose of the organization has several objectives. The first is to increase the employability of immigrant and refugee women (BSCC, 2008). The social enterprise strives for quality services while "creating an enriching, respectful environment for all community members. This includes building the capacity of local communities through meaningful employment, fair wages and good working conditions for interpreters" (IST, 2014a, para. 4).

Figure 2. Interpreter Services Toronto - Clients
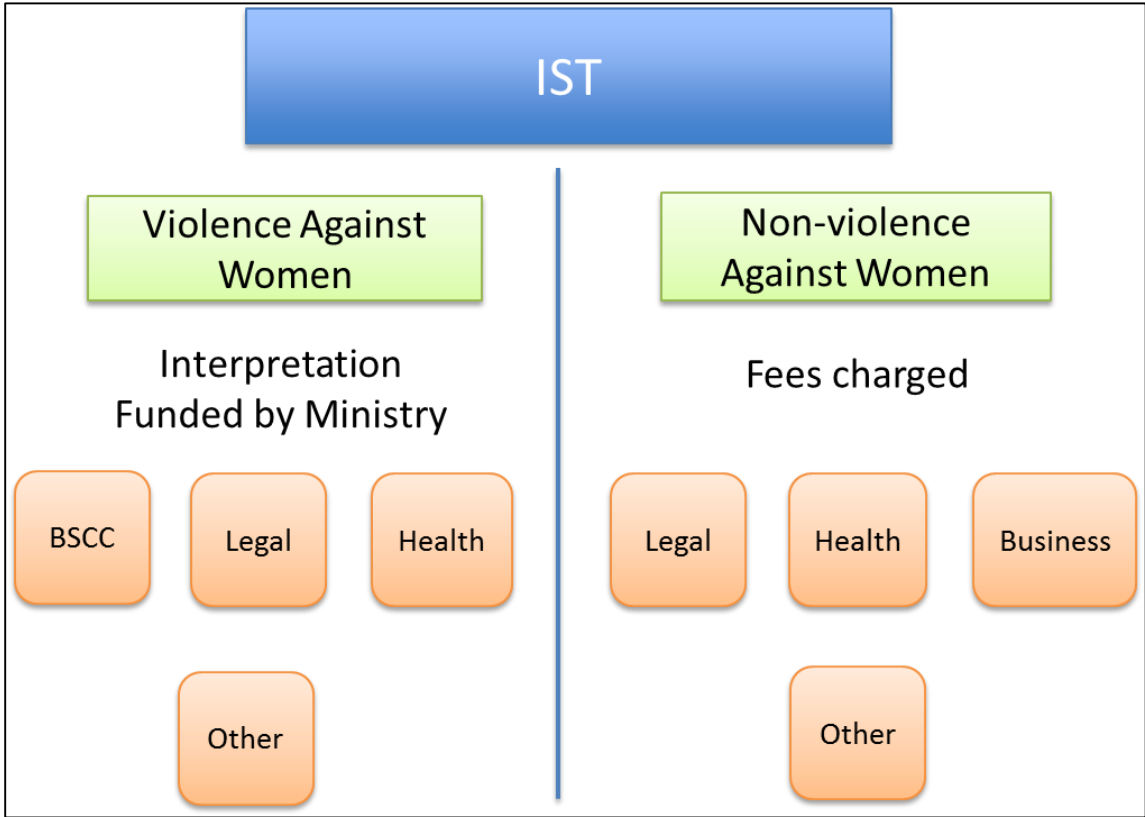
Figure 3. The Relationship between Barbra Schlifer Commemorative Clinic & Interpreter Services Toronto
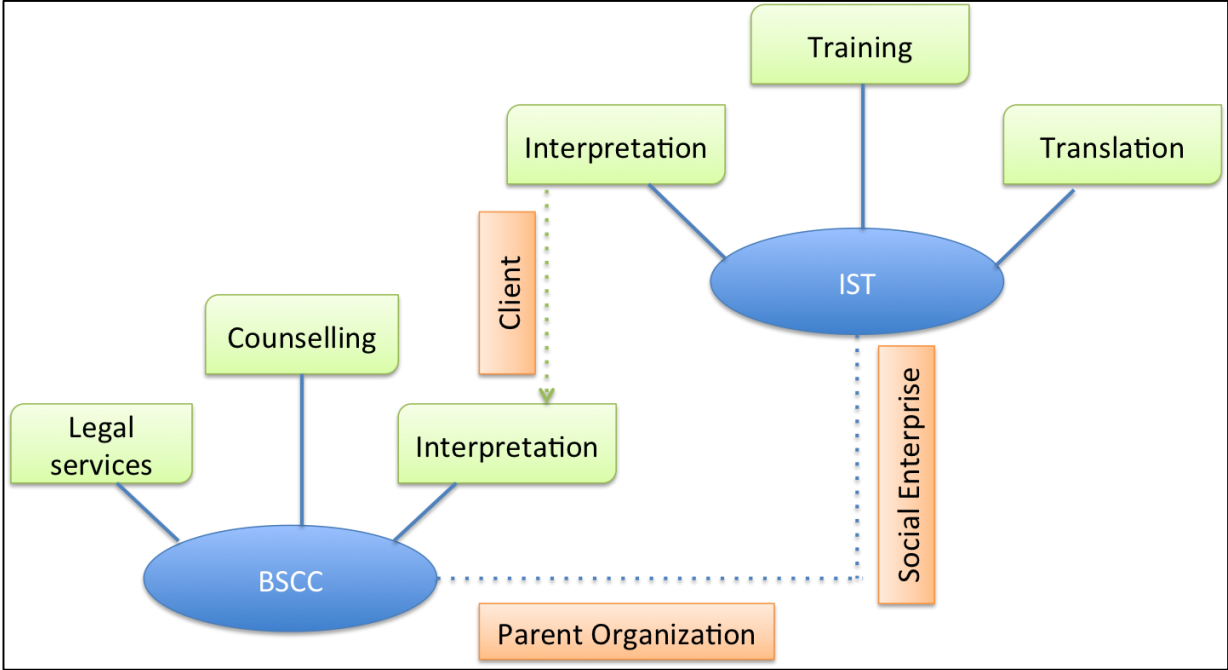
Second, IST aims to support low-income women in accessing training: "Participants are recruited with a focus on those who are on Ontario Works or on Ontario Disabilities Program and their fees are subsidized" (BSCC, 2015e, p. 22). This is significant as the language tests cost $175 and the training program, $700. The full amount of becoming an interpreter is $875 (BSCC, n.d.-b) which can present a significant barrier to women on low-income.

A third social objective is to "increase the number of professional language interpreters whose services allow immigrant and refugees who do not speak English to access services" (IST, 2012, p. 2). IST recognizes that without access to quality interpretation many newcomers are not able access Canadian services, leaving them marginalized. By increasing the pool of highly trained interpreters, IST hopes that more people new to Canada are able to utilize needed services.

The fourth and final social goal of IST is to generate revenue to fund BSCC social programs (BSCC, 2008). Any profit made through the IST business is filtered back into the non-profit parent organization. These additional funds allow BSCC to continue with excellent service provision as well as permit the expansion of services to more women.

The women

IST targets unemployed or underemployed immigrant and refugee women from employment resource centres, settlement agencies, ethno-cultural community centres and skills training programs in Toronto (BSCC, 2015e). These women commonly face many barriers when obtaining employment in Canada. An absence of Canadian work experience is one of the most significant. Another difficulty, according to IST staff, is a lack of recognition of their degrees or qualifications. One staff member explained some are "doctors or lawyers and they come here and they're working minimum wage jobs trying to support families" (Interviewee #22). Women interviewed discussed how they left full careers back in their home countries only to find their experience and education were not recognized: "I have an education and career back home but here that doesn't really count so I couldn't really do anything" (Interviewee #20). Consequently, many IST women live on low-income. In one training session of thirteen women, three were living off of government social assistance (IST, 2012).

In addition to unemployment and underemployment, several IST women do not have many social supports. One woman interviewed, for example, described how she has no family here and when her marriage fell apart she became very isolated. A staff member added this is a common experience for immigrant women:

When you come as an immigrant - cuz I am an immigrant as well – when you come here and you have just your place, maybe you know two or three people but they are already doing something with their lives, working. So you really are, you are by yourself...So that's a big piece is the isolation. (Interviewee #21)

As a result, women can fall into depression, as was the case for three of the women interviewed. One woman mentioned her "life was miserable" and another admitted she could not get out of bed in the morning. The only reason she was able to keep going was due to her child. The third women ended up on an anti-depressant medication and sought help from a psychiatrist due to her depression.

Staff also revealed that some IST women have histories of domestic and/or sexual violence: "many of the women that we have as participants are actually domestic violence victims themselves" (Interviewee #24). Some have ended up in shelters or have accessed BSCC for counselling prior to becoming an IST interpreter. One research respondent shared, "My marriage collapsed and then I was kicked out of the house. So I had to run away with my child to the shelter and I really didn't know how...[to] support myself" and another revealed a history of domestic violence during the interview for this study. Staff also described instances where women disclosed violence or were triggered by certain content in the training sessions.

In general, IST women have high levels of education. Of the women interviewed, all five had gone to college or university. Many are single moms with children as was two of the five interviewed for this study, while a third was divorced without children: "Generally they are single moms so they're juggling work and caring for their children" (Interviewee #22). Another staff person mentioned, "A lot of women struggle [financially] with having

children [because] they are unable to work full-time. So, they have to be with the children

because their financial resources are really missing" (Interviewee #21).

In summary, women who become involved with IST are unemployed and

underemployed immigrant and refugee women. They commonly have a high level of

education and skill but struggle to find employment due to a lack of Canadian work

experience. As such, many women live on low-income or rely on government social

assistance. Further, a considerable number are single mothers and many have histories of

domestic and sexual violence.

As a social enterprise, IST is a business with a social purpose. The above provided a

description of the business component and four main social objectives. Below is Table 17.,

which outlines IST's business and social purpose.

Table 17. Interpreter Services Toronto's Business & Social Purpose

The Business	The Social Purpose
IST provides exceptional interpretation and translation services to health, legal, business, government and other organizations.	To increase the employability of immigrant and refugee women
	To support low-income women in accessing training
	To increase the number of professional language interpreters whose services allow immigrant and refugees who do not speak English to access services
	To generate revenue to fund BSCC social programs

The context of Interpreter Services Toronto

IST is part of BSCC situated in Toronto, Ontario. The following section provides an

overview of the parent organization as well as the geographical context in which it is

located.

The parent organization: Barbra Schlifer Commemorative Clinic (BSCC)

The BSCC is the parent organization of IST. BSCC provides legal, counselling and interpretation services for women from diverse ethno-cultural communities who have experienced violence. This includes domestic violence, sexual assault, child sexual abuse, human trafficking, forced marriage, "honour"-related violence and gender-based violence in the context of war and migration (BSCC, 2015e). The clinic was established in 1985 by a group of women lawyers to commemorate their friend and colleague, Barbra Schlifer, who was sexually assaulted and murdered in the basement of her stairwell on the night of her call to the bar of Ontario in 1980 (BSCC, n.d.-a). Since this tragic beginning, the clinic has grown over the years to a non-profit community organization that serves close to 4,500 clients annually (BSCC, 2015f). Today, the vision of the organization is for a violence-free and just world. BSCC works towards this goal by providing extensive services in legal, counselling and multi-lingual interpretation for women. Values include feminism and anti-oppression, community, and compassion. The vision, mission and values of the organization are presented in Table 18.

BSCC offers a series of services to support women from ethno-cultural communities who have experienced violence. They offer legal services, counselling, interpretation and community education and advocacy. These are summarized below.

Legal services. Various free legal services are available to women who have experienced violence. This includes family law, criminal law, immigration and refugee law, and family court. In general, BSCC lawyers assist women in identifying legal issues, addressing safety needs, making informed decisions about legal action and acquiring the most appropriate legal help (BSCC, 2015c).

Table 18. Barbra Schlifer Commemorative Clinic's Vision, Mission & Values

Vision	Mission	Values
We envision a world where women: • Build lives free from violence • Work together to create a more just world • Live their own lives in respectful communities that provide meaning and belonging	The Barbra Schlifer Clinic offers legal representation, professional counselling and multilingual interpretation to women who have experienced violence. Our diverse, skilled and compassionate staff accompany women through personal and practical transformation, helping them to build lives free from violence.	Feminism & Anti-oppression Compassion & Self-awareness A reflective awareness of power Community & Connection Autonomy & Self-determination

(BSCC, 2015a)

Counselling services. BSCC offers individual and group counselling for women who are survivors of violence or are living with violence. Counsellors "respond to women's safety needs, to provide information about, and advocate for, services that will increase women's options, and to facilitate their self determination and empowerment through healing from the impacts of violence" (BSCC, n.d.-a, p. 3). BSCC also offers transitional housing support under this service umbrella.

Community education and advocacy. BSCC collaborates with several individuals and groups to "foster systemic changes that will create more effective responses to abused/assaulted women and reduce/prevent violence against women" (BSCC, n.d.-a, p. 4). The clinic works with and advocates within, the justice and health care system, law enforcement, social services, child welfare and religious and cultural institutions (BSCC, 2015b). Staff also delivers public education and professional development workshops to the Toronto community.

Interpretation services. BSCC provides free interpretation services for women who have experienced domestic violence, sexual assault or human trafficking. This service is available 24 hours a day, seven days a week. It helps women in a variety of settings including during counselling, in shelters, in court, hospital, immigration offices, or medical appointments (BSCC, 2015d). IST provides this service to BSCC.

Geographical context

IST is located in Toronto, Ontario. This segment explores the status of women in this geographic location, particularly, immigrant women, by considering key social indicators such as employment/unemployment status, poverty, homelessness and violence against women in the region. In doing so, the case is established in a specific context that summarizes the particular barriers women in the area face.

Toronto is Canada's largest city with a population of 2.79 million and 5.5 million in the Greater Toronto Area (City of Toronto, 2015d). It has the largest immigrant population in the country, which comprises almost half of Toronto's population (City of Toronto, 2013). With over 230 ethnic origins (City of Toronto, 2013) and 140 spoken languages and dialects, Toronto is regarded as one of the most multicultural centres in the world (City of Toronto, 2015d). Along with a large population and wide diversity, the city is also considered the financial and business capital of Canada and "is ranked at the top of international indexes for competitiveness, innovation and liveability" (City of Toronto, 2015b, para. 1). Yet, despite its strong position in the national economy, the city is "home to a significant proportion of socially and economically vulnerable population groups" (City of Toronto, 2011, p. 4).

Employment. Ontario's employment rate is 60.8%, very close to the Canadian national average of 61.4% (Statistics Canada, 2015c). In terms of unemployment levels, Ontario is similar to the national average again. The province has an unemployment rate of 6.9%, slightly higher than Canada's unemployment rate of 6.7% (Statistics Canada, 2015c). Women however, face higher rates of unemployment in the province and earn 35% less than men when their incomes are compared (McInturff, 2014b). Women are also more likely to work part-time, work multiple jobs, and earn minimum wage (Ontario Women's Directorate, n.d.).

Yet, immigrant women specifically are disproportionately affected by unemployment. Chui (2011) reports that the employment rate for immigrant women in the country is lower than that of their Canadian-born counterparts. Women born in Canada have an employment level of 59.5% whereas just over half, or 51.5%, of immigrant women are employed. What's more, women who are recent immigrants are the least likely to be working. Only 56.8% of them have jobs versus 70.5% of the total immigrant women population (Chui, 2011).

In addition to employment rates, Chui (2011) also found that immigrant women were more likely to work part-time, be living in low-income situations and earn less than Canadian-born women or their male immigrant equals. Immigrant women earn 18% less than their Canadian-born counterparts and 27% less than immigrant men (Chui, 2011). Other work by Polanyi et al. (2014), likewise found that immigrants are disproportionately represented in precarious work situations, often remaining for decades before acquiring secure employment. These circumstances are particularly notable in Toronto, as the city is

home to 38% of all immigrant women in Canada and 41% of recent immigrant women (Chui, 2011).

   Poverty. The City of Toronto reports that one in five people live in poverty (City of Toronto, 2014). Those that are low-income are more likely to be women, Aboriginal, a visible minority, a recent immigrant, or a lone parent family (predominately female-led) (City of Toronto, 2011). Women, outnumber men in terms of those living in poverty across all age groups (City of Toronto, 2011) while single women, with and without children, experience the highest rates of poverty (McInturff, 2014b). Immigrants account for well over half of those on low-income (City of Toronto, 2011) and 73% of Toronto's working poor (Stapleton, Murphy, & Xing, 2012). Since women and immigrants are two populations overrepresented amongst the poor, women immigrants subsequently face some of the highest rates of poverty (Chui, 2011; McInturff, 2014b).

   Toronto has the highest cost of living in Canada and the second most expensive housing market in the country (Stapleton et al., 2012) making it a very difficult place to survive when living on low-income. Poverty is also affected by other structural inequalities such as limited participation in the work force, precarious employment, and minimum wage (Polanyi et al., 2014). The minimum wage in Ontario is $11.00 per hour, due to increase to $11.25 in October 2015 (Retail Council of Canada, 2015).Yet, the living wage for Toronto is estimated to be $18.52 per hour (Tiessen, 2015), a discrepancy of $7.52 an hour or $300.80 per month. Working for minimum wage therefore significantly contributes to situations of poverty.

   What's more, Block's (2013) research on Ontario minimum wage workers identifies that "minimum wage work is not distributed equally" (para. 1). Women, immigrants and

visible minorities are overrepresented in minimum wage employment (Block, 2013; McInturff, 2014b; Polanyi et al., 2014). Block (2013) reports that while women are more likely to work for minimum wage than men, immigrant women, especially those that are recent immigrants, "are working for minimum wage at almost three times the rate of the total population" (p. 4).

Homelessness. According to the City of Toronto (2015b), the total estimated homeless population is 5,253 people. This includes those who sleep outside, in emergency shelters, women's domestic violence shelters and health and correctional facilities (City of Toronto, 2015c). Like that of Calgary and Winnipeg, Aboriginal people are overrepresented in homelessness counts and women now make up 35% of those that are without housing (City of Toronto, 2015c). Further, Toronto also has a community initiative dedicated to addressing Toronto's homeless called the *City of Toronto Homelessness Partnership Initiative Community* (City of Toronto, 2009). The group has worked to build transitional and supportive housing and have added to the number of shelter beds available in the city. It has also instigated the *Immigrant and Refugee Housing Task Group* to focus on housing-related issues for vulnerable immigrant and refugee people (City of Toronto, 2015a).

Violence against women. Among Canadian provinces, Ontario has one of the lowest rates of police-reported domestic violence (Statistics Canada, 2015b) and violence against women, including sexual assault (Statistics Canada, 2013b). However, like all violence against women statistics, domestic violence and sexual assault are highly underreported and likely occur at much higher rates (Statistics Canada, 2013b). The Province of Ontario recently released an action plan to stop sexual violence and harassment in Ontario

(Province of Ontario, 2015) and has had a domestic violence action plan since 2004

(Ontario Women's Directorate, 2015).

In regards to immigrant women, Statistics Canada (2013b) indicates that domestic

violence is less prevalent amongst this population with 4.9% experiencing intimate partner

violence in the last five years versus 6.8% of Canadian born women. However, Johnson

(2006) cautions that these numbers may under-represent actual levels of domestic

violence experienced by immigrant women, in that, surveys that collect this data are only

conducted in English and French leaving out women who do not speak one of these

languages. Moreover, the Canadian Women's Foundation (n.d.) remarks that immigrant

women may be more at-risk for domestic violence due to common situations of economic

dependence, language barriers and limited knowledge about community resources.

Further, immigrant and refugee populations are often less likely to report physical or

sexual violence to authorities due to distrust of authority figures and fear of deportation

(Canadian Women's Foundation, n.d.).

The above summary of social issues facing women in Toronto, is further supported in

recent work by McInturff (2014a). McInturff rated the best and worst places to be a woman

in Canada, focusing on the gap between men and women. Toronto was ranked six out of 20,

with 20 being the most unfavorable. McInturff cited a smaller wage gap, employment rates

consistent with the national average, equal education and life expectancies as positive

areas regarding women in Toronto. On the negative, women are underrepresented

amongst professionals and senior management positions, and continue to face domestic

and sexual violence.

Merging research on employment, poverty, homelessness and violence against women consequently, offers a context for the status of women in Toronto, Ontario. This can be summarized as follows:

- The largest immigrant (and immigrant woman) population in Canada

- A 35% income gap between genders

- Highest cost of living; second most expensive housing market

- Immigrant women most likely to work part-time for minimum wage

- Immigrant women have the highest rates of poverty

- A growing population of homeless women

- Low reported rates of domestic and sexual violence

- Immigrant women likely at more risk of violence due to language barriers, fear of authority, fear of deportation and limited knowledge of community resources

The above demonstrates the many barriers faced by women, and immigrant women in particular, in Toronto. IST operates in this climate, employing and supporting women daily who directly are impacted by poverty, unemployment and violence.

Findings

This section presents the findings from the data analysis of interviews, documentation and observations from IST. It is based on the research questions outlined earlier in Table 1. (p. 51). The first segment introduces the characteristics of IST, followed by the challenges. It closes with a look at the value of IST both for the women who

participate in the social enterprise as well as for the larger organization and the community.

Characteristics of Interpreter Services Toronto

One of the research objectives was to establish the characteristics of women's social enterprise. In regards to IST, four characteristics were identified from the data. These are: 1) Relationship-based; 2) Provision of Support; 3) Informed by women's needs and lived experiences and, 4) Linked with parent organization.

Relationship-based

IST is a relationship-based social enterprise. Building and maintaining relationships between IST staff and interpreters as well as IST and business clients seems to be a key characteristic of the venture. This theme was apparent across interviews and observations.

For new interpreters, or those applying to be interpreters, staff makes a concerted effort to get to know women and offer support. The following quote illustrates this point:

> Sometimes [a potential trainee will say] "Oh I'm just here to do the practice test" but sometimes you know they wanted someone to talk to. They wanted someone just to listen to them. Sometimes they tell me their stories, I'm not a counsellor I think, but maybe [it's] better for them if I'm just listening…because some of them are from shelters. Some of them are having some problems also. As a woman [I] can identify with them. (Interviewee #23).

I also observed staff members building relationships with new people while I was on-site, collecting data. Below is an excerpt from my observation notes reflecting this theme:

> I've really noticed the relationships here. [A staff member] had a woman come in to apply to be an interpreter. They met in the boardroom right outside of the office

where I'm working. I was amazed at this staff member. She spent at least 30 minutes simply chatting with the woman. They talked about their home counties, the languages spoken, nuances about dialect, and shared their experiences moving to Canada. There was a lot of laughter. The staff person was also feeling ill that day, which struck me as even more surprising. She was in no rush to get down to business. Eventually, of course, they did, but not before a long period of what could easily been seen as relationship-building.

Once interpreters become part of the IST community through training and employment, the connections established continue to grow. A staff member explained: "we really take into consideration the person…so that difference makes them feel at home" (Interviewee #21). She continued:

The other part is we call the interpreters…it makes a difference. Most of the service providers now are using emails to send their interpreter request. We still do it over the phone. I think doing [it] over the phone has a different touch. Sometimes we hear about [how] our interpreters are sick [or]…are going through a very difficult family process - we always check in with them…If they go for holidays, I'm trying always to remember where they have been in their life and I try to touch base with them in that manner. "How was your holidays, how was your trip?" All those things…It feels like home, it feels like a family. (Interviewee #21)

The above quotes attest to the care and concern staff has for IST interpreters. Interpreters likewise, made similar references to IST being "like a family". The connection between IST staff and interpreters was also clear when I was on-site conducting interviews:

I was late to start one interview because I was still finishing the prior interview. Once

I was done, I found my next interviewee chatting with the IST staff. It was clearly of a

social nature as there was a lot of laughter. Another woman I interviewed wanted to

say hi to all the staff before leaving. A third came into the office waving and

exchanging hellos with staff. The relationships between the interpreters and IST staff

are clearly strong.

One of the interviewees commented on the relationship. She stated: "You probably saw

how I greet all the staff here. I feel a sense of family and coming home when I come here.

It's not just an organization" (Interviewee #19).

In addition to making personal connection with interpreters, IST also hosts

gatherings several times a year where interpreters, their children and IST staff can come

together. These events are a combination of a meeting and a social event where "we

introduce everybody to everybody, so they start making connections" (Interviewee #21).

As a result of the focus on relationships, and building an IST community, several

interpreters shared they have a strong sense of belonging (see section on Value) at IST and

therefore are highly dedicated to working for this social enterprise. In fact, even though

some interpreters have obtained full-time work elsewhere, many continue to work with

the social enterprise. A staff person confirmed: "Some of them have a full time job but they

are also working for us because they say they love us" (Interviewee #23). An interpreter

agreed: "[e] told me before that once I graduate [I'd] probably be in demand. I just tell her

that my loyalty to BSCC would come first. Because this is the place that gave me

opportunity" (Interviewee #19).

This same concern with relationship is also evident with the business clients. The IST staff takes care to make personal contact with potential clients, getting to know them and their business. One staff member reflected:

I think one thing we do really well is customer service, like our clients really love us. I think we have a really personalized touch…[staff member] is such a sweet person and I think the clients really remember that and she takes a lot of time with them and is really patient and kind. So I think that's really the face of us - as our client's know us. (Interviewee #22)

Building and maintaining relationships amongst interpreters and business clients is a key feature of IST.

Provision of support

The second characteristic identified is that of support. This aspect of the social enterprise was determined to be central in achieving IST's social goals in the 2008 business plan (BSCC, 2008). In recent reports, assorted support mechanisms are outlined and linked with ensuring quality services in addition to achieving social goals (BSCC, 2015e). Five means of support are available: 1) Regular check-ins with interpreters about their assignments; 2) Peer debriefing support at regular meetings; 3) Emphasis of self care through yoga, meditation, and stress management workshops; 4) If there is a concern interpreters are encouraged to take temporary breaks; and, 5) BSCC can also provide a counsellor for crisis intervention or vicarious trauma if and when this is required.

One interpreter acknowledged that IST offers debriefing: "I never used it but they always tell us if you wanna call back after the assignment then [you can]" (Interviewee #16). While this interpreter stated she has not yet needed to debrief an assignment, she

explained she has called IST to discuss policy challenges she has encountered while in the field. She adds, "It's helpful that they listen. I don't know if they can fix it but at least they listen and sometimes that's enough" (Interviewee #16).

IST also provides five days of life skills during the interpreter training such as communication styles, conflict resolution, stress management and self-care (IST, 2014c). Interpreters added that they have found these skills helpful when coping with heavy assignments. Finally, IST helps women "establish their own business as independent/freelance contractors" and "provides additional language coaching by senior interpreters as well as additional workshops" such as yoga and stress management (IST, 2012, p. 3).

The bulk of IST support involves emotional help and emphasis on self-care. This begins in the training sessions with several life skills components and carries on into employment with debriefing and check-ins with IST staff.

Informed by women's needs and lived experiences

IST's third characteristic is that it is centred on the needs of women. From its tragic beginning, BSCC has remained committed to helping women in situations of violence. BSCC's mission, vision and value statements including one that emphasizes feminism are integral to supporting women. An organizational women-centred approach was acknowledged during staff interviews: "We really go out of our way to have women know that we are not just a women's organization and that we actually know what that means and in so many ways we operationalize that" (Interviewee #24).

This commitment is also apparent in IST. The social purpose of IST is to increase the employability of immigrant and refugee women and to support those on low-income to

access training. These aims stem from a history of women-centred practice and are discernible within IST in its employment flexibility, access to childcare and subsidized training:

> BSCC is an organization for women, run by women, we I think are really cognizant of women's needs so trying to work around our schedule, being flexible, we have payment plans [for training] so if somebody can't pay us the whole amount right away then we sometimes say that depending on the income of that person you can pay us back once you've started working. (Interviewee #22)

Flexibility, childcare and subsidized training are the key ways a woman-centred social enterprise model is achieved in this social enterprise.

Flexibility. One of the key areas of IST's women-centred model is the flexibility. This concept was identified early in the development of the social enterprise. Because the social purpose is to train and employ immigrant and refugee women, the business plan recognized that an important aspect of success would allow women to have control over their schedules. The 2008 business plan described:

> [Interpreters can] register with as many interpreter agencies as they want; or work part-time or full-time. Since they can work flexible hours, Language Interpreters frequently change their employment status and schedules of work based on their or their families needs, or for any other reason such as study, illness and extended vacation. (BSCC, 2008, p. 26)

What's more, with the addition of the RIO service, women who must stay home can still have employment opportunities:

With RIO, one of the things that's kind of new and exciting about that service, is that for women [where] their circumstances require them to be at home more of the time because they don't have access to transportation, they have young children, they have things they have to get done at home, it allows them to work at home a lot, we're hearing that that's helpful to meet their lifestyle [and] affords more flexibility. (Interviewee #22)

An interpreter agreed that flexible employment is helpful for managing home life. She mentioned, "Because I am a mother, I have to take care of home and children and then I think that interpretation is the best job for me because I can manage both" (Interviewee #17).

Finally, IST also considers the needs of women when training sessions or workshops are planned. This commitment is outlined in their 2013 funding report under a description of their socially responsible practices (IST, 2013b). A staff member confirmed:

So, for example, when we decided on the training schedule… we have considered back and forth…people's time and their ability to attend. Some women have children and it would be better for them to [train] on the weekend. But some women are working so they can't always do it on weekdays, and so you know, this is why we decided one weekday and one weekend day. (Interviewee #24)

Childcare. Another example of how IST is responsive to women's needs is through the addition of available childcare during interpreter training sessions. IST recognized that a lack of childcare prevented some women from being able to attend training:

There's this one [woman], she can't go to the training, she feels scared. I think she has some problems with her marriage. She said she cannot do the training because she

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doesn't have child care. So I said "Yeah we can help you because United Way is funding the child care too". So we have the child care room, so she [now] comes to the training [with] nothing to worry about her daughter, her daughter is fine here. (Interviewee #23)

When regular childcare is not possible on-site, IST covers the cost for the woman to find and provide her own. A staff interviewee remarked:

Every time we have a [child care] request we either have a child minder if that's too difficult…we have allowed them to hire someone that they can find to um, mind their child at home and then we just reimburse. (Interviewee #24)

An interview respondent noted the importance of childcare during interpreter training:

The training it not only helped me but I also saw other women who needed babysitting. The clinic helped them, like it tried to respond to women's needs just to get so they can become certified interpreter… Yeah, so the women could leave their children there, somebody was looking after them and they could come to the training and attend the training program. And it was not for one day…it was for the entire program…[it] impressed me because it's not only about the training it's also responding to the unique needs of women, enabling them to become independent and certified interpreters. (Interviewee #17)

Subsidized training. Subsidized training for women is the final example of IST's women-centric model. Knowing that many immigrant and refugee women have limited access to income, IST has implemented subsidized training where women can attend the training for free and then pay back in small payments over a long period of time:

I think the subsidized - the way we have made accommodations for women who may

not have the funds to do the training...So what we do is we pay for the training and we

pay for the trainers and then, if let's say you have just graduated a month ago and you

haven't worked yet, then you don't have to pay us anything. We ask you to pay $25,

$50 depending on the amount of money that you're getting working as an interpreter.

So we wait until they're working before we ask them to pay. (Interviewee #24)

Two interpreters shared how they appreciated the free training and then took pride in

being able to pay it back: "Every time I write the invoice [for IST] I say please take out 50%

of the pay and then when I pay it I feel so proud myself" (Interviewee #19). IST is a woman-

centred social enterprise as it attends to the needs of women through flexible employment,

childcare and subsidized training. What's more, due to its relationship with BSCC, the

woman-centric mission and values guide IST business as well.

Linked with the parent organization

The fourth and final characteristic of IST is its relationship with its parent

organization. Much like the first two case studies, IST too has a close association with BSCC.

As with most social enterprises, IST is owned and operated by its parent organization

(BSCC, 2008). BSCC's board of directors and Executive Director are ultimately responsible

for the conduct and business of the social enterprise and as such, a strong affiliation is

natural. The strength of this relationship has been evident since the inception of the social

enterprise:

We have full support also of the management team and the board members starting

from our president who has been very, very encouraging in us becoming a success.

We actually at some point when we started we had an advisory committee of three

board members. One of them specialized in marketing and advertising. So they were

very instrumental in the concept of it, the development of it. (24)

BSCC was instrumental in the set up and initial success of the social enterprise. IST was

able to utilize several resources from its parent organization once it began operations. The

2008 business plan indicates the important role BSCC had in IST's beginning:

 [IST] will have access to and the use of the space and equipment of BSCC, which is

located in a mobility accessible building, close to public transportation and equipped

with a TTY line. Apart from this, [IST] will have the benefit of BSCC's recording and

tacking systems, experienced staff and current roster of 200 language interpreters.

(BSCC, 2008, p. 23)

Today, IST has it's own, separate space down the hall from BSCC, yet it continues to benefit

from several BSCC resources including the provision of office space, staffing and

computers:

Since the beginning [of IST] my time as the manager of the social purpose enterprise

has been some kind of donation, a soft dollar donation from the parent agency as well

as some amount of money for admin...the rent, the whole thing. (Interviewee #24)

One of the most notable resources available in this relationship is the sharing of

expertise. BSCC is well established in the anti-violence sector and as such, is able to provide

IST with advice and support related to any violence against woman issues. Staff and

interpreters from IST are able to access BSCC employees for any matter related to violence,

oppression and ethno-culturally diverse women:

BSCC is the only agency of its kind in Canada and is a uniquely structured multi-

service agency providing, legal, counselling (group and individual) services to women

victims of violence. Its highly praised and emulated structure provides victims of violence a one-stop shop where they can get support. As a result, IST staff has, not only daily access to counsellors and lawyers as they provide services to their clients to problem solve; they work regularly with their colleagues and discuss and learn issues together. This is an ongoing mechanism for identifying service needs and gaps for women victims of violence, not only IST clients. (BSCC, 2015)

An IST staff member further acknowledged this expertise. She said:

I want to serve my [interpretation] client because it could be a legal, immigration, whatever they are requesting for... we have the background in domestic violence, we have the background in counselling as an organization. We have the background in legal. So that makes us unique. If we have to consider something, we can go back to any of the lawyers or counsellors and ask them to help [us] address these assignments. So that helps us a lot. (Interviewee #21)

In turn, BSCC uses IST for all interpretation services and expertise.

IST and BSCC have a strong and unique relationship that is a notable part of IST's character. BSCC was instrumental in IST's development and continues to provide important resources for its sustainability. The two areas share expertise, provide support and are both invested in each other's success.

Challenges of Interpreter Services Toronto

The second research question sought to determine some of the challenges faced by women's social enterprise. From the data analysis two major themes evolved for IST. The first involves challenges faced by the social enterprise and the second focuses on challenges faced by women who are employed by the social enterprise.

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Challenges for the social enterprise

The first theme encompasses challenges related to the social enterprise as an organizational entity. These include on-going marketing needs, a competitive industry, technology, lack of capital and challenges with the social enterprise model.

On-going marketing needs. Marketing is an area of continued development for IST. In 2012 they stated, "we need a more competitive marketing team to increase our viability as an enterprise" (IST, 2012, p. 7). One year later, IST reported they had worked with a marketing consultant and determined the need to improve their social media strategy, website layout and marketing tools such as brochures and flyers (IST, 2013a). They detailed:

> After analyzing the segmentation of our customers, we are changing our marketing
>
> strategy from an organizational focus to a focus on client needs. We are testing our
>
> improved marketing tools on potential clients to collect feedback. This strategy will
>
> help improve our marketing to result in increased sales. (IST, 2013a, p. 4)

Though much has been achieved in this area, IST continues to face on-going marketing obstacles namely, the need for greater promotion and advertisement.

Three staff interview respondents identified this area as one of the greatest challenges facing IST. One emphasized the necessity to "promote, promote, promote. I can't really overemphasize the need for that. If you know you're good, you're the only person who knows you're good – that's really nothing. It doesn't mean anything" (Interviewee #24). A second staff member discussed how an upsurge in marketing would increase business, which in turn, would expand the amount of work available for women as well as increase the amount of money that IST as a business can earn and put back into BSCC social

programs. A third staff member, one responsible for marketing at IST, explained how she is limited in the amount of marketing she can do largely due to limited resources:

> I would say we were trying to do a lot with very little…I wear a lot of different hats. So sometimes I'll have a few hours a week to put into marketing. I'm still trying to be creative with tools that are free or very low cost that have a large return on investment I think is always a challenge. (Interviewee #22).

She added:

> I think even along the same lines as thinking like a business in terms of looking at what marketing statistics and analytics and measurements we're looking at we still have to be honest, of course we look at sales and revenues but in terms of doing a really detailed useful analysis of our marketing processes, there's not a lot of time in the day to do that…I would invest a lot more into our marketing strategies [if we had more capital]. (Interviewee #22)

IST identified the need for marketing strategies several years ago and has made significant progress in this area. However, marketing is an on-going process and staff felt there continues to be much that can be done in this area to increase business and establish the social enterprise in the industry.

   A competitive industry. Marketing is critical in a competitive industry, such as the language and translation sector in Toronto. IST affirmed, "Competition remains fierce in the sector. We have learned of competitors offering considerably lower rates, paying their staff poorly and assigning interpreters who have not passed standard tests" (IST, 2012, p. 5). As such, "it has been a challenge to court new clients" (IST, 2013b, p. 6). One staff member elaborated:

Like I said the challenges are our big competitors…because if you go to the internet

[to find translation services] you have "N" number of places right? I would say one of

the challenges is the big corporations who have had years in the field of translations.

So not only that but also these organizations can afford a very, very, very small fee

because they have a lot of jobs. (Interviewee #21)

Part of the challenge rests in the nature of social enterprise. IST has equally important

social goals that may contradict the traditional competitive nature of business and adhere

to ethics around the treatment of women who are employed with them. A staff person

detailed:

I think that's because part of our social good is that we want to offer meaningful

employment to immigrant and refugee women so we're really not willing to pay them

less or um, jeopardize that quality of their employment. So that really makes it a

struggle when we're going up against other for-profit, interpretation companies or

even other non-profit interpretation companies that maybe don't have as much

emphasis on that social good…when procurement officers are looking at proposals

they're looking at the bottom line price and perhaps not the social good as much. So

that's been a huge challenge that I think we're still working on combating.

(Interviewee #22)

Participating in a competitive industry as a social enterprise with limited marketing and

strict ethics related to employing women has proved challenging.

Technology. Several of those interviewed identified keeping up with technology as

another challenge for IST. Staff and one interpreter made mention of the various

technological advances related to translation as well as business administration and felt

IST was behind:

> The challenges…we are still doing work with Sales Force because right now the
>
> invoice that I do is like, it's from scratch, I'm just doing it by Excel a lot of time, you
>
> know matching and then doing it in Excel. Like, it takes me a day to do the invoice.
>
> (Interviewee #23)
>
> An electronic version…Meaning when you give the assignment to the interpreter [the
>
> interpreter has] an electronic version. Saying ok, this is the assignment on this day -
>
> everybody has [a copy of it]... I hope in the future [they] will work towards that. It will
>
> say what language, what time, what date, what special um, description notes.
>
> (Interviewee #19)
>
> I thought I knew a lot or most of the things that I needed to know [about the
>
> business]. But because it's a moving target, I found out "Oh my God there's technology
>
> to be learned". When we started we didn't have the immediate over the phone
>
> [method] in our minds. However, it has been in the USA for more than 15 years…Of
>
> course now with the emergence of video interpreting, you have another technology
>
> that you need to learn. There's always something… you need to be ahead actually of
>
> other people, otherwise if you're late it's really hard to convince other people who use
>
> someone else to use you for the same service. That's another challenge. (Interviewee
>
> #24)

In 2013, IST identified the need for investing in technology (IST, 2013). In a recent funding

report, the social enterprise emphasized, "Interpreters need to be educated in providing

services using new technology" and stated that BSCC is developing educational tools to help interested interpreters learn new ways of service provision (BSCC, 2015e, p. 24).

Lack of capital. Limited marketing ability, staying competitive and investing in technology all require capital. Accessing capital as a social enterprise is difficult and is the fourth challenge identified here. An interview respondent clarified:

> When you're trying to learn something and be good at [it] you definitely need a lot of resources. Because we're learning what we need to do. We have very limited resources to be able to do those things. So [our] growth is really limited. It's really hard…you don't really have the luxury of having researchers or people on the phone doing marketing for you and promoting your service and all that…We have very limited capital to be able to actually promote the service so that people can actually realize or recognize that it is a good service. (Interviewee #24)

In addition to a general lack of capital for business growth, another hazard is the funding reductions to social services in Toronto. In 2012, IST cited cuts to social services as one of the biggest threats to the social enterprise, "We continue to see the effects of Canadian Citizenship and Immigration and the City of Toronto funding cuts in the sector" (IST, 2012, p. 7). These funding cuts affected the ability of agencies to pay for services such as interpretation and translation. Since the non-profit sector is an important client of IST, these funding cuts have a direct impact and made it difficult for IST to sell its services to a sector that is focused on survival.

The social enterprise model. The final challenge identified from the analysis of data is that which involves working as a social enterprise. The 2008 business plan identified the transition from a sole non-profit organization to one that includes a social enterprise would

be a difficult one. Specifically, the proposal recognized a "change in culture" would ensue and this would take "some getting used to" (BSCC, 2008, p. 18). Seven years later, the change in culture and transition to a social enterprise continues. Staff commented:

> That whole leap from being not-for-profit to the for-profit mind frame. It's been a bit of a challenge um, having people think about this as a business, as something that if you don't do well [with it], you're gonna lose money and [that] you need to find a way of stopping the bleeding ASAP. There's, in my opinion, a bit of a lack of appreciation of that difference between being funded to do something and um, working so that you can keep working. (Interviewee #24)

> Another challenge for us, one that I think we're still in the stages of but we're getting better at, is shifting our organizational culture to really look at ourselves as a business. So as a non-profit I think a lot of the women that work here really are quite devoted to the BSCC and probably are here in part because they really care about the work that the BSCC does to end violence against women. It's a really powerful cause but I think um, just moving towards when we're interacting with our customer base, putting forth the right messaging. Because we do have really well trained interpreters and high quality services so making sure that's the message that gets across…So that kind of mental shift is [needed] for everyone. (Interviewee #22)

In addition to the cultural shift required when transitioning from a social service to a social enterprise is the added difficulty of establishing new processes for the social enterprise while it continues to be strongly connected to the parent organization. An interview respondent pointed out:

It's around the fact that as I speak, I'm still half on the funded program and half on the

social purpose enterprise and it's really hard because even the accounting is

different…we kind of have to rejig all our structures and all our procedures.

(Interviewee #24)

What's more, due to the nature of the work of BSCC, resources are often prioritized

towards the parent organization, leaving IST with fragmented resources:

When you are actually in an agency such as ours where there's a lot of crisis

happening, that tends to [take] all the energy as well and the focus – and, rightly so

right? Because that's what we're here for but like I said at the same time, whatever is

left is what's provided to [the social enterprise]. So sometimes, sometimes I wish that

we had actually more dedicated people, more dedicated advisors for this piece of it

too, who don't necessarily have to get involved in that. (Interviewee #24)

A final issue regarding the social enterprise model is the question of how much of

the social purpose does IST promote in a business context. The following quote

demonstrates this theme:

I guess one tension is how much do we talk about our social good. Like I said

before…it's [an] important and powerful cause but choosing when and where we

want to talk about it in our material…when I'm putting together marketing

materials…even our logo…says Interpretive Services Toronto and [then] "A social

purpose enterprise of the BSCC". So if you don't know what a social purpose

enterprise is or particularly if you don't know what the BSCC is, our logo would make

you stop and be like "I'm confused" right away. (Interviewee #22)

Challenges with the social enterprise model include the cultural shift required to transition from a non-profit to a for-profit venture, the procedures and structures needed to separate the social enterprise from the parent organization, the de-prioritization of resources from the social enterprise, and determining the balance of promoting the social purpose of IST when marketing for business.

Challenges for women

The second sub-theme under challenges of social enterprise is specific to the women who provide the interpretation service. These included working with the issue of violence against women, the need for further support, limited assignments and the resulting low pay, and training-related comments.

Working with the issue of violence against women. All five women interviewed indicated difficulty working with the issue of violence against women. While not every interpretation assignment involves this issue, this sector makes up a large portion of IST business. Women commented:

> Of course, it's very hard, especially in family courts where children are involved. Yeah, it's very hard. You go through some emotion yeah, it's very difficult. But as an interpreter we have to remain - we should not be affected by those situations, we have to be professional. (Interviewee #17)

> Two days to recover from the information that you receive in some cases. So for example if you work today and the information that you receive was very difficult and very hard to take and sad, you go home and then you do your recovery. It takes some time. For some is faster for some is not…Two days in some cases. (Interviewee #18)

The issue we deal with is harsh…the domestic violence and sexual violence…So at the same time we were trained in how to… grab our self and maintain our boundary while we do that. But, even so, I'm still human. (Interviewee #19)

Like after the training I had another workshop on human trafficking. It was so traumatic I needed counselling after. Like my, my life has changed. Like before and after the workshop has changed. I'm still afraid every day and I talked about it with the coordinator... It helped a lot. (Interviewee #20)

Women also discussed the various ways they cope with the heaviness of the issue. One interpreter affirmed, "What I do is when I go home I just um, try to change my mind with something maybe listening to music or something" (Interviewee #17). Others maintained:

Yes, some assignments are really difficult. Some shelters are just very depressing…I think the ethical principles and standards of practice [learned in training] really helped me…in the training, at the end of each day, we did a grounding exercise. We did deep breathing and everything…and I think the public transit helps. When you're going back [home] you don't have to concentrate on driving or anything you just go in like some zone. (Interviewee #16)

I think that you get to the point that you have to decide to, to serve as an interpreter but not to internalize all that information. So you learn a way of just communicat[ing] the message but don't let that [information] in deeply. (Interviewee #18)

Further support needed. Due to the difficult nature of some of the translation jobs as well as women's personal histories with violence, three women expressed the desire for greater support. One woman, for example, shared she would like the ability to access BSCC services:

If I'm one of the interpreters I cannot book an appointment for example make an intake or go to groups here in [BSCC], you know, go to individual counselling just for my personal life you know. It's just against the rules because I guess I cannot be a worker and a client at the same time. I'm still struggling to understand that…I don't know what exactly is the reason behind it. I just wonder, because I would like to get [help], because I watch people get help and I interpret for them and I would like that for me. (Interviewee #16)

A staff respondent confirmed this is the current policy of the BSCC and IST:

It's just that our policy is that [if someone is in counselling at BSCC] they just can't work for us as an interpreter right away. [There is a] waiting time for them…But then they can accept other assignment from other agencies not just from us… it's similar to a conflict of interest. (Interviewee #23).

Likewise, another interpreter stated she too would like to receive support following difficult assignments. She offered the idea of having a volunteer or student psychologist or social worker available for support:

Like yesterday it took me a lot of time to cleanse the feeling afterward…I just hope that they can have someone maybe on a part time basis when the interpreter has a difficult time dealing with the psychology, the story, we can come in and talk and hope the information will keep confidential and we feel better afterwards… [because] afterward, the interpreter needs to be taken care of. Upon request. I know all the staff here are very busy, every one of them very busy. We cannot just call in if we have an issue you know? If you wanna talk to someone, then maybe a volunteer, maybe like

you, a Ph.D. student who want to give time [during the] week upon the request.

(Interviewee #19)

A third idea related to providing greater support for interpreters was via the Internet and once a month meetings:

Yeah it doesn't have to be a formal classroom training but a kind of support that provide[s] resources on-line or maybe once a month meet in the clinic, to discuss [our] experiences, [our] challenges and how [IST] can meet those challenges.

(Interviewee #17)

Limited assignments and the resulting low pay. In addition to difficult content area and the need for further support, women also identified limited assignments and the resulting low pay as a third challenge. Even though women earn $26 per hour, many do not work full-time, or even part-time, and consequently do not make an adequate amount of income. Because translation work is based on demand, women are further unable to depend on a certain amount of money every month. When translation work is a woman's main source of income, the inconsistency of the work can create challenges:

The assignments are rare...I would like to do it like full time job but it's not available...(sighs). Right now I'm I think up to four or five assignments a month which is good...[but] five times a month is not enough. I have another job but I mean I would, that job is just a job. This is something I really like for a career. (Interviewee #16)

Sometimes you are not very busy... I want to have more assignments for example. It leaves you in a position where you don't know what you should do next. So that is the least thing I don't like about it. (Interviewee #17)

Believe me, being an interpreter is not easy. You are working with low income.

Basically we're working for the honour to do this job. Low income. You should see we

discuss where to get clothing and everything to help us go along with this.

(Interviewee #18)

I don't get many assignments but so far it has been good…I wish there would be more

assignments. So financially it helps of course but not like a significant difference cuz

I'm not working full time…sometimes I get nothing for the whole month, sometimes

the maximum eight [assignments]. (Interviewee #20)

One woman felt that IST should not keep training people due to the shortage of work for

already trained interpreters:

Every, I think twice a year, they train more and more interpreters and there is not

enough work. So I don't know…it's unbalanced…maybe less, graduation of

interpreters because I think the roster is getting full and they want to give a chance to

everyone and the work is not much anyway…few assignments that's the biggest

problem. (Interviewee #16)

Interpreters expressed hope that IST would expand their services to create more work for

them.

Training-related. Without exception, all of the interpreters interviewed have a high

regard for IST training. However, they also commented on the need for on-going training

opportunities. This included additional interpretation training, focused sessions on

particular fields of practice such as the medical, legal and social service sectors, and further

resources related to women in business.

Two respondents suggested they would like to improve on the simultaneous translation for example, stating this type of work is very difficult:

> I hope they have training for simultaneous interpretation…I can't stop [translating] because if I miss [something] I can't ask for clarification because it's just on-going and I can't interrupt because of the other people. I don't really have that technique. After starting this job I realize I get assignments for that. So I'm hoping they have some workshop. (Interviewee #20)

Another respondent thought that following the standard training, interpreters could be divided up by field, such as the medical field, legal field, and social services sector, and then receive more focused training on these particular areas:

> I would say make it more specific. After the general program is complete maybe divide the women into groups who want to be interpreter in medical field, or social services or the legal and then provide some more specific trainings. So that will give [the interpreter] more confidence and more knowledge. So when [the interpreter] goes to work [they] know what's going to happen and what [they] have to learn. (Interviewee #18)

This type of additional training would meet the needs of another woman who would like to better understand the court process and case conferencing: "Yes they explained [about court in training] but I didn't know about case conference. When I'm called for that I don't know what it is. I just have to start interpreting - so that would have helped more" (Interviewee #20).

Another woman voiced a desire for more business-related training. Since interpreters are essentially self-employed contractors, many may require support with running their

own business. This particular respondent stated she would like to learn more about branding and marketing her business. She added that many interpreters need help transitioning from training to work and then also transferring skills to different employment areas so women can "end up with a full-time job and have a decent income and have access to the services this country has" (Interviewee #18). A staff member made similar comments, recognizing "a lack of resources for women…we don't necessarily see a lot of women in business out there…specific to women in business who are looking for role models, for mentors…its still not there" (Interviewee #24).

The value of Interpreter Services Toronto

The final research question seeks to explore the idea of value. What value does social enterprise have for women and in what ways are women supported in meeting their economic and social needs? This closing segment separates the benefits for the women individually, from that of those for the organization and wider community.

Value for women

Findings from the data found six areas of value for women who work in the social enterprise. These are: Canadian work experience and employment, income, knowledge of community resources and Canadian systems, belonging, self-esteem, and helping other women.

Canadian work experience and employment. According to funding reports, one of the social goals of IST is to train and employ immigrant and refugee women in a manner that does not require Canadian work experience (IST, 2013b). Three women agreed that being involved with IST has allowed them to demonstrate Canadian work experience and acquire a Canadian work reference. One woman explained:

I think [experience with interpretation] did help because [a potential employer] asked for experience and I gave them [IST's] number. I think [the manager of IST] put out a good word in terms of my punctuality and work ethics and that made the difference…Because they wouldn't even talk to me without reference. (Interviewee #16)

A staff member likewise shared her experience when she was a reference for an IST interpreter:

After the training [a woman] asked if we could be a reference for her because she's applying for a full time job…So I called her [potential] employer and, you know, the questions that they ask…If she wants something she's really determined to get it and she'll finish whatever she started. So that's what I told her employer. After that [the woman] said, "Oh I got the job! After going through a lot at least now I really have a job." I was so happy for her. (Interviewee #23)

Obtaining employment is one of the most common outcomes for women engaged with the social enterprise. All the women interviewed were currently working as interpreters for IST. Employment for women was part of the original business plan and continues to be an on-going social goal of the social enterprise.

The IST business plan established that once trained, women would work as "self-employed independent contractors" opening them up to accepting work from various agencies or full-time employment through "contacts made as an interpreter" (BSCC, 2008, p. 4). The report also indicated that 70% of interpreters from the original program moved on to full-time work after a few years and 30% work full-time as self-employed independent contractors: "While working on assignments, interpreters have plenty of

opportunities to meet potential employers and check out various sectors and workplace environments. They are also able to build a network of contacts for future employment or other work as interpreters" (BSCC, 2008, p. 26). Interviews with staff suggested this continues to be the case:

> Also what I've noticed as well, some of the interpreters who have already taken the training, they get hired right away by non-profit organizations. So they work for us for a month and then they come [in and say],"You know what? I have a job". (Interviewee #21)

> So some of them, they're not only working with us, because if you pass the training you can also work with other interpretation agencies. Yeah, so they get busy. Sometimes when we call them [they say], "Oh, I'm already booked". So it's good, I'm really happy for them. (Interviewee #23)

> One of them [shared] when she came to Canada she had a hard time looking for a job. Then she also got divorced and everything was going wrong for her. Then she said she found this training program and she was desperate because she was also on social assistance and was just really desperate for something to go well in her life. Fortunately she said after learning to become an interpreter she found a job that actually required her to know how to interpret. So she actually got a job at a hospital. So she's happy and she still works with us when she can. (Interviewee #24)

Women are able to obtain employment from IST contracts, other interpreter agencies or interpretation-related employment. Others still, use the interpretation experience to gain employment in a variety of environments.

IST continues to try and expand employment opportunities for women. With the implementation of the RIO call centre, consistent employment was created for six women with hopes of expansion (IST, 2013b). Further, IST pursues larger interpretation contracts. They recently won a contract for the 2015 PAN AM Games in Toronto. This will provide ongoing work for more IST women as well as be a significant addition to their work experience in Canada (IST, 2013b).

Income. Naturally, related to employment, is the benefit of earning an income. Women are paid $26 per hour, though the amount earned every month varies due to the demand. A staff person outlined:

> [Payroll] cuts around 100 to 120 cheques. Which means that we have 100 to 120 interpreters who may have ah, done a range of work from one person who is only receiving $16 cheque for one phone call that she did to someone who is making $1,000 cheques for having been in ongoing assignments at shelters and check-ins or a court trial or things like that. (Interviewee #24)

Women found the money they earned helpful, assisting them with expenses and cost of living. However, those interviewed also indicated that they found the amount small (see challenges section). One woman shared, "Financially it helps of course but not like a significant difference because I'm not working full time" (Interviewee #20). Others stated:

> The interpretation job, financially of course it helped me …it's not a very big amount. I don't make a lot of money every month but at least it helps me to cover some small expenses at home. (Interviewee #17)

Well somewhat, I can at least…if they phone me and tell me "Ok, on Friday you're

gonna have an assignment" at least I know on Friday I'll have… a sum of money that I

can count on. But um, not much, no. (Interviewee #16)

Yet for other interpreters, a staff member reported that some women were making a

enough money that they no longer required government social assistance: "I believe some

of them used to be on Ontario Works (social assistance) but have moved off of that and no

longer need that support" (Interviewee #22).

Knowledge of community resources and Canadian systems. Women also reported they

increased their knowledge of community resources and understanding of Canadian

systems such as the health, legal and criminal systems: "It provides us with different tools

and also [an] orientation to the system here. Because I had no idea about the special needs

of the justice system in Canada" (Interviewee #17). Another two respondents likewise

reflected:

Terminology [was my favourite part of the training]. Because I think that's what

we were missing as an immigrant we don't know the law here. So it gives you a lot of

terminology regarding your rights, the court system, and that over here coming from

a corrupted country, over here you know that the system really works and you can

access it to defend your rights. (Interviewee #18)

I guess knowledge. That's a good thing because I didn't know about the law or

criminal law or the court system before….it makes me more aware what's going on in

the city. And um, I'm more compassionate about people around me. (Interviewee

#20)

IST anticipated this outcome in the original business plan (BSCC, 2008) and reported it as a current social outcome in their recent 2012 funding report: "Through training we assist women to gain skills and knowledge of Canadian legal, health and social systems that will help them fully participate in social and civic affairs" (IST, 2012, p. 3). Greater participation in society was evident for one interpreter:

It opened a lot of doors. So from being an interpreter I have access to platforms to speak about subjects that I like, for example access to food, access to affordable housing and also creating awareness of human trafficking. (Interviewee #18)

Increased knowledge of community resources and contacts can also open up additional employment opportunities for interpreters as one staff member suggested:

With the training as immigrant women they can become really familiar with the Canadian systems like the legal systems, the health care systems so then they make a lot of valuable contacts when they're out in the field. So professionally I think that's quite helpful. (Interviewee #22)

Belonging. Women described a strong sense of friendship and belonging following their involvement with IST. This is in large part due to the strong relationship-based practices of the social enterprise described earlier. In addition to efforts by staff to build relationships, women also made connections during training. One interviewee shared, "I would say [the] interpretation job really helped me…meeting people here and the training itself. It was [a good experience] and we made so many friends" (Interviewee #17). Likewise, another reiterated:

Yeah and I also feel I'm not alone so that's the good part…The best thing [about the training] is that I made friends…I still keep in touch with some of them and when I

have difficulty in an assignment I can always talk to them and only they can

understand. (Interviewee #20)

For a third woman, these relationships resulted in "a sense of home, an intimate feeling"

explaining "it's not just a cut and dry relationship between organization and the

interpreters in training", it is a deeper experience (Interviewee #19).

Staff too, noticed how IST "makes [women] feel at home":

They have a lot of connections [after IST involvement] because when they come here

they are isolated… [when they start] they just go home, [they] take the training. Then

[they] start going outside to do assignments and in the group…everybody starts

getting numbers for each other, emails from each other. [Women say] "Oh she was in

my group, I'm still in touch with her". (Interviewee #21)

Self-esteem. Closely related to a sense of belonging is an increase in self-esteem. Like

several other sub-themes outlined above, improvements in self-esteem was identified early

in the original IST business plan. In this report, it connected the building of self-esteem

with meaningful employment (BSCC, 2008). Since this time, funding reports indicate that

IST "provide[s] immigrant and refugee women the rare opportunity to use skills that come

from their countries of origin, instead of the usual demand for Canadian experience thereby

increasing pride in themselves and increasing their self-esteem" (IST, 2013b, p. 3).

These claims are supported by the interviews with women. All of those questioned

talked at length about how their self-esteem and confidence has improved and are seen in

the following quotes:

Well this is a very rewarding job. Um, this is something I get immediate satisfaction

from - I really needed that especially in the beginning after I got out of the shelter

with nothing and low self-esteem and everything... This has really showed me that

I'm a valid person...I can definitely make a difference, [this] was a huge boost for me.

(Interviewee #16)

Getting out of [the house], meeting women, and also going to different offices, it really

gives me self-esteem and self-worth I would say. Because before [I was] an

interpreter, I'm just feeling useless. Especially for women I think when they have

[been] working for 10 years in a very good [job in their home country] it's very hard

to just all of a sudden get stuck at home and not able to go anywhere...So in that way

it really helped me and I would just say I found myself, I reinvented myself.

(Interviewee #17)

Stronger. Um, I wasn't like this before...illness takes so much confidence [away]...

after being an interpreter, [it] made me feel like I gained as a person who can

contribute to society...I feel value in that I don't have to rely on [others]...My life

depended on others so much...now being interpreter I can contribute. (Interviewee

#19)

IST funding reports contain additional quotes from other women, suggesting this is a

consistent experience for women.

    Staff also reflected on some of the changes they see in women following their

involvement with IST. One observed:

I'm the first contact...at first when you see them and then comparing how they

look...after the training you can really see the difference... After the training you'll see

their confidence, it changes and then you'll see it not only when they talk, but you'll

[also] see it in their physical appearance. There is one [woman] when I saw her...after

the training she has a new haircut and you know, how she dress. She said: "I'm gonna

go to an assignment so I want to make sure that I look good." (Interviewee #23)

Helping other women. The final value theme is that of women helping women.

Interpreters and staff alike identified this as one of the main reasons they work for IST.

Some of those who work as interpreters as well as the IST staff has had similar experiences

with immigration, isolation, lack of work, or violence and the ability to help others like

them was described as "rewarding", "fulfilling" and "satisfying". Women shared:

You can see that you're helping right away…You know when her eyes are opening and

she actually has a voice… because it's really hard without, being without a voice.

Especially if they're alone, if they don't have a family and nobody to talk to. So yeah,

that's, that's the best, like the ability to help yeah. (Interviewee #16)

The best thing is um, helping the women from my own country here in Canada. I just

see them, they are able to get the support and the law is actually enforced here. So

they are, they are not left alone, they are supported and when I go there I can help

them… just to fill this barrier and this gap. I really enjoy that part. (Interviewee #17)

Ah, when I joined the training I was hoping to do my part in helping women access

the system. Like have access to any system that is create for helping women get out of

the abuse and violence that they were in. So I see an opportunity to, to do a step

forward in the cycle to eliminate the violence of course. (Interviewee #18)

I feel what I do is useful…client is vulnerable just being there in the lawyer's office or

court is intimidating….most of the time my clients have a good command of English so

they can express pretty much well in English so I stand by but I think they knowing I

being there helps…I like it in the sense that I have been through the same kind of

thing and I'm on my own and most of the client are so I can relate to…so I'm not

judgmental and I can have compassion. (Interviewee #20)

Moreover, an article about IST written in the Toronto Star quoted an interpreter as saying,

"You really are giving someone a voice…I believe in justice and I believe in helping other

women because so many great women have helped me" (Casey, 2014, p. 1).

Staff too, has noticed how important it is for some IST women to help other women.

One reiterated:

It is also because they like to help women…I would add that. I won't say 100% of

them but most of them. Because they have another opportunity to go somewhere else,

they say no. "I may do it part time, part time here or part time there". Or the field they

move to is to help women as well. We have interpreters who use this and then start

studying something else [such as] social work. So everything is related. (Interviewee

#21)

Initially when I ask [women]…when we have the information session, we tell them

about the BSCC and what we do. Sometimes they say, "I'd like to become interpreter

to be able to help women and, at the same time, I get paid". (Interviewee #23)

Um, I think a lot of the women feel like it allows them to give back to the community.

Because you know, they may be struggling financially and perhaps dealing with their

own issues of violence coming to the country new and maybe having those kind of

similar issues. Now they're helping other women especially when they work for the

BSCC side (domestic violence related interpretation) and interpreting for women that

experience violence then they feel like they're helping other women. So I think that

they find that really rewarding. (Interviewee #22)

The 2008 business plan, based on prior experience with BSCC interpreters referred to interpretation as a "rewarding field since women are able to assist women from their communities to express themselves as they try to gain access to various services that they need" (BSCC, 2008, p. 27) and funding reports since this time have included quotes from women about this theme. In one document, a woman stated that participation in the program "gives her personal fulfillment to help other women in the role of a professional interpreter" (IST, 2013a, p. 8) and for another, "it also motivates me to contribute my skills to helping those in need in the community" (IST, 2012, p. 8).

Value for the organization and greater community

On top of benefitting individual women, the value of the social enterprise was also determined for the organization and the greater community. Generating a source of income is an important outcome as is addressing violence against women in the community through providing immigrant women with access to services via translation.

Source of income. Revenue from IST business is currently channelled back into the IST training to subsidize upcoming trainees. One staff member confirmed:

> The main thing is we are a non-profit organization so all the profit that we make goes back to the social enterprise. It's not only money, money, money. [The money raised from the training fees] also comes back to women. Because then a lot of women [otherwise] would not get the training. So [the training can] get subsidized…It goes back. I really love that. (Interviewee #21)

However, the ideal would be for IST to generate enough profit that BSCC programs could also be supported as per the fourth social objective outlined previously: "Any profit - if there were to be any profit - would funnel back into the BSCC services" (Interviewee #24):

Because of the funding cuts and the fear of losing funding and there has been all kinds

of discussions around the management team, around the fear of if the government

goes one party or another and we don't really know how much of our program

funding we could actually rely on. So um, we have been encouraged to think about

ways by which we can generate income. One of the ways of course that people

thought of is by having a social purpose enterprise. (Interviewee #24)

IST continues to work towards this objective. In 2012, the social enterprise detailed that

income had exceeded an annual sales goal by $13,000 (IST, 2012) and in 2013 the revenue

continues to grow with a 62% business cost recovery ratio (IST, 2013a). Even though the

venture has not been able to gross enough money to fund areas of BSCC, this social

objective is a strong motivator for staff.

Addresses violence against women in the community. BSCC is recognized as a leading

organization for the issue of violence against women. Due to IST's relationship with BSCC

and the specialized domestic and sexual violence training the interpreters receive, IST also

has a reputation as a specialized service. By providing access to services for immigrant and

refugee women through translation, IST is a key partner in addressing violence against

women. The 2008 business plan foresaw that through training immigrant and refugee

women, capacity to provide services to victims of violence will be extended through

interpretation (BSCC, 2008). The plan describes how "recruiting women from emerging

communities" will help "ensure that communities, however small, are served by

professional language interpreters" (BSCC, 2008, p. 4). Since this time, access to services for

immigrant and refugee women has become one of the social goals of the social enterprise

in funding reports (IST, 2012). Staff agreed adding:

Also the social good is that we are providing community with an increase amount of really quality, well trained interpreters that understand anti-oppression so that helps to create better equitable access to services for non-English or less, lower English speaking people. (Interviewee #22)

What's more, some interpreters trained by IST go on to address violence against women in their own communities as one staff member reflected:

We do outreach to five language groups and we [teach] them about domestic abuse…I can see the men in their community do not really accept the fact that this is really happening. There's some kind of resistance but you know, the interpreters are really very good facilitators you know…So yeah, it's like an outreach to their community. (Interviewee #23)

In addition to community outreach, interpreters also become more aware of potential violence occurring in their communities and are more equipped to intervene. The following excerpt illustrates this point:

I have one interpreter; she had training about human trafficking. She was telling me [she] thinks there's one person from her community who was being trafficked and then she was able to help them… because of the exposure that she has as an interpreter…she has a social responsibility: "Ok, this is what's happening in my community so I have to do something." (Interviewee #23)

There are several areas of value that results from the IST social enterprise. The positive impact it has on women includes Canadian work experience and employment, income, and knowledge of community resources and Canadian systems. Participating in the social enterprise also appears to improve women's self esteem, creates a sense of belonging

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and satisfaction with helping other women. For the organization and the wider community, IST is an essential part of addressing violence against women in ethno-diverse communities by increasing access to services through professional interpretation. It further it is able to subsidize training due to its revenue and plans to increase profit to fund BSCC programs.

This final case, IST, has four characteristics, nine challenges and eight areas of value. Table 19. outlines these themes in a tabular format. This chapter concludes the presentation of results for the individual cases. The following chapter describes the results from the cross-case analysis. The final chapter discusses these findings and how they compare with the academic literature.

Table 19. Interpreter Services Toronto Prominent Themes

Research Question	Interpreter Services Toronto (BSCC)

What are the characteristics of the social enterprise?	1. Relationship-based
	2. Provision of support
	3. Informed by women's needs and lived experiences
	   a. Flexible work
	   b. Childcare
	   c. Subsidized training
	4. Linked to parent organization

What are the challenges of the social enterprise?	1. Marketing 2. A competitive industry 3. Technology 4. Lack of capital 5. Social enterprise model 6. Issue of VAW 7. Further support needed 8. Limited assignments/low pay 9. Training-related
What value does the social enterprise bring to women and the larger community?	Value for women: 1. Canadian work experience & employment 2. Income 3. Knowledge of community resources/Canadian systems 4. Belonging 5. Self-esteem 6. Helping other women Value for organization/community: 1. Source of income 2. Address VAW in community

Chapter 7: Cross-Case Findings

Introduction

The previous chapters presented the findings from each individual case; this

chapter merges findings across the cases by comparing and contrasting key issues, and

noting similarities and differences. Characteristics of women's social enterprise are first

examined followed by an exploration of the challenges. Finally, the value of women's social

enterprise is assessed and considered in relation to the economic and social needs of

women living in poverty. This chapter closes by introducing a women's social enterprise

model.

Characteristics of Women's Social Enterprise

This section details the characteristics of women's social enterprise from across the

three cases. The findings from each individual case are compiled and tabulated in Table 20.

Six characteristics were established from the cross-case analysis. These are: informed by

women's needs and lived experiences; comprehensive support; relationship-based;

combination of hard and soft skill training; an integral relationship with the parent

organization; and, a range in emphasis on social and economic goals.

Informed by women's needs and lived experiences

The cross-case comparison revealed that these social enterprise models are all

informed by the lived experiences of women. In two of the three social enterprises this was

achieved through directly engaging women. For example, WCWRC, surveyed local women

in the surrounding low-income neighbourhood discovering women were in need of

childcare and employment. Venue 1008 similarly, collaborated with SAS alumni to build

the employment curriculum for the social enterprise. Both of these examples illustrate how

social enterprise activities and training programs were directly informed by women.

Table 20. Characteristics of Three Cases

Characteristic	Venue 1008	WCWRC	IST
Informed by women's needs & lived experiences	- Provides additional supports (childcare, housing, free training, work experience) - Flexibility - Participation in program development	- Participation in program development - Childcare - Flexibility - Free training	- Flexibility - Childcare - Subsidized training
Provision of support	- A safe environment - Access to a support person - An approachable social enterprise manager	- Employment supports - Soft skills supports - Crisis support - Access to parent org services	- Emotional support
Relationship-based	- A strong community	- Focused on inclusion/diversity	- Relationships between staff & interpreters and amongst interpreters
Combination of hard and soft skill training	- Extensive soft skill training - Formalized	- Little soft skill training - Some formalized/ most informal	- Some soft skill training - Some formalized/ most informal
An integral relationship with the parent organization	- Resource sharing (physical space, staff, expertise) - Direct access to parent organization services	- Resource sharing (physical space, staff, - Women access the social enterprise to attend parent org services	- Resource sharing (physical space, staff, expertise, hardware)
Range in emphasis on social or financial goals	Medium/Medium - Has social & financial goals - Balancing this has created challenges - early stage business	High/Low - Social purpose dominant - No profit goals - No business plan	Medium/High - Explicit profit goals - Well developed business plan & financial tracking - Strong social purpose

In regards to the operationalization of women-informed services, each social enterprise met this in different ways. Data analysis revealed that each case highly understands the needs and experiences of their particular population of women. This then influenced the development of the social enterprise and its associated supports. For example, Venue 1008 had extensive trauma-informed aspects to their employment curriculum, demonstrating an understanding of the challenges women formally involved in the sex trade may face. Along similar lines, WCWRC specifically designed their childminding training to include cultural practices from Aboriginal communities as well as groups of immigrant women, the two main populations who access the centre. Comparably, IST generated the idea for the social enterprise as a result of the work of its parent organization, BSCC, and the demand for more trained translators in the field of domestic and sexual violence as well as the need for employment amongst immigrant and refugee women.

While each social enterprise varied in how they integrated the needs and experiences of their population of women, three common practices were identified. First, the social enterprises all provided low-cost or free training and skill development. IST, for example, subsidized women for interpreter training allowing them to pay back the training in small increments upon employment, while WCWRC and Venue 1008 provided training for free. Recognizing that the vast majority of women accessing the social enterprises are those living on low-income and their ability to pay for training or education is constrained, the social enterprises studied here responded accordingly.

Providing flexible work hours is the second shared practice among cases. Women from all three sites commented on how the flexible nature of the employment allowed them

to attend to their other responsibilities such as child care, elder care and housework, as well as continue with their language courses, schooling, medical and mental health appointments. Other interviewees moreover, acknowledged they were able to take time off due to personal or family crisis, or illness and then return back to work when able.

Finally, individual case findings revealed some level of available childcare for women in the social enterprise. Venue 1008 for example, provides on-site childcare while women are working in the social enterprise and IST offers childcare for women while in training as needed. For the WCWRC, childcare is the business activity of the social enterprise and women are able to bring their own children. Subsidized training, flexible work hours and available childcare were the shared ways that these social enterprises integrated the needs and experiences of their population of women.

Comprehensive support

Data from the cases indicate that extensive support is another characteristic of women's social enterprise. This second feature is similar to the first, in that, the types of supports available depend on the needs of women in the social enterprise. Thus, the nature of support provided differs across the three cases.

Although the types of support ranged, they generally were those related to employment help, crisis management, and assistance with the development of soft skills. For instance, WCWRC provides extensive employment supports for women including on-going training for childminders and supervisor assistance while working. Further, the centre works to identify additional barriers to employment for their childminders offering needed help such as that related to language or transportation issues. In much the same manner, women work closely with the social enterprise manager in the Venue 1008 case.

This position provides on-going employment support as does the key support worker each participant has access to. More extensive supports such as job searching, resume writing and job interview skills are provided through programing in the parent organization. While IST did not provide direct employment supports because translators work off-site, they do provide some training on business skills associated with being a self-employed interpreter.

Crisis and emotional assistance is another shared form of support provided in the cases. Venue 1008 offers the most extensive crisis and emotional support to women. This is likely because their population of women are those that have endured sexual exploitation, often with experiences of physical and sexual violence. As such, Venue 1008 has established crisis management processes for women working in the social enterprise. This model has thus been developed with the understanding that for these women to succeed in employment, emotional and trauma related problems need to be addressed.

WCWRC also has access to trauma and emotional help, but to a lesser extent. While some of their women have histories of trauma, this is primarily dealt with in separate programing such as the Red Road to Healing group for domestic violence. However, informal crisis supports are available as needed for women in the childminding social enterprise. By comparison, emotional support is the main type provided in IST. This social enterprise endeavours to prepare women emotionally for translation assignments that deal with domestic and sexual violence. Self-care is emphasized in training as are regular check-ins with staff and debriefing processes.

In addition to employment and crisis support, there is evidence of soft skill assistance for women from all three cases. For two of the social enterprises, WCWRC and Venue 1008, women are supported with their soft skill development while on the job. This

is possible because the social enterprise operates on-site within the parent organization, unlike IST. The most formalized of this is Venue 1008. Here, each woman has a key worker that meets with her weekly to create plans around soft skill learning while working in the social enterprise. These plans are based on formalized curriculum. In addition, the social enterprise manager also provides direct soft skills guidance to women during employment.

In WCWRC, this is more informal. The childminding coordinator coaches newcomer women one-on-one, as needed, around how to use transportation to get to off-site childminding jobs, ask for directions, as well as how to use a map and a calendar. IST, by comparison, does not provide direct employment support. The business activity occurs off-site in many different settings and women interpreters are trained to work in this manner. However, IST does deliver soft skills teaching during the formal interpretation training such as communication, problem solving and conflict resolution.

Relationship-based

Findings from the three case studies reveal the relationship-based nature of women's social enterprise. Venue 1008 emphasizes the building of a strong community of women with a focus on solidarity and support for women who have survived the sex trade and addiction. The theme of community is in fact, written into organizational documentation and employment curriculum, making it a very strong theme for this social enterprise. Venue 1008 operationalizes the building of community by having weekly planned lunches, regular graduation ceremonies, and various events.

Much like Venue 1008 and their focus on community building, the WCWRC concentrates on the philosophy of inclusion. Working across areas of diversity, inclusion has become a key driver for the WCWRC and their social enterprise. Interviewees

discussed how many of the women are marginalized in various ways and as such, the centre works to counter these experiences. Women as a result, reported feeling welcome, respected and comfortable and stated they look forward to coming to the centre to work or to access other programs. In particular, the WCWRC works to build bridges between Aboriginal and immigrant communities – two of their main groups.

IST by comparison, strives to create relationships between staff and interpreters. Staff makes concerted efforts to get to know the women prior to training, even at the first meeting. Once women engage in the training and become employed in the social enterprise, staff continues to establish a personal connection with phone calls (versus emails), meetings and events.

Several women involved in the social enterprises referred to the organizations, staff and other women as part of their family. These examples illustrate that while each social enterprise had a somewhat different focus, all were driven by the desire to create an atmosphere that was welcoming, accepting and respectful of women. In doing so, women created strong meaningful relationships with staff as well as other women involved.

Combination of hard and soft skills training

All three social enterprises provide various combinations of hard and soft skill training to the women who work in the social enterprise. All offer a formalized training program on hard skills related to the business activity. For Venue 1008, this includes education on food handling and sanitization procedures, kitchen safety and cleanliness, appliance operation, ordering and inventory. In WCWRC, training is comprised of child development information, safety procedures, attachment education and positive behaviour management. In IST, training involved core competencies of interpretation such as code of

ethics, memory retention, note taking and modes of interpretation. These topics reflected common work expectations and employment responsibilities relevant to the particular business area of the social enterprise.

In addition to the comprehensive hard skill learning, training programs also consisted of soft skill development. In Venue 1008, this was most pronounced: Training around soft skills is extensive (21 units, over several months) and a formalized part of the curriculum. Staff interviews indicated this is largely in recognition of the limited job experience and formal education women from the sex trade have. As such, in order for these women to be successful in employment, soft skill development such as punctuality, work ethic, teamwork, effective communication and appropriate dress are essential areas to discuss. When women then work in the social enterprise, they are practicing and learning both hard and soft skills in an integrated manner.

Soft skill training in WCWRC is less developed and less formalized. First, women do not receive as much training on either hard or soft skills, as those in Venue 1008. Training in WCWRC occurs over three days, with First Aid/CPR provided on the final day. Women therefore receive only the necessary training to become a childminder. However, even though training time is limited, soft skill themes are worked in. Stress reduction, communication and conflict resolution are covered. WCWRC also provides ongoing workshops for childminders such as those related to self-esteem and resume writing. As stated previously, the coordinator does much of the soft skill support work in an informal manner, and on an as needed basis. Of particular interest, a senior staff member acknowledged that many of WCWRC women require more soft support skills and

consequently the organization plans to incorporate these more formally into their new social enterprise venture.

The amount of formalized soft skill training in IST is less than Venue 1008 but more than WCWRC. Though the hard skill aspect occurs over 22 days, soft skills are primarily addressed during the last five. Topics include communication styles, conflict resolution, stress management and self-care. In comparison with Venue 1008, IST places much less attention on soft skill development. Findings imply that IST women may not have the same needs as women in other social enterprises. For the most part, IST women come to Canada with high levels of education and extensive work histories from their home country. Their main barriers, comparatively with women from the other social enterprise cases, are lack of Canadian experience and Canadian education. As such, IST women do not require as much soft skill training and supports as other women engaged in social enterprise.

An integral relationship with the parent organization

Indication of a distinct relationship with the parent organization is the fifth characteristic evident across the case studies. For all three models, the parent organization is the founder of the social enterprise and continues to own and operate the business. As a result, resource sharing between the social enterprise and the parent organization is a common practice. In all cases, the parent organization supplies and pays for the physical space of the social enterprise as well as other items such as computers, software, and office furniture. Social enterprise staff is also funded by the parent organization. Finally, social enterprises rely on the accounting, administration, the board of directors and other organizational support services of the parent organization to function.

Apart from sharing resources, social enterprises varied in the nature of their relationship with their parent organization. Venue 1008 and WCWRC were the most similar, while IST demonstrated several important differences. In the case of Venue 1008, findings implied an "embedded" nature to this relationship. In fact, when discussing the individual case findings, it became apparent that to describe the social enterprise as an entity separate from its parent organization was not possible. Instead, results indicated that the two are intricately related and that the social enterprise can instead be viewed as a program (amongst many other programs) of SAS. WCWRC is very similar in this regard. The childminding social enterprise is likewise regarded as a program of the parent organization.

For these two models, the reason for the embeddedness is largely two-fold. First, both social enterprises are physically housed in the parent organization, adjacent to many other services. This results in a visible presence within the greater organization. In fact, in order to attend other programs or seek staff from other areas, women pass by or through the social enterprise. Second, because these two social enterprises are structured as another organizational program, women are simultaneously able to access other services within the greater organization. For example, a woman working in Venue 1008 is often one who is also utilizing other on-site programs such as housing and childcare. Likewise, women working in WCWRC's childminding are those that also attend language groups, the drop-in space and other centre workshops. These two factors strongly contribute to the integrated or embedded nature of these two social enterprises with their parent organization.

IST, by comparison is somewhat different. Though it too has a notable relationship with its parent organization, BSCC, it is less embedded. IST and BSCC are housed in the same building, but the offices of the social enterprise are down the hallway and accessed through a separate entrance; no other programing is offered in their space, resulting in a strong physical separation. Further, unlike the first two case studies, IST's women are not accessing the legal and counselling programs of the BSCC congruently. IST has instead identified this as a possible conflict of interest. For these reasons, the nature of the relationship between IST and its parent organization is different than that of Venue 1008 and WCWRC.

Range in emphasis on social or financial goals

The final feature of women's social enterprise is related to the range in emphasis on social or financial goals. This characteristic was first apparent in WCWRC, where findings implied that this social enterprise is one that is social-purpose dominant. WCWRC does not have a profit objective nor does it have a business plan. Instead, the model is chiefly concerned with its social aim of employing women with multiple barriers.

Comparing this characteristic to the other two social enterprises unveiled the level of emphasis on social purpose or financial goals. At the other end of the spectrum is IST, a social enterprise with explicit profit targets. In fact, one of the principal objectives is to generate enough revenue that IST can pay for itself as well as fund money back into the parent organization. Hence, IST has a comprehensive business plan, uses financial indicators to track progress and regularly assess business performance. This social enterprise further, has a person dedicated to managing the model as a business. This however, is not to suggest that IST does not have a strong social purpose as well. The case

study revealed a passionate commitment to the social aims: increasing the employability of

immigrant and refugee women; supporting low-income women to access interpreter

training; and, increasing the number of professional language interpreters so that

immigrant and refugee women are able to access community and government services.

Finally, in the centre between WCWRC and IST, is Venue 1008. While this social

enterprise also has profit goals similar to that of IST, its business development is in the

earlier stages. This, in conjunction with the social objective of using the social enterprise as

a training and employment ground for SAS women, has resulted in several notable

challenges. These are discussed in the following section.

Summary

Six characteristics were identified from the individual case studies and were

compared across cases. First, all three social enterprises are informed by women's needs

and experiences. While the operationalization of this varied amongst the sites, flexible

work hours, access to childcare and subsidized or free training were common features.

Second, each case provided various support elements to women while engaged in the social

enterprise. Again, the nature of supports ranged amongst the three models, but generally

involved employment, crisis and soft skill supports.

Next, for the social enterprises studied here, each emphasized relationship-based

programing. For Venue 1008, this was around building a community of women, WCWRC

focused on inclusion and IST worked towards creating strong connections between staff

and interpreters. Fourth, each social enterprise provided a blend of hard and soft skills

training. Like the first two characteristics, this too varied across sites with one having a

formalized and extensive soft skill-training program while the other two were less formal

and less comprehensive. Fifth, all three models have an integral relationship with their parent organization. For two, this was quite established leading towards the notion of embeddedness. All three however, receive extensive resources from their parent organization. Finally, the social enterprises varied in the blending of social versus financial goals. For WCWRC, the social purpose is foremost. Rather, while social goals are important for IST, evidence suggests the drive for financial profit may be slightly more prominent. Venue 1008 is more centred, with a less established business plan and challenges with adhering to both social and financial goals equally.

Challenges of Women's Social Enterprise

This section ascertains the challenges of women's social enterprise from across the three cases. The findings from each site are compiled and summarized in Table 21. Eight challenges were identified in total from the individual case findings; six of these were present in all three social enterprises and are described below. These are: Lack of funding/capital; problems with supply and demand; employment unsustainable for women; limited training and support for women; marketing and advertising limitations; and, tension between business and social goals.

Table 21. Challenges of Three Cases

Challenge	Venue 1008	WCWRC	IST
Lack of Funding/ capital	- Tight budget - Difficult to find people to fund items for the SE - Want to attract a social investor	- Limited ability to provide advanced training & supports - No focus on profit for the SE	- Need more capital for advertising & investing in technology - Social service sector funding cuts
Problems with supply and demand	- Funding structure too many women working at times and not enough at others	- Have many trained childminders but not enough work for them	- Limited assignments; too many translators
Employment unsustainable for women	- Limited employment opportunities for women - Women being trained in low-skill sector - Working for minimum wage - Potential to create dependency in women	- Not enough work for women to move out of poverty - Nature of casual employment - Minimum wage with little hours - Women remain on welfare	- Limited assignments - Low pay due to limited assignments
Limited training and support for women	- Provide more advanced training/certifications	- More formalized life skills training - More job-specific literacy and language support - Advanced training related to child care (childcare assistant) - Job related supports	- Workers need more emotional support with difficult issue - Want on-going training on particular translation topics
Marketing/ Advertising limitations	- Small amount of advertising - Limited ability to generate new business	- Very little marketing - Limited skill, time, and money - Results in less work for women	- Working on competitive marketing strategies - Limited staff available for this - A competitive industry

Tension between social and business goals	High - Limited business background in org & staff - Limited understanding of social enterprise (SE) amongst staff - Serving a complex client population - Funding structure	Low - No business goals of profit - SE is social-purpose dominant	Medium - Hard to be competitive in industry because of social goals/strict ethics - Difficult transition from charity to business - Shifting org. culture
Related to the population of women served		Cultural tension between newcomer women and Aboriginal women - Language barriers	
Social enterprise activity specific		- Conflict with parents - Cultural tension	- Keeping up with interpretation technology - Difficulty working with violence against women issue

Lack of funding/capital

The first challenge of women's social enterprise is a lack of funding or capital. For all three models finding funding to support social enterprise activities is an on-going challenge. What's more, inability to access further capital strongly limits the growth potential of the social enterprise as well as the extent of the supports available for women. For example, data from IST found that a lack of capital directly impacts their ability to market their services and stay competitive. Interviewees explained that the social enterprise is unable to afford the necessary marketing teams that several for-profit translation services can. A lack of funds also restricts their ability to invest in technology

upgrades – a critical aspect of interpretation and translation services, and another area that affects IST's ability to compete in the industry.

Like IST, WCWRC also cited limited funding as a fundamental barrier for social enterprise growth. In this model, funding directly limits the type and availability of the childminding training as well as the additional supports offered. Interviews affirmed that supporting people with multiple barriers to employment requires significant financial backing and since the social enterprise does not have this additional revenue, supplementary support mechanisms are very restricted. In this case, part of the reason for limited funds is the dependency on government grants to run the social enterprise in addition to an absence of profit from the business activity.

In the third case, Venue 1008 cited a lack of funds for general business operations and basic operating costs as a challenge. For example, data identified the difficulty in finding funders or social investors to pay for kitchen-related needs such as upgrades and industrial appliances. As an event space, having a well-run and up-dated kitchen is important for good service delivery and ultimately affects the success and potential of the business.

Problems with supply and demand

Much like the challenges of funding, all three cases also met with problems of supply and demand. This was most evident in WCWRC where they face difficulties with having too many trained childminders and not enough jobs. This has resulted in spreading the available childminding requests amongst many women in an attempt to be equal. What follows from this strategy however, is a large quantity of women receiving a small number of work opportunities. IST is very similar in this regard. Like the WCWRC childminder,

there are too few translation assignments for the number of available translators. Both of these social enterprises appear to train too many women for a much smaller business demand.

Venue 1008 has a somewhat different supply and demand challenge. Because women are paid through the funded work experience program and expected to work 40 hours a week, they often have too many women on staff at one time and not enough business to keep them busy. Yet, unlike the above two social enterprises, these women are still paid. What differs however, is that work experience SAS women are not permitted to work in the evening or on the weekends where alcohol is part of the event service (many SAS women struggle with addictions issues), and therefore during these times, Venue 1008 is understaffed and often scrambles to run the event. The notable difference amongst these social enterprises is that the supply and demand imbalance affects the social side (the women's ability to earn an income) in the case of IST and WCWRC, while for Venue 1008 it affects the business.

Employment unsustainable for women

Findings indicate that the nature of the employment in the social enterprise results in an unsustainable situation for women. In particular, women who are employed by the social enterprise are unable to adequately live off of their earnings. Limited employment opportunities, income insecurity, low wages and a low-skilled environment are the largest reasons for this.

As discussed in the above challenge, two of the social enterprises investigated here are unable to offer women full-time work. Both IST and WCWRC work opportunities are dependent upon the demand for childminding or translation services. When these are

available, they are most often in the form of a one-time employment stint. Further, because IST and WCWRC have many more women trained than there are employment opportunities, consistent, dependable work is even more difficult to obtain.

Findings indicate a second reason for an unsustainable employment circumstance is the wage. Venue 1008 and WCWRC pay the minimum wage (or are funded to pay the minimum wage). Women interviewed shared that living off of minimum wage is very difficult, especially when they are not getting full-time hours. Many women continue to be dependent on welfare, or finding other work to subsidize their social enterprise incomes. While IST pays a very good hourly wage ($26/hour), because of the small number of translation placements, women reported gleaning only small amounts of money. These circumstances contribute to the unsustainable nature of this type of employment because IST and WCWRC women are unable to foresee the amount of money they may earn in a given month and therefore find it difficult to depend on the income.

Another contributing factor uncovered from the data is the low-skill nature of the work in two of the social enterprises. Venue 1008 acknowledges their limited employment opportunities (i.e. food preparation and serving), thereby restricting women's employment options once they move on from the social enterprise. At this time, Venue 1008 is unable to provide more extensive, higher-skilled training for women, though this is part of the future business plan. WCWRC is similar, in that, the childminding program is also considered low skilled. Yet unlike Venue 1008, WCWRC has been able to provide a few more advanced training programs for women, such as childcare assistant, in partnership with the local college. Women are then able to work in childcare centres.

Finally, unique to Venue 1008, is the finding of increased dependency. Data suggested that the supportive nature of the work environment, combined with the added help of subsidized housing and free childcare, might contribute to a sense of dependency for women because it does not reflect the "real world". Interviewees stated this comfortable environment could conceivably make it difficult for women to transition and sustain themselves in regular society.

Limited training and support available

Results from the cross-cases comparison revealed the need for further training and support for women. WCWRC was perhaps the most limited in this regard. Data from this social enterprise identified several types of training and support that would greatly help women working as childminders. WCWRC recognizes the need for a more formalized element of soft skills training in addition to other areas including reading and literacy support, access to job searching tools such as computers, and help with resume writing and interview skills. Finally, WCWRC also acknowledges the need for more advanced type childcare related training so women would be able to have greater employment opportunities.

Similar to WCWRC, IST data also indicated the need for on-going training and supports for interpreters. Necessary training included focused sessions on particular fields of translation practice such as medical, legal and social service sectors as well as further instruction with various translation modalities. IST results also uncovered a desire for more business-related training for women. Areas concerned with marketing, branding and mentoring were described.

In addition, IST women pinpointed the need for further emotional support related to working in the difficult anti-family violence field. Ideas ranged from accessing BSCC counsellors, having a volunteer or psychology student available, increased peer meetings, or on-line type support. IST was unique in this regard; WCWRC and Venue 1008 did not have similar findings around emotional support.

Finally, data from Venue 1008 revealed the desire to provide more advanced skill training for women such as culinary skills, catering, marketing, and learning about the business operation. Currently, much of the training is food preparation and service. This is similar to WCWRC aspiration to conduct more advanced training for women.

Marketing and advertising limitations

Another common challenge identified from the analysis is the limited ability to market the social enterprise business. WCWRC identified very little advertising capacity due to insufficient staff time, relevant skills and a lack of money to conduct a valuable marketing campaign. Venue 1008 had similar findings, with little capacity to advertise at present. Improving in this area is part of the Venue 1008 business plan.

IST has been able to work with a marketing consultant and dedicate a staff member to small amounts of advertising projects, including an improved social media strategy, website layout and revised brochures and fliers. Yet, despite this work, IST continues to regard marketing as an on-going challenge primarily due to limited resources. All three social enterprises connect their restricted capacity to promote their business with a smaller business demand and limited work opportunities for women. Yet, without adequate resources such as money, staffing, and relevant skills, promotional activities are often minimal.

Tension between social and business goals

The final challenge revealed from the data is the tension between social and business goals. Competition between social and business goals ranged amongst the three social enterprises from high to low. Venue 1008 appears to experience the greatest struggle between managing a successful business while also satisfying the social purpose of the social enterprise. In this model, the conflict between the two primary goals mostly occurred for two reasons: 1) limited business background amongst staff as well as a narrow understanding of social enterprise and, 2) working with a complex client population. These two factors interact to create several challenges for Venue 1008.

To illustrate, limited business experience amongst staff led to several decisions that undermined the business. Examples include the $2.00 lunch program and renting the event space out for free to non-profit organizations. These types of choices have affected the financial bottom line of the social enterprise and its ability to generate an income. A restricted understanding of social enterprise by staff further compounds this situation. The case study found that there is currently too much emphasis on social enterprise as a revenue generating strategy, while simultaneously creating an unfavourable business environment. These two factors work to counter one another making it very difficult to produce profit.

Serving a complex client population is a second factor in the tension between social and business goals in Venue 1008. The social enterprise model acts as a training and employment site for SAS women. Naturally, these women are facing many struggles as they exit the sex trade and deal with addictions and trauma. Working through soft skills development in a live-business context can add complications for the operation of a

successful business. Venue 1008 is often faced with making decisions on behalf of the women at the expense of the business, or vice versa.

IST findings indicate similar experiences with Venue 1008. Data from this social enterprise revealed the transition from a sole non-profit organization to one, which includes a business arm, as a difficult one. A change in culture, lack of business experience and prioritization towards the needs of the parent organization has all led to challenges with running the social enterprise business.

IST further encounters tensions because the social goals of this model sometimes contradict the competitive nature of the interpretation industry. In particular, adhering to important ethical values such as fair wages and quality employment for immigrant and refugee women has resulted in a reduced competitive edge against bigger, less socially inclined translation businesses. As such, IST has had to make difficult decisions that put social goals up against business ones.

Unlike IST and Venue 1008, WCWRC does not have the same experience. This is a result of the dominance of the social-purpose in this model. As such, when faced with a decision that is socially inclined versus about business, WCWRC chooses in the best interest of the women.

Summary

Six common challenges were identified from the data. First, all three cases struggle with a lack of funding. Inability to access capital limits the growth potential of the social enterprise business as well as restricts available support mechanisms for women. Second, each social enterprise contends with supply and demand problems. Both IST and WCWRC face the reality of too many trained women and not enough business demand, affecting the

overall social goals of the model. By comparison, the supply and demand issue affects the business side of Venue 1008 in that during their evening events, they do not have enough available staff.

Third, the employment provided by the social enterprises is mostly of an unsustainable nature. Limited employment opportunities due to supply and demand issues, low wages, and a low-skilled employment focus affect the ability of women to move off of welfare into stable, permanent, and well-paid jobs. Fourth, women require more advanced training (to increase their employability) as well as social supports to help with soft skill development. This is often lacking due to insufficient funds. Fifth, all three models lack the capacity to conduct effective marketing campaigns, though IST is probably most advanced in this regard. Finally, Venue 1008 and IST face challenges between social and business goals. Decisions that support the social of the social enterprise often come at the expense of the business and vice versa. WCWRC appears to not have this same problem likely due to its extensive focus on its social objective.

The Value of Women's Social Enterprise

This final section establishes the value of women's social enterprise from across the three cases. The findings from each site are again, summarized in Table 22. Cross-case analysis determined five types of value for women engaged in social enterprise: skill development; job experience and employment; earning an income; self-esteem and confidence; and, a sense of belonging. In addition, three themes of organizational and community value were also established: source of income for the organization; increased awareness of the organization and the social issue; and, general public benefit.

Table 22. Value of Three Cases

Value	Venue 1008	WCWRC	IST
Skill development	Yes	Yes	Yes
Job experience & Employment	Yes	Yes	Yes
Earning an income	Yes	Yes	Yes
Knowledge of community resources & Canadian systems	No	No	Yes
Self-esteem & confidence	Yes	Yes	Yes
Belonging	Yes	Yes	Yes
General life improvement	Yes	No	No
Happiness	No	Yes	No
Helping other women	No	No	Yes
Source of income for organization	Yes	No	Yes
Increased awareness of organization & social issue	Yes	No	Yes
Public benefit	No	Yes	Yes

Skill development

Evidence suggests that skill development is one valuable outcome of participating in social enterprise. Across the three models, women noted how their access to training allowed them to learn and develop several types of skills and abilities. As reviewed in the characteristics section of this chapter, each social enterprise provided a combination of hard and soft skill training. As a result, women gained various proficiencies ranging from

soft skills such as communication, problem solving and conflict resolution to hard skills

associated with the social enterprise business. In Venue 1008 for example, hard skills

included kitchen safety and sanitization procedures, food preparation, serving, inventory

and event planning. In WCWRC, women developed childminding-related skills as well as

received training in First Aid/CPR. Finally, women who participated in IST learned the

various skills associated with becoming an interpreter and translator. These various

competences increase women's employability as well as support them in managing other

areas of their life.

Job experience and employment

Obtaining job experience and employment is one of the most common positive

outcomes for women engaged in social enterprise. Each model studied here provided

women with paid work. In Venue 1008, women were employed for a six-month period with

the possibility of future permanent hire. For WCWRC, the trained childminders either work

permanently in the on-site childminding program or are on roster for off-site childminding

requests from other organizations. Like WCWRC, IST matches interpreters with

interpretation requests and is in the process of implementing the RIO call centre where six

women will be consistently employed.

For several women, the social enterprise job was the first time they had steady

employment. Results indicated that these experiences were important additions to their

resume and helpful for attaining future work. For those who have recently immigrated to

Canada, employment with the social enterprise provided much needed Canadian work

experience and a Canadian reference.

Earning an income

Earning an income is the third benefit identified from the cross-case analysis. Women, from the social enterprises, explained that they found the extra money helpful with their daily expenses. For many, this money helped pay minor bills, contribute to their monthly rent and purchase basic needs. What's more, because many of the women faced considerable employment barriers prior to engaging with the social enterprise, earning an income of any amount was quite significant. For some, the social enterprise employment was the first time they received a paycheque.

Self-esteem and confidence

In addition to economic value for women, evidence also suggests the presence of social value. Building and improving self-esteem and confidence was an area seen across all three models. Women discussed a sense of pride with having employment and earning an income. They discussed how it improved their self-esteem and sense of self-worth, sharing they feel "stronger", "more capable", "proud", "satisfied", and "rewarded" as a result of their work in social enterprise.

Belonging

Another area of social value identified is belonging. Women described a strong sense of belonging and acceptance with others in the social enterprise. In Venue 1008 for example, women referred to this as a "community" and a "family", referring to other women as their "sisters". In much the same way, women in WCWRC stated feeling more open, meeting new people and being a part of something. IST women likewise reported feeling less alone, making friends, and feeling welcomed. They too indicated a sense of "home" and "family" in relation to the social enterprise and its people. Having a strong

connection to other women, staff and to the organization itself was evident from the data for all three models.

Source of income for the organization

Value was also noted at the organizational level. For two of the three cases, a source of income for the organization was an important benefit of the social enterprise activity. As discussed above, WCWRC does not produce an income from their childminding business, nor is it an objective of the social enterprise. In contrast however, both Venue 1008 and IST have specific, targeted goals of profit. Generating an income from the business activity is a key part of the social enterprise strategy for these two models and was indicated as a positive outcome. Both of these models are currently running a profit. This money is used to offset the costs of running the social enterprise and to support more women. IST for example, uses the extra revenue to subsidize the interpreter-training program. Both IST and Venue 1008 hope to generate enough money in the future so that the social enterprise is self-sustaining and their respective parent organization relies less on government funding.

Increased awareness of organization and social issue

Data from IST and Venue 1008 found an increased awareness of the parent organization and the relevant social issue as a result of the social enterprise activity. For IST, this led to a greater social awareness of BSCC and its associated programs, and IST's role as a key partner in the anti-violence sector. Because IST also operates outside of the non-profit sector, issues of violence against women as they pertain to immigrant and refugee women and the importance of translation and interpretation are given greater awareness by the wider community.

Correspondingly, Venue 1008 reported a greater understanding of SAS as a non-profit centre and the issue of sexual exploitation in the Calgary area. This is particularly evident in that Venue 1008 is located on the same grounds as its parent organization. Public who use the event space are therefore exposed directly to the service agency resulting in greater awareness and interest in its work.

Public benefit

The final value theme at the community level is public benefit. This means the social enterprise activity has had some role in providing a public good or addressing a public need. According to the data, WCWRC is the most apparent of the models. Through its childminding social enterprise, WCWRC is contributing to the pool of accessible childcare for Winnipeg families and in so doing, reducing a critical barrier for women. By providing on-site childcare, women are able to access a multitude of WCWRC programs aimed at improving their social welfare while the off-site childminding service allows families to access various community programs outside of WCWRC.

Much like WCWRC childminding, IST also has public benefit. The individual case study revealed that as a specialist in translation and interpretation in situations of domestic and sexual violence, IST is viewed as a key partner in addressing violence against women in the Toronto community. Further, through training women from particular cultural communities, IST is ensuring that immigrant and refugee women from those communities have access to domestic and sexual violence services.

Summary

Cross-case comparison revealed five benefits to women when involved in social enterprise. Skill development through training allows women to develop several work and

life-related capabilities. These various competences increase women's employability as well as support them in managing other areas of their life. Second, all three social enterprises employ women, allowing them to gain job experience and an employment reference. This is particularly important for immigrant and refugee women who lack Canadian work experience. Third, because women are employed by the social enterprise they earn an income. While the data revealed the amount earned ranges greatly, women found the money helpful with their daily expenses. Further, since many of the women have very few employment opportunities prior to involvement with the social enterprise, earning any amount is quite significant.

The social benefit for women was also established. Increases in self-esteem, confidence and a sense of belonging were indicated. Women discussed a sense of pride with having employment and earning an income. They felt included by the social enterprise and created many important relationships with staff and peers.

Finally, findings also suggest value for the organization and the community. Organizationally, two of the social enterprises benefit from earning a profit from their business activity. This money currently helps with the operation of the social enterprise, and, in the future, fund the social programs of the greater organization. Greater public awareness of the work of the organization and their associated social issue was also a noted result of social enterprise activity. Finally, public benefit was also recognized. Increasing the supply of childcare for women and their families as well as ensuring that quality violence against women services are available for women from immigrant and refugee communities are examples of how social enterprise can benefit the greater community.

Women's Social Enterprise Model

Figure 4. presents a women's social enterprise model built from the cross-case findings. In the centre of the graphic is the social enterprise surrounded by six circles representing the characteristics of these models as described above. Next, five squares with adjoining arrows depict the common challenges encountered by women's social enterprise. The inward-facing direction of the arrows indicates how each challenge puts pressure on the functioning of the social enterprise. The value of women's social enterprise is then portrayed in the form of ovals and placed on the periphery of the model. This is done to demonstrate that despite some unfavourable conditions, women's social enterprise persists in creating value.

This model is used to inform the discussion chapter of this dissertation. This final chapter compares each component with the research literature and explores the relationship between themes. The research question is addressed and implications discussed. The chapter closes with a consideration of the strengths and limitations of the study, suggestions for future research and final conclusions.

Figure 4. Women's Social Enterprise Model

* Characteristics and value have strong overlap
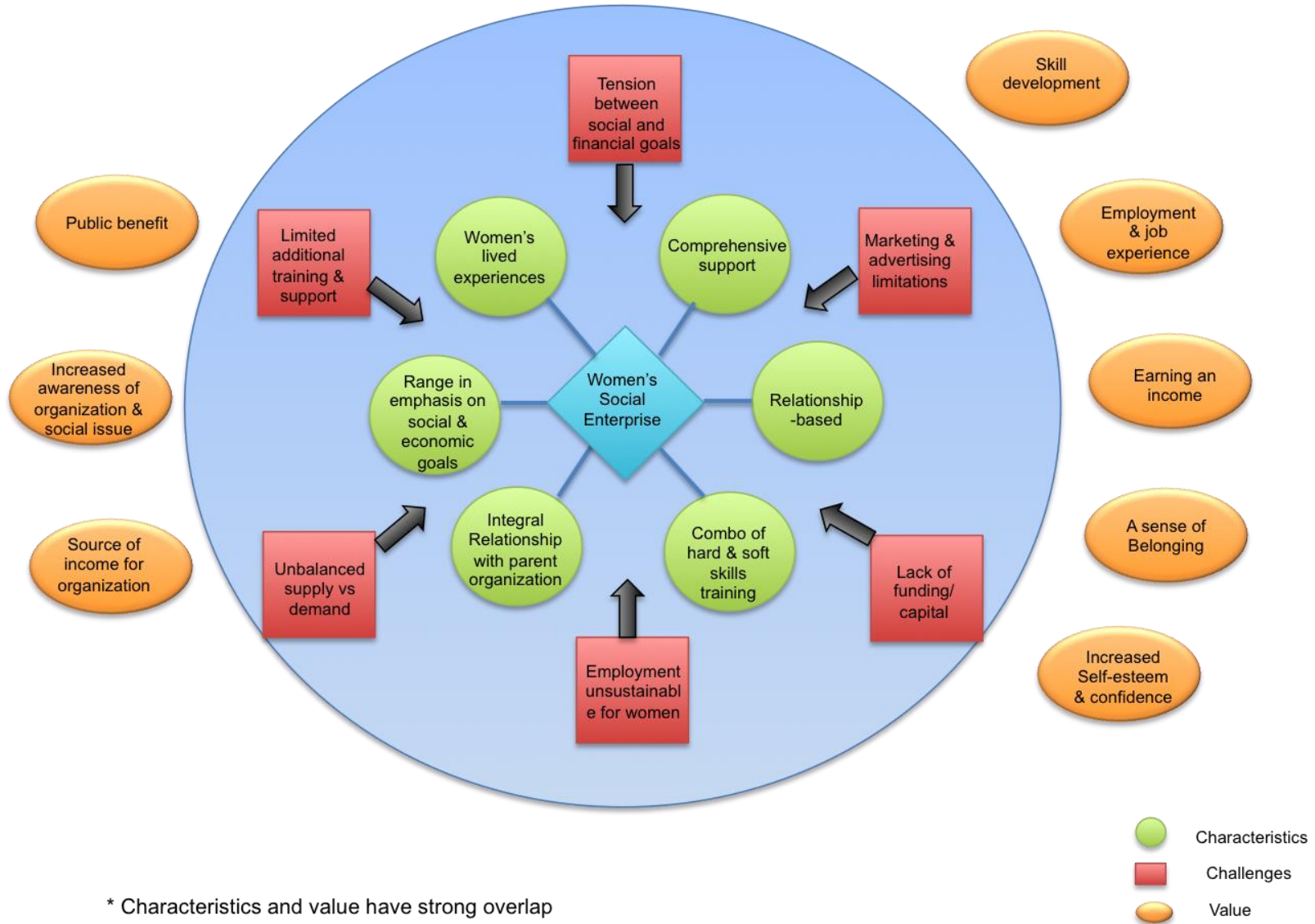
Chapter 8: Discussion

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to determine the role of women's social enterprise in helping women meet their economic and social needs in Canada. It sought to establish common characteristics of women's social enterprise, the challenges these models encounter, how they support women to meet both their economic and social needs, and the value provided to women and the larger community.

The previous four chapters presented the findings from both the three individual case studies as well as results from the cross-case analysis. The purpose of this final chapter is to discuss these results with the current research literature. The chapter begins with a discussion on the characteristics, challenges and value of women's social enterprise largely based on Figure 4. (p. 304). This section includes an exploration of the relationship between themes as well as possible implications for social enterprise models. The chapter closes with a review of the strengths and limitations of the study and possibilities for future research.

Characteristics of Women's Social Enterprise

Results from the cross-case analysis revealed six characteristics of women's social enterprise. First, women's social enterprise is informed by the needs and lived experiences of women. Second, it provides comprehensive support to women who participate and third, women's social enterprise has an integral relationship with its parent organization. Fourth, these models are relationship-based and fifth, they provide a combination of hard and soft

skill training. Finally, women's social enterprise range in emphasis on social and financial goals.

Informed by women's needs and lived experiences

The first characteristic of women's social enterprise is that they are largely informed by the needs and lived experiences of women. Often referred to as a "woman-centred approach" in the literature, this concept stresses first, that women require specific and differing supports than men (Stratton & Levine, 2000), second, that the nature of these supports need to reflect the day-to-day lives of women (Conn, 2006), and third, that women's experiences, needs, strengths and ideas are to be valued and promoted in service delivery (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010). This finding is consistent with several reports that cite a woman-centred approach as a critical feature of CED practice (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2004, 2010; Canadian Women's Community Economic Development Council, 2005; Women's Economic Council, 2010). Drawing from the same literature, this description is also congruous with Fotheringham and Saunders (2014) who contend, "The overall design of the social enterprise must reflect the context-specific needs of women...without the attention to the nature of work and women's unique needs...success in reducing women's poverty will be constrained in practice" (p. 190).

Finding a woman-centred approach as a key characteristic in women's social enterprise has two implications. First, it counters the prevalent narrative of a gender-neutral model. At present, social enterprise literature has neglected to engage in a substantive discourse about gender and in doing so, unwittingly negates the role it has in experiences of poverty. By ignoring this consideration, women are at risk of being inappropriately served because gender-neutral models disregard their distinctive needs.

Establishing a model from a women-centred approach alternatively, acknowledges that women – and specific groups of women – have particular service needs. Thus, the likelihood of moving women out of poverty increases.

Yet solely operating from a women-centred approach, which emphasizes gender as the primary determinant of experiences with poverty, is equally as problematic as a gender-neutral model (Stratton & Jackson, 2008). From an intersectional feminist analysis, acknowledging how race, class and sexual orientation for instance, intersect with gender should be a critical addition to any women-centred practice. This involves understanding for example, how an immigrant woman has differing experiences with poverty than a white woman or an Aboriginal woman. Social enterprises that work with women need to challenge earlier feminist notions that essentialized women's experiences into those of white, middle-class and heterosexual perspectives (Hankivsky et al., 2010). Incorporating an intersectional analysis into a women-centered approach is therefore, pivotal.

The second implication of a women-centred approach to social enterprise is the identification of particular strategies. For the most part, the WISE and feminist CED literature are quite limited when it comes to ascertaining ways to operationalize a woman-centred approach. Notions of a woman-only space (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2004), recognizing strengths and assets in women (Conn, 2006) and creating a safe and respectful environment (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010) are referenced in the literature, but little more is provided to actualize these concepts. The work here established three distinct means to incorporating this strategy: flexible schedules, access to childcare, and direct participation.

Allowing for flexible work schedules such as the amount of hours and the days in which work would occur all contributed to an adaptable environment in this study. In WCWRC and IST for example, women were able to choose their hours and the days they worked. In Venue 1008, while hours and days were pre-determined because of the funding structure, women were still able to leave and attend to appointments, school and other outside commitments during work hours. Finally, for all three models, women could take time off if needed. These examples demonstrate how a women-centred approach can be put into practice. By recognizing that women have several outside responsibilities, these social enterprises accommodated their employment model to reflect women's day-to-day lives.

Literature specifically examining the importance of flexible schedules for women in social enterprise is unavailable. This description is similar however with research by Morrow et al. (2009) who reported that for those with psychiatric disabilities, social enterprise adapted to the needs of workers by offering part-time hours and time off for illness. Other research advances that flexible work hours are especially important because women continue to be primarily responsible for childcare and household responsibilities (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010; McDonald, Phipps, & Lethbridge, 2005). Research in Europe has found that by offering a work environment that permits women to choose hours based on family and other commitments, women are more likely to maintain employment (Silim & Stirling, 2014). If social enterprise aims to increase women's economic participation, ensuring flexible work hours is one important way to facilitate this.

Another means to implementing a woman-centred approach, according to this study, is through the provision of childcare. All three social enterprises had some level of

available childcare for women. However, very little social enterprise research has highlighted this point with the exception of work by Fotheringham and Saunders (2015). These authors cite access to childcare as a critical support measure for low-income women seeking employment through social enterprise and conclude that without this, the ability of these models to reduce women's poverty is likely compromised.

Such views are consistent with those of women's organizations who have long recognized lack of childcare as a significant barrier to women's employment. The YWCA of Canada (2009) for example, associates access to childcare with women's full participation in economic, social, cultural and political life. Collier (2012) adds: "Research on child care links its improved availability and accessibility to more equitable employment and living standards for women. It also consistently argues that child-care provision is an essential structural support undergirding the achievement of gender equality" (p. 286). Much like that of flexible work hours, access to childcare is another means to applying a women-centred approach.

Having women directly participate in the development and growth of social enterprise is a final way to ensure a women-centred, intersectional strategy. Both the feminist CED and social enterprise literature cites client participation as fundamental (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2004, 2010; Conn, 2006; Defourny, 2001; Defourny & Nyssens, 2006; Galera & Borzaga, 2009; Gittell & Ortega-Bustamante, 2000; Kerlin, 2006; McMurtry, 2010) but differ in its conceptualization. For the social enterprise scholarship, participation notably emphasizes a democratic process where participants share in enterprise decision-making (Defourny, 2014; Galera & Borzaga, 2009; Kerlin, 2006; McMurtry, 2010; Nyssens, 2014) while the feminist CED literature prefers women's self-

direction and priority identification in services as well as their participation in program

and community-level development (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2004; Conn, 2006;

Gittell & Ortega-Bustamante, 2000).

The type of participation found in this study is more reminiscent of the feminist CED

literature; there was little evidence of democratic decision-making described in social

enterprise writing. To illustrate the types of current participation, two of the three cases

studied here, directly engaged women in developing the social enterprise program. For

example, WCWRC, surveyed local women in the surrounding low-income neighbourhood

discovering the need for childcare and employment. Venue 1008 similarly, collaborated

with SAS alumni to build the employment curriculum for the social enterprise. In addition

to directly involving women in the development of the social enterprise, all three models

continue to informally integrate women's feedback, and encourage and facilitate

community-level involvement. For instance, some Venue 1008 women participate in

community education around sexual exploitation called "shock talks" and WCWRC have

several initiatives that enable women's empowerment and leadership. IST also supports

some of their interpreters to become involved in other sectors such as food security and

affordable housing. Perhaps cooperative CED models could support women's social

enterprises in creating more democratic decision-making processes due to their long

history in Canada and their commitment to participatory practices (McMurtry, 2010).

All three of these measures are examples of how women's social enterprise can

operationalize a woman-centred approach. Importantly, they reflect the reality of many

women's lives and represent critical ways to mitigate barriers to women's employment.

Adding an intersectional analysis that recognizes women's experiences as diverse is an important area of growth.

Comprehensive support

A second characteristic of women's social enterprise is the provision of comprehensive support services for women. While the type and nature of such varied amongst cases, they were generally related to employment help, crisis management, and the development of soft skills. The importance of comprehensive support is consistent with feminist CED literature, poverty scholarship as well as research in WISE.

The feminist CED literature considers this part of a holistic practice where service models aim to provide a complete spectrum of support (Amyot, 2007; Conn, 2006; Gittell & Ortega-Bustamante, 2000; Women's Economic Council, 2010). As such, CED work strives to bring programing that focuses on women's economic and employment/income-related development, while also meeting additional needs such as housing, food, childcare, health, and emotional/crisis support (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010; Canadian Women's Community Economic Development Council, 2005; Conn, 2005, 2006; Notwell et al., 2010). Such views are consistent with the results from this study. Since the social enterprises examined here are strongly connected with their parent organization, further services are available to women. For example, Venue 1008 provides housing and childcare in addition to employment, and WCWRC offers help with finding housing and income security. Like these practices attest, and feminist writing acknowledges, women's economic and social marginalization are interconnected and therefore services must span this continuum.

Poverty literature is similar in this regard. In this field, the economic and social consequences of poverty are well documented (Chen et al., 2005; Kathari, 2009; Lightman

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et al., 2008; UNIFEM, 2013). Poverty conceptualizations have thus evolved to embrace a strong social dimension such as social exclusion, limited access to resources, skill development, social networks and citizenship (Heeks & Arun, 2010; Holmes & Jones, 2009; United Nations, 1998). As social enterprise predominately strives to reduce poverty, incorporating both economic and social interventions, as seen in the current work, is also consistent with the anti-poverty literature.

Congruent with that of feminist CED writing and poverty research, social enterprise and WISE literature also inspire a broad spectrum of support. In essence, as the name attests, 'social enterprise' is defined as that which is part business, part social (Alter, 2007) with WISE models combining social and economic interventions for workers (Cooney, 2015). In fact, a distinguishing feature of WISE is the social support seen in the form of life skills development, crisis intervention, employment coaching/mentoring, income supports, and in some cases, subsidized housing (Carroll et al., 2010; Cooney, 2011, 2015; Lal & Mercier, 2009; Meinhard et al., 2015; Quarter et al., 2015a).

As the evidence suggests, a strong social component is imperative for any social enterprise model and is indeed what makes social enterprise a unique entity from regular enterprise. What's more, three fields of research support providing comprehensive social supports, in addition to employment and income. Models that neglect to address the social components of poverty will likely be unsuccessful at reducing it in any meaningful way.

Integral relationship with parent organization

The third characteristic of women's social enterprise is its integral relationship with its parent organization. While the cases in this study demonstrated a strong link with their associated non-profit, there was also some variation in extent. Indeed, all three social

enterprises were established by their parent organization and receive considerable resources including physical space, furniture, supplies, computers and other business-related items. Expertise is also shared as is administration services such as accounting, payroll, and the Board of Directors. Yet, findings suggested that two of the social enterprises were more embedded in their parent organization due to the sharing of physical space and the integration of support services. In these cases, the social enterprise might be understood more as a program of the larger non-profit organization, rather than a separate entity. The third case was more independent as it did not share physical space, nor did it amalgamate services with its parent body.

These descriptions correspond with WISE literature, which states the majority of models are part of non-profit parent organizations (Carroll et al., 2010; Cooney, 2011, 2013; Dart, 2015; Spear & Bidet, 2005) that provide the social enterprise continuous support to varying degrees (Quarter et al., 2015a). Alter (2007) describes these as "integrated social enterprises" underscoring the sharing of costs and assets between the two. These models "leverage tangible and intangible assets, such as expertise, program methodology, relationships, brand, and infrastructure" (Alter, 2007, p. 57). Canadian studies have also noted extensive resource sharing between parent organizations and social enterprises (Dart, 2015; Flatt et al., 2013; Quarter et al., 2015a).

WISE or integrative social enterprises are indeed a sub-type of social enterprise in Canada. The research establishes that these models rely heavily on resources from their parent organization. This characteristic implicates parts of social enterprise theory, which advances the notion that the ideal model should be self-sufficient (Boschee, 2008; Chell, 2007; Haugh, 2005; Nicholls, 2008). Quarter et al. (2015) and Pearce (2003) argue instead

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that because these types of social enterprise employ people with high needs, social supports and resource sharing will always be required.

Relationship-based

Women's social enterprise is also heavily relationship-based. As noted in the findings chapters, Venue 1008 stressed the importance of a strong community amongst women, WCWRC emphasized the principle of inclusion and instituted inclusive practices and IST endeavoured to establish meaningful relationships amongst interpreters, and between interpreters and staff. Little social enterprise scholarship explicitly deals with this theme aside from Meinhard et al. (2015) who stressed the role of relationships in women's social enterprise.

Relationships are instead theorized in the social enterprise literature as social capital (Ho & Chan, 2010; Kay, 2003; Quarter et al., 2015a). Through networks, norms, shared values and social networks, social capital such as trust, reciprocity, solidarity and cooperation are built (Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2011). In particular, bonding social capital is relevant as it involves connections within groups (Edwards, 2009). Since this research confirmed that women's social enterprise is heavily relationship-based, it verifies other works that maintain these models bolster social capital (Ho & Chan, 2010; Nyssens, 2014; Pearce, 2003; Teasdale, 2010a).

Outside of social enterprise, other fields stress the importance of positive interpersonal relationships, social ties and social networks amongst various marginalized groups. This includes homeless people (Dordick, 1996; Fotheringham et al., 2013; Padgett, Henwood, Drake, & Abrams, 2008; Rokach, 2005; Tucker et al., 2009), those with addictions (Kaskutas, Bond, & Humphreys, 2002; Lewandowski & Hill, 2009; O'Dell,

Turner, & Weaver, 1998; Trulsson & Hedin, 2004), and women exiting prostitution (Hedin & Månsson, 2004; Rabinovitch & Strega). These descriptions, in addition to social capital discourse, suggest women involved in social enterprise highly value the opportunity to build relationships with each other, and with staff. Social enterprises that work with women should therefore include a philosophy and practice that aims to build both formal and informal social networks amongst women and between women, staff and the organization.

A combination of hard and soft skill training

Women's social enterprise also provides various combinations of hard and soft skill training. All of the models in this study delivered formalized training on hard skills related to the business activity. Training ranged from a condensed three days to over several months and was dependent upon job expectations, skill requirements and available funding. Two of the three models, Venue 1008 and IST, also incorporated a formalized soft skill-training component while WCWRC conducted this type of instruction in a more informal manner.

The feminist CED scholarship considers skill development part of holistic programing where models strive to provide a spectrum of services (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010; Canadian Women's Community Economic Development Council, 2005; Conn, 2005, 2006; Notwell et al., 2010). Consequently, further detail about skill training has received little academic attention in this field. The social enterprise literature likewise cites skill development as a common component (Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010; Cooney, 2015; (Ho & Chan, 2010; Spear & Bidet, 2005) but adds more description such as identifying the development of capabilities related to the business activity (Meinhard et al.,

2015) as well as life skills such as communication (Ho & Chan, 2010), time management (Dart, 2015), and teamwork (Haugh, 2006). While this characterization is consistent with the current study, findings here revealed a more thorough account.

In addition to the hard skills required for the respective business activity, the present research also determined that soft skill instruction was necessary for all women in the three social enterprises. However, although soft skills were relevant in all cases, the extent and type of which varied greatly and was largely dependent upon the needs of the population of women served. Identifying the needed combination of hard and soft skills is therefore associated with the first characteristic reviewed above: a woman-centred approach. Understanding the issues faced by the particular population of women, and by facilitating their participation and feedback, helped to inform the degree and type of soft skills required. To illustrate, women who work at Venue 1008 have many life skill challenges related to trauma histories and consequently require extensive assistance in this area. As such, this case has an all-encompassing, trauma-focused soft skill-training program integrated with employment skills. While WCWRC, had little formalized soft skill instruction, interviewees acknowledged that this was a service gap and were working towards adding this aspect. In this case, life skills related to language barriers and low levels of literacy were foremost. Finally, IST women were chiefly concerned with obtaining Canadian training, work experience and employment. They were also interested in business supports. Unlike women in the other case examples, IST participants were predominately well educated in their home countries and had histories of employment.

These examples illustrate the importance of incorporating combinations of hard and soft skill training dependent upon the differing populations of women served. Furthermore,

it speaks to the significance of integrating a women-centred intersectional approach. Finally, these characterizations reveal the value in learning more about how softs skills are integrated in social enterprise models.

Range in emphasis on social and financial goals

The final characteristic of women's social enterprise is the range in emphasis on social and financial goals. This study revealed that while social enterprise, by definition, combines social and economic objectives, the importance placed on each varies amongst models. WCWRC, for example, has little in terms of financial goals for the organization, focusing instead on the social purpose of the social enterprise and the generation of income for childminders. Venue 1008 was somewhat more central in range, endeavouring to meet both a robust financial goal while, simultaneously, maintaining its social objective. IST by comparison, appeared to be slightly more aggressive regarding its profit goals and somewhat less driven by its social purpose. Much of the literature notes the blending of social and economic goals (Alter, 2007; Cooney, 2015; Nyssens, 2014; Pearce, 2003; Peattie & Morely, 2008) but little was found that examines the scope in emphasis on these however, and possible implications.

This finding suggests that within the umbrella of women's social enterprise, there is much variation. Certainly, there is no one size fits all ideal. Some are more concerned with economic achievements, working towards earning revenue to fund their wider social programs (Alter, 2007; Elson & Hall, 2010; Quarter, Ryan, & Chan, 2015b). For others, the social objective prevails and the business is regarded as a means to an end (Dart, 2015; Guy & Heneberry, 2010; Pearce, 2003). Moreover, there are also likely countless combinations of the two.

The manners in which models range in their emphasis on economic and social goals has several consequences that justify further examination. A predominant theme in this research described in the following section discusses the various types of "tension" that result when social enterprises blend their social and economic objectives (Teasdale, 2010a). It would be interesting to understand if certain areas of tension are more pronounced in models that have either a stronger social or economic focus for example. How goal combinations create challenges for social enterprise necessitates further study.

In summary, women's social enterprise has six primary characteristics. They are typically women-centred, meaning they place women's needs and experiences in the heart of the model. In doing so, social enterprises recognize and value women's needs and respond by providing comprehensive, meaningful support services in addition to combinations of hard and soft skill training. The ability to offer these additional areas is largely due to the close association with their parent organization. Extensive resources are shared including access to greater program services. Because these models centre on women and provide training and support, strong relationships result adding to the creation of social capital. Finally, these models range in their emphasis on social and economic goals suggesting that each social enterprise is unique.

Challenges of Women's Social Enterprise

This research found six common challenges encountered by women's social enterprise. First, it was established that a lack of funding is a consistent problem for these models. Second, women's social enterprises experience marketing and advertising limitations. Third, they are limited in their ability to provide needed advanced training and additional supports for women. Fourth, the research found that the employment situation

in social enterprise is often unsustainable for women. Fifth, social enterprises face

challenges with balancing supply and demand and lastly, they struggle with tension

between their social and business goals.

Lack of funding/capital

Women's social enterprise faces a persistent lack of funding and access to capital.

Research supports the under-funded nature of the sector citing it as one of its chief barriers

(Amyot, 2007; Gittell & Ortega-Bustamante, 2000; Morrow et al., 2009; Ngan & Arun, 2011;

Notwell et al., 2010; Stratton & Jackson, 2008). For example, research in Ontario, found that

80% of social enterprises reported that locating capital was a primary challenge (Flatt et

al., 2013) and Pearce (2003) adds that finding investment requires extensive skill to

navigate the various grant structures making success indeed difficult.

Data from the current study indicated a shortage of money directly affects the ability

of these models to conduct effective marketing campaigns, which, in turn, impacts the

ability for these businesses to stay competitive. While research supports the assertion of

difficulties with advertising (Flatt et al., 2013; Meinhard et al., 2015; Spear & Bidet, 2005)

and competing in the market (Cooney, 2015; Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010; Nyssens,

2014), it has yet to connect this, in part, to a lack of capital.

A second consequence of limited funding is its effect on business operations and

operating costs. Finding grants or investors for this type of expenditure is currently quite

difficult according to the three cases in this study. At present, these models appear to be

more successful in attaining social-related grants such as those that cover the wage of

workers versus investment money for the operation and development of business. This is a

similar finding to that of Dart (2015) who observed that social investment for wages was

easier to obtain because provincial and federal governments often have priorities to support particular populations such as unemployed youth.

Similar scholarship by Cooney (2015), has noted the uniqueness of the WISE model from other social enterprise types because it primarily operates in the broader social service system. As such, she asserts, these models are able to receive government funding to support their social programing, much like the cases in the current study. Indeed, additional research by Cooney (2011) and Teasdale (2010b) emphasize the importance of these grants, as they protect the social goals of the social enterprise by providing help such as wage subsidies and other social supports that may not be possible from the revenue generated from the enterprise alone. While the importance of social grants and government support cannot be understated, the results from the current study suggest that additional revenue to maintain and develop the business operations is greatly needed.

Finding that women's social enterprise faces a persistent lack of money supports literature that argues WISE requires heavy subsidization and that most of these models rely on a mix of economic resources: social finance, contracts, grants, subsidies, fundraising, volunteer time and income generated from business activity in order to achieve their social goals (Carroll et al., 2010; Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010; Cooney, 2015; Defourny & Nyssens, 2010, 2014; Pearce, 2003; Spear & Bidet, 2005; Teasdale, 2010b). This stance counters much of the literature that contends the ideal position for social enterprise is self-sufficiency and financial independence (Alter, 2007; Boschee, 2008; Chell, 2007; Haugh, 2005; Mair & Martí, 2006; Nicholls, 2008). Rather, few ever attain this goal (Anderson & Dees, 2008; Dart, 2015; Pearce, 2003) and instead, according to the evidence in this study, require further financial support.

Marketing and advertising limitations

As previously stated, a challenge for women's social enterprise is its limited ability to market and advertise the business largely due to inadequate financial resources and required skill. Though some literature refers to social enterprise as possibly having a distinct marketing advantage due to the social aims (Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010; Peattie & Morley, 2008) the majority affirm marketing-related difficulties for these models (Flatt et al., 2013; Meinhard et al., 2015; Peattie & Morley, 2008; Spear & Bidet, 2005).

The current study found that an inadequate marketing strategy affects the competitiveness of social enterprise in the market and limits the amount of business generated. All three social enterprises connected their restricted capacity to promote their business with a smaller business demand. For one model, a constrained marketing strategy affected its ability to compete in the highly competitive interpretation sector. Other literature points to the difficulty WISE have in competing effectively with other businesses (Borzaga & Defourny, 2001; Cooney, 2015; Cooney & Williams Shanks, 2010; Meinhard et al., 2015; Nyssens, 2014).

Those that support the growth of social enterprise such as local governments, social service organizations such as the United Way, or social investors need to consider financial support for marketing-related activities. If social enterprise is to successfully compete in the market, models such as WISE require ongoing financial support for advertising and marketing.

Limited training and support available

A third challenge of women's social enterprise is its limited ability to provide further training and additional supports to women participants. Types of needed training and

supports varied amongst the three cases and were dependent upon both the population of women employed by the social enterprise as well as the nature of the business. For example, women in WCWRC would greatly benefit from more advanced childcare training as well as with additional supports in interviewing and writing resumes. Venue 1008 women, likewise, would gain from further training in culinary skills and marketing while IST women require additional emotional support and instruction in interpretation technologies.

The inability of social enterprise to offer these further aspects is largely due to financial limitations. Results from the current study stresses that these social enterprises want to do more in terms of training and development for women, but are largely restricted from doing so because of insufficient financial resources. As described above, a shortage of funding is one of the chief challenges of women's social enterprise (Amyot, 2007; Flatt et al., 2013). Connecting this to limited training and supports is not apparent in the literature however. What is clear, is that a continuous shortage of money results in an often-insurmountable position for women's social enterprise. As the literature attests, a broad spectrum of supports is necessary to successfully and sustainably lift women out of poverty (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2004, 2010; Chen et al., 2005; Fotheringham & Saunders, 2014; Heeks & Arun, 2010; Women's Economic Council, 2010). Yet, a lack of capital restricts the ability of these models to provide many needed additional services; programs and supports that may be an essential component of a comprehensive support system and in which case, may reduce the likelihood of women's success in social enterprise.

Employment unsustainable for women

Evidence from the current study suggests the nature of employment in women's social enterprise results in an unsustainable position for women. By way of explanation, women are often unable to live off of their earnings from the social enterprise for a sustainable length of time. Low wages, lack of employment opportunities, low-skill, and inconsistent hours all contribute to creating an employment situation that is unlikely to move women permanently out of poverty.

The present study supports work by Quarter et al. (2015a) who, in a review of 12 Canadian social enterprises, found that while economic gains were evident for individual people, the sustainability over the long-term was questionable due to inconsistent and part-time hours, and low pay. Cooney (2011) also found that the majority of WISE jobs were those that fell into the low-skill category and typically involved low pay, a lack of benefits and unpredictable hours. In the current research, two of the cases were only able to pay minimum wage, none were able to offer benefits and two had unpredictable hours. None of the three models offered a combination of consistent, well-paid employment. What's more, other researchers have noted that women in social enterprise commonly are employed in traditional gender-segregated industries, like two of the cases in the current study, such as childcare, food service and domestic related businesses; sectors known for their low-skill, low pay nature (Borzaga & Loss, 2006; Chen et al., 2005; Phillips, 2005; Quarter et al., 2015a; Van Opstal et al., 2009).

Comparing these assessments with women's general employment and wage statistics verifies that a critical analysis of the economic sustainability is warranted. For example, research has demonstrated that in Canada, women are more likely to work for

minimum wage (Block, 2013; Statistics Canada, 2009), in part-time employment (Parkland Institute, 2012; Statistics Canada, 2012) and earn less money than men (Statistics Canada, 2011b). Importantly, employment such as this typically provides few benefits, job insecurity and little opportunity for advancement (Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action, 2010) and represents conditions that greatly contribute to women's poverty (Townson, 2009). Cooney (2011) pinpoints the essence of the problem when she probes whether WISE is simply establishing businesses in the same low-wage, low-skill market sectors that workers are trying to transcend. Circumstances such as these understandably cast doubt on the ability of social enterprise to fully move women out of poverty. Yet, the Canadian Women's Foundation (2010) found that after two years in social enterprise and community economic development initiatives, 84% of women were able to reduce their dependence on social assistance. Further longitudinal research is needed to determine how women's social enterprise helps women over the long term.

Problems with supply and demand

The fifth challenge for women's social enterprise identified in this study involves the difficult balance of supply and demand. For two of the cases, their supply of trained workers far outweighed the demand for business. This created a difficult situation because in these cases, women are paid per job. In other words, a small amount of business equates with little employment opportunity for women resulting in a nominal income. What's more, because these social enterprises are equally driven by their social mission, which includes the training of marginalized women, more continue to undergo training thereby further increasing the supply.

The third case presented a somewhat different struggle with supply and demand. Due to a government contract, women are paid for their time on-site, independent of the business demand. The challenge for this social enterprise is first, to keep women busy in times of low business and second, to get enough staffing for evening and weekend shifts where many women are not permitted to work due to the presence of alcohol. This is consistent with work by Nyssens (2014) who states one of the biggest difficulties facing WISE is to determine a business activity that compliments the ability and personal challenges of workers.

Similar themes have been found in other case studies. For example, Meinhard et al. (2015) found that in one case, women were absent from work due to mental and physical health issues. This was problematic in that, the business activity of the social enterprise involved their production. When the women were absent, the product was not made which thus affected sales opportunity resulting in loss of revenue. In a separate study, Dart (2015) concluded that business success was constrained when high numbers of people were trained: "It could not operate like a "real" business in several important respects while training that many youth in an operation of its size" (p. 303).

Unmistakably what is a unique, albeit, challenging feature of the WISE model is its commitment to its social objectives, often involving the training and employment of marginalized populations (Spear & Bidet, 2005). This poses a difficult dilemma: to abate the training and employment of marginalized women in social enterprise may counterbalance the slow business but hurt the social objectives. This is especially difficult if the social aims of the social enterprise are funded by a body that has certain expectations for outcomes, such as number of women trained. Yet, to continue training women in the

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context of low business demand also carries important consequences. Difficulty balancing supply with demand is ultimately the result of trying to blend economic and social objectives. Attempting to meet financial goals while maintaining a strong commitment to social aims results in what has been deemed an inherent "tension" in these models (Teasdale, 2010a) and accordingly, represents the final challenge of women's social enterprise in this research.

Tension between social and business goals

Women's social enterprise encounters tension between its social and business goals. This description is congruous with other writing that contends social enterprises face organizational tension where income objectives are pitted against social ones (Pharoah, Scott & Fisher, 2004, as cited in Teasdale 2010a). In the current work, four areas of tension were identified at the organizational level: 1) issues with supply and demand (described above); 2) lack of business experience amongst social enterprise staff; 3) working with a complex client population while endeavouring to run a successful business; and, 4) concern with ethical values such as fair wages affecting competitive edge.

A lack of business experience in social enterprise staff is also apparent in some literature where needed business skills such as marketing, product pricing, business viability, accounting and budgeting are often not available (Cooney & Williams Shank, 2010; Ngan & Arun, 2011; Peattie & Morely, 2008). Much like the current study found, inadequate business experience resulted in decisions that essentially harmed the enterprise. Yet, hiring staff with business inclination also creates challenges according to the literature, as business ideals often clash with social vision (Cooney & Williams Shanks,

2010; Xiang & Luk, 2011). Teasdale (2010a) views these organizational pressures as one in which a "direct trade-off" between social and economic goals occurs (p. 102).

The third tension, working with a complex client population while striving to run a successful business, is related to literature that recognizes the challenge between upholding price, quality and customer service in the midst of working with difficult staff behaviours (Cooney & William Shanks, 2010; Dart, 2015). Like the women in the cases presented here, many people who participate with social enterprise have multiple issues and often, significant needs (Dart, 2015; Meinhard et al., 2015; Teasdale, 2010b; Quarter et al., 2015a). As was the case in one of the social enterprises in the current study, supporting women working through soft skill development in a live-business context added complications for the operation of a successful business.

The final tension outlined by this research is the apparent compromise between protecting workers and adhering to ethical values while staying competitive. For instance, one of the cases maintained a strong commitment to fair wages and quality employment for immigrant and refugee women. Yet, because other companies in the market paid women less, they were able to attract much more business by offering lower cost services. Nyssens (2014) confirms that social enterprises compete with mainstream businesses that are not constrained by social concerns.

This study identified four areas of tension between social and economic goals in women's social enterprise. The descriptions above suggest an often either/or situation where the social objective is traded off for financial gain and vice versa. However, it is worth noting that this study also found this is not always the case. Instead, there was also evidence that the two seemingly divergent objectives can also be deeply convergent.

Decisions that affect business growth for example, can have a direct impact on the social objective in that women working within the social enterprise cannot get enough work or make enough income. To reiterate, decisions that may be viewed as pro-economic and contrary to the social mission may in reality, support meeting the social objective over the long term.

In summary, women's social enterprise encounters several noteworthy challenges that must be considered in both practice and research if these models are to succeed. A persistent lack of capital appears to be the most problematic because it is this challenge that creates several others. Money directly affects the ability of the social enterprise to advertise and therefore compete in the mainstream market. A limited or ineffective marketing strategy in turn, results in low business and less revenue while a continual shortage of funding for business operations and development further compounds the situation.

Money also affects the ability of these models to provide additional supports and advanced training. As a result, women are not receiving the full spectrum of needed supports identified in the literature. It also contributes to the often unsustainable situation in which many women find themselves as they are unable to access further training to increase their employment chances while at the same time there is an inadequate amount of employment opportunity currently in the social enterprise (not enough business demand) in addition to low wages. In short, more funding for women's social enterprise would likely have a tremendous ripple effect with its ultimate impact on women.

Outside of financial challenges, women's social enterprise is also faced with several unique tensions resulting from the blending of financial and social goals. Ultimately, this

appears to be an inherent reality for these types of models (Teasdale, 2010a). While these ideas have been examined somewhat in the literature, no comprehensive examination of business and social goals has yet occurred.

The Value of Women's Social Enterprise

Despite several notable challenges, this study revealed that women's social enterprise persists in creating economic and social value. Women who are involved in these models gain skills, job experience, employment and income. Participation also results in an increase in self-esteem and a sense of belonging. What's more, the organization benefits with earned income and increased awareness of its work in the community and associated social issue. Finally, the larger community also profits from women's social enterprise since many models provide public goods and/or address a public need.

Individual value

The value-types associated with women's social enterprise at the individual level can be separated into two related categories: economic and social. Economic value includes areas that facilitate employment and income generation for women. This study found three prominent themes in this area including skill development and training, employment and job experience, and earning an income. In regards to social value, these encompassed improvement in self-esteem and an increased sense of belonging.

Economic value

One of the distinguishing features of WISE is its focus on re-integrating economically excluded people back into the labour market (Defourny & Nyssens, 2012; Ho & Chan, 2010; Nyssens, 2014; Pearce, 2003; Van Opstal et al., 2009). Within the current study, this was

accomplished in three ways: skill development and training, job experience and employment, and income generation.

Skill development and training. Evidence from this study suggests that skill development is one valuable outcome of participating in social enterprise. Across the three models, women described how their access to training allowed them to learn and develop several types of skills and abilities. Scholarship supports the claim that skills are acquired through involvement in social enterprise (Borzaga & Loss, 2006; Chan et al., 2015; Haugh, 2006; Heeks & Arun, 2010; Ho & Chan, 2010; Meinhard et al., 2015; Quarter et al., 2015a; Spear & Bidet, 2005).

What's more, this study also uncovered the importance of both soft and hard skill training for women in social enterprise. Evidence indicated women gained various proficiencies ranging from soft skills such as communication, problem solving and conflict resolution to hard skills associated with the social enterprise business. While much of the literature refers to "skill development" in a general sense, emphasizing training associated with the business (Meinhard et al., 2015), some writers have further distinguished specific soft skills such as communication (Ho & Chan, 2010), problem solving (Spear & Bidet, 2005), teamwork (Haugh, 2006) and language skills for new Canadians (Chan et al., 2015) as important outcomes.

Job experience and employment. One of the main objectives of WISE, as the name suggests, is work integration. It is no surprise therefore, that these models supply job experience and employment to excluded groups (Borzaga & Loss, 2006; Cooney, 2011; Dart, 2015; Haugh, 2006; Ho & Chan, 2010; Nyssens, 2006, 2014; Van Opstal et al., 2009). In the current work, all three social enterprises offered employment to women; in many

cases, women confirmed this was their first genuine job. Much like Nyssens (2014) contends, women are a significant group that often faces exclusion from the labour market. Social enterprise thus provides much needed work experience and employment for populations of women who commonly have little other opportunity. Furthermore, because of the additional supports, multi-barriered women are far more likely to succeed in these environments than in the regular work force (Borzaga & Loss, 2006).

Results also indicated that these employment experiences were important additions to a resume and therefore helpful for attaining future work. The social enterprise literature refers to this as increased employability (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010; Haugh, 2006). In particular, for women who have recently immigrated to Canada, employment with the social enterprise provided much needed Canadian work experience and a Canadian reference. Research has shown that immigrant women often struggle with finding employment due to a lack of Canadian experience (Chui, 2011). As such, women's social enterprise may be particularly helpful for immigrant and refugee women seeking employment in Canada.

Earning an income. Earning an income from employment in social enterprise is a third economic-related benefit. Women in all three enterprises earned money for their work. For some, this was the first time they had received a pay cheque. This description is comparable with other studies that have also found an increase in income through social enterprise involvement (Borzaga & Loss, 2006; Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010; Chan et al., 2015; Heeks & Arun, 2010; Ho & Chan, 2010; Haugh, 2006; Meinhard et al., 2015).

For the most part, the income received by women in this study was not enough to completely be self-sufficient. Many continued to rely on family, additional work and

government supports. Despite this, women stressed that every little bit of money helped in their day-to-day lives.

Social value

In addition to economic benefits, social value was also determined in this study. While the creation of social value is a common declaration in the social enterprise literature (Alter, 2008; Anderson & Dees, 2008; Chell, 2007; Dees, 1998; Haugh, 2005; Mair & Martí, 2006; Nicholls, 2008; Zahra et al., 2009) its specific description is often neglected (Cho, 2006; Haugh, 2006; Peattie & Morley, 2008; Teasdale, 2010a). Evidence from the current research identified two significant areas of social value at the individual level: self-esteem and a sense of belonging.

Consistent with other reports from social enterprise participants, women remarked on an increase in self-esteem or confidence (Canadian Women's Foundation, 2010; Chan et al., 2015; Denny et al., 2011; Ferguson & Islam, 2008; Heeks & Arun, 2010; Meinhard et al., 2015; Morrow et al., 2009). Much like findings from Haugh (2006), women described increased feelings of empowerment, independence, and motivation due to their involvement in social enterprise. For many, they felt "stronger", "more capable", "proud", "satisfied", and "rewarded" as a result.

Women's social enterprise also creates a sense of belonging. This finding is comparable with other works that demonstrate an increase in friendship, social networks and community following participation in social enterprise (Heeks & Arun, 2010; Ho & Chan, 2010; Haugh, 2006; Meinhard et al., 2015; Morrow et al., 2009; Quarter et al., 2015a; Teasdale, 2010a). In the broader theoretical literature, social enterprise is regarded as a way to combat social exclusion (Borzaga & Loss, 2006; Haugh, 2006; Meinhard et al., 2015;

Spear & Bidget, 2005). Evidence from the present study suggests this is true. Indeed, women in this study described feeling a greater sense of belonging and fellowship in much the same way as Teasdale (2010a) describes: "Thus becoming part of a group helped excluded people develop bonds with individuals sharing similar characteristics of exclusion, and become included along the social interaction dimension" (p. 101). This finding is particular relevant to scholarship that conceptualizes strong connections and relationships as a form of social capital (Bridge, Murtagh, & O'Neill, 2009; Kay, 2003; Quarter et al., 2015a). Thus, results from this study support other research that insists social enterprise builds social capital (Ho & Chan, 2010; Nyssens, 2014; Teasdale, 2010a).

Women gain several significant benefits from their involvement in social enterprise along both social and economic dimensions. When skill development, work experience, employment and income are viewed alongside self-esteem and a sense of belonging, the value of women's social enterprise is revealed.

Organizational and community level benefits

Women's social enterprise creates value at the organizational and community level as well. This was also found in the general social enterprise literature (Haugh, 2006; Nyssens, 2014; Pearce, 2003; Quarter et al., 2015a). In this study, three benefits were identified: a source of income for the parent organization, increased awareness of the organization's work and associated issue, and, general public benefit.

For two of the three cases in this study, profit was one of the chief objectives. As such, revenue generation was a noted advantage of social enterprise activity in this research and is consistent with other studies (Dart, 2015; Elson & Hall, 2010; Haugh, 2006; Meinhard et al., 2015; Quarter et al., 2015a; Teasdale, 2010b). This money is filtered back into the

organization and used for business cost recovery and as a funding stream for social

programs (Elson & Hall, 2010; Guy & Henneberry, 2010; Quarter et al., 2015b). While most

social enterprises, like the two noted in this work, aim for higher rates of profit (Alter,

2007; Meinhard et al., 2015), full self-sufficiency is rarely attained (Anderson & Dees, 2008;

Pearce, 2003).

In addition to income, social enterprise activity also results in increased awareness

of the parent organization as well as the associated social issue. For instance, in one case,

the work of the social enterprise led to an increase in awareness about violence against

women as it pertains to immigrant and refugee women and the importance of translation

and interpretation by the wider community. Increased social awareness was not located in

the social enterprise literature suggesting that this form of value has yet to be examined.

Lastly, this work determined that women's social enterprise also provides general

public benefit through the provision of a public good or by addressing a public need. One

case increased available childcare in the community and a second, delivered professional

interpretation services for people in specific communities. Nyssens (2014) refers to this as

a "quasi-public good" citing the importance of such services to the general community (p.

222). It is for this reason that she further contends models that produce community benefit

such as these, should be entitled to government funding.

Another means of general public benefit is outline by Haugh (2006). Haugh rightly

acknowledges that creating employment for people with multiple barriers inherently

comes with public benefit in the form of reduced dependence on social security and

increased taxation from income. Other studies have cited reductions in use of emergency

services and hospital visits following obtaining employment (Morrow et al., 2009). Women

involved in social enterprise have very few opportunities. Undeniably, in one case, women were involved in the sex trade, in a second, women had long histories of unemployment, addiction and abuse or were recent immigrants, and in the third case, women were newcomers to Canada. It is highly probable that by employing these women in social enterprises, great public benefit can result.

This research sought to address the role of women's social enterprise in helping women meet their economic and social needs in Canada. Results from this work suggest that these models have a distinctive role in this regard. Foremost, social enterprise train and employ women that have little other opportunity. Due to a history of unemployment, low levels of education, trauma and violence, immigration, addiction and mental health, many women undoubtedly struggle with chronic unemployment, poverty and social exclusion. Social enterprise, created for women, can be very receptive to women's particular experiences while in these circumstances. Through a women-informed, intersectional model, services can be customized to directly respond to the needs of particular populations of women. Furthermore these models are unique, in that, they strive to address both the economic and social dimensions of women's poverty in an integrated manner. By providing combinations of soft and hard skill training, followed by employment in an environment that simultaneously offers comprehensive support services, women's chance of success is indeed, increased.

The value resulting from women's social enterprise is persuasive, adding further confirmation to its relevance. Individual women are supported economically by learning important transferable job and life skills, gaining employment experience and earning an income. Through these mechanisms, it is possible that women's employability outside of

social enterprise increases. Socially, women are helped through various support services such as childcare and crisis counselling, but also through the building of relationships and self esteem. By addressing both economic and social areas under one service model, women's social enterprise denotes a meaningful anti-poverty undertaking.

In addition to the impact on individual women, these models also create value for the parent organization as well as the wider community, providing even more evidence of their worth. Organizations receive income generated from the business activity, increase their social standing in the community, and contribute to addressing public needs. The creation of social capital is another noteworthy advantage.

Yet, despite the acclaim, the research also ascertained two main issues faced by these organizational forms. First, women's social enterprise appears to be consistently under-funded, leaving these organizations in a position where tough financial decisions occur often at the cost of the social objective, or vice versa. As discussed above, a shortage of finances has a direct impact on the individual women supported by the enterprise. Support services are limited as a result and advanced training is commonly unavailable. Further, money also restricts the ability of the enterprise to effectively market their business, thus impacting business generation. A lack of business ultimately affects the amount of work available to women, and the amount of money they can earn.

This leads into the second critical issue for women's social enterprise. There is some evidence that questions the long-term sustainability for women involved in these programs. Due to low wages, inconsistent hours, lack of further training and additional employment opportunities, women, in general, are earning very little and largely continue to depend on additional employment, family and social assistance. This begs the question,

does social enterprise merely replicate other poverty schemes that have failed to raise women out of low-skill, low-pay sectors? If these models received additional financial support and put it towards the challenges noted in this study, would women's ability to economically sustain themselves increase? These questions have yet to be answered and thus, the positive results of this work needs to be viewed with caution.

This finding also speaks to the importance of aligning social enterprise within a larger structural anti-poverty response. Social enterprise, despite the individual benefits to women and the organization, does not address the larger structural issues of women's poverty. Social enterprise needs to be part of a wider strategy that includes common anti-poverty platforms such as higher minimum wages, a living wage, increased welfare benefits, progressive taxes, universal childcare, and Employment Insurance changes. With a system-wide approach to poverty that includes social enterprise strategies as well as other aspects of a strong social economy, a more transformative response would ensue.

In closing, it is apparent that the potential for women's social enterprise to sufficiently make an impact in the lives of low-income women is conceivable, but is currently restricted due to insufficient finances and questionable sustainability for women. These models require on-going subsidization and additional money for business development, operational costs and marketing. Nonetheless, much like Quarter et al., (2015a) declares, despite the difficult challenges, "the overall yield of these organizations is positive" (p. 316). The impact on individual women and the improvements in their life quality, attest to this. Women's social enterprise is a valuable component of anti-poverty work in Canada. Yet, it is also clear that women's social enterprise cannot solve the enormous issues of women's unemployment, exclusion and poverty alone. These models

need to be part of a wider structural response to these issues, which include policy, government, community and other social services.

Implications of Research

This research holds several implications for practice. First, the findings from this work, in particular the social enterprise model (p. 304), can be used to directly inform social enterprise development. Organizations that work with women and are considering establishing a social enterprise or modifying an existing one, could refer to this model for guidance. The characteristics for example, may be used as a prototype for developing a population-specific strategy. Organizations might undergo discussion and exploration about each of these characteristics determining how they can be operationalized and facilitated in the social enterprise activity. They could further consider the challenges identified in the framework, using them to create mitigation plans, encourage realistic goal setting (such as the likelihood of limited profit margins), or even decide not to pursue the social enterprise strategy based on the number of challenges identified in this research. The value identified from this work could similarly be utilized to help organizations acquire funding and investment, and generate community support.

Second, this research holds implications for the social work profession since much social enterprise activity occurs in the non-profit sector; an area commonly staffed by social workers. For many reasons, including goals of revenue generation, creating employment opportunities for marginalized people and working towards a more inclusive and just society, many non-profit organizations are exploring the potential for social enterprise. As such, the social work education system has a key role in educating social workers on the nature, value and limitations of social enterprise. Social workers employed

in this sector should be skilled at developing, managing and evaluating these strategies. The social enterprise framework could facilitate the building of a social enterprise education program for social workers.

What's more, the profession also needs to take an active role in the development of the social enterprise sector to ensure key issues such as social justice, anti-oppression and social value are attended and upheld. As the literature attests, when dominated by business discourse and ideals, individualism and financial self-sufficiency are emphasized and the social aspect is undervalued or assumed (Cho, 2006). Social enterprise must instead be subjected to critical examination and include discourse on the structural and systemic aspects of poverty.

The third implication of this research is in regards to social enterprise policy. It strengthens writing that argues government investment in the sustainability of Canada's not-for-profit sector must become a policy priority (Mulholland, Mendelsohn, & Shamshiri, 2011). Social enterprise is one means to a more sustainable sector but requires greater government involvement and support. Furthermore, all levels of government must enable greater access to monetary investment. In particular, this research determined that social enterprises struggle financially around marketing and business-related financing (such as for interpretation technologies in one example or industrial kitchen equipment in another) and that these are the chief barriers to its success. It also found that for the WISE strategy, investment would need to be continuous due to the complexity of integrating marginalized populations into business activity. Finally, social enterprise policy calls for the establishment of social enterprise as part of a larger structural response to poverty, rather than as an isolated strategy.

Limitations and Strengths of Research

While this study found that women's social enterprise has a key, but constrained role in helping women meet their social and economic needs, it is important to recognize the limitations of this work. First, the sample included three cases. While this is a respectable number for a multi-site case study, it does not suggest that all of the issues for other social enterprises have been captured. Although the cases differed in terms of location, structure, business activity, target population and parent organization, including additional cases would have likely uncovered further and possibly differing perspectives.

In addition, the sample sizes within the case studies were also small. Although a total of 24 women were interviewed across cases, within each case, the number of interviews conducted was modest, especially with social enterprise participants. This was largely because in two of the cases, the social enterprises were unexpectedly small-scale, resulting in a reduced interview pool. Conducting more interviews or involving cases that had a larger social enterprise entity and therefore, more participants, may have allowed for greater diversity in perspective and stronger findings.

The member checking process was a final drawback of this study, although copies of the case study were sent to participants, no response was received. A more formalized strategy would have better suited this work, as would directly involving the women interviewed in a follow-up. Member checking through a formal presentation back to staff and participants, or by means of a focus group would have increased the response rate. However, this would have been difficult to incorporate in the present study due to the reason that two of the social enterprises were located in different provinces and returning to each site long after analysis would have proved difficult.

Despite the somewhat small number of interviews, collecting additional forms of data such as observations and documentation was considered a strength of this study due to the ability to triangulate. This allowed me, the researcher, to constantly check findings against other types of data. Further, the participants in the qualitative interviews crossed several areas of diversity, and allowed the comparing of multiple perspectives to substantiate the research findings, adding further credibility.

Future Research

This work illuminates several opportunities for future directions in research. To begin, a larger qualitative study could evaluate the trustworthiness of these findings. It would be interesting to incorporate other cases from additional areas in Canada using the social enterprise framework and comparing any similarities or differences. This would advance the sector's recognition and to the growing understanding of these models.

Further research is also needed to determine how women's social enterprise helps women over the long term. Examining women's social and economic standing in regards to employment, education, income, social assistance dependence, self esteem and belonging two and five years following involvement in social enterprise would be an important research focus. This would help to establish if and how these models can sustainably move women out of poverty.

Another potential future research focus would be to study more comprehensively the societal impact of social enterprise. Investigating how society is positively affected when marginalized women are employed and their quality of life improves would be an important development. This type of research could include cataloguing and then critically

analyzing how social enterprises address a public need or provide a public good such as childcare or interpretation services over various periods of time.

This emergent field of research presents numerous opportunities for further exploration. It is with hope that this branch of social enterprise receives considerably more academic and research attention. Women who live in poverty in Canada must be supported to overcome and transcend situations of exclusion, low-income and unemployment. Social enterprise models specifically designed for groups of women offer promising and innovative possibilities.

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Appendix A: Key Informant List and Contact Information

Key Informant List & Contact Info		
Key Informant	**Title/Org**	**Contact info**
Brendan Reimer	Regional Director, Winnipeg office The Canadian CED network	
David LePage	Team Manager, Enterprising Nonprofits (ENP)	
Peter Elson	Senior Research Associate; Institute for Nonprofit Studies - Mount Royal University	
Peter Hall	Associate Professor: Urban Studies Program Simon Fraser University	
Nancy Neamtan	President & CEO Chantier de L'Economie Sociale	
Rebecca Ataya	Director of Programs & Services Federation of Community Social Services of BC	
Brittni Kerluke	Manager, Programs & Grants Trico Foundation (ENP Alberta)	
Agapi Gessesse	Associate Manager, Toronto Enterprise Fund (ENP Ontario)	
Jonathan Wade	Social Enterprise Sector Developer Centre for Innovation Social Enterprise Development (ENP Ottawa)	
Courtney Hare	Momentum (Calgary)	
Melanie Conn	SFU Centre for Sustainable Community Development	
Penny Rowe	Community Sector Council – NFLD & Labrador	
Andy Horsnell	Atlantic Council for Community and Social Enterprise	
Tracy Boyer	The Halifax Hub	
David Upton	President - Atlantic Council for Community and Social Enterprise	

Appendix B: Key Informant Email/Telephone Script

Project Title: Women-Centred Social Enterprise in Canada: Weaving Women's Economic and Social Needs under one Strategy

Mr/Ms/Dr. _____

Hello. I am a PhD student from the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Calgary. I am conducting my PhD research on women-centred social enterprise in Canada. The purpose of this research is to describe how women-centred social enterprise support women in meeting their economic and social needs (a woman-centred approach means that women's experiences, knowledge and strengths are placed at the centre of the model). More specifically, this study seeks to understand how these programs function and what value they bring to women and the larger community in efforts to increase women's economic and social equality in Canada. I will be conducing a collective case study, hoping to involve between 3-5 social enterprises around Canada.

I am emailing you because of your work, recognition and familiarity with the social enterprise/social economy sector in Canada. I am hoping you will be able to make some suggestions of women-centred social enterprise that I can approach to study. My criterion is as follows:

1) The social enterprise fits the definition of a for-profit business run by a non-profit or collective organization.
2) The social enterprise targets or works almost exclusively with women
3) The social enterprise hires marginalized women into their business activity

An ideal example would be a social enterprise that provides social programming to marginalized women (i.e. homeless, mental health, domestic violence, sex trade, poverty etc) AND runs a for-profit business where these same women are hired as employees and earn income. I understand that this may be a narrow definition and I am open to broadening it in order to capture various social enterprise models that target women. I would appreciate your thoughts on this.

I'm happy to set up a time to chat, or feel free to simply reply by email. I look forward to your response.

Kind Regards,

Sarah Fotheringham PhD(c)
Faculty of Social Work
University of Calgary

Appendix C: List of Social Enterprises as Identified by Key Informants

Name	Location	Is it a business run by a NFP or collective? (It participates in the market) What is the business activity?	Does it target women? Or Does it work mostly with women?	Does it hire marginalized women into business activity? Do they get paid? Or Volunteer?	Does the SE support women in meeting either/both their economic or social needs?	Could the SE be viewed as a poverty/ women's equality intervention?	Is it a woman's org?
Venue 1008 (Servants Anonymous)*	Calgary	Yes – Run by Servants Anon Venue 1008 Offers Catering services and event space	Yes – women formally involved or at-risk of involvement with sex trade	As far as I know it hires women into the business and pays them	Yes – SA offers extensive social programs in addition to the SE	Yes	Yes
Common Thread: Sewing with Purpose	Vancouver	Yes – it is a cooperative Repurposes fabrics into new products. i.e. Vancouver Olympic banners into bags	It is a sewing cooperative – likely works mostly with women. Website specifies mental illness and New Canadians	Yes – as a cooperative the "members" are the core of the services. Provides a "fair wage"	Main purpose is to create employment Provides sewing training and production coaching Unsure about social supports	Yes	No
Ethnicity Catering (Centre for Newcomers)	Calgary	Yes – run by Centre for Newcomers Food services	Yes – "immigrant women in transition"	Yes Not sure if they are paid – website says it "part time employment" which suggests payment	Yes – Canadian employment experience & training	Yes	No
PARO Presents (PARO Centre for Women's Enterprise)*	Thunder Bay	Yes – part of PARO Centre for Women's Enterprise Retail Store	Yes	Provides training/work experience, not sure if women are paid. Some women launch and sell their own products in the store.	Yes – the parent org focuses on the challenges women face and seek to empower them through women-centred programs	Yes	Yes

Name	Location	Is it a business run by a NFP or collective? (It participates in the market) What is the business activity?	Does it target women? Or Does it work mostly with women?	Does it hire marginalized women into business activity? Do they get paid? Or Volunteer?	Does the SE support women in meeting either/both their economic or social needs?	Could the SE be viewed as a poverty/ women's equality intervention?	Is it a woman's org?
My Sister's Closet & My Sister's Lab (Battered Women's Support Services)*	Vancouver	Yes – BWSS Thrift Boutique & lab promoting women artists	Yes	Women are volunteers in the thrift store. Gain work experience & skills The lab – women sell their art in the thrift store	Yes – very holistic, provides community space, empowerment, leadership. Website states financial freedom & independence. Feminist.	Yes	Yes
Enterprising Women Making Art (Atira Women's Resource Centre)*	Vancouver	Yes – Atria Store	Supports women in Van's downtown east side affected by violence	Self-employment initiative – women artists – promotes and sells their work	Yes – income generating opps, empowerment, democratic, independence	Yes	Yes
Women In Need Society (WINS)	Calgary	Yes Thrift Store	Yes	Unclear. It's possible – the website refers to an employment program but no further information is available. This would need to be verified before inviting them to participate.	Yes	Yes	Yes
Diversity Foods	Winnipeg	Diversity Food Services is a joint venture of SEED Winnipeg Inc. and the University of Winnipeg's Community Renewal Corporation (UWCRC). Food Services	Does not indicate. Likely though because of the sector	Yes – "Establish high quality jobs for target food service employees, including good wages and benefits, career advancement opportunities, access to training and capacity building, participation in decision-making and opportunities for ownership"	Not explicitly stated, but SEED supports economic development. Unsure about social supports.	Yes	No

Name	Location	Is it a business run by a NFP or collective? (It participates in the market) What is the business activity?	Does it target women? Or Does it work mostly with women?	Does it hire marginalized women into business activity? Do they get paid? Or Volunteer?	Does the SE support women in meeting either/both their economic or social needs?	Could the SE be viewed as a poverty/ women's equality intervention?	Is it a woman's org?
West Central Women's Resource Centre*	Winnipeg	Yes - WCWRC Child minding	Yes - Parent org empowers women to help themselves and their families. Identifies a "woman-centred approach" to its programing	Free training & learn job skills in child minding. Offers "casual employment opportunities" – assuming this means paid work	Yes	Yes – the parent org offers several other services	Yes
Mentoring Artists for Women	Winnipeg	Yes Business activity unknown. Offers mentorship, lecture and workshops for women artists	Yes Targets diverse communities: mothers, rural, immigrant, Aboriginal.	It targets some marginalized groups Business activity unknown	Website doesn't offer too much info such as vision, mission etc. Would need further info before deciding	Not clear	Assumed
Global Pantry – Riverdale Hub (Riverdale Immigrant Women's Centre – RIWC)*	Toronto	Yes – RIWC Food Services	Yes – RIWC targets Chinese speaking & South Asian women immigrants	Yes - Provides training, skill building & work experience – hands on. Unclear if paid. Since it states "work experience" I suspect not paid	Yes – The parent org provides several other programs to support women	Yes	Yes
Groupe Artisanal Féminin Francophone de l'Ontario*	Ottawa	Yes – African crafts (website is very brief and had to be translated into English) Would need translation services to go here?	Yes – African Canadian Women "Allow women's crafts to take a socio-economic dimension and allow the woman to come out of isolation"	Yes – women sell their products (unclear how or where they sell them)	Yes – encourages women to sell products in labour market	Yes	Yes

Name	Location	Is it a business run by a NFP or collective? (It participates in the market) What is the business activity?	Does it target women? Or Does it work mostly with women?	Does it hire marginalized women into business activity? Do they get paid? Or Volunteer?	Does the SE support women in meeting either/both their economic or social needs?	Could the SE be viewed as a poverty/ women's equality intervention?	Is it a woman's org?
Ecoequitable	Ottawa	Yes Sewing	Yes – immigrant and underemployed women	Provides temporary employment and skills development training. It is unclear if the women are a part of the business, or if they are paid. It seems more of a training program	Yes, but I think mostly through training vs participating in an actual business	Yes	Unsure
Spun Studio & Inspirations Studio (Sistering)*	Toronto	Yes – Sistering Spun studio – training in sewing, knitting & micro business development Inspirations studio – art & artisan studio	Yes- low-income, formally homeless women	Women participate in "marketplace opportunities" – unclear what this means	Yes "opportunity for supplemental income" (includes a program on "trauma-informed employment preparation"). Parent org offers several other programs	Yes	Yes
City for All Women Initiative	Ottawa	Yes - I don't think this fits my needed social enterprise model. Provides training on women's civic participation, facilitation training, promotes women's leadership	Yes	Training only	Not in the way I am looking for	Through women's civic participation	Yes
Immigrant Women Service Organization	Ottawa	Yes I don't think this fits my needed social enterprise model. offers job search work shops & computer classes. Can't find info on an SE	Yes - Immigrant & visible minority women				Yes

Name	Location	Is it a business run by a NFP or collective? (It participates in the market) What is the business activity?	Does it target women? Or Does it work mostly with women?	Does it hire marginalized women into business activity? Do they get paid? Or Volunteer?	Does the SE support women in meeting either/both their economic or social needs?	Could the SE be viewed as a poverty/ women's equality intervention?	Is it a woman's org?
Up Shoppe (North End Women's Centre)*	Winnipeg	Yes – North End Women's Centre Used clothing boutique	Yes	Yes – builds employment skills in local women. Offers an "emergency wages" prog where women work and the Upshoppe pays off their debt/fines. Unclear if women outside of this program get paid – I think they are volunteers	Yes – parent org offers several other programs	Yes	Yes
Wolsely Family Place	Winnipeg	Yes Catering?	Doesn't specify	Doesn't state	Unclear	Unclear	No
Sew Fair (Canadian Muslim Women's Institute - CMWI)*	Winnipeg	Yes – CMWI Sewing	Yes – Canadian Muslim immigrant women	Yes States "fair wages" and "earn revenue"	Yes - Vocational training, life and employment skills Parent org provides many other services	Yes	Yes
Bridges for Women	Victoria	Yes Social enterprise activity unclear	Yes	Trauma-informed employment training and supportive programs; career mentoring	Unclear	unclear	Yes
Network of Inner City Community Services Society – NICCSS	Vancouver	Yes – A network of orgs Home Support & Supervised Access Workers	No – but likely mostly women due to sector	Yes – advertises for homemakers, ESL folks, and people from pre-employment programs. Paid. training & mentoring.	Perhaps	Unclear	No
Tradeworks	Vancouver	I think so – Tradeworks Tradeworks Store Tradeworks Rona Fab	Targets women and youth	Yes - Employs the trainees & program grads	Yes Parent org provide life skills & Employment skills &	Yes	No

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Name	Location	Is it a business run by a NFP or collective? (It participates in the market) What is the business activity?	Does it target women? Or Does it work mostly with women?	Does it hire marginalized women into business activity? Do they get paid? Or Volunteer?	Does the SE support women in meeting either/both their economic or social needs?	Could the SE be viewed as a poverty/ women's equality intervention?	Is it a woman's org?
		shop			hands-on experience in carpentry		
Sources Concierge (Sources Community Resource Centres)	White Rock	Yes – Sources Women's Place House Cleaning & Seniors Support Services	Yes – the Sources Woman's Place	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
Women in Need Community Cooperative	Victoria	Yes – cooperative Thrift shops	yes	Unclear	Through the parent org - WIN provides a wide-range of various programs to support women	Unclear	yes
Interpreter Services Toronto (Barbra Schlifer Commemorative Clinic)*	Toronto	Yes – BSCC Interpretation services	Yes – immigrant & refugee women	Yes Trains them first, then hires them Paid	Yes – training and employment The parent org provides counselling, legal support and interpretation to women affected by violence	yes	yes
Inter-Mission Café (Les Petites Mains)*	Montreal	Yes Food services & Conference space Sewing *May require some translation costs	Yes – "women in need" – immigrant women, single mothers and low-income	Yes – It doesn't clearly state that women work in the business, but I suspect they do. Participants are paid during training.	Yes - Training in industrial sewing, food services, office work, integration, Canadian work experience, French language courses	Yes	YEs

Name	Location	Is it a business run by a NFP or collective? (It participates in the market) What is the business activity?	Does it target women? Or Does it work mostly with women?	Does it hire marginalized women into business activity? Do they get paid? Or Volunteer?	Does the SE support women in meeting either/both their economic or social needs?	Could the SE be viewed as a poverty/ women's equality intervention?	Is it a woman's org?
Thyme Café & Catering (Elizabeth Fry Society)*	Dartmouth, NS	Yes Food Services	Yes – homelessness criminal justice system involvement	Unclear. Provides employment training in the business but also refers to it as an employment program. Refers to "wage subsidy"	Yes	yes	yes
Tri County Women's Centre	Yarmouth NS	This resource centre was recommended by Steph Pronk as a social enterprise. Not much is stated on the website. Connecting with the ED would be necessary to determine if one is run	yes	?	?	?	yes
Western Area Women's Coalition (Women's Place Resource Centre)	Annapolis Royal, NS	A cooperative: "Women's work gallery & creative space"	Yes – women artists	Women sell their art & crafts	The parent women's centre provides several other services. The SE simply offers space to sell their products	somewhat	yes
Pictou County Women's Centre	New Glasgow NS	Steph Pronk also made this suggestion. She said they may not have their SE off the ground yet. Contact would need to be made with the ED: Arlene McDonald	yes	?	?	?	yes

Appendix D: Social Enterprise Invitation

Social Enterprise: _____

Dear _____

Hello. I am a PhD student from the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Calgary. I am conducting my PhD research on women-centred social enterprise in Canada and I would like to invite your social enterprises to participate.

What is the research about?

The purpose of this research is to describe how women-centred social enterprise support women in meeting their economic and social needs (a woman-centred approach means that women's experiences, knowledge and strengths are placed at the centre of the model). More specifically, this study seeks to understand how these programs function and what value they bring to women and the larger community in efforts to increase women's economic and social equality in Canada. I will be conducing a collective case study, hoping to involve between 3-5 social enterprises across Canada.

The first part of this process involved identifying women-centred social enterprises by interviewing key informants in the sector. Your organization was identified as a possible fit for my research. My criterion is as follows:

4) The social enterprise fits the definition of a business run by a non-profit or collective organization.
5) The social enterprise targets or works almost exclusively with women
6) The social enterprise directly engages marginalized women into their business activity where they are able to learn skills, gain work experience and in some cases, earn an income

This research aims to highlight women's distinctive experiences with poverty and resulting program needs, add credibility to this direction of practice and provide a practical guide for other organizations to build and develop social enterprise programs for women. It also hopes to address the current gap in the literature where a feminist analysis on social enterprise is strongly lacking.

What does participation involve?

1) **Sharing documentation.**
   a. Such as funding proposals, policies, and research reports. The intent for this information is for me to understand the mission, vision and objectives of the social enterprise.
   b. Program documentation such as blank intake forms, case notes, logs and other types of process related documentation. None of this is to contain client information. The

purpose of this documentation is to understand the process a woman goes through from entry to exit within the social enterprise.

    c. Anonymous documentation about participants such as impact reports or other aggregated type documents.

2) Allowing On-site Visits & Observation.

    a. I would like to visit your site, tour it and see how it functions. The length of time will depend on the nature of the social enterprise and it's various activities.

    b. The level of observation will depend on the nature and accessibility of the social enterprise as well as the comfort level of the women participating (and their consent). This will be discussed at the outset of the site visit. Observations can range from viewing formal program activities to informal program activities. It can also involve the researcher participating in an activity along side the women, if appropriate. The goal of observations is to gain a first-hand experience of the social enterprise, what the staff and participants do, and what its like to be involved in a social enterprise.

3) Permitting recruitment for interviews.

    a. *Staff.* Staff will be invited via an email from the researcher to participate in an individual interview either by telephone or face-to-face. This is completely voluntary and confidential and will have no impact on employment. Interview questions are about the purpose of the social enterprise, support services available, perceived impacts and challenges of social enterprise as well as ideas about the future of social enterprise for women. Interviews will be audio taped for accuracy. It is hoped 3 staff can be interviewed representing leadership and front-line staff.

    b. *Women Participants.* Women will be invited by the researcher to participate in individual face-to-face interviews via an announcement and poster. This will occur during on-site visits. Participation is completely voluntary and confidential and will have no impact on services they are receiving. I would like to ask women about their experiences in the program and whether it has been helpful for them and/or made a difference in their life circumstances. I also want to talk about any ideas or suggestions they have for women's social enterprise. Interviews will be audio taped for accuracy. It is hoped 5 women will be interviewed.

What's in it for us?

a) Women participants who choose to be interviewed will be given a $25.00 gift card for their time.

b) Your organization will receive a written case study about your individual social enterprise. This will include a within-case analysis of documentation, observation and interview data from your social enterprise. It will explore and identify how your social enterprise supports women in meeting their economic and social needs and what value it brings to women and the larger community.

c) Organizations will also receive a copy of the final report, which will consist of a cross-case analysis of 3-5 women-centred social enterprises in Canada providing insights from these other sites and answering the research question "how does women-centred social enterprise support women in meeting their economic and social needs in Canada?"

d) I hope to draft a practitioner-focused guide for developing women-centred social enterprise based on the 3-5 social enterprise sites in Canada.
e) Finally, organizations/social enterprise will also be acknowledged in any articles or conference presentations.

I recognize this study requires time from staff at the social enterprise and may be disruptive to the functioning of the social enterprise. I will be very cognizant and respectful of this and am open to discussing how my work in turn, can help the mission of the organization and the overall sector. Finally, I have extensive experience working with women in issues related to sexual and domestic violence, homelessness and women's poverty. I am happy to share my resume if this would be helpful.

This research has been approved by the University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board. I am under a co-supervision arrangement between Dr. Christine Walsh, Faculty of Social Work, University of Calgary and Dr. John Graham, Director and Professor at the Florida Atlantic University School of Social Work and I have received SSHRC funding for my work.

I'm happy to set up a time to chat, or feel free to simply reply by email. I look forward to your response.

Kind Regards,

Sarah Fotheringham PhD(c)
Faculty of Social Work
University of Calgary

Appendix E: Consent for Observation

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Name of Researcher, Faculty, Department, Telephone & Email:

Sarah Fotheringham
PhD Student
Faculty of Social Work

Supervisor:

Dr. John Graham /Dr. Christine Walsh
Faculty of Social Work

Title of Project:

Women-Centred Social Enterprise in Canada: Weaving Women's Economic and Social Needs under one Strategy

Sponsor:

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to describe how women-centred social enterprise support women in meeting their economic and social needs. More specifically, this study seeks to understand how these programs function and what value they bring to women and the larger community in efforts to increase women's economic and social equality in Canada.

What Will I Be Asked To Do?

As part of the research, I would like to observe the social enterprise activities. Participating means agreeing to being observed while you are conducting your regular social enterprise activities. You will not be asked to do anything outside of your normal routine. The goal of this observation is to be able to describe what a typical day looks like in a social enterprise, what it is like to be a staff member and what it is like to be a participant.

During the observation, you may be asked to be photographed or to have your work or activity photographed. This is completely optional.

Agreeing to be observed is completely voluntary. You may refuse to participate altogether or withdraw from the study at any time. Your decision to participate will have no impact on the services you are currently receiving or may receive in the future from the agency. If you are a staff member, it will have no impact on your employment. Others within the program will not be informed whether or not you participate.

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?

No personal information will be collected for the observations and all participants shall remain anonymous. Observations will be recorded in field notes with no identifying information.

Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate?

Participating in this study will help me to understand women's experiences with social enterprise and allow me to accurately describe what a typical day looks like in a women's social enterprise. If you were to become uncomfortable with being observed, the observation will be stopped.

What Happens to the Information I Provide?

All information will be kept private and confidential. No one except the researcher, will have access to the field notes. This data will be combined to protect confidentiality. Field notes will be filed in the locked office of the principal investigator. They will be destroyed five years after completion of the research, as required by the Faculty of Social Work.

You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. At which time you have the right to request that all information you have provided be removed from the study and destroyed. In some instances, this may not be feasible, such as after the analysis and aggregation of data stage.

Signatures

Your signature on this form indicates that 1) you understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2) you agree to participate in the research project.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Participant's Name: (please print) _____

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's Name: (please print) _____

Researcher's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

Sarah Fotheringham, PhD (c)
Faculty of Social Work
(Dr. Christine Walsh (advisor), Faculty of Social Work)

If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact an Ethics Resource Officer, Research Services Office, University of Calgary at (403) 210-9863; email cfreb@ucalgary.ca.

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference. The investigator has kept a copy of the consent form.

Appendix F: Recruitment Script for Staff

Email and Verbal Script for Introducing Project to Social Enterprise Staff

 Project Title: Women-Centred Social Enterprise in Canada: Weaving Women's Economic and Social Needs under one Strategy

Hello. I am a PhD student from the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Calgary. I have become very interested in the work of women's social enterprise in Canada and am conducting a study to better understand this work.

The purpose of this research is to describe how women-centred social enterprise support women in meeting their economic and social needs. More specifically, this study seeks to understand how these programs function and what value they bring to women and the larger community in efforts to increase women's economic and social equality in Canada.

I am pleased to announce that your organization has agreed to be one of the sites included in my research. As such, I will be visiting your site during the week of _____and look forward to learning everything I can about your program. I would also like to invite you to participate in a 1-hour interview. The interviews will consist of questions about the social enterprise including objectives, program supports and activities, impact and challenges. You can choose whether to be interviewed in-person at the agency when I visit, or by telephone. Interviews will be audio taped for accuracy. Participation is completely voluntary and confidential. You may refuse to participate altogether, refuse to answer certain questions, or withdraw from the study at any time. Your decision to participate will have no impact on your employment. Others within the agency will not be informed whether or not you participate.

Please contact me if you are interested in being interviewed, or if you have any questions.

Sincerely,
Sarah Fotheringham PhD(c)
Faculty of Social Work
University of Calgary

UNIVERSITY OF
CALGARY

Name of Researcher, Faculty, Department, Telephone & Email:

Sarah Fotheringham
PhD Student
Faculty of Social Work

Supervisor:

Dr. John Graham /Dr. Christine Walsh
Faculty of Social Work

Title of Project:

Women-Centred Social Enterprise in Canada: Weaving Women's Economic and Social Needs under one Strategy

Sponsor:

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to describe how women-centred social enterprise support women in meeting their economic and social needs. More specifically, this study seeks to understand how these programs function and what value they bring to women and the larger community in efforts to increase women's economic and social equality in Canada.

What Will I Be Asked To Do?

Participating involves being interviewed for approximately 1 hour. The interviews will consist of questions about the social enterprise including objectives, supports, impact and challenges. You can choose whether to be interviewed in-person at the agency, or by telephone. Interviews will be audio taped for accuracy. Participation is completely voluntary and confidential. You may refuse to participate altogether, refuse to answer certain questions, or withdraw from the study at any time.

Your decision to participate will have no impact on your employment. Others within the agency will not be informed whether or not you participate.

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?

No personal identifying information will be collected, and all participants shall remain anonymous.

Interviews will be audio-taped and transcribed by a member of the research team for purposes of accuracy. No one outside of the research team will have access to the audiotapes. They will never be played in public.

I grant permission to be audio taped: Yes: ___ No: ___

Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate?

Participating in this study will help me to understand the service provider perspective of women's social enterprise.

What Happens to the Information I Provide?

All information will be kept private and confidential. No one except the researcher, her supervisor and the person who will transcribe the interviews will be allowed to see or hear any of the answers to the questionnaire or the interview tape. No identifying information will appear on the transcribed interviews, instead each transcript will have a code. All data will be combined to protect confidentiality and all identifying information will be removed or disguised if interview quotes are included in the final document or other publications.

Audiotapes and transcripts will be filed in the locked office of the principal investigator. The audiotapes will be destroyed after completion of the project and the transcripts will be destroyed five years after completion of the research, as required by the Faculty of Social Work.

You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. At which time you have the right to request that all information you have provided be removed from the study and destroyed. In some instances, this may not be feasible, such as after the analysis and aggregation of data stage.

Signatures

Your signature on this form indicates that 1) you understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2) you agree to participate in the research project.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Participant's Name: (please print) _____

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's Name: (please print) _____

Researcher's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

Sarah Fotheringham, PhD (c)
Faculty of Social Work
 (Dr. Christine Walsh (advisor), Faculty of Social Work)

If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact an Ethics Resource Officer, Research Services Office, University of Calgary at (403) 210-9863; email cfreb@ucalgary.ca.

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference. The investigator has kept a copy of the consent form.

Appendix H: Recruitment Script for SE Participants

Hello. My name is Sarah Fotheringham and I am a PhD student from the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Calgary. I have become very interested in something called "social enterprise". (Name of Organization) is considered a social enterprise because it aims to help women both economically and socially.

The purpose of my research is to describe how women-centred social enterprise support women in meeting their economic and social needs. More specifically, this study seeks to understand how these programs function and what value they bring to women and the larger community in efforts to increase women's economic and social equality in Canada.

I am here because (name of organization) has agreed to let me visit and learn everything I can about this social enterprise as part of my PhD research. I will be here for (duration of visit).

While I am here, I will be talking with staff, observing some of the social enterprise activities and reading about this program. Participating means agreeing to being observed while you are conducting your regular social enterprise activities. You will not be asked to do anything outside of your normal routine. The goal of this observation is to be able to describe what a typical day looks like in a social enterprise, what it is like to be a staff member and what it is like to be a participant. During the observation, you may be asked to be photographed or to have your work or activity photographed. This is completely optional.

I would also like to interview some of you – women who are directly participating in the social enterprise. I am looking to interview a few women for one hour to talk about your experiences in the program and whether it has been helpful for you and/or made a difference in your life circumstances. I also want to talk about any ideas or suggestions you have for women's social enterprise. Interviews will be audio taped for accuracy.

Participation is completely voluntary and confidential. You may refuse to participate altogether, refuse to answer certain questions, or withdraw from the study at any time. Your decision to participate will have no impact on the services you are currently receiving or may receive in the future from the agency. Others within the program will not be informed whether or not you participate. However, if you are interviewed at the agency it is possible that others may learn of your participation. A 25$ gift card will be provided to thank you for your time in the interview.

I have hung posters around the organization with my contact information. If you would like to set up an interview or have any questions, please feel free to contact me.

Thanks!
Sarah

Women-Centred Social Enterprise in Canada:
Weaving Women's Economic and Social Needs Under one Strategy

(Name of Organization/program) is a Social Enterprise!

---✹---

✹ **This study is seeking women who would like to share their thoughts and experiences about what it is like to be involved in a social enterprise.**

✹**You are invited to participate in a 1-hour interview. Interviews will be audio-recorded.**

✹ **Questions will be about your experiences in the program and whether is has been helpful and/or made a difference in your life circumstances. I also want to talk about any ideas or suggestions you have for women's social enterprise programs.**

---✹---

This study is approved by the Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Name of Researcher, Faculty, Department, Telephone & Email:

Sarah Fotheringham
PhD Student
Faculty of Social Work

Supervisor:

Dr. John Graham/Dr. Christine Walsh
Faculty of Social Work

Title of Project:

Women-Centred Social Enterprise in Canada: Weaving Women's Economic and Social Needs under one Strategy

Sponsor:

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to describe how women-centred social enterprise support women in meeting their economic and social needs. More specifically, this study seeks to understand how these programs function and what value they bring to women and the larger community in efforts to increase women's economic and social equality in Canada.

What Will I Be Asked To Do?

Participating involves being interviewed for approximately 1 hour. I would like to learn about your experience in the program and whether it has been helpful for you and/or made a difference in your life circumstances. Interviews will be audio taped for accuracy. Participation is completely voluntary and confidential. You may refuse to participate altogether, refuse to answer certain questions, or withdraw from the study at any time. Your decision to participate will have no impact on the services you are currently receiving or may receive in the future from the agency.

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Others within the program will not be informed whether or not you participate. However, since interviews will be conducted at the agency it is possible that others may learn of your participation.

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?

Should you agree to participate, you will be asked to provide your age, ethnic identity, educational background, marital status and number of children, if any. No personal information recorded will be identifiable in the research; it will either be masked or not presented. In order to protect your confidentiality, you may choose to provide a pseudonym (a false name).

Interviews will be audio taped and transcribed by a member of the research team for purposes of accuracy. No one outside of the research team will have access to the audiotapes. They will never be played in public.

There are several options for you to consider if you decide to take part in this research. You can choose

all, some, or none of them. Please review each of these options and choose Yes or No:

I wish to remain anonymous, but you may refer to me by a pseudonym (false name):   Yes: ___ No: ___

The pseudonym (false name) I choose for myself is: _____

Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate

Participating in this study will help me to understand women's experiences with social enterprise. Sharing your thoughts and experiences will provide you with an opportunity to voice your opinions, ideas and recommendations on social enterprise for women. If you were to become upset by talking about these experiences for any reason, the interview will be stopped. Should you desire counselling, the researcher will provide you with information on various counselling agencies in your area, some of which are free and others that charge a fee based on your income.

All information will be kept private and confidential. The only exception is that the law requires us to report any child abuse that you disclose. Further, if we learn of any intent that you have to harm yourself or others, it must also be reported.

Whether or not you complete the interview, you will receive an honorarium of $25.00 in the form of a gift card.

What Happens to the Information I Provide?

All information will be kept private and confidential. No one except the researcher, her supervisor and the person who will transcribe the interviews will be allowed to see or hear any of the

answers to the questionnaire or the interview tape. No identifying information will appear on the transcribed interviews, instead each transcript will have a code. All data will be combined to protect confidentiality and all identifying information will be removed or disguised if interview quotes are included in the final document or other publications.

Audiotapes and transcripts will be filed in the locked office of the principal investigator. The audiotapes will be destroyed after completion of the project and the transcripts will be destroyed five years after completion of the research, as required by the Faculty of Social Work.

You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. At which time you have the right to request that all information you have provided be removed from the study and destroyed. In some instances, this may not be feasible, such as after the analysis and aggregation of data stage.

Signatures

Your signature on this form indicates that 1) you understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2) you agree to participate in the research project.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Participant's Name: (please print) _____

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's Name: (please print) _____

Researcher's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Questions/Concerns
If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

Sarah Fotheringham, PhD (c)
Faculty of Social Work
 (Dr. Christine Walsh (advisor), Faculty of Social Work)

If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact an Ethics Resource Officer, Research Services Office, University of Calgary at (403) 210-9863; email cfreb@ucalgary.ca.

Appendix K: Staff Interview Guide

During the interview I'd like to discuss the following topics: a general description of the social enterprise including how the social enterprise is connected to the larger social organization, the women who participate in the social enterprise, challenges of social enterprise, impact of the social enterprise on women and the community, and any ideas you have about future social enterprise for women.

Social Enterprise – General

Main Question(s)	Probe(s)	Clarifying Questions
For this first question, I'd like to hear about the social enterprise in general. I'm interested in hearing about the who, what, where, when and why. **Q:** Please describe the social enterprise.	- What does it do? - Who are the business clients? - Who works there? - What do they do? - What is your position? - What are the rules of the SE? - What does a typical day look like? - How is the SE related to the parent organization? How do they work together? Are they separate entities?	- Can you expand on this? - Can you give me an example? - Can you tell me anything else? - Can you say more about that?

The Women who participate in the Social Enterprise

Main Question(s)	Probe(s)	Clarifying Questions
For this next question, I would like to hear about the women who are involved in the social enterprise. I'm interested in hearing about who the women are; how they got involved, their challenges; needs; strengths etc. **Q:** Please tell me about the women who participate in your social enterprise	- Who is best suited to participate in the social enterprise? - What brings the women to the social enterprise? What are they hoping for? - What is their life like before engagement in the SE? - What are the needs of women who participate? - What other supports do women require? (i.e. addictions, housing, childcare) Where do they get these?	- Can you expand on this? - Can you give me an example? - Can you tell me anything else? - Can you say more about that?

Value/Impact

Main Question(s)	Probe(s)	Clarifying Questions
This 3rd question focuses on the impact of social enterprise for women. **Q1:** Now that you've described the social enterprise in general and the women who participate, can you tell me about how the social enterprise attends to the needs of women? **Q2:** In your opinion, what are some of the positive impacts of the social enterprise for women? For the community? **Q3:** What are some of the challenges of providing social enterprise for women?	- How are women's needs/challenges/strengths incorporated into the social enterprise model? - Are there certain groups of women who have particular needs? (Aboriginal, immigrant, etc) - How does the SE address the diversity of women's needs? - How does the social enterprise help women economically? Socially? Emotionally? Other ways? - Are women ever part of the decision making/goal setting of the SE? - Do women have access to any supervision/management/leadership opportunities? - Are there any other ways women are engaged in the social enterprise or the larger organization? (peer groups, mentoring, advocacy, activism) - Do you find any tension between the social goals and the business goals? How is this managed? - funding challenges?	- Can you expand on this? - Can you give me an example? - Can you tell me anything else? - Can you say more about that?

Recommendations for Social Enterprise

Main Question(s)	Probe(s)	Clarifying Questions
Finally, I'd like to hear what you would change or do differently with the social enterprise. I'll also ask about any recommendations you have for someone starting a social	- What would you change/add to make the SE better for women? - What's missing? - What would you do the same? - What would you say are the most important parts of the program? - If you had a magic wand, how would you change the SE for the better?	- Can you expand on this? - Can you give me an example? - Can you tell me anything else? - Can you say more about that?

| enterprise for women.

Q1: What would you change/do differently in the SE?

Q2: What recommendations do you have for social enterprises that work with women? | - What are the key parts of social enterprise for women?
- Is there anything else you'd like me to know about social enterprise and women? | |

Demographic Questions
Age, Ethnicity, Education level, Marital Status, Children/Number of children

As I said in the ethics form, I'm here to learn as much as I can about social enterprise that works with women. A social enterprise is the business part of a social organization such as <name of social enterprise>.

During the interview I'd like to discuss the following topics: the social enterprise itself, your experiences being involved with the social enterprise, what difference being involved in the social enterprise has made in your life (if any), and any recommendations you have for social enterprises that work with women.

Social Enterprise - General

Main Question(s)	Probe(s)	Clarifying Questions
Q: As someone who has worked in the social enterprise, please describe the social enterprise.	- What does it do? - Who are the business clients? - Who works there? - What do they do? - What are the rules? - How is the SE related to the parent organization?	- Can you expand on this? - Can you give me an example? - Can you tell me anything else? - Can you say more about that?

Social Enterprise Experiences

Main Question(s)	Probe(s)	Clarifying Questions
For this next question, I would like to hear about what it has been like for you to work in the social enterprise. I'm interested in hearing about your day-to-day activities as well as about the good experiences and the bad. **Q:** What has been your experience working in	- How did you get involved with the SE? - What does a typical day look like? - What are your responsibilities? - What do you like most/least? - Can you give me an example of your best day? Your worst day? - How do you like working with other women? - What is it like working with the supervisor/SE manager?	- Can you expand on this? - Can you give me an example? - Can you tell me anything else? - Can you say more about that?

the social enterprise?		

Value/Impact

Main Question(s)	Probe(s)	Clarifying Questions
Part of this research is to determine if and how working in a social enterprise helps women. **Q1:** First, what can you tell me about your life prior to coming to the program? **Q2:** Has working in the social enterprise made any difference in your life? If yes, how so? If no, why not?	- What did you expect to gain working in the SE? Was this achieved? - Why did you choose to be involved in the SE? - How has working in the SE helped you financially? - How has it helped you personally? (self-esteem, confidence?) - How has working in the SE made you feel? (hopeful, frustrated..) - Have you learnt any new skills? If yes, which ones? (hard/soft skills) If no, what was missing? - What have you learned that you didn't know before? - Is working in the SE different from a regular job? If yes, how so? Is this helpful/not helpful? - How has working in the SE helped prepare you for your future?	- Can you expand on this? - Can you give me an example? - Can you tell me anything else? - Can you say more about that?

Recommendations for Social Enterprise

Main Question(s)	Probe(s)	Clarifying Questions
Pretend that you are the manager of a social enterprise. **Q:** What would your social enterprise be like?	- What would you change/add to make the SE better for women? - What would you do the same? - What would you say are the most important parts of the program? - If you had a magic wand, how would you change the SE for the better? - What are your recommendations for social enterprise that work with women?	- Can you expand on this? - Can you give me an example? - Can you tell me anything else? - Can you say more about that?

Appendix M: Sensitizing Framework

Appendix N: Research Protocol

	Prior to on-site visit	Completed
1.	Establish communication with contact	
2.	Get organizational consent	
3.	Determine dates of on-site visit (see timeline)	
4.	Set up 3 staff interviews (phone, skype, face-to-face)	
5.	Discuss and plan observation opportunities	
6.	Request documentation to be sent prior to visit	
7.	Review and analyze documentation	
8.	Est. context, create questions, themes, things to observe/explore while on-site	
	On-site visit	
1.	Conduct staff interviews	
2.	Meet women participating – discuss study	
3.	Recruit for interviews (N=5)	
4.	Conduct observations/participate with women	
5.	Conduct interviews with women participants	
6.	Member checks	
7.	Any loose ends?	

Appendix O: Copyright Permissions

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