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REVIEW OF FRENCH-LANGUAGE LITERATURE ON CONCEPTS RELATED TO SOCIAL INCLUSION

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INTRODUCTION

La Coopérative de consultation en développement La Clé (La Clé) was asked by the Canadian CED Network (CCEDNet) to produce a review of French-language literature on social inclusion for its Pan-Canadian Community Development Learning Network project. The review was to highlight current uses of the expression as well as prevalent closely related concepts. Unfortunately, albeit not surprisingly, our search found very few documents where the expression "social inclusion" is used in French. Moreover, most of these documents were translations of English-language works and hence, not representative of usage in French. This review thus focuses almost exclusively on what the authors consider to be analogous or related concepts.

The word "inclusion" does, however, exist in French, but the numerous dictionary definitions, such as in *Le petit Robert*¹, as well as terminology recommendations of the Office québécoise de langue française (Québec's language board), make no reference to the specific inclusion of people. Moreover, the word is completely absent from specialised sociology and social science dictionaries².

Instead of inclusion, Québec and European French-language literature focuses on its opposite, exclusion, and the concept of exclusion is thus the focal point of this review. This paper begins by an examination of the main, and occasionally, contradictory definitions currently applied to the term. This includes a discussion on who is excluded, what types of exclusion exist and what the processes are that result in exclusion. The second part of this paper highlights the different strategies described in the literature to prevent, block or combat exclusion, both socially and economically, with a particular emphasis on approaches focussing on integration and reintegration.

THE CONCEPT OF EXCLUSION

EXCLUSION DEFINED

Current French-language usage of the term exclusion considers it to relate to both a state of being and a process. On one hand, it refers to a situation characterised by a lack of connections to societal values, mechanisms or resources, and, on the other hand, to the processes that result in this situation.

EXCLUSION AS A STATE OF BEING

In general, exclusion is not seen as a state outside of society but rather within it³. This may explain the absence of inclusion as a concept or a strategy in French-language literature, since all of the writings consulted consider all individuals, no matter what their relationship is to a society's values, mechanisms or resources, to be nevertheless part of that society. Hence, everyone is included to begin with.

However, the writings also indicate that not everyone is included in the same way and that the said relationships vary in an unequal fashion. The notion of inequality is thus at the core of the concept of exclusion⁴. According to Gauthier⁵, the term exclusion was quite frequently used in the 1960's and 1970's as a synonym of poverty. Usage waned in the next decade but reappeared in the early 1990's, most likely with the 1991 publication in France of a volume of essays edited by Jacques Donzelot, *Face à l'exclusion. Le modèle français*. which included Robert Castel's seminal article entitled *De l'indigence à l'exclusion : la désaffiliation*. The meaning of the word became broader than it had been, now rejecting trends that neglect the structural factors of poverty and including types of exclusion not related to poverty as such.

Today, the conceptual boundaries of exclusion are not just more sweeping, they have become somewhat elastic as well. For example, the following terms are used as synonyms of exclusion or to explain it in Québec and European French-language literature: rupture⁶, pushed away or aside⁷,

marginalisation⁸, out of the loop⁹, disqualification¹⁰, and disaffiliation¹¹. These terms generally position the excluded not outside of society but rather outside of its norms, of what Eme calls social orders — lifestyles, values, rules, etc. — that hold some form of social relationships involving domination, that interplay in complementary, contradictory or adjacent ways and that vary with the times¹².

Ten years ago, Laberge and Roy noted that most definitions focussed on a few key elements: precariousness, vulnerability, ghettoising and isolation¹³. These same words are generally used to qualify the state of exclusion today. This having been said, recent studies observe that there is no established consensus when it comes to a formal definition of exclusion¹⁴.

EXCLUSION AS A PROCESS

Even though there is conceptual disagreement on various aspects of exclusion, most if not all of the authors consulted refer to it as a dynamic (as opposed to static) phenomenon, and that exclusion is developed within a society and not outside of it¹⁵. There is one noteworthy exception to this view. Although it is not part of “the literature”, the definition put forward by the Office québécoise de la langue française (OLF), Québec’s language board, the province’s authority of French language usage, sees exclusion as the effect of a society’s action to eject one or more of its members¹⁶, and thus positions the excluded outside of society. The OLF’s definition is thus at odds with prevalent usage in research and practice circles.

Many authors see exclusion as a process. In his book on exclusion, for example, Clavel explains it in terms of a three-stage, cumulative process¹⁷:

- first stage : precariousness, reflected by uncertain or irregular resources as well as by some degree of instability in one’s daily or family life;
- second stage : poverty, characterised by insufficient financial resources, especially those generated by earnings;
- third and final stage : exclusion, that has three dimensions : i) the accumulation of many objective circumstances of deprivation; ii)

stigmatisation (produced by social relationships based on negative symbols); and iii) fractured traditional social bonds.

Exclusion is thus produced by the build up of these deficiencies¹⁸ and constitutes the end of the escalation¹⁹. As notes Madeleine Gauthier, such a result is not inevitable, however, because it is a process and not simply the sum of multiple negatives factors²⁰. In other words, the process of exclusion begins to manifest itself long before it produces its alienating effects²¹, and thus action can be taken to act on it.

Fréchet and Lanctôt observe that social exclusion is often the unintentional consequence stemming from having one or more individual and social vulnerability factors. These include being disabled, illiterate, a single parent, a school drop-out, a substance abuser, poor, denied access to housing, to education or to health, or being a victim of discrimination. Occasionally, a single one of these factors can suffice to produce exclusion, and a combination of some or all of them greatly increases the risk of exclusion²².

EXCLUSION AND POVERTY

A certain amount of ambiguity exists between poverty and exclusion. In some cases, the two terms are considered to be equivalent, almost synonymous and interchangeable, while other writings, including almost all of the research surveyed, insist upon the differences that distinguish the two²³. For example, Fréchet and Lanctôt argue that it is possible to be excluded without being poor and vice versa. They indicate that some individuals who belong to a visible minority may be victims of discrimination when it comes to housing even though they may not be poor²⁴. Similarly, Katherine Duffy²⁵, says that exclusion is much broader in scope than poverty, encompassing not only fragile material resources but also an inability to participate in economic, social, political and cultural activities as well as alienation in some cases and even a certain distance from the major trends occurring within society in general.

There are nevertheless similarities between the two, with poverty also being considered to be a multi-dimensional, dynamic phenomenon. For example,

Alain Bihr and Roland Pfefferkorn see poverty as a cumulative process defined by the accumulation of shortages that result from inequalities and that tend to mutually reinforce each other²⁶:

- a) a lack of resources: insufficient revenues;
- b) a lack of power: little control over one's material and institutional situation, inability to face the vagaries of life, institutional dependence, fragile social networks, dearth of political capacity (inability to manage conflicts and to transform one's own situation through collective action or by way of organisational or institutional mediation);
- c) a lack of knowledge: educational disqualification, inability to symbolise.

These deficits have much in common with the indicators of exclusion developed by Clavel to pinpoint the stages identified in his framework²⁷:

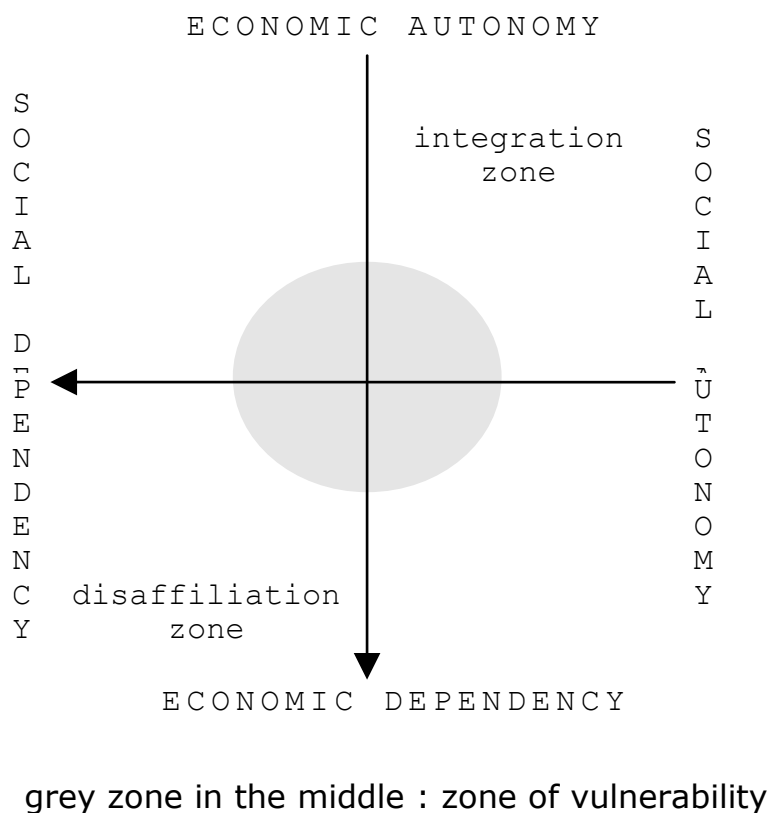
- a) material indicators: revenues below recognised levels; lack of employment security; financial instability; inadequate or unfit housing; school failures; poor health; difficulty to have one's rights respected;
- b) social indicators: isolation, lack of socialisation, loss of civic responsibility;
- c) symbolic indicators: stigmatisation by others; self-inflicted exclusion.

Generally speaking, such a perspective confirms the idea put forward by others of a process of impoverishment²⁸ analogous to that of exclusion. This becomes even more apparent in Castel's theoretical model that merges poverty and exclusion within what he calls a two-pronged process of dropping-out²⁹: 1) a first sequence on the employment level, that starts with a stable job but that evolves into an unstable one of some kind and that ends in an absence of work (see the lack of resources and the material indicators of exclusion); 2) a second one that has to do with social relationships, that begins with integration based on strong social bonds but that eventually turns into relational fragility and social isolation (see the lack of power and many social indicators of exclusion).

By superimposing one axis onto the other, Castel obtains three zones of socialisation³⁰: 1) an integration zone (stable employment and strong

relational inclusion); 2) a zone of vulnerability (precarious employment et fragile relational support); 3) a zone of disaffiliation (absence of employment and relational isolation). The process of impoverishment thus begins with “integrational” poverty, goes through a stage of vulnerability and winds up in an “exclusional” poverty, a situation that Ninacs describes as characterised by a lack of economic and social autonomy³¹. The boundaries separating these three zones are not closed, however, and an individual can move from one to another any number of times (see Figure 1 on the next page).

FIGURE 1. THE PROCESS OF IMPOVERISHMENT (NINACS, 2002: 30)



Ninacs deduces that the struggle against exclusion — or, more positively, the integration of excluded population groups — is tightly linked to the struggle against poverty on both economic (employment and work) and social (relationships and active citizenship) levels³².

WHO ARE THE EXCLUDED?

Castel sees the excluded as those who were on a tightrope while in the zone of vulnerability, who lost their balance and who became disaffiliated³³, persons who, as Eme observes, are described as “being in difficulty” according to the dominant norms present in society³⁴. Paugam mentions that exclusion can strike, temporarily or more enduringly, different types of people: unskilled youth, the disabled, the long-term unemployed, immigrants, the elderly, etc.³⁵. In a recent study for the Ministère de l’Emploi, de la Solidarité sociale et de la Famille du Québec, Delisle explored exclusion as it relates to the homeless, school drop-outs, the illiterate, single parent families and individuals living alone, those discriminated against for job openings, at work and for housing, and to criminal activity³⁶. His study concludes with the idea that exclusion is seldom voluntary and has rarely anything to do with a personal decision³⁷.

Indeed, the main problem for most authors studying the economic side of the equation has to do with exclusion from the labour market within the context of what a number of French-language sociologists of the regulation school call the crisis of the salary-based society³⁸. This means that today’s excluded are quite often willing and able to work³⁹. Moreover, a job, besides ensuring that basic needs are met, also confers a social status of some kind. The loss of a job can thus spark a bilateral deterioration ending in two types of exclusion: professional exclusion (long-term unemployment and increasingly precarious jobs) and social isolation (poverty and loss of citizenship)⁴⁰, a situation akin to Castel’s disaffiliation zone.

Some authors use the expression “social disqualification” (or others very similar to it)⁴¹ when referring to the position occupied by the excluded. As noted previously, Clavel believes that this position entails specific forms of representation: stigmatisation by those who are not excluded and self-exclusion by themselves. Perceived social disqualification combined with symbolic confinement shapes the subjectivity of the excluded who then internalise their exclusion, associating it with shame, guilt and a feeling that they are responsible for their wretched situation⁴². Impoverishment thus exerts a negative influence on one’s self-esteem and on the view that one

has of the role that he or she can play in society, a feeling that is reinforced by the images that the community sends back to the poor and excluded⁴³.

Overall, there are relatively few French-language studies on who are excluded as such. This may mean that some researchers agree with Pierre Rosanvallon's warning that it makes no sense to try to grasp the excluded as a category of some kind since it is the process of exclusion that has to be understood⁴⁴. On the other hand, there are reams of mainly quantitative studies on the poor⁴⁵. These have the effect of individualising structural and contextual problems⁴⁶, transforming poverty into some kind of a medical pathology that in turn makes the poor feel even guiltier⁴⁷, and accentuating personal deficiencies instead of the remarkable survival strategies that the poor demonstrate⁴⁸.

STRATEGIES TO REDUCE AND REVERSE EXCLUSION

French-language literature offers two streams of strategies to reduce or to reverse exclusion, one more focussed on the social aspects of the process, the other on the economic ones. While the two often converge in their theoretical appearances, they follow two distinct paths when it comes to practice, and thus to the literature on practice, the first generally following the social development route, and the other, a direction more related to economic development. The first set of strategies is referred to here as social participation, and the second, as economic reintegration.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Laurendeau and Desrosiers see the integration-disaffiliation continuum as relating to an individual's engagement towards his or her community as well as to the quality of ties woven with the community⁴⁹. This stems from the idea that each person is called upon to participate in society and to take on a role as a citizen in a responsible manner, whether it be by way of the bonds with those who are close to him or to her, of solidarity with others, of his or her involvement in community activities or by respecting the laws of the land. Engagement towards one's community rests upon the existence of

what the authors call “networks of belonging” with which the individual can identify and that he or she can enter.

Tremblay and Fontan’s perspective⁵⁰, one that is more representative of current literature in both streams, goes further. For them, integration implies above all a capacity, for individuals and population groups alike, to participate and to have access to the advantages and disadvantages of what society has to offer, be it employment, leisure, culture, democracy, in short, to be full-fledged citizens. Indeed, in the wake of the 1995 World Summit for Social Development, the Conseil de la santé et du bien-être du Québec (CSBE – Québec’s Health and Welfare Council) identified social participation as the best way to understand social development. For it,

[...] social participation implies a mutual exchange between the individual and the community; it involves on the one hand the collective responsibility of enabling everybody to participate actively in societal life, and on the other, the individual responsibility to act as a responsible citizen. [...] Social participation can take various forms: paid work, human or financial investment in a business or a community project, mutual assistance and volunteer work, involvement in democratic institutions, etc.⁵¹

Practising democratic citizenship requires the establishment of means to allow people to escape exclusion⁵².

In Comeau’s well-shared view, a society that wants to encourage its citizens to actively participate in development and in the welfare of individuals and communities should investigate situations that foster the apprenticeship of exercising citizenship as well the nature of organisations where citizenship can actually be exercised⁵³. He points to families and schools in particular⁵⁴.

ECONOMIC REINTEGRATION

French-language literature generally uses the expression “economic reintegration”⁵⁵ to identify the main approach used by policies and programmes since the mid-1980’s to combat poverty and exclusion with

some kind of economic tools or mechanisms⁵⁶. Depending on the case, this involves acting on supply and demand in the labour market⁵⁷ such as:

- a) the development of qualifications permitting access to paid work⁵⁸ (demand) by means of: 1) personal development in economic self-help groups; 2) the development of overall employability (life as well as job skills); 3) job placement and similar activities;
- b) the creation of new remunerated work spaces and the maintenance of existing jobs (supply) by means of: 1) stimulating corporate social responsibility⁵⁹; 2) encouraging the participation of social sector organisations in local economic development⁶⁰; 3) supporting entrepreneurship⁶¹; and, especially, 4) inventing new models that simultaneously incorporate economic development and social development objectives⁶².

Louis Favreau classifies economic reintegration practices into three categories⁶³:

- 1) territorial economic and social revitalisation initiatives, that seek to solve problems related to both employment and the local economy. The general strategy applied is either local economic development or community economic development.
- 2) sectoral integration initiatives that encompass practices geared to qualifying members of specific population groups (youth, women, immigrants) for employment. The primary strategies are: 1) training and placement; and b) job creation based on responding to local demand for "proximity" services;
- 3) locally-controlled financing initiatives.

Economic reintegration is occasionally more narrowly defined although its objectives remain the same. For example, Côté and Guérard see it in the following way⁶⁴:

More precisely, economic reintegration is a practise that proposes a voluntary return to employment on the part of people who have been excluded. [...] Economic reintegration does not hold the abolition of

poverty to be its primary goal, but rather to combat the social exclusion to which too many individuals living in advanced industrialized societies fall victim. It is not in any way an admission of defeat before the fact that more and more individuals risk being affected by poverty but it is rather a particular effort made to give a chance to individuals to get control of their lives, and to escape from or avoid poverty. Economic reintegration aims among other things to allow excluded persons to regain some measure of dignity and exercise their citizenship.

TRAINING AND PLACEMENT

Generally speaking, economic reintegration training strategies are either on-the-job, in either training businesses or in existing workplaces, or off-site, mainly through programs offering job-readiness and life skills development, job search and placement services, and on-site internships, to specifically targeted disadvantaged population groups such as youth, women, older out-of-work men, and recent immigrants⁶⁵. French-language literature is relatively mute on all of these with the notable exception of training businesses.

A training business⁶⁶ is most often a community-based, non-profit organisation that incorporates a training-based, social integration framework within an enterprise engaged in producing or retailing goods or services⁶⁷. Clienteles vary with each organization's mission, but they are always made up of people without employment who are, generally-speaking, excluded: youth and adults with no fixed address, newly arrived immigrants, single-parent mothers, young dropouts or offenders, etc. One of the seven accreditation criteria contained in the *Cadre de reconnaissance et de financement des entreprises d'insertion* (the Framework of Recognition and Financing for Training Businesses), overseen by the *Collectif des entreprises d'insertion du Québec* (The Québec Training Business Collective), stipulates that a training business must give priority to those who have had a number of repeated failures and for whom existing resources are not adapted.

Training businesses fight exclusion by supplying trainees with technical, personal and social skills that will allow them to become able to hold a job or

return to school, and, by virtue of that, to hopefully create new social bonds for themselves. Training businesses build personal and professional capacity by providing job and life skills development in a true work setting, generally accompanied by job search support and placement services, within a limited time frame⁶⁸. Evaluations of the model focus on job and school integration and are generally quite positive⁶⁹.

A training business is a genuine enterprise, since it markets the goods and services that it produces, is faced with competition and needs to remain financially viable⁷⁰. However, it must find ways of balancing the constraints inherent in any real business with its basic mission, a social one in the eyes of many⁷¹, of training people who are temporarily inapt to cope with the realities of the labour market. Trainees have a status of “paid workers” for a determined period, according to the labour standards in force in the particular sector of activity. They are thus expected to work as would any other employee and, therefore, to become productive, since the business operations are generally financed by revenues from sales and also because the ability to perform will be a major key to the individual’s keeping a job once the internship in the training business is over⁷². The social component of these hybrid programmes, except for the vocational training part, varies considerably from project to project, but always includes personalised professional accompaniment, usually combined with informal, often peer-based training and personal support. The blending of on-the-job training and social intervention works, in part, because of peer support — and peer pressure — provided by co-workers⁷³. In a training business, it isn’t possible to choose between the “business” aspect and the “social intervention” aspect because, like two sides of a coin, they form one inseparable whole. This being said, putting emphasis on the social aspect is necessary so that economic considerations don’t end up taking the upper hand, as is often the case when operating in a market economy⁷⁴.

French-language literature contains criticisms of training businesses. For example, a recent study noted that some of the low-skill jobs offered in one training business do not have much potential for training and qualifications⁷⁵. While this is objectively true, it is also unfair, for the following reasons:

In fact, the mission of a training business is to fight against *social exclusion* even before poverty. It accomplishes this by preparing its participants for reintegration into existing jobs that fit their skill level. Such positions are often poorly paid and their working conditions may even be quite arduous. Nevertheless, jobs in sectors such as retail sales, shipping and transportation, telemarketing, janitorial and office work, all have the merit of being fairly common and available in all regions. [...] For a number of people, training businesses constitute the portal, not just to the labour market but to all of society, on the margins of which they'd been gravitating until they took the decision to start out on a structured pathway of reintegration.⁷⁶

Training businesses originated in France more than twenty-five years ago⁷⁷. In Québec, training businesses have been developing since the beginning of the 1980s in a variety of sectors such as food and food service, retail and wholesale concerns, culture, tourism, manufacturing (wood, metal, computing, bicycles, clothing) and various types of services (home help, printing, general mechanic, recycling)⁷⁸. The identification of professional development opportunities, markets that are either labour-intensive or that have a shortage of skilled workers, are often the result of partnership-building efforts with the private sector led by community economic development intermediary organisations⁷⁹. As for partnerships with local social institutions, they make it easier for participants to succeed in their personal development efforts related to housing, health and personal finances⁸⁰.

One variation of the training business model is the youth job co-operative⁸¹, usually summer projects that seek to promote the social and economic integration of 12 to 15 youth aged 14 to 17 through the running of a co-operative business. The type of personal or commercial services offered depends on the market in each location and is focused on tasks that require little specific expertise. Typical projects have included weeding of ragweed for a municipality, interior and exterior painting, lawn mowing, baby-sitting, moving assistance, yard work.

Many non-profit businesses, for-profit subsidiaries of non-profit organisations, other related initiatives such as housing co-operatives, and even agencies providing social services or health care have, for many decades, set up commercial ventures in order to create job-entry processes and opportunities for their clients. The main difference between these and training businesses is that the latter are involved in the creation of “transitory employment” and geared towards “exit” strategies based on temporary jobs with trainees expected to leave the initiative by finding a job elsewhere or by returning to school⁸². The former have been described as community enterprises and these usually position themselves to create permanent jobs.

Comeau notes three effects of labour development practices⁸³: 1) they facilitate social integration which is often a prerequisite or a necessary complement to professional integration; 2) they allow people to bolster their perception of self-worth and to determine what they would like to do; 3) when practices are concerned with social change, such as those based on consciousness-raising, they offer marginalized individuals to acquire a degree of collective power, to reclaim the right to citizenship and to express their point of view on social policy issues.

LOCAL DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

While a number of authors consider economic reintegration to be the primary approach developed by community economic development (CED) initiatives⁸⁴, there is too much conceptual ambiguity related to CED in French-language literature to assert that this is a prevalent view outside of academic and progressive circles. Indeed, confusion reigns when it comes to distinguishing local development and community economic development.

The concept of local development has evolved in the past 15 years or so. Since its inception in the early 1980's, it has been considered by many to be a development strategy focussed above all on the economic aspects of local revitalisation efforts⁸⁵. This view is still widely held in practice circles, notably in local development centres⁸⁶. However, a major international conference, held in Montréal in 1987⁸⁷, paved the way for a more progressive interpretation in tune with the European conceptualisation⁸⁸,

that is, a planned partnership-based strategy of social change, measured by economic, social and cultural criteria, and building upon local strengths and community control over local resources⁸⁹.

Definitions of CED are not markedly different from this latter, more encompassing view of local development⁹⁰ with the notable exception of borrowing from community development to include a participatory dimension. In a major study of community economic development corporations (CDEC) done a decade ago, a team of researchers from the Université du Québec à Montréal observed⁹¹:

For while partnership is the prime means of local development, participation is the key to community development. Partnership is a form of indirect democracy in which representatives of various groups work together, while participation, when effective, embodies the ideal of direct democracy. [Community economic development] should therefore in principle rely not only on dialogue and concerted action among partners, but also on broad mobilization of the population concerned. The latter should become more active in controlling community resources and take charge of its own destiny, which brings us back to the concept of empowerment.

French-language literature in Québec sees two main types of CED institutions⁹²: intermediary organisations and collective ventures. CED intermediaries are democratically controlled, non-profit, local development organisations that oversee and support CED efforts by bringing together diverse groups (business, labour, government, community groups) to plan and co-ordinate development strategies in their communities. Although services provided by CED intermediaries vary with local contexts, they usually include technical assistance and entrepreneurial support for both traditional and alternative business initiatives, skills development and job readiness training for the unemployed, and networking for both commercial and non-commercial purposes. Specific CED intermediaries also exist to provide specialised services such as financing, training, and technical assistance. Besides offering the services listed above, intermediaries generally implement their strategies by setting up CED ventures. Prevalent

forms of CED ventures are not-for-profit commercial ventures, community businesses, private and democratically controlled service agencies, training businesses, worker-owned businesses, co-operatives, and micro-enterprise development programs such as loan circles. According to Comeau, efforts targeting exclusion are found in certain specific CED ventures, notably in economic self-help groups (such as community kitchens), in initiatives tied to public programs offering personal and professional integration services, in training businesses and in a number of community enterprises⁹³.

French-language literature in Québec also brings to light CED efforts to combat another, not yet mentioned, form of exclusion that could be called "territorial" exclusion. Simply stated, some communities in decline in both urban and rural settings, notably metropolitan working class neighbourhoods as well as a number of cities and towns in resource and intermediate regions⁹⁴, can be considered to be going through an impoverishment process analogous to the one that results in individuals becoming excluded⁹⁵. Reversing this more collective trend requires what CED intermediary organisations seem to be attempting: simultaneous economic and social revitalisation (employment, housing, education and training, health and social services) and a taking in hand, by the local population, of its economic and social future (empowerment and local governance)⁹⁶.

THE SOCIAL ECONOMY

The term "social economy" does not depict the same reality for everyone⁹⁷. Recent French-language scholarship distinguishes between the "old" social economy, focused on the development of the co-operative as an alternative model of business enterprise⁹⁸, and the "new" one, with the social economy being seen as a fundamental part of a new socio-economic regulatory mechanism⁹⁹. Generally speaking, the "new" social economy refers to the presence of new types of people who become promoters or members, new stakeholders, new fields of activity, new organisational forms, and new internal and external dynamics. In the "new" social economy, groups of individuals tend to play a more deciding role in enterprise viability and the enterprise itself contributes to social change. But there is also the attempt to satisfy new needs not taken on by either the market or the State and also

to create new ways of giving people a place and a role in economic and social life. This last characteristic ties the “new” social economy to economic reintegration.

The *Chantier de l'économie sociale*, the Québec Task Force on the Social Economy, defines the social economy as¹⁰⁰: association-based, economic initiatives founded on the values of solidarity, autonomy, and citizenship embodied in the following “values”:

- a) a primary goal of service to members or the community rather than simply generating profits;
- b) autonomous management (set apart from public programmes);
- c) democratic decision-making process in both governance and operations;
- d) primacy of persons and work over capital in the redistribution of profits and surpluses; and
- e) operations based on the principles of participation, empowerment, and individual and collective accountability.

The advantage of this definition is in its identification of the values that can be used to engage individuals in development of the social economy. It contends that the social economy is not just a question of legal status, but goes further by tying its practices to economic democracy. Its disadvantage is that values are often open to debate, the practice of democracy can take many forms, and achieving consensus on ways and means, notably in co-operatives¹⁰¹ is difficult at best.

Most CED ventures embody these values and this is thus one plane upon which CED and the social economy converge. Indeed, some scholars consider that CED and the social economy are intrinsically interwoven, with CED being a subset of the latter even though CED supports the development of conventional businesses as well¹⁰². While others may think just the opposite¹⁰³, this link to CED remains vital no matter how it is viewed. This is because a key feature of the “new” social economy is local commitment and management that ensures co-ordination between different sectors and authorities and that favours strategic planning, including the development of

social economy initiatives and a focus on both social and economic objectives, to ensure that projects are truly grounded in local priorities and needs¹⁰⁴.

It should be noted that renewed interest in the social economy in Québec is rooted in the struggle of social movements against exclusion, particularly of women¹⁰⁵. The Women's March against Poverty in June, 1995, called for a programme of "social infrastructures" to support all types of community groups as well as the development of a new economy that would speak to the issues of women's exclusion from the labour market and the often unpaid and usually undervalued work that women accomplish for society's benefit. Since the beginning of the 1990's, some women's groups had already begun investigating how women's centres could be used to help alleviate poverty¹⁰⁶, and following the March, the women's movement held seminars to explore the involvement of women's organisations in local and regional development¹⁰⁷. However, it was the March that spurred a second look at the social economy as an alternative in the struggle against unemployment and social exclusion that have victimised many people, especially women¹⁰⁸.

People who are wary of the social economy believe that taking this approach must not be a tool for managing poverty and social exclusion¹⁰⁹. Indeed, fostering the development of social economy initiatives must be part of a broad, multi-faceted offensive against unemployment and poverty that should include a variety of measures such as: reduced and reallocated paid working hours; fair sharing of productivity gains between workers and owners; corporate citizenship; development programmes that mobilise a community's resources and encourage participation and empowerment; and support for CED and the social economy¹¹⁰.

¹ REY-DEBOVE, Josette et Alain REY (sous la direction) (1993). *Le nouveau Petit Robert*. Paris, Le Robert, 2841 pages.

² Dictionaries consulted: AKOUN, André et Pierre ANSART (sous la direction) (1999). *Dictionnaire de sociologie*, Le Robert/Seuil, 587 pages.. BOUDON, Raymond, Philippe BESNARD, Mohamed CHERKAOUI et Bernard-Pierre LÉCUYER (1999). *Dictionnaire de*

sociologie, Paris, Larousse, 279 pages; GRAWITZ, Madeleine (1994). *Lexique des sciences sociales*, Paris, Dalloz, 402 pages.

³ Notably: Castel, 1995: 442; Clavel, 1998: 239; Gauthier, 1996:17.

⁴ Deslisle, 2002: 3-4.

⁵ Gauthier, 1995.

⁶ Gauthier, 1995.

⁷ Castel, 1994; Laberge and Roy, 1994; Robichaud *et al.*, 1994.

⁸ Gauthier, 1996.

⁹ Tremblay and Fontan, 1994.

¹⁰ Paugam, 2000.

¹¹ Castel, 1994.

¹² Eme, 1998: 304-305.

¹³ Laberge and Roy, 1994.

¹⁴ Concialdi, 2003; Deslisle, 2002.

¹⁵ Gauthier, 1996: 17; Eme, 1998: 305-306.

¹⁶ OFFICE QUÉBÉCOIS DE LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE, *Le nouveau Grand dictionnaire terminologique*, Web site at http://www.olf.gouv.qc.ca/ressources/gdt_bdl2.html, visited February 11, 2004..

¹⁷ Clavel, 1998: 186-204.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*: 32.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*: 186; Castel, 1994: 11; Gauthier, 1995: 152.

²⁰ Gauthier, 1996: 18.

²¹ Castel, 1994: 11.

²² Fréchet and Lanctôt, 2003: 31.

²³ Concialdi, 2003: 6-7.

²⁴ Fréchet and Lanctôt, 2003: 31.

²⁵ Cited in Deslisle, 2002: 11.

²⁶ Bihl and Pfefferkorn, 1995: 508-509.

²⁷ Clavel, 1998 : 200-204.

²⁸ Such as: Ouellet, 1996: 121.

²⁹ Castel, 1994: 13-16.

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- ³⁰ Castel, 1994: 13.
- ³¹ Ninacs, 2002: 30.
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ Castel, 1995: 443.
- ³⁴ Eme, 1998: 293.
- ³⁵ Cited in Castel, 1995: 18.
- ³⁶ Delisle, 2002: 37-59.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*: 60.
- ³⁸ Notably: Clavel, 1998: 83; Favreau and Fréchette, 1995: 74; Rosanvallon, 1995: 87-93; Tremblay and Fontan, 1994: 384.
- ³⁹ Gaullier cited in Tremblay and Fontan, 1994: 384.
- ⁴⁰ Lévesque, 1995: 18-24.
- ⁴¹ Paugam's expression cited by Clavel, 1998: 203-204.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*
- ⁴³ Hébert and Gingras, 1997: 14.
- ⁴⁴ Rosanvallon, 1995: 202-206.
- ⁴⁵ Lesemann, 1994.
- ⁴⁶ St-Amand *et al.*, 1994: 16-17; Lachapelle, 1994: 90.
- ⁴⁷ Lesemann, 1994: 590; St-Amand *et al.*, 1994: 16.
- ⁴⁸ Lesemann, 1994: 581.
- ⁴⁹ Laurendeau and Desrosiers, 1997: 69.
- ⁵⁰ Tremblay and Fontan, 1994: 389.
- ⁵¹ Conseil de la santé et du bien-être, 1997: 3 -4.
- ⁵² Robichaud *et al.*, 1994 : 200.
- ⁵³ Comeau, 1996: 10.
- ⁵⁴ Comeau, 2001: 92.
- ⁵⁵ The expression "insertion par l'économie" has also been translated as "integration-through-work" in other works, notably: Ninacs, William A., and Toyé, Michael (2002). "Overview of Integration-through-Work Practices in Canada", *Économie et Solidarités*, vol. 33, n° 1, 74-92.
- ⁵⁶ Defourny *et al.*, 1998.

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- ⁵⁷ Morin *et al.* 1994: 191-192, Comeau 2001: 80-81.
- ⁵⁸ Comeau, 1997.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*; Béland and Piché, 1998.
- ⁶⁰ Ninacs, 2000.
- ⁶¹ Filion, 1999.
- ⁶² Ninacs, 1995.
- ⁶³ Favreau, 1998: 164-172.
- ⁶⁴ Côté and Guérard, 1996: 7.
- ⁶⁵ Favreau and Ninacs, 1993: 7-8.
- ⁶⁶ This model has also been referred to as an "integration enterprise" in Europe. See : MACFARLANE, Richard, and Jean-Louis LAVILLE (1992). "Integration Enterprises in France" in *Developing Community Partnerships in Europe : New Ways of Meeting Social Needs in Europe*, London, England, Directory of Social Change and Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, pp. 87-91.
- ⁶⁷ Tremblay and Fontan, 1995: 399-400.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*: 405.
- ⁶⁹ Morin, 1995.
- ⁷⁰ Côté and Guérard, 1994: 8.
- ⁷¹ Fontan, 1995: 76; Valadou, 1995: 40.
- ⁷² Ninacs and Gareau, 2003.
- ⁷³ Ninacs, 2002: 158, 167.
- ⁷⁴ Joyal, 1989a, 1989b; Laville, 1993.
- ⁷⁵ Ladeuix, 2001: 31.
- ⁷⁶ Ninacs and Gareau, 2003.
- ⁷⁷ Laville, 1992; Lebossé, 1994; Lemieux, 1995; Rodriguez, 1990.
- ⁷⁸ Ninacs and Gareau, 2003.
- ⁷⁹ Valadou, 1995: 44-46.
- ⁸⁰ Bordeleau, 1997: 76, 88.
- ⁸¹ Favreau and Lévesque, 1993.
- ⁸² Gaudreau, 1995: 9-10, 16-17; Valadou, 1995: 15, 42, 61.
- ⁸³ Comeau, 2001: 81.

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- ⁸⁴ Defourny *et al.*, 1998.
- ⁸⁵ Fontan, 1993; Prévost, 1993: 34-39; Tremblay and Fontan, 1994: 131.
- ⁸⁶ MCE Conseils, 1999: 24-25.
- ⁸⁷ Association nationale pour le développement local et les pays [ANDLP] and Institut de formation en développement économique communautaire [IFDÉC], 1989.
- ⁸⁸ Fontan, 1991: 34-37.
- ⁸⁹ Vachon, 1993: 92-93, 104; Van Dijk and Arteau, 1999.
- ⁹⁰ Favreau and Ninacs, 1993: 14-15; Fontan, 1993: 16; Favreau and Lévesque, 1996: xix.
- ⁹¹ Morin *et al.*, 1994: 9.
- ⁹² Ninacs, 1995;
- ⁹³ Comeau, 2001: 83.
- ⁹⁴ Lesemann, 1994: 584; Favreau et Hurtubise, 1993: 161; Fontan, 1994: 118; Myles *et al.*, 2000: 14, 25-26; Schetagne, 2000.
- ⁹⁵ Favreau and Fréchette, 1995.
- ⁹⁶ Favreau and Lévesque, 1996: xix.
- ⁹⁷ Lévesque and Ninacs, 1998.
- ⁹⁸ Desroches, 1984.
- ⁹⁹ Defourny, 1991; Laville, 1992; Vienney, 1994; Lévesque, 1995.
- ¹⁰⁰ Groupe de travail sur l'économie sociale, 1996; Chantier de l'économie sociale, 2000. The Chantier adapted the Walloon Council for the Social Economy's definition. See: Defourny, 1991.
- ¹⁰¹ Lévesque and Côté, 1995.
- ¹⁰² Favreau and Lévesque, 1996: xxii-xxiii.
- ¹⁰³ Ninacs, 2002: 39.
- ¹⁰⁴ Lévesque *et al.*, 1996.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ninacs, 1998.
- ¹⁰⁶ Belleau and D'Amours, 1993.
- ¹⁰⁷ Pelletier, 1995.
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