Provincial Funding for Women's Non-Profit Organizations in Nova Scotia

by

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Abstract

In Canada, federal funding has been instrumental in the founding of, and survival of, advocacy organizations. Federal budget cuts, however, have jeopardized this funding. In some provinces, funding from provincial government has insulated women's organizations from the effects of federal budget cuts. To ascertain whether or not this is the case in Nova Scotia, this thesis examines trends in provincial funding of women's organizations between 1960-2014. It also analyses the views of representatives of women's organizations on their funding experience with state funding. My analysis offers evidence that Nova Scotia did step in during periods of federal budget cuts. It also shows that although the provincial government is a key funder, many organizations feel that it can still do more and that there may be a mismatch in funding priorities and organizations' needs.

List of Abbreviations Used

CACSW	Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women
CAP	Canada Assistance Plan
CHST	Canada Health and Social Transfer
EPF	Established Programs Financing
ICNPO	International Classification of Non-Profit Organizations
NAC	National Action Committee on the Status of Women
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSACSW	Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women
RCSW	Royal Commission on the Status of Women
REAL	Realistic, Active and for Life Women
SOS	Secretary of State
SVS	Sexual Violence Strategy
VOW	Voice of Women

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The women's movement and women's organizations have long faced obstacles as a result of funding cuts and shifting government priorities. There is a general feeling in Canada that the women's movement has had the "collective wind knocked out of [it]" (Knight and Rodgers 2012: 570), a sentiment reinforced by Prime Minister Stephen Harper's 2006 budget which cut a substantial amount of funding from women's programs and subsequently made the Canadian state less accountable to women. Previous literature on the relationship between the Canadian women's movement, women's organizations, and the state have largely focused at the national level. There are, however, a few exceptions. The most notable is the work of Dominique Masson (1999; 2004; 2006; 2012; 2015) who looks at women's organizations in Quebec. She observes a history of robust provincial funding for women's groups, and this observation has been used to position the province as an exception. My thesis engages whether or not the same can be said about Nova Scotia – a province known for its debt, reliance on federal supports, and deficit financing (Clancy 2015: 81).

There are two main components to my thesis. First, I look at historical trends in state funding in Nova Scotia because non-profit organizations in Canada have come to rely on this form of financial support (Clément 2009; Phillips, Laforest and Graham 2010: 189) and in many cases funding determines the survival of an organization. Second, I expand on that analysis with a survey of organizations that have received funding from the province. The survey assesses how women's organizations in Nova Scotia, who received government funding at least once between 1960 and 2014, currently experience funding and access to it.

Literature Review

Since the mid-1960s, women's organizations have received substantial support from the federal government. The Secretary of State of Canada (SOS), for example, assumed the role of intermediary between government and civil society during the 1960s and it invested substantial funds into the development of citizenship as well as advocacy and service organizations (Pal 1993: 107). Between 1987 and 1988 the SOS made a substantial investment, over $50 million, in grants for programs for advocacy and social services (Pal 1993: 4). For many organizations, government grants were their primary source of funding (Clément 2009; Phillips, Laforest and Graham 2010: 189) and in many cases, state funding determined whether or not an organization survived. Given the funding cutbacks in Canada, welfare reform, and austerity measures over the last decade (Phillips, Laforest and Graham 2010: 190), many organizations were in jeopardy. In the absence of adequate provincial or other supports, federal cutbacks can devastate advocacy organizations.

Some scholars, however, have cautioned that state funding leads to the cooptation of advocacy groups by the institutions that fund them (Corrigall-Brown 2016: 335; Piven and Cloward 1977: 62; Clément 2009: 174). In other words, groups align to their funder's priorities potentially rendering them politically mute. In the United States, for instance, funding has been shown to manipulate an organization's agenda, strategy, targets and priorities (Dowie 1996: 81; Corrigall-Brown 2016: 335). The influence of government funding can transform the orientation of organizations from radical to complacent (Beres, Crow and Gotell 2009: 140; Roelofs 2003: 121). An additional concern is that it fosters resource dependency. This can, in turn, make organizations less likely to engage in

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overtly political activity and more likely to bureaucratize their organizational structures (Corrigall-Brown 2016: 335; Cain and Todd 2008: 268; Stone, Hager and Griffin 2001: 278), a process which some argue is necessitated by increasingly complex societies and the need for large-scale organizing (Andreski 1983: 9). Yet, such cooptation of advocacy politics has largely not been observed in the Canadian context (Ramos and Rodgers 2016).

A bigger concern for Canadian social justice organizations has been the rise of neoliberal policies which made advocacy more difficult (Cain and Todd 2008: 281-2). The *Charitable Purpose, Advocacy and the Income Tax Act* (Kitching 2006), for example, prohibited registered not-for-profit organizations from allocating more than 10% of their resources to political advocacy (Ilcan and Basok 2004: 136). Changes in the 2006 federal budget were particularly damaging for the women's movement (Rodgers and Knight 2011: 575-6) because it eliminated all funding formerly available for women's research, advocacy, and lobbying organizations through Status of Women Canada (Strumm 2015: 108).

Attempts to curtail advocacy organizations by cutting funding, however, do not constitute a new phenomenon. Scholars have documented the impact of funding cutbacks on organizations over the past few decades. They have shown that budgetary reductions not only jeopardize an organization's survival (Scott 2003: ix) but also reduce opportunities for public participation in policy-making (Bonisteel and Green 2005: 1). Cutbacks can also prevent organizations from engaging in advocacy work for fear of losing even more financial support (Ilcan and Basok 2004: 136; Scott 2003: xv) and such constraints can make an organization's target population vulnerable (Beres, Crow and

Gotell 2009: 154; Morrow, Hankivsky and Varcoe 2004: 365). Organizations have also

faced "defunding" (Strumm 2015: 107), which occurs not when programs are cut per se,

but when they are not renewed. A similar problem occurs when budgets are not cut but at

the same time not increased. Defunding can happen gradually. When budgets remain

constant they do not keep up with inflation, shrinking available resources, and put

organization's ability to fulfil its mission at risk (Cain and Todd 2008: 268). Conservative

governments have both defunded and frozen budgets to avoid political pushback

associated with funding and program cuts.

Much existing scholarship on Canadian social movements and advocacy assumes

that cuts to funding for women's programming by the federal government have created

an unfilled void (Mackenzie 2009). This is because the research focuses on national-level

organizations and federal funding (e.g. Mitchell 2015; Bashevkin 1989; Macdonald

1995). Researchers have largely neglected provincial-level funding for organizations, the

role that this funding can play in addressing federal shortfalls, and the expectations that

may accompany provincial grants. In some provinces such as Quebec, for example, a

decline in federal government funding has not corresponded to a decline in provincial

level funding (Masson 2004; 2006; 2012); as a result, advocacy groups have remained

strong there. More specifically in the face of national austerity budgets and policies,

provincial funding continued to support women's organizations (Masson 2012). Non-

governmental organizations (NGOs) in the province did not experience the same level of

precariousness (Imagine Canada 2010) as those in others, largely because of Quebec's

long tradition of funding community groups and NGOs (Masson 2012: 87). This is also

linked to Quebec's nationalist movement and focus on building an autonomous state

(Béland and Lecours 2014; Bégin 1994). It remains unclear whether funding in other provinces minimized the gap created by federal cuts, and this is in part why my research will examine Nova Scotia.

Nova Scotia is an interesting case because like other Atlantic provinces it has been heavily reliant on federal transfer payments (Clancy 2015: 80). For years the province used deficit financing to offer services to its population. The province provides an interesting comparison to Quebec's long-standing commitment to funding organizations. Although some research has been conducted on funding of Nova Scotian women's groups, it is limited in its scope. Naomi Black's (2006) research, for example, looks at audits of women's organizations in the province between 1990 and 2004. Her research focuses on changes in the number of women's organizations over time, looking at issues of diversity and identification as feminist. Her work offers only a brief overview of the impact of neoliberalism on women's groups in Nova Scotia for a short window and does not address funding rationales. My research builds on hers with a historical analysis of trends in funding for women's organizations between 1960 and 2014 in Nova Scotia.

To understand provincial funding of women's organizations, I examine the political economy, the relationship among the federal government, the provincial government, and women's organizations. More specifically I draw upon political opportunity theory and look at national and provincial critical events, regime changes, and the founding of key organizations. I do this to understand the relationship between the political economy and fluctuations in the provincial funding of women's groups in Nova Scotia.

Political opportunity theory is useful for understanding broader historical and political contexts. This theory is used to understand how political space opens and closes for political actors based on the social, political and economic climate (Eisinger 1973; Lipsky 1968). This opening and closing is attributed to political opportunity structures which are made up of "specific configurations of resources, institutional arrangements and historical precedents" (Kitschelt 1986: 59). Although political opportunity theory is typically used to examine political and protest activity, it can also be a useful paradigm for understanding the opening and closing of state actions, by which I mean opportunities for groups to influence federal and provincial decisions, including funding decisions.

Like all movements, the Canadian women's movement has been shaped by critical events. According to Suzanne Staggenborg (1993: 320), "social movements are event-driven insofar as critical events alter expectations and perceptions of threats, focusing or distracting the attention of movement constituents and other important actors on or away from movement issues." Critical events, as I conceptualize them, are disruptive. They reorder institutions, social relations, and power, which in turn offers opportunity for change (Ramos 2008). I see them in this context as opportunities to transform funding policies, both in terms of increasing funding and decreasing it.

The founding of key organizations can also be a political opportunity. The establishment of an organization can open political space and can legitimize claims, as has been observed in the women's movement (c.f. Rosenthal, Fingrutd, Ethier, Karant and McDonald 1985: 1023). Likewise, organizations are usually founded in response to an identified and unmet need (McLaughlin and Khawaja 2000: 423; Eikenberry and Kluver 2004: 136). For this reason, I argue that the founding of such organizations raises

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awareness around issues where women's needs are not being met by government and in turn could influence provincial funding.

Regime changes, changes in federal and provincial government, are a political opportunity examined by a number of scholars in the social movement literature (Clément 2009; Ramos and Rodgers 2016). In the case of the women's movement, certain parties and party members were more or less receptive to women's issues (Pal 1993: 147). This is something that should be clear from the discussion on Canadian funding, above. Governments that are receptive to women's concerns are more likely to work alongside women's organizations and one would suspect are more likely to fund them. For this reason, my research will examine if, and how, provincial funding shifts according to political regime.

When looking at these three types of political opportunities, it is important to consider the type of organization funded. Previous literature demonstrates that funding fluctuates based on government priorities, specifically whether an organization is service-oriented, religious, advocacy or research-based (c.f. Strumm 2015; Brodie and Bakker 2007). Knight and Rodgers (2012: 267), for example, document a shift in funding under the Stephen Harper Conservatives, whose budgets and policies made research and advocacy organizations ineligible for federal funding. Similarly, an increased focus on outcomes and profitability has resulted in a shift away from funding advocacy and/or social change activities (Eikenberry and Kluver 2004: 137).

Analysis of the political and historical context of funding, however, does not speak to how women's organizations experience shifts in funding and for this reason understanding how organizations perceive funding opportunities and constraints is

important. Cecilia Thun (2014), for instance, found that in the wake of neoliberal policies in Norway the once collaborative relationship between women and the state became characterized by market rationales and decreased state accountability to women's issues (Thun 2014: 211). The same has been observed in the Canadian context (Strumm 2015: 101). Scholars have observed distrust in the federal government among women's groups in reaction to austerity policies (Stone, Hager and Griffin 2001: 271). Such perceptions have largely gone unexplored at the provincial level, and for this reason it is worth examining how women's groups perceive shifting political contexts and funding.

In my thesis, I examine whether the province steps in when the federal government adopts an austerity approach to organizational funding. I do this to examine if, in fact, Quebec is exceptional or whether the province of Nova Scotia also filled funding gaps. My research tests whether some groups fare better than others during times of cutbacks: for example, do political groups face greater setbacks than service oriented groups? My thesis lastly examines how women's groups perceive funding and how they identify barriers to it.

Structure of the Thesis

My thesis begins with a brief introduction and literature review. Chapter 2 outlines the methodology employed and details the collection of provincial funding records, my use of political opportunities in my analysis, as well as the design and administration of my survey. Chapter 3 begins by outlining the political opportunities (critical events, founding of key organizations and regime changes) that may have influenced the trajectory of funding between 1960 and 2014. This is followed by an analysis of how these opportunities interact, or do not interact, with funding trends.

Chapter 4 reports the findings from my survey. Specifically, it considers the trends

present in the data, what answers are or are not consistent with the literature, and the

general themes that emerge from the responses to open-ended questions. Chapter 5 offers

a conclusion in which the main findings will be reported, and expectations will be

addressed.

Chapter 2: Methodology

To analyze patterns of state funding and perceptions of shifting political contexts of provincial funding my thesis relies on two methods. The first is a historical analysis of funding trends in Nova Scotia between 1960 and 2014 and the second is the administration of a survey to women's organizations that received funding during this period. The province makes for an interesting case study, given its identity as a debt leader in Atlantic Canada and use of deficit financing (Clancy 2015). It also makes for interesting case to examine because unlike Quebec, it has relied a great deal on federal money transfers since Confederation. The province's reliance on these payments can be traced back to structural disadvantages at the time of Confederation that still persist today (Forbes and Muise 1993). Finally, my focus begins in the 1960s because of the decade's recognition for its heightened protests (Staggenborg and Ramos 2016), the resurgence of the women's movement (Rodgers and Knight 2011: 571), and the founding of many women's advocacy organizations (c.f. Dobrowolsky 2000; Clément 2008; Rebick 2005; Mitchell 2015; Bégin 1992; Bryson 2003).

To understand trends in the funding of women's organizations, my research examines provincial funding data reported in Nova Scotia Public Accounts. These documents detail financial statements, agencies, and funds spent. I analyzed grants and contributions made by specific departments from Volume 3 of the Public Accounts. I accessed documents up to 1996 in the Legislative Library while those dated after, to 2014, were collected from the province's Finance and Treasury Board (2016) website. These data were collected by Janelle Young and Howard Ramos as a part of Dominique Clément's State Funding Project.

The grants and contributions made to women's organizations were coded for the year, the amount, and recipient of funds. Women's organizations were operationalized as those that represent or advocate on behalf of women's rights, violence against women, abortion rights, child-rearing needs, Indigenous women's rights, women's political interests, legal issues related to women, children and youth, philanthropic groups run by women in the community, housing for women, and groups addressing women's economic interests. Classification as a women's organization entails the explicit mention of, or targeting of, women. In order to compare funding across time periods, I used the Bank of Canada (2016) Inflation Calculator to adjust for inflation by converting all dollar amounts to 2014 dollars.

To compare what types of women's organizations get funding I classified organizations according to the International Classification of Non-profit Organizations (ICNPO), which was first published by the United Nations (Statistics Canada 2015). The ICNPO has 12 major activity groups: Culture and Recreation; Education and Research; Health; Social Services; Environment; Development and Housing; Law, Advocacy and Politics; Philanthropic Intermediaries and Voluntarism Promotion; International; Religion; Business and Professional Associations, Unions, and; Not Elsewhere Classified. Type of organization funded as well as trends in funding were examined in relation to both national and provincial critical events, the founding of key organizations, and changes in governments. This was done to capture changing social and political contexts that frame the historical analysis.

According to Staggenborg (1993: 320), "social movements are event-driven insofar as critical events alter expectations and perceptions of threats, focusing or

distracting the attention of movement constituents and other important actors on or away from movement issues." As noted, I see critical events as disruptive. They reorder institutions, social relations, and power, which in turn offers opportunity for change (Ramos 2006). More specifically, I see them in this context as opportunities to transform policies towards funding, regardless of whether it is an increase or a decrease. Such events are influential insofar as they can affect both the establishment and survival of non-profit organizations. In this case, the founding of organizations and critical events are interrelated.

Non-profit organizations are founded in response to an identified need which often surfaces alongside a critical event. The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW), for example, grew out of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (Dobrowolsky 2000: 31). Key organizations in the analysis presented here are groups whose activities promoted women's interests by way of advocacy, research and/or financial support.

Regime changes, by which I mean changes in government, are examined first by party and second by party leader. Different parties have different priorities which are reflected in their funding decisions. The Liberals, for example, increased funding for the Women's Program while the Conservatives did not (Pal 1993: 221). Some regimes prioritize funding for women's organizations generally, while others do not; others fund specific groups, such as those delivering social services while others do not; and, some are accused of defunding all groups.

In addition to the historical analysis, an online survey was administered to women's non-profit organizations in Nova Scotia. The survey's sampling frame was

devised using the Nova Scotia public accounts data. Women's organizations that received

funding during 1960 and 2014, and still exist today, were included in my sample. The

survey went out to 72 organizations of the 138 groups that were funded over this period,

66 of these 138 organizations no longer exist. Absent from this list are organizations that

have never received funding from the province, including those with unsuccessful

applications. The directors of the organizations were contacted through email to inform

them of the survey. In the email, I described my study and requested their participation in

the survey. In addition to my initial email, I contacted the directors two times; one email

was sent out two weeks after the launch, another was sent out three weeks after. Given

the size of the sampling frame, I expected a small sample size of around 20% and ended

with a 24% response rate. For this reason, my analysis largely focuses on the written

portions of the survey where representatives are able to offer insight into their

organization's experience of provincial funding.

The survey contains four sections. First, organizations were given the opportunity

to identify the type of organization they are and to identify the services and/or activities

they offer and pursue. Second, to understand the financial relationship between the

organization and government entities, questions were asked regarding grants and funding

proportions. This section included open-ended questions about the organization's funding

experience. Third, a series of Likert-scale questions probed perceptions of funding and

organizations' relationships to it. Finally, the last section asked if the organization

identifies as feminist and in this section organizations were given the opportunity to add

any additional information that was not covered in the survey. The overall purpose of the

survey was to assess how women's groups experience funding—how they cope with

shifts in funding, what the process of acquiring grants entails, and general opportunities and barriers they encounter when applying. The collected data are analysed using tabular and graphical analysis.

In the following chapter, I begin with a review of relevant critical events, founding of key organizations, and regime changes at both the provincial and federal levels. Specifically, I look at how these opportunities interact with funding trends. The analysis that follows represents the basis on which I developed my survey instrument.

Chapter 3: Trends in State Funding of Women's Organizations in Nova Scotia

The role provincial governments play in the funding of women's organizations, especially in English Canada, is largely under-examined. Some scholars observe federal cutbacks in funding leads to downloading responsibility to the provincial level (Brodie and Bakker 2007; Rodgers and Knight 2011). For Quebec, this was not as disruptive because its history of and continued ongoing provincial funding protects its civil society organizations in times of federal austerity (Masson 2004; Masson 2006; Masson 1999/2000). It is unclear whether the same can be said about other provinces like Nova Scotia, where provincial-level funding has gone largely under examined.

This chapter examines trends in provincial funding of women's non-governmental organizations in Nova Scotia during the 1960-2014 period. As noted above, I do this by looking at critical events, regime changes, and the founding of key organizations at the national and provincial levels. My aim is to understand the political and historical context of funding of women's groups in the province and to offer insight on how the broader political economy affects funding.

Critical events, Regime Changes and the Founding of Key Organizations in the Women's Movement in Canada and Nova Scotia

At the national level, I look at five critical events that affected Canadian women: The Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) in 1966; the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (RCSW) report in 1970; the repatriation of the Canadian Constitution in 1982; the replacement of CAP and Established Programs Financing (EPF) with Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) in 1995; and the Harper Conservative's 2006 federal budget. I expected these events to correspond with fluctuations of funding for women's NGOs.

The first event occurred during the mid-1960s, which was a decade that saw the re-emergence of the women's movement and was a decade characterized by frequent protest and political outcry (Staggenborg and Ramos 2016: 64). In 1966, along with the CAP, a federal-provincial cost-sharing program was introduced (Brodie and Bakker 2007) having a significant impact on women's organizing. CAP extended federal cost-sharing of programs and organizations to welfare services, shelters, home care, and housing. This directly increased the amount of funds women's organizations could access.

The increase in funding was followed in 1967 with the federal government's launch of the RCSW which was responsible for investigating and reporting on the issues and obstacles faced by Canadian women (Rodgers and Knight 2011). The commission issued its report in 1970 (Bégin 1992; Cohen 1992) which is another critical event. It recognized the need to include women in policy discussions and provided an institutionalized venue for feminist claims-making (Dobrowolsky 2003; Bégin 1992). It also led to the founding of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) in 1971 and the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW) in 1973 which were key umbrella organizations for the English Canadian women's movement (Rodgers and Knight 2011; Clément 2009; Brown 2005). The report is also linked with the establishment of advisory councils in most, if not all, provinces (Clément 2009). NAC was particularly significant to the women's movement because it formed to ensure that the recommendations of the RCSW report would be followed. During the decade the federal government also established a Minister for the Status of Women and

launched the Secretary of State's Women's Program which were significant opportunities stemming from the RCSW.

Following this period of success and growth of the women's movement, Canada entered into an economic recession mid-decade (Brodie and Bakker 2007). This foreshadowed the funding cutbacks in the decades to come. The 1980s were largely characterized by neoliberal practices and austerity budgets at the national level (Dobrowolsky and Jenson 2004). This led to subsequent funding cuts that had a profound impact on women's advocacy organizations and NGOs more generally (Rodgers and Knight 2011). During the 1980s there was a decline in long-term core funding for NGOs, an emphasis placed on quantifiable results in funding applications, and an end to funding restrictions for for-profit organizations (Dobrowolsky and Jenson 2004; Brodie and Bakker 2007). Some argue these changes, along with others, undermined the federal government's commitment to women's rights made a decade earlier (Bégin 1992).

Despite austerity measures and neoliberal policies, there was much optimism in the lead up to patriation of the Constitution in 1982 which is the third critical event at the federal level (Dobrowolsky 1998). It ultimately enshrined the protection of women's rights in s. 15 of the Constitution, which is known as the equality section (Kome 1983; MacDonald 1995: 2011). The formalization of equality rights made it possible for women's advocacy groups to use the Constitution to pursue legal recourse for remedying inequities in years to come.

The advances made by the women's movement were jeopardized in the mid-1980s, however, by the election of a Conservative government (Rodgers and Knight 2011) and mobilization of right-of-center women's groups (Brodie 2010; Bashevkin

1989). Some scholars suggest that the founding of REAL (Realistic, Active and for Life) Women, a conservative and pro-family organization, in 1983 posed a serious threat to the funding and advocacy efforts of NAC and other more established women's organizations (Bashevkin 1989). It also threatened their achievements (Steuter 1992: 289) by arguing that the women's movement did not represent the interests of the majority of Canadian women (Brodie 2010). During the late 1980s, with a sympathetic Conservative government in power, REAL became successful in shaping federal policy (Bashevkin 1989; Dobrowolsky and Jenson 2004) and challenged the eligibility rules for grants coming from the Status of Women and other federal agencies. The increasing influence of conservative women's groups challenged the legitimacy of the voice of feminists and the women's movement and compounded neoliberal policies and austerity.

In the 1990s, NGOs again faced increasing cutbacks by the federal government in spite of the election of a Liberal majority in 1993 (Rodgers and Knight 2011; Brodie and Bakker 2007). In 1995, the new government replaced EPF, which was a block grant calculated on a per capita basis, and the CAP with the CHST (Brodie and Bakker 2007; Clancy 2015). The elimination of CAP is the fourth federal level critical event and it marked the end of federal government cost sharing for welfare-related social service organizations (Bonisteel and Green 2005). This was detrimental for women's organizations because it reduced funding for women's shelters, and housing and home care groups (Brodie and Bakker 2007: 7). The introduction of the CHST reduced and, for some, eliminated funding women's organizations that relied on it to continue their operations. Similar trends continued into the 2000s and the first half of the 2010s.

Although the Conservatives promised to increase supports for women's issues on the campaign trail, their election in the mid-2000s did not bode well for the women's movement. The newly elected Conservatives favoured cost-benefit and efficiency rationales for funding programs. Some, such as Brown (2005), argue that they elevated economic interests over the democratic values and institutions which benefitted women's advocacy groups. This can be seen in the 2006 federal budget which is the fifth and last federal critical event examined in this chapter. It cut $5 million in funding for Status of Women Canada (voices-voix 2012) and resulted in the closure of 12 out of 16 of its offices. The new budget for Status of Women Canada was 19.9 million dollars (Status of Women Canada 2009). These budget cuts marked the end of funding eligibility for advocacy and research for organizations and the elimination of advancing women's equality from the organizations' mandates. This had a dramatic impact on women's groups across the country leaving many feeling disempowered and as Rodgers and Knight (2011) note, like the collective wind had been knocked out of the movement.

In order to understand whether Nova Scotia stepped in to fill the funding gaps created at the federal level I also examine three critical events at the provincial level during the same time frame. The first event considered is the province's Task Force on the Status of Women's *Herself/Elle-même* report in 1976 (Mitchell 2015; Black 2006; Guildford 2010). The second is the Women's International Peace Conference in 1985 (Duckworth and Peterson 2008). The third, examined is the merging of the Nova Scotia Advisory Council on the Status of Women (NSACSW) with the Women's Directorate in 1996 (Guildford 2010). Again, I anticipated these events would correspond with fluctuations in provincial funding.

As already discussed, the women's movement re-emerged in the 1960s at the federal level. The movement also resurfaced in Nova Scotia during this period. In the first year of the decade the province saw the first formal meeting of the Voice of Women (VOW, Mitchell 2015; Duckworth and Peterson 2008). The founding of the organization is a critical event for women's organizing in the province. Muriel Duckworth and Betty Peterson created the organization so women could advocate for peace during times of conflict (Duckworth and Peterson 2008). Duckworth is an important figure in the social justice movement and the organization played an increasingly important role in decades to come.

Following the release of the federal RCSW report in 1970, the province of Nova Scotia increased its focus on women's issues. This is especially the case mid-decade when the province established a Task Force on the Status of Women in 1975 (Black 2006) as a result of advocacy against the province's inaction on the RCSW. The Task Force examined issues impacting women and released the *Herself/Elle-même* report in 1976 (Black 2006; Guildford 2010), which is the second critical event at the provincial level. It included recommendations on how to improve the lives of women in the province (Clark 1976). It was a critical moment for women because it not only formalized the recognition of women's issues but also lead to the establishment of NSACSW in 1977 (Guildford 2010). The NSACSW was tasked with ensuring that the recommendations of the RCSW and *Herself/Elle-même* report were implemented.

The 1980s marked a period of growing austerity at the national level and the rise of deficit financing at the provincial level, which changed the political and economic landscape of Nova Scotia. Provincially the decade is referred to as the "Conservative era"

because Conservative Premier John Buchanan held office for four consecutive elections. During this time, the province experienced a serious decline in financial standing (Clancy 2015: 81; Osberg and Shape 2008). The Buchanan government used a governing formula that largely relied on economic development supports issued by the federal government and deficit financing (Clancy 2015). As a result, the province was particularly vulnerable during this period as the federal government cut budgets. The province lacked the ability to sustain itself in the absence of federal assistance and by the end of the Conservative era, Nova Scotia became a debt leader among Atlantic Provinces.

In Nova Scotia, the 1980s was characterized by a period of protest and mobilization. VOW's activism increased during this decade as it collaborated with local peace organizations (Duckworth and Peterson 2008). Most significant during this time was VOW's work with Marion Kerans in 1985 to organize a weeklong Women's International Peace Conference at Mount Saint Vincent University, involving 26 women's groups from across the country (ibid.).

This conference was important for the women's movement because it demonstrated the potential for women's groups to work collaboratively. In addition to VOW's activism during this time, the Elizabeth Fry Society of Mainland Nova Scotia was founded in 1982 (Elizabeth Fry Society of Mainland Nova Scotia 2013). The establishment of this provincial branch connected Nova Scotia to national discussions on women's inequality in present services and programs.

In 1993, the Buchanan era came to an end with the election of a Liberal government (Clancy 2015). Premier John Savage was left to manage the crises left to him by his predecessor, which included a deficit of over $600 million. His solution was to

increase taxes and implement a series of systemic cuts to expenditures (Clancy 2015). As with changes at the federal level, groups receiving provincial state funding were increasingly asked to produce and report results that could be quantified and illustrate impact (Guildford 2010). This led to the merging of the NSACSW and the Women's Directorate, which is the third critical event at this level. Women's groups strongly opposed the merger because they felt that women's issues would lose their public profile (Guildford 2010). This is because the NSACSW, like NAC, had a mandate to implement recommendations and monitor them; the Women's Directorate was an extension of government and there were fears of cooptation. Women's groups also feared that the merger would seriously limit funding opportunities in the face of cutbacks at the federal level also occurring during this period.
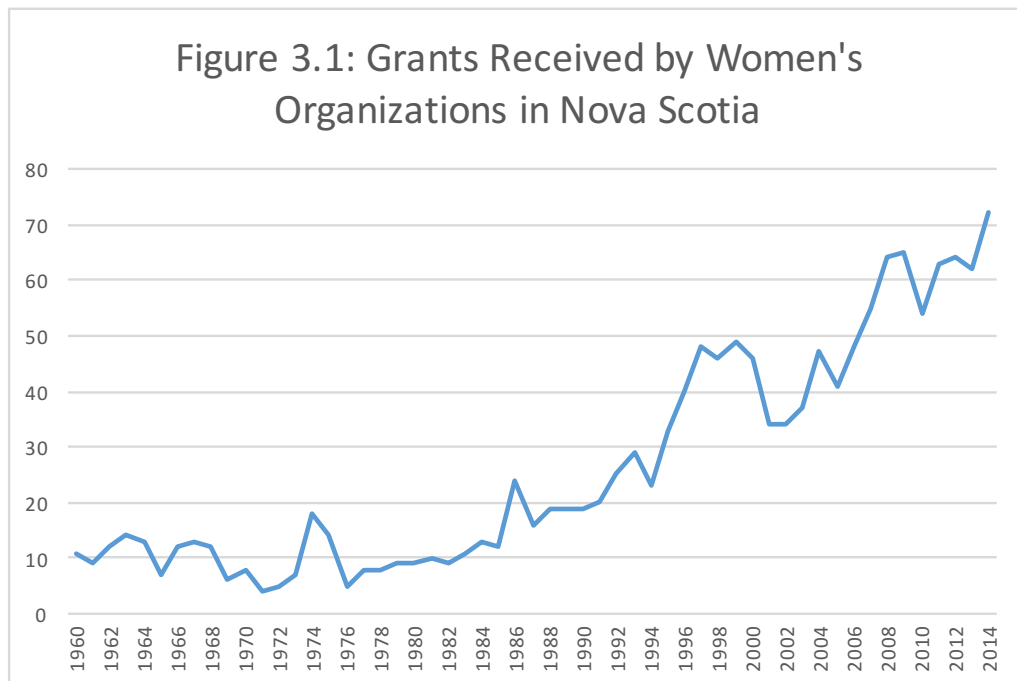
Overall, from the 1960s to the 2010s federal government spending turned from poverty reduction and gender equity towards tax reduction and neoliberalism. Brodie and Bakker (2007: 21) call this process the "fiscalization of social policy" arguing that support for organizations and social services is done only when it can be through family-related spending priorities and the tax system. In Nova Scotia, during the same period I see a move to promoting women's issues in the 1970s, the rise of debt during the 1980s and the rise of auditing and accountability in the 1990s. In the next section I examine these trends and how they are related to changes in the funding of women's organizations in Nova Scotia.

Funding of Women's Organizations

With critical events affecting the women's movement and organizations at the federal and provincial level defined, as well as political regime shifts and the founding of
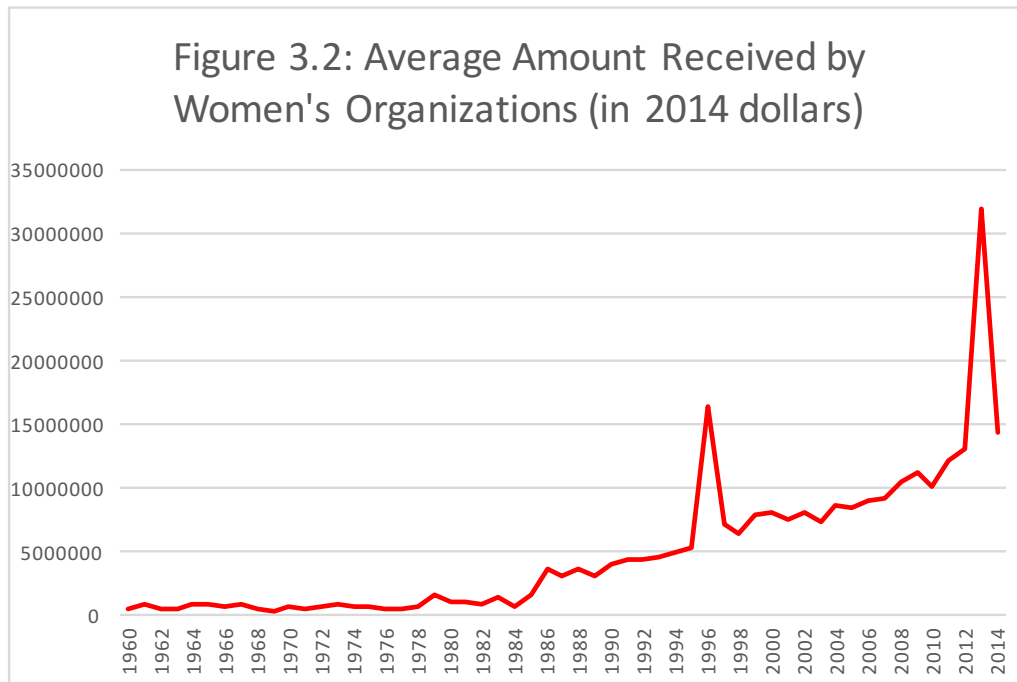
organizations, I next look at trends in funding women's advocacy organizations. I begin

by examining the total number of grants received by women's organizations between

1960-2014 in Figure 3.1. The figure shows that the number of grants increased steadily

over time. This can be attributed to women's increased involvement in advocacy efforts

(Rodgers and Knight 2011). This begins in Nova Scotia in 1960 with the founding of the

Voice of Women. Grant levels dropped mid-decade but rose briefly around 1967 which

may be attributed to the founding of the RCSW at the Federal level. In the early 1970s

there is a decrease in the number of grants despite the release of the RCSW report. The

increase mid-decade coincides with women mobilizing against the province for its failure

to implement any of the report's recommendations. These mobilizations lead to the

province's *Herself/Elle-même* report in 1975 which offered similar recommendations for

improving women's social and economic living conditions. The increase, however, was

not sustained; the number of grants decreased and levelled out. The next increase occurs

around 1982, despite the growing austerity policies of the 1980s. Recall that this was the

year the Constitution was patriated, a critical event affecting all social justice

organizations. The Elizabeth Fry Society of Mainland Nova Scotia was also founded

during this year. Both of these events played a positive role in the women's movement;

they drew attention to, and increased awareness of, a wide range women's issues. Except

for a minor decline the number of grants issued increased steadily into the 1990s. Around

1995 there was a sharp increase in the proportion of provincial grants. The increase

coincides with the federal government's replacement of EPF and CAP with CHST and

the end of federal-provincial cost sharing (Brodie and Bakker 2007; Clancy 2015) which

disproportionately affected women (Guildford 2010). It also follows the end of the

Buchanan Conservatives and the election of the Liberals headed by John Savage.

Although the Liberals came into power with over a $600 million deficit, Savage's

commitment to the public sector was reflected by a rise in grants (Clancy 2015).

Interestingly, like in Quebec, it appears that provincial funding lessened the impact of

federal budget cuts to women's organizations. In the late 2000s there is a drop in the

number of grants which coincides with the financial crisis of 2008.

Figure 3.1: Grants Received by Women's Organizations in Nova Scotia

To explore trends further, I examine Figure 3.2 which shows the average amount of

funding per grant for women's organizations between 1960-2014. All values have been

converted to 2014 dollars. Although Figure 3.1 showed noticeable fluctuations in

provincial grants Figure 3.2 shows that amount of funding remained relatively consistent

until the mid-1980s, when there is an increase. Although this occurs during the election

of a Conservative federal government sympathetic to rightist women's groups, it also

follows the patriation of the Constitution and the Women's International Peace

Conference in Nova Scotia. Interestingly, the rise in the number of grants during the mid-

1990s was also accompanied by an increase of funding, approximately $10 million. This occurred as the federal government reconfigured its funding policies by introducing severe cuts and austerity measures. It also occurs despite the province entering a deep deficit during those years.

Figure 3.2: Average Amount Received by Women's Organizations (in 2014 dollars)

The trends observed in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 become even more apparent in Table 3.1. In the 1960s women's organizations received 109 grants from the provincial government. This coincides with the founding of VOW in 1960 and their activism throughout the decade. Interestingly, the table shows that even though the 1970s was a significant decade for women the average number of grants issued declined by 25% from a decade earlier. This occurred in spite of the release of the RCSW report, the founding of the federal agency of the Status of Women, and NAC as a large umbrella organization for the women's movement. Again, this is reflective of the province's failure to implement the changes contained in the RCSW report. Though fewer grants were issued per organization, the average amount of each grant increased by approximately $24,400. This

may be attributed to the 1976 *Herself/Elle-même* report after which I observe an increase

in grants issued and grant amounts in Figures 3.1 and 3.2. The 1980s boasted a 165.1%

increase in the number of grants issued, 247.7% increase in the average number of grants

per organization, and a 416.4% increase in the average dollar amount given per grant and

a 169.2% increase per organization. The number of organizations funded, however,

dropped from 36 in the 1970s to 24 in the 1980s. The more general trend of increase,

however, corresponds with patriation of the Constitution and the founding of the

Elizabeth Fry Society of Mainland Nova Scotia. The 1990s also saw an increase across

the board with an additional 37 organizations receiving funding. The increased support

for women's organizations can be attributed to the Savage Liberal's promise to not

reduce funding for women's organizations. Even though there is a marginal decline in the

average number of grants per organization, there is also an increase in the average dollar

amounts per grant and per organization. As I previously noted this occurs when the

federal government reconfigured its funding policies. Aligned with Masson's (2006;

2009) observations in Quebec, the table suggests that as the federal government

decreased its funding support of organizations the province did not. Funding trends in the

2000s support this conclusion with another increase in grants issued, organizations

funded, the average number of grants and dollar amount given to organizations. This

happens despite the release of the detrimental 2006 budget by the Harper Conservatives

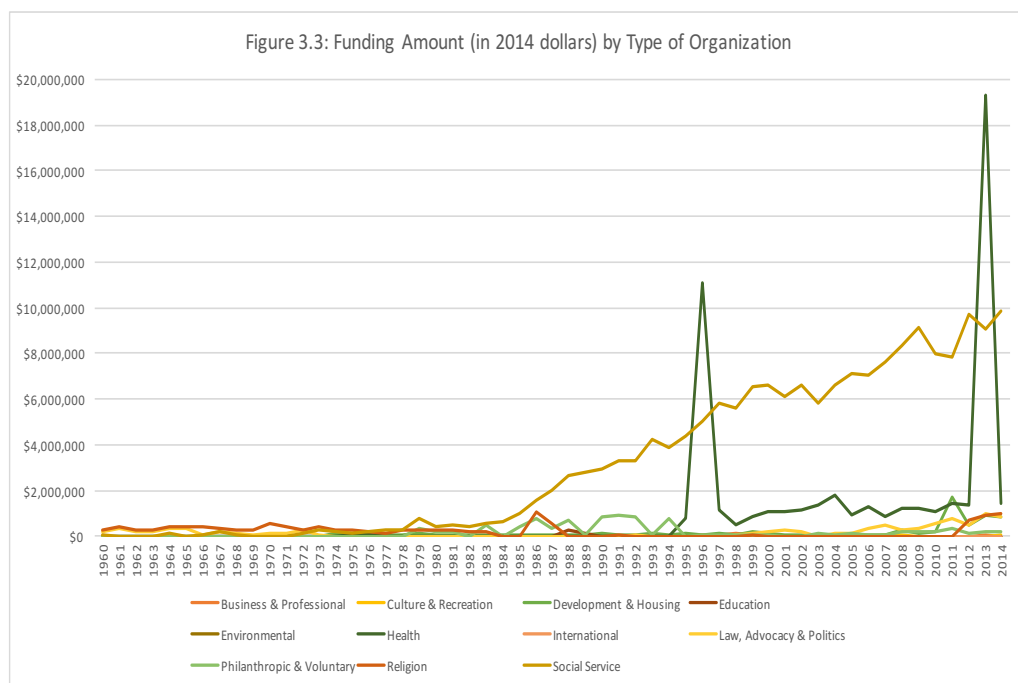which cut funding to government organizations.

Table 3.1: Funding by Decade for Women's Organizations in Nova Scotia

	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2014
Num. of Grants	109	86	142	332	471	315
Num. of Organizations	23	36	24	61	72	63
Avg. # of Grants per Organization	4.74	2.39	5.92	5.44	6.54	5
Avg. Amt of Grants (thousands)	58.3	82.7	139.94	196.2	186.5	257.63
Avg. Amt per Org (thousands)	276.27	197.48	822.2	1067.82	1220.03	1292.26
Federal Critical Events	1966 CAP	1970 RCSW Report	1982 Patriation of the Constitution	1995 CHST	2006 Federal Budget	
Changes in Federal Gov't	Con.	Lib.	Con.	Lib.	Con.	Con.	Lib.	Lib.	Con.	Con.
National Women's Organizations		1971 NAC 1973-5 CACSW	1983 REAL Women			
Provincial Critical Events		1976 Herself/Elle-meme	1985 Women's International Peace Conference	1996 NSACSW and Women's Directorate Merge		
Changes in Provincial Gov't	Con.	Lib.	Con.	Con.	Con.	Lib.	Con.	Con.	NDP	NDP	Lib.
Provincial Women's Organizations	1960 Voice of Women	1976 NSACSW	1982 Elizabeth Fry Society of Mainland NS			
Dominant Group Funded	Religion (27.52%) and Law, Advocacy and Politics (27.52%)	Social Services (31.4%)	Social Services (63.38%)	Social Services (62.65%)	Social Services (61.36%)	Social Services (55.87%)
Dominant Subgroup Funded	Rehabilitation of Offenders (50%)	Child Welfare, Child Services and Day Care (74.07%)	Child Welfare, Child Services and Day Care (34.45%)	Family Services (59.62%)	Family Services (54.67%)	Family Services (44.32%)
Num. of Soc. Service Grants	22	27	90	208	289	176
Num. of Soc. Service Org.	5	7	12	30	33	31
Avg. # of Grants per Organization	4.4	3.86	7.5	6.93	8.76	5.68
Dominant Subgroup Funded	Child Welfare, Child Services & Day Care (74.73%)	Child Welfare, Child Services & Day Care (74.07%)	Child Welfare, Child Services & Day Care (34.45%)	Family Services (59.62%)	Family Services (54.67%)	Family Services (44.32%)

To explore these trends further, Table 3.1 reports the type of organization funded. This information is relevant because it indicates the provincial government's funding priorities were linked to the provision of social services versus other types of activities. It also allows for an examination of whether the type of organization helps account for funding changes. There are two dominant categories of organizations funded in the 1960s. The first is Religious groups, and the second is Law, Advocacy, and Politics. Interestingly, this coincides with focus on the inequities endured by incarcerated women by the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies which emerged as a national umbrella organization during this decade (Elizabeth Fry Society of Mainland Nova Scotia 2013). From the 1970s onward Social Service organizations are the dominant group funded. This finding is consistent with literature that suggests governments more often fund social service groups (Knight and Rodgers 2012), it is also reflective of the shift to "arm's-length" regulation (Cerny 2010: 52). The dominant subgroups funded are Family Services and Child Welfare, Child Services, and Daycare. In part, this can be attributed to the political agenda of the 1990s. Liberal John Savage was committed to the public sector and to organizations within it whose services assist the public (Strumm 2015). As Premier his government prioritized service organizations even during decades when the province's economic well-being was suffering. In the 2000s a change in federal government priorities corresponded with the Harper Conservatives making women's advocacy and research organizations ineligible for federal funding (Strumm 2015). This contributed to the move towards program funding linked to service delivery.

The trends observed in Table 3.1 are not entirely consistent with those found in Figure 3.3, which reports funding amount by organization type between 1960-2014. In

Table 3.1, grants received per decade indicate that Social Service organizations are the dominant group funded in 1970. The data in Figure 3.3, however, do not suggest that Social Service groups receive significantly more funding than their counterparts. In fact, over the decade Religious groups receive almost $1 million more than Social Service groups. This can be attributed to the role Religious groups played in service provision prior to the growth of Social Service groups. This points to a larger issue, however, where an increase in grants given masks the fact that funding has not changed.

Figure 3.3: Funding Amount (in 2014 dollars) by Type of Organization

The data indicate that an emphasis is being placed on social service provision and health services. An increase in funding for both is observed from the late 1970s onward. For other types of organizations, funding ebbs and flows with no clear pattern. This is in part due to an emphasis on organizations providing services to the population (Strumm 2015). A sentiment reiterated at both provincial and federal levels.

The data indicate that political opportunities have a mixed effect. Critical events appear to impact funding somewhat during the mid-1970s and mid-1990s. Regime

changes have less impact, affecting funding only with the election of Premier John

Buchanan in 1978 (Clancy 2015) where we see a gradual increase in both funding

amounts and grants given. Finally, the founding of key organizations had marginal

impact on funding. In spite of these findings, there is evidence that during periods of

austerity, the province does step in, which suggests that Quebec may not be an exception.

What remains unclear, however, is how women's organizations themselves experience

funding.

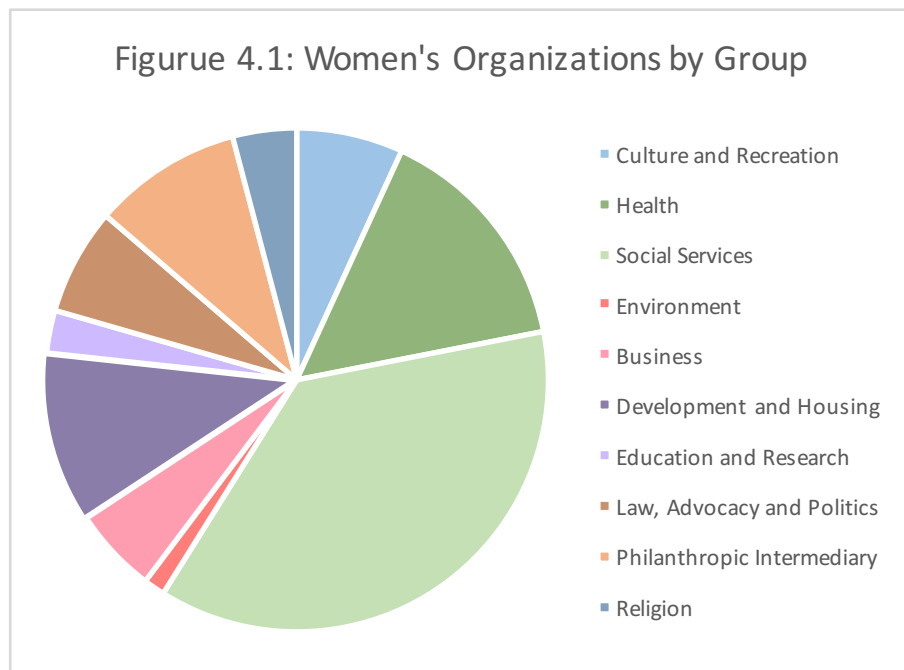**Chapter 4: Women's Non-Profit Organizations' Provincial Funding Experience**

In Chapter 3, I analyzed the relationship among critical events, regime changes, the founding of organizations, and provincial funding trends. Critical events and the founding of key organizations have varying degrees of impact on funding while regime changes had little impact. The data also indicate that the province did step in during periods of austerity at the national level. It is unclear, however, how women's organizations perceive the funding environment. For this reason, I complement my historical analysis with a brief survey on the accessibility of state funding.

My survey was designed for women's organizations to speak to the availability of funding opportunities. Questions about both provincial and federal funding were asked. Participants were asked about their organization's funding history, barriers to funding encountered, perceptions of present and future funding, and strategies employed to procure funding. There was also an open question at the end of the survey for participants to include additional information not covered in the survey. The survey was distributed to 73 organizations of which 17 completed it in its entirety and an additional eight partially completed it. For this reason, the dataset is unbalanced and I analyze with the maximum sample available for a given question.

Of the organizations who received the survey, two groups contacted me to inform me that they do not identify as women's organizations. One organization was a sexual assault centre, and was adamant that their services were directed at all genders equally. They also commented briefly on funding, noting that they receive less financial support than women-based organizations. The other organization felt it did not fit the survey target because it does not apply for federal or provincial funding. (It was in the sampling

frame because it did receive a provincial grant back in the 1960s. In lieu of state support, the group relies on private donations and individual incomes.)

Figure 4.1 reports the proportion of organization type for all groups who received the survey. For both groups, those who received the survey and those who completed it, social services represent the largest percentage of organizations. The higher representation of social service groups is expected given literature that points to the importance of service organizations among those part of the women's movement and literature that indicates government entities more often fund social service organizations (Strumm 2015; Brodie and Bakker 2007; Eikenberry and Kluver 2004).

Figurue 4.1: Women's Organizations by Group

- Culture and Recreation
- Health
- Social Services
- Environment
- Business
- Development and Housing
- Education and Research
- Law, Advocacy and Politics
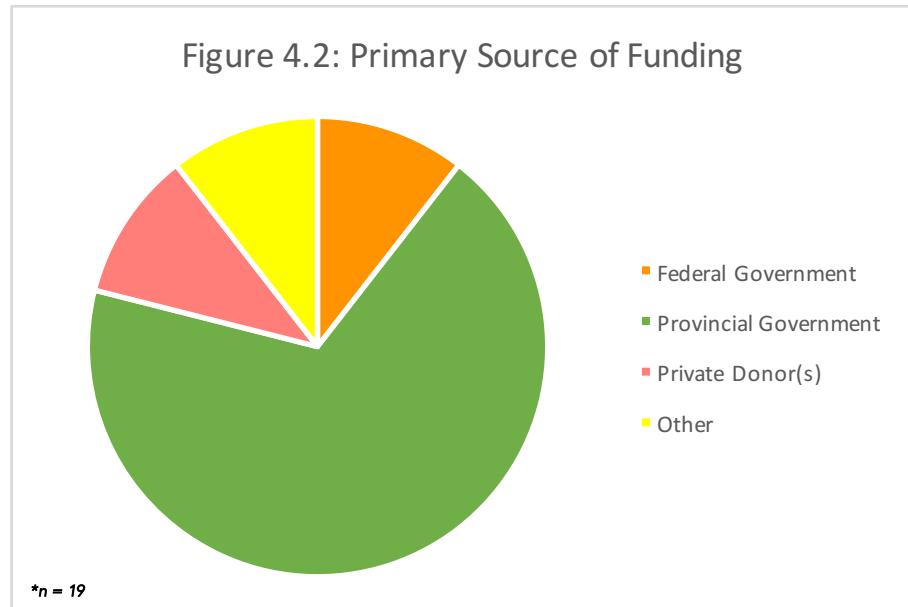- Philanthropic Intermediary
- Religion

Interestingly, a number of organizations identified differently than the initial coding scheme. One group identified as "International" while 3 three groups identified as "Other."

Organizations were also given the opportunity to detail their activities. Of the participants that responded to this question, 6 indicated their services involved support

for women and children fleeing abuse and violence. Eight groups offered housing or shelter of some kind, and 12 organizations indicated they provided social support through counselling, networking/referrals, and accompaniment. Six organizations' cited activities related to physical health and safety while 2 organizations engaged in professional development activities, and 3 groups offered general community programming for women and girls. Interestingly, the activities are all linked to the delivery of social services.

Figure 4.2 reports the proportion of organizations by primary source of funding organizations receive. Approximately two-thirds of participants report that the provincial government is their primary source of funding. This is interesting given the disproportionate attention to the federal level in the literature cited in Chapter 3. Of those citing the provincial government as their primary funder, 10 organizations indicated that the provincial government covers 75% or more of their operating costs. When federal funding is considered, only 5 groups report receiving federal funding and of these groups and just 2 groups report having 75% or more of their operating costs covered by the federal government. The absence of substantial federal support is in line with literature that observes the downloading of responsibility from the federal to the provincial levels (Brodie and Bakker 2007; Rodgers and Knight 2011). All but 3 organizations said that a portion of their operating costs are covered by private donations, an area not considered in the state funding literature, and one group indicated that all its operating costs were covered by private donations. This follows literature on state funding that suggests non-profit organizations are increasingly seeking other sources of funding in the absence of adequate government support (Corrigall-Brown 2016: 331).

Figure 4.2: Primary Source of Funding

- Federal Government
- Provincial Government
- Private Donor(s)
- Other

*n = 19

To better understand strategies organizations use to obtain funding, I also asked about this in an open-ended question. Of the 11 participants that responded, four organizations commented on the need to fit perceived government funding priorities and shape their application(s) accordingly. This is consistent with literature that indicates non-profit organizations carefully craft their grant application(s), mindfully selecting their words and aligning their objectives with funder priorities (Knight and Rodgers 2012: 277). Interestingly, two organizations commented on how they collaborate with other organizations to acquire funding from government bodies. Such collaboration is rarely citied among existing literature that focuses instead on competition among organizations for funding (Eikenberry and Kluver 2004: 138; Cullen 2015: 417; Merrett 2001: 409). Another organization responded that the province no longer funds specialized employment services for women and that they must access funding through another organization that submits grant applications on their behalf. Again this is a source of funding not examined by much of the social movement and state funding literature.

To explore the relationship between organizations and funding further, questions about barriers and accessibility were asked. Respondents were given the opportunity to outline why, if at all, grant applications were rejected at the provincial level through an open question. Organizations were also asked through another open-ended question if they face any obstacles general when it comes to funding. 8 of 19 organizations indicated that they have had a grant application rejected. In terms of reasons why their applications were rejected, all organizations reported at least one of the following sentiments: the government did not have enough money available to fund them at the time of the application or their application did not fit government funding priorities. Interestingly, one organization also indicated that because it receives funding from the Department of Health it is prohibited from applying for funding from other government departments.

When asked about general barriers to funding, the consensus among the organizations was that budgetary restrictions pose significant barriers in the funding process. One organization commented that "because another agency [like ours] is funded under that particular program, it eliminates us from being able to access funds, no matter how poorly the proponent is providing services under that funding stream." Some literature notes that smaller organizations are less likely to receive government support (e.g. Stone, Hager and Griffin 2001: 277), this was echoed by two other organizations in the sample.

Another concern voiced by organizations responding to the survey was over how funds are regulated. One representative noted that a "lack of available funding for operating costs as opposed to program costs" was a barrier. This was also noted by another representative who commented that "funding from provincial [government] is

designated for staff salaries […and there is a] Minimal amount [of funding] allotted for operational budget." Interestingly one organization reported that: "Our funding now comes to us through another community organization that is not interested in viewing policies and programs through a gender lens, so they are making funding decisions that diminish the ability of the organization to provide effective services for women in our community." It appears that even other organizations have strings attached to funding distributed.

There is sense among some respondents that their client-base affects their capacity for accessing funding. One representative of an organization commented that "the provincial government funds us approximately 40% less than the male facilities. We have to negotiate every year to receive parity funding." Another comment was "we are not a 'sexy' organization to support. We don't raise money for children with cancer – our clients are women that society wants to punish and throw away." For both groups, their client-base presents as an obstacle to funding. Previous research by Meinhard and Foster (2002: 25) establishes this as an issue not limited to women's organizations in Nova Scotia, however, but one that is felt across the country.

Organizations were asked about how funding has changed, if at all, since the last 2015 Federal and 2013 Provincial elections. Ten organizations commented on a change in funding at the federal level and of these, seven felt the change was for the better while two felt it was for the worse. Changes were said to increase federal funding for three organizations, and a decline for one. Interestingly, one participant commented that Pan-Atlantic projects are the focus of federal funding now, which is an obstacle for groups with an in-province client-base. When asked about how they anticipate federal funding to

change in the next 5 years, organizations were both optimistic and pessimistic. One commented that the "current government likes national policies/program [which] may exclude the Atlantic provinces for regional opportunities." Another expects funding opportunities to increase, but not in terms of covering operating costs. Others noted that given the present focus of the federal government on the laws around sexual assaults, and service availability for mental health and addictions, there is likely to be an increase in funding for organizations operating in those areas.

At the provincial level, opinions on how funding has changed since the 2013 election are mixed. Eight organizations noted that funding has changed since the last election, with four feeling the change was for the better, and four for the worse. The four representatives who saw a change for the better mentioned the introduction of funding opportunities under the province's new Sexual Violence Strategy (SVS) was an opportunity. Interestingly, one organization voiced concern that the SVS funding is short-term and that "there is no long term commitment from government to sustain the work." The same participant also noted that these grants are for work in a highly specific area. For this reason, it is unsurprising that organizations not engaging in this work are less optimistic. Two representatives whose organizations are geared toward professional development note that the province's support is now non-existent:

> Specialized employment services that have successfully provided career
> development services for women, African Nova Scotians, and Persons with
> Disabilities in Nova Scotia for more than 30 years can no longer apply for
> provincial funding through Labour and Advanced Education to continue to

provide services specifically for those disadvantaged groups. Those services are now included as part of the Nova Scotia Works Employment Service Centres. In terms of the future of funding at the provincial level, the views expressed were generally pessimistic. Organizations expressed concerns that more and more government responsibilities will be downloaded to non-profit organizations, and that funding will not be increased accordingly. In addition to this concern, some respondents fear that misplacement of government priorities, a decline in funding opportunities and the absence of core funding will also worsen in the coming years. One group felt that funding will only change if a new government is elected. One representative or an organization expressed fear that "funding for women's programs will be included in larger agreements and the decisions regarding programming will no longer be made by organizations with women's best interests in mind." Similarly, a number of participants indicated that they are concerned that government priorities will shift toward outcome-based funding, and physical infrastructure over social infrastructure in the wake of climate changes.

Table 4.1 explores agreement with a series of questions on an agreement scale on funding. Respondents generally expressed dissatisfaction with current levels of provincial and federal support. More respondents either disagree or were ambivalent. However, there seems to be consensus that the federal government provides more financial support for women's groups than the province. This is inconsistent with the proportion of operating costs covered by the federal and provincial government reported earlier in the survey, which suggests that perceptions differ from actual levels of support. In terms of advocacy, though eight groups agree that they can advocate sufficiently on behalf of their

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target population, seven expressed concern about losing government support over their

advocacy activity.

Table 4.1
Perceptions of State Funding, Likert-Scale Questions

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	D/K
The provincial government provides adequate support for women's organizations, in general.	6	7	1	1	0	2
The provincial government provides adequate support for women's organizations like mine.	7	5	3	1	0	1
The federal government provides adequate support for women's organizations, in general.	4	6	4	0	1	2
The provincial government provides more support for women's organizations than the federal government.	3	3	3	6	0	2
My organization can provide more services today than it could when it was initially founded.	1	1	1	10	3	1
My organization engages in sufficient advocacy efforts on behalf of our target population.	1	3	4	4	4	1
My organization is able to engage in sufficient advocacy without fear of losing government support.	3	4	3	4	2	1

n=17

The final question of the survey offered respondents an opportunity to add additional

comments on anything not covered in the survey. A theme among responses to not only

this question, but others throughout the survey, is the importance of inter-organization

collaboration. Once again, this departs from social movement literature which focuses on

competition between organizations for funds.

Partnership with other organizations, however, is not without its problems. One

group comments that the government is encouraging women's groups to partner with

other organizations to access funding. This is not surprising given that some scholars

have observed similar partnerships being established in other areas of the non-profit

sector (Eikenberry and Kluver 2004: 138). The issue, however, is that there needs to be

consensus among partners in order to apply for funding:

Unless the partner organization supports the need for funding for women's

services, the ability to access [money] from those organizations that control

funding agreements can become incredibly difficult. Our partner has voted down

our every request for [funding] for women's programming.

This echoes earlier concerns the funding entities or those involved in the funding process

are not concerned with gender-specific needs. The concern that both the federal and

provincial government harbour misplaced priorities surfaces in more places than one.

One representative followed up on the questions regarding advocacy, commenting

that many women's organizations' activities extend beyond what their funding covers.

This is accomplished through finding other grants and fundraising. The process of

applying for grants is labour and time intensive, however, and is often fruitless. They also

noted that grants are often "whatever the flavour of the time is and [are] not necessarily

what the people [women's groups] serve need." A similar sentiment was expressed by

another organization:

Recent changes to department oversight in our province has caused significant

issues with funding advocacy, accountability and oversight. The Status of

Women oversee our funding and [are] not skilled at this, as they have never done

it in the past, so they are making some crucial mistakes, which result in them

damaging well established relationships from the past.

Discontent with provincial government is rife throughout the responses. One organization

expressed concern that the provincial government is downloading more and more

responsibilities to women's non-profit organizations without increasing funding

accordingly. This is a process that is well-established in the Canadian context (Brown and

Troutt 2004: 5; Abu Laban 2008: 175) and linked to the shift to arm's length regulation

under neoliberalism (Cerny 2010: 148). Another suggested that the government does not

adequately address the economic and social inequalities endured by women who need

social service groups. Others are concerned that their constituency's needs are not being

addressed, one group comments:

> The Province's ONE Report excludes women entirely, especially SMEs [small-to-
>
> medium enterprises]. No target was set to build a strong economy based on
>
> women owned businesses who are the fastest growing sector in Canada. With
>
> over 23,000 self-employed women, the NS government should recognize the
>
> potential by investing in organizations that can assist them. Federally, the funding
>
> is supportive and continues to make an investment not only here in NS but across
>
> Canada.

The perceived lack of provincial support stands in stark contrast to the level of support

observed in Chapter 3. It also counters the data presented above which shows that the

organizations who participated in the survey mostly receive provincial funding.

Overall, the organizations which participated in the survey report inadequate

government support at both the federal and provincial level. Despite the provincial

government being the primary funder for almost all respondents, federal support is

viewed more favourably. Unsurprisingly, a number of respondents report difficulties

acquiring federal and provincial funding and that they must be strategic in their

applications to improve their chances of being funded. As a result, some observe that the

needs of their target population are not being met. Similarly, some suggest that how

funding is regulated does not reflect their organization's needs. There is a general

sentiment among survey respondents that though their organizations are receiving

provincial and/or federal support, more is needed. Specifically, grants need to be better

tailored to the needs of women's organizations and those they serve.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this thesis, I set out to engage whether or not provinces play a role in funding women's organizations. Much of the literature on state funding focuses at the national level, however, Masson's (1999/2000; 2004; 2006; 2015) research on Quebec's shows that provincial funding insulated women's organizations in that province from federal budget cuts. Other literature suggests that service organizations fare better than advocacy organizations in periods of austerity (Knight and Rodgers 2012). My thesis aimed to see if these conclusions are supported in Nova Scotia.

To examine these issues, I first looked at provincial funding from 1960-2014 and considered the effect of federal and provincial critical events, regime changes, and the founding of key organizations on provincial level state funding. My analysis demonstrated that during the period of 1960-2014 funding generally increased in Nova Scotia both in terms of the numbers of grants issued and the amount offered. The early 1970s were an exception to this trend and this is likely linked to the province's delay in implementing the recommendations of the RCSW (Black 2006; Guildford 2010). The increase in grants issued later in the decade and into the 1980s correspond with the province's *Herself/Elle-même* report in 1976, the patriation of the Constitution in 1982, and the mobilization of VOW members throughout the decade.

Most interesting, the increase in grants issued and increase in the dollar amount per grant occur at the same time the federal government began to adopt neoliberal policies and practices of austerity. This indicates that when federal support for women's advocacy organizations was reduced, the province stepped in. During the mid-1990s a similar increase occurs despite the federal government's elimination of CAP and EPF

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which had problematic implications for women and the women's movements. These results echo those of Masson (1999/2000; 2004; 2006; 2015), who showed that the Quebec government continued funding women's organizations when the federal government stopped.

A notable finding in the survey was participants' reporting of cooperation with other women's organizations to help ensure survival. This deviates from the focus on competition in much of the existing social movement literature and work on inter-organizational relationships and contract competition (Cullen 2015; Eikenberry and Kluver 2004; Merrett 2001). The success of inter-organizational cooperation, however, has been observed in other areas of the non-profit sector (Eikenberry and Kluver 2004: 138). This suggests that more attention needs to be paid to the relationships between organizations.

Survey participants also reported that, although they receive the bulk of their funding from the provincial level, they perceive it as insufficient and/or misdirected. Participants also felt that funding agencies are out-of-touch with women's groups' needs, specifically the need to increase funding for operational costs. Related to this concern, respondents worried that as their responsibilities to their target population grew, funding is not being increased accordingly. Given that scholars have documented the problem of 'frozen budgets' where funding does not respond to inflation and resource scarcity (Cain and Todd 2008), it is not surprising that some women's groups find provincial funding insufficient.

The survey also demonstrates that there is a discrepancy between how respondents perceive federal and provincial funding, and how funding is actually

distributed. This can be related back to arm's-length governance (Cerny 2010) and the downloading of federal responsibilities to provincial governments (Brodie and Bakker 2007; Rodgers and Knight 2011). As a result of this process, federal government effectively avoids culpability when grants are declined and/or funding is cut. For this reason, it makes sense that the Nova Scotia government receives more heat from these organizations, given that it is provincial actors at the other end of defunding and rejected grant applications.

Despite years of austerity, it seems that Nova Scotia played a role in funding women's organizations. Still, some women's groups sampled expressed concern about the level of support they are receiving. They report that funding is becoming more difficult to access, especially at the provincial level. This presents an interesting puzzle because most of these organizations also cite the province as their primary funder, covering 20% or more of their operating costs. Although women's organizations are receiving financial support from the province, the larger issue is that the funding is perceived as insufficient by women's organizations sampled.

Following Rodgers and Knight's (2011) argument, I believe that provincial funding for women's organizations was sustained because many provided social services. In fact, in both the historical data analyzed and results from the survey I conducted show that social service organizations consistently received the bulk of funding in Nova Scotia. This corresponds with a general emphasis on issues of violence against women and reproductive rights in the women's movement. More specifically I find that because the province places similar emphasis on issues of violence against women, service

organizations that do the same may be less susceptible to cutbacks associated with austerity at the federal level if they seek funding for services provincially. Although the years of the Harper government were particularly arduous for women's organizations (Rodgers and Knight 2011) with some members of the government, such as Minister Bev Oda of Status of Women, even declaring that women had achieved equality and that anyone who says otherwise jeopardizes the gains that have been achieved (Strumm 2015), it seems that provinces filled some of the gaps left under that regime. This has been shown in Quebec by Masson (1999/2000; 2004; 2006; 2015) and now my research on Nova Scotia.

Since the fall of the conservatives, the new government led by Justin Trudeau surprised the world with his decision to make half his cabinet women (The Canadian Press 2015) and openly declaring himself a feminist. The new federal government has brought women's issues out from the shadows and within its first year reinstated the Court Challenges Program (voices-voix 2016), promised working women pay equity by 2018 (The Canadian Press 2016), and reinstated funding eligibility for advocacy organizations (Status of Women Canada 2016) and in 2017 is working to change tax laws that restricted advocacy among charitable organizations. These are potentially promising signs that might lead to shift instate funding of women's organizations at the federal level. What remains unclear is whether provinces will continue to play a role in funding women's organizations and how the new federal government will open new spaces for a wider range of women's groups to seek state funding.

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Appendix A: Research Ethics Board Approval Letter

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY
Research Services

Social Sciences & Humanities Research Ethics Board
Letter of Approval

March 22, 2017

Howard Ramos
Arts & Social Sciences\Sociology & Anthropology

Dear Howard,

REB #:　　　　2017-4121
Project Title:　　Perceptions of Change in Atlantic Canadian Cities

Effective Date:　March 22, 2017
Expiry Date:　　March 22, 2018

The Social Sciences & Humanities Research Ethics Board has reviewed your application for research involving humans and found the proposed research to be in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement on *Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*. This approval will be in effect for 12 months as indicated above. This approval is subject to the conditions listed below which constitute your on-going responsibilities with respect to the ethical conduct of this research.

Sincerely,

Dr. Karen Beazley, Chair