RESILIENCE AND THE IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT SECTOR:

A CONSIDERATION OF THE PLACE OF ACCOUNTABILITY AND PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT

RESEARCH REPORT

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Executive Summary

Resilience is about the ability to rebound and adapt to change, disruption, adversity and/or stress. It is concerned with the return to a state of stability or even prosperity or greater functionality. For immigrants and their families, resilience relates to their ability to settle, adapt and prosper in their new country with the aid of the settlement service system. The resilience of the immigrant settlement sector and the newcomers they serve is dependent on a number of factors. Among these, in terms of resilience, is an underappreciated component centered on accountability and performance measurement by funders. Funder accountability and performance measurement systems are not neutral tools. They have for example, been connected to excessive organizational operational structures and reporting burdens that shift nonprofits' accountability focus away from newcomer clients and immigrant communities toward an excessive emphasis on addressing funder accountability 'needs'.

This report examines the theory, research and measurement frameworks informing evaluation strategies in the nonprofit sector and considering their impact on resilience related to immigrant settlement in Canada. The complexity and heterogeneity of settlement services delivery and the current state of the IRCC's accountability and performance measurement system are investigated. Finally, we detail the opportunity to empower service providers, drive better performance assessments, improve newcomer outcomes and promote more equitable, inclusive, vibrant and resilient communities for all. Our key findings include the following:

- Non-profit organizations (NPOs) apply evaluation to support social innovation, identify program improvements, motivate and engage staff, assess partnerships, build capacity, facilitate strategic decision-making, measure the impact of and/or inform the evolution of their organization's mission and most frequently, as an instrument of accountability and legitimacy.

- Accountability can be described in terms of its relationships: upward in relation to funders; downward with respect to its obligations to clients and communities served; and, internal accountabilities to an NPOs mission, staff, volunteers, partners, and management boards. An important distinction exists between instrumental accountability relating to transactions between an NPO service provider and its clients, donors or suppliers and expressive accountability that concerns value driven accountabilities to the community and organizational mission (e.g., advocacy, advancing values and extending caring functions).

- Nonprofits operate in resource constrained environments and funding type has been shown to have a profound impact on how NPOs prioritize accountabilities and on the measurement strategies pursued. Research illuminates the dominance of upward accountability requirements in public service contracting which privilege instrumental accountability and short-term burdensome control mechanisms at the expense of capacity building, deeper impact and the expressive mission-focused activities that drive long-term social change. Higher proportions of government funding have also been associated with an increase in using evaluations for symbolic purposes (i.e., obtaining a "seal"). Further research demonstrates how short-term program metrics, such as cost per client measures, can work in opposition to long-term client success. For example, in many human services domains, studies have demonstrated that approaches advancing client agency, self-esteem and independence may take longer and result in non-linear paths; however, these client-led models are more effective, leading to better, more sustainable client outcomes. NPOs recognize the critical importance of nuanced staff judgements and the intangibles that drive results; however, these factors are largely ignored in the dominant funder logic models and measurement frameworks.

- Canada welcomes approximately 340,000 permanent residents each year and promotes newcomer settlement through policies such as multiculturalism and a dense network of government funded supports delivered primarily though non-profit service provider organizations. Despite Canada's focus on immigration and the critical skills and experience newcomers bring, newcomers face higher unemployment and underemployment rates and significant wage disparities persist. Structural barriers such as systemic discrimination, program barriers, the diversity of client experiences and needs, and the non-linear, multi-generational nature of settlement are instructive of the complexity of the settlement process and the challenges involved in defining meaningful measurement strategies.

- An evaluation of Canada's performance with respect to newcomer integration and settlement must address full and equitable participation, recognition and belonging, both economically and in all aspects of Canadian society. This represents the public interest. Measurement of this nature would appropriately describe the gaps in performance and highlight the place of government intervention, investment and scale of collaboration, innovation and partnership with NPOs required, in order to effectively support newcomer resilience. Regrettably, our analysis revealed the IRCC's approach to be transactional, onerous and challenging NPO capacity. In this critical sector, NPO capacity building is essential but funding is insufficient. The government's emphasis on instrumental accountability (e.g., contract management) at the expense of expressive, mission-focused accountability appears to be odds with the data and analysis required to address urgent settlement system needs.

We recommend a more balanced measurement framework that:

(1) reflects the critical public and newcomer interest of full and equitable participation;

(2) acknowledges the level of government-NPO partnership required to work towards this mission critical objective and address systemic issues;

(3) incorporates a balanced scorecard approach to reflect the mission, objectives and capacity building needed to deliver sustainable results;

(4) leverages interpretivist SROI methodologies to illuminate the intangibles fundamental to achieving outcomes;

(5) privileges a longitudinal view;

(6) supplants micro-level expense management with a more flexible response;

(7) allows for experimentation and collaboration;

(8) provides appropriate funding; and

(9) builds upon the IRCC's positive movement towards longer term funding models.

Such reforms would promote a healthier more resilient immigrant settlement system and help to enhance the resilience capacities of newcomers themselves.

Introduction

Resilience is about the ability to rebound and adapt to change, disruption, adversity and/or stress. It is concerned with the return to a state of stability or even prosperity or greater functionality. For immigrants and their families, resilience relates to their ability to settle, adapt and prosper in their new country with the aid of the settlement service system. Beyond individuals, for structures like the immigrant settlement service system (which includes settlement policies, programs and non-profit settlement service organizations that deliver the programs), resilience speaks to its ability to foster favourable conditions for migrant settlement and integration. In order for settlement agencies to deliver impactful services as part of this settlement system, they require the resources and flexibility to address newcomer needs on the ground and the capacity to operate in a manner that sustains the organizations' longer-term viability (see: Akbar and Preston, 2019; DeVeteuil, 2017).

The resilience of the immigrant settlement sector and the newcomers they serve is dependent on a number of factors. Among these, in terms of resilience, is an underappreciated component centred on accountability and performance measurement by funders (particularly government funders) of nonprofit immigrant service providers. Accountability and performance measurement, as processes and structures, are important to resilience because they are closely tied to the effective operation and the programing outcomes of funded nonprofit providers. Accountability and performance measurement, for example, have been connected to excessive organizational operational structures and reporting burdens placed on nonprofit providers, and in shifting nonprofits' accountability focus away from newcomer clients and immigrant communities toward an excessive emphasis on addressing funder accountability 'needs'. The immigrant voice in the process has come to be muted and ignored. Also, narrowly caste performance measurement has worked in ways that limit what gets funded – what is more easily 'measurable' tends to get funded – with softer settlement services that lend themselves only to more qualitative forms of evaluation suffering.

Accountability, measurement and evaluation tend to be complex and narrowly constructed tools, especially when twinned with goals of cost savings/efficiency, often resulting in distorted outcomes. Government centred accountability and performance measurement are not neutral tools but are oriented to the audit and sanction of noncompliant funded organizations (Phillips, 2013). In short, the effectiveness of settlement programs, the health of settlement serving agencies and the success of settlement supports for newcomers and their communities, and consequently, the resilience of the settlement system and of the immigrants they support, are all effected by the accountability and measurement systems that funders have put in place.

The analysis that follows will examine the theory, research and measurement frameworks informing evaluation strategies in the nonprofit sector and consider their impact on resilience related to immigrant settlement in Canada. The complexity and heterogeneity of settlement services delivery and the implications for evaluation will be considered. The current state of the

IRCC's accountability and performance measurement system and its impact on migrant resilience is investigated. Finally, we will detail the opportunity to empower service providers, drive better performance assessments, improve newcomer outcomes and promote more equitable, inclusive, vibrant and resilient communities for all.

Setting the Context

In Canada, a comprehensive system of government funded settlement supports provided through nonprofit agencies has been developed — the so-called Canadian model of settlement. A strong network of settlement supports might even be considered a soft component of the Canadian welfare state. This stands in contrast to many other countries that have far less robust state supports, or like the U.S. have adopted a laissez-faire approach to immigrant settlement and integration. The relative effectiveness of the Canadian model of settlement has long attracted considerable international interest. In Canada, consequently, newcomer resilience is aided through forms of social resilience. The Canadian settlement system builds in settlement supports to facilitate immigrant resilience in the settlement process. Hall and Lamont (2013) explain social resilience as the place that social institutions like government and nonprofit organizations provide to assist people by providing resources to address challenges.

The contemporary framing of nonprofit service provider accountability and performance measurement has been shaped by the on-going impact of the mid-90's neoliberal transformation of the public sector. Federal funding cuts, the devolution of previously state supplied social services and the impact of the "purchase-of-service" competitive contracting model, have all posed significant challenges to nonprofit organizations on the front-line, trying to deliver appropriate, accessible and equitable services within the confines of austerity politics (see for example: Shields and Evans, 1998; Lowe et al., 2018; Bushell and Shields, 2018). New Public Management (NPM) promised to run government more "like a business" with 'efficiency' at the forefront and with a data focused, outcomes-based approach. Performance management has been integral to this strategy yet many have questioned the efficacy of this mandate. An extensive examination of the role of nonprofit providers in migrant settlement service provision and the impact of neoliberal NPM restructuring of the financing and management of this system has been examined in the BMRC report by Bushell and Shields (2018). This report extends this coverage to include a deeper consideration of the impact of accountability and performance measurement in migrant settlement resilience.

A number of questions remain open. Are we measuring and evaluating nonprofit service delivery in a manner that accurately captures and predicts the long-term impact of programming? Are we leveraging data collection to provide meaningful insight to service providers, to improve outcomes for the people served, to uncover sub-group needs and deliver the most effective personalized client-based solutions? Do we understand both the supposed tangible and intangible program benefits and drivers of higher social return on investment? Are governments leveraging service provider data and research in this area to target additional investment in the sector, to deliver long-term program efficacy and improved long-term client outcomes, that benefit individuals, families and communities? Have such neoliberal restructuring processes simply increased the administrative burden for nonprofit service providers while failing to empower this critical, mission driven sector? The answers to such questions have considerable salience for the ability of nonprofit service providers to promote resilience for their client base.

Accountability and Evaluation in the Nonprofit Sector

Performance measurement and evaluation in the nonprofit sector has been the subject of considerable study and one in which the variation in framing, methodologies and conclusions signal the heterogeneity and complexity of the issue. Organizational objectives for implementing performance measurement programs are equally diverse. Evaluation is applied, to support social innovation, identify program improvements, motivate and engage staff, assess partnerships, build capacity, facilitate strategic decision-making, measure the impact of and/or inform the evolution of the organization's mission and most frequently, as an instrument of accountability and legitimacy.

Accountability is defined as "the means by which individuals and organizations report to a recognized authority (or authorities) and are held responsible for their actions" (Ebrahim, 2005: 58). For nonprofit organizations (NPOs), accountability is complex and can be described in terms of its relationships: *upward* in relation to funders (like governments, foundations and donors); *downward* with respect to its obligations to clients and communities served; and, *internal* accountabilities to an NPOs mission, staff, volunteers, partners, and management boards (Ebrahim, 2005). Others distinguish between types of accountability, legal compliance, negotiated accountability, discretionary judgment related accountability and anticipatory accountability related to advocacy (Knutsen and Brower, 2010). Researchers also refer to accountability in terms of its dimensions, with *instrumental accountability* relating to transactions between an NPO service provider and its internal or external clients or suppliers (e.g., actions regarding service delivery and allocation of funds), and *expressive accountability* concerning value driven accountabilities to the community and organizational mission (e.g., advocacy, advancing values and extending caring functions) (Knutsen and Brower, 2010). These approaches to accountability illustrating a sample of the complex, multidimensional and often ambiguous accountabilities through which nonprofit service providers must navigate.

Funding type has a profound impact on how NPOs prioritize accountabilities and the corresponding measurement strategies pursued. Nonprofits operate in resource constrained environments and as resource dependency theorists argue "resources are the basis of an organization's strategy, structure and survival" (Lee and Nowell, 2015: 310). Thomson (2010) surveyed 237 Detroit NPOs and found it was in fact new reporting mandates from government funders that led to an associated increase in outcome measurement amongst funding-reliant nonprofits. A 2000 study of 140 U.S. NPOs who had recently completed program evaluations found 69% were primarily for funders; less than 10% were leveraging this information for strategic planning, assessing programs, implementations or client satisfaction (Ebrahim, 2005: 62). In other research surveying uses of evaluation amongst 105 NPOs in Columbus, Ohio, having a higher proportion of government funding was associated with an increase in using evaluations for symbolic purposes (i.e., obtaining a "seal") (Eckerd and Moulton, 2011). Researchers and nonprofits have been critical of the dominance of upward accountability requirements in public service contracting, which tend to privilege instrumental accountability and short-term burdensome control mechanisms.

In the context of the Canadian government's mid-1990's devolution of social services to nonprofit providers,[1] and the current neoliberal purchase-of-service competitive contracting regime, dependency theory and instrumental accountability are resonant. A study of 16 Chinese Canadian NPOs providing advocacy, settlement and ethno-specific services, for example, found instrumental accountability to governments posed the most onerous requirements (compared to funders like the United Way or donors), and involved detailing expenses at tedium, regular all-encompassing audits, extensive paperwork and outcome reports typical of principal-agent relationships (Knutsen and Brower, 2010). While more established NPOs were better able to balance instrumental and expressive accountabilities (but to the distinct advantage of instrumental accountability), newer, resource constrained organizations were forced to trade off their mission and normative expressive accountabilities (e.g., advocacy), to fulfill funding and transactional requirements, send the "correct signals" and prevent future funding loss (Knutsen and Brower, 2010). Interviews with 21 immigrant settlement agencies in Peel region found accountability measures resulted in grants that were "unworkable" and smaller organizations could not compete for government funding, lacking the resources for onerous reporting and grant writing requirements (Mukhtar et al., 2015).

There have also been concerns as to the appropriateness of measurement instruments. A study involving 32 UK NPOs, who had implemented social impact measurement to compete for public funds, found several nonprofits expressed discomfort with intrusive evaluation tools that could disturb relations with clients (Arvidson and Lyon, 2013). In a case study involving a U.S. refugee settlement agency receiving federal funding, employees described audits and monthly/quarterly funder reports as excessive requiring everything from detailed mileage, expenses and time spent with refugee families, to inventories of spoons and towels provided to refugees' homes (Christensen and Ebrahim, 2006). All of these tasks were disconnected from the agency's mission and reduced the time available for serving clients (Christensen and Ebrahim, 2006) and fostering resilience. Ebrahim, 2005, argues that asymmetrical relationships

[1] It should be noted that the provision of settlement services in Canada outside of Quebec have from the beginning been modeled on third party delivery primarily by nonprofit providers (Richmond and Shields, 2005).

amongst stakeholders skew accountability mechanisms towards funders and donors creating two forms of myopia:

> "First, it privileges one kind of accountability relation over a broader accountability system. Mechanisms for holding NGOs accountable to funders, for example can overshadow or marginalize mechanisms for holding NGOs accountable to communities or to their own missions….(Second) accountability mechanisms that emphasize rule-following behavior run the risk of promoting NGO activities that are so focused on short-term outputs and efficiency criteria that they lose sight of long-range goals concerning social development and change" (Ebrahim, 2005: 60-61).

An ongoing survey of human service provision management and workers conducted in the Greater Toronto area (over 80% of whom are nonprofit workers) has found that 74.2% of respondents said that time spent on documentation for funders takes away time from working with clients; 78.9% believe that the way results are measured fails to capture what staff believe to be important; and, 76.1% observed that staff and funders have different definitions of successful outcomes. A respondent tellingly observed that: "Outcomes are becoming more important than community". Another respondent noted how funder imposed measurement tools were not designed for the clients they served and it was causing great stress among service providers. They commented that: "I feel like I'm seeing how the 'evidence-based' sausage is made and it doesn't look good" (Dyson, Hawarth and Shields, 2020).

United Way of America created and disseminated an outcomes measurement program. It surveyed 391 agencies and found 84-88% believed the process was useful for communications and 76% reported it aided service delivery. At the same time, 55% stated it overloaded their administrative capacity, 46% indicated it led to a focus on measurable outcomes at the expense of other results, and 42% were unclear as to how to adjust programs based on the metrics (Ebrahim, 2005: 68). The literature does not dispute the importance of outcome metrics nor NPOs obligations to funders. It is clear, however, that findings point to the need for greater balance in how accountability and performance measurement are constructed and used. Too often, the neoliberal management model privileges reporting to funders over capacity building and prioritizes data points that can be easily measured and counted as opposed to the expressive, mission-focused activities that drive long-term social change and deeper impact.

Ebrahim argues generating knowledge is not enough; capacity building is crucial and evaluations only contribute to learning when their findings stimulate behavioural change (Ebrahim, 2005) and impactful benefits to clients and communities served. Evaluations signaling success or failure, with punitive consequences (i.e., loss of funding), result in individual's concealing or minimizing issues rather than promoting open debate, experimentation, and innovation. Actionaid, an NPO concerned with the injustice and inequality underlying poverty, eliminated performance report submissions and instead holds an "annual participatory review and reflection process" where donors, clients (e.g., the economically disadvantaged), and employees, share successes, failures, critique programs and identify solutions (Ebrahim, 2005: 70). Brainstorming and participatory evaluations transform data reports into progress, and in the process build a culture of self-evaluation, stronger partnerships, agency and capacity. Other researchers have expanded upon the concept, describing capacity building as *how successfully* an NPO has constructed and activated its internal processes, capabilities and systems to effectively enable the advancement of its mission (Lee and Nowell, 2015). To evaluate this dimension NPOs measure employee engagement, satisfaction, retention, learning, communications effectiveness, information systems capacity, innovation, quality and process improvements, and leadership (Lee and Nowell, 2015).

Organizational environments that prioritize communication, learning and empower staff members can lead to improved accountability and mission achievement. Christensen and Ebrahim's 2006 research found that strong lateral accountability mechanisms, such as regular staff meetings to review each refugee case and discuss solutions, were superior in achieving upward and downward accountability *and* felt responsibility. Felt responsibility is about downward accountability to clients served and their communities. As Christensen and Ebrahim note: "this felt responsibility pushes staff the extra mile to seek jobs for refugees that include benefits packages rather than simply stopping short at jobs without (which would still satisfy upward accountability requirements)" (2006: 207). Government funders should consider investing in and supporting NPO lateral and felt accountabilities and capacity building.

A nonprofit organization's data orientation, IT resources, data management, analytical and research skills are additional dimensions of capacity building. Data and technical skills correlate with an NPO's ability to transform evaluative data into program improvements and organizational effectiveness (Strickhouser and Wright, 2015). Strickhouser and Wright, 2015, noted the importance of agency buy-in regarding outcomes, appropriate resource allocation and the need for NPOs to develop associated expertise. Data collection, management and analysis skillsets are often deficient in NPOs since measurement can be viewed as detracting from the "real work of the agency" (Strickhouser and Wright, 2015: 122). Data mining demands high-quality information systems and data acumen. In their absence, performance measurement amongst NPOs has been found to be inconsistent and superficial (Carnochan et al., 2014). Carnochan et al. (2014) assessed technology (e.g., applications, network infrastructure, data integration, expertise, etc.), and measurement processes in human services NPOs and found people and processes were as important as IT systems. The authors found greater adoption of performance management occurred where the NPO had at least one full-time employee with in-depth knowledge of the client data system and where the system design incorporated the real-life workflow processes.

Also requisite is an NPO's capacity to identify critical performance variables (CPVs) within a multi-dimensional complex environment. Gamble et al. (2019) leveraged causal modeling workshops with an NPO Health Care Provider's leaders to ascertain the multi-dimensional cause, effect and recursive relationships of variables predicting NPO mission attainment. This participatory process demonstrated, for example, that previously targeted CPVs to expand the service offer and increase the number of funding contracts may have in fact detracted from the organization's mission attainment. In contrast, operational variables had greater strategic leverage than expected and could influence both employee capacity and turnover reduction (Gamble et al., 2019). NPOs must also understand the efficacy of their metrics. Previous research with 91 NPOs in Dallas found that while approximately 62% implemented outcome measurement, only 34% had instruments that were valid and reliable (Thomson, 2010: 613). Lastly, performance management, and specifically an NPO manager's utilization of a wider range of measures, was found to increase an NPOs self-reported effectiveness in strategic decision making (LeRoux and Wright, 2010). Having an effective, engaged board and a highly educated Executive Director further increased strategic decision-making effectiveness (LeRoux and Wright, 2010). In contrast, high levels of funding competition encouraged NPO leaders to focus on present-day reputation and service quality tasks at the expense of longer-term strategic imperatives and mission focused pursuits (LeRoux and Wright, 2010).

In addition to outcome, outputs and organizational capacity metrics, nonprofit organizational performance may be impacted by network/partnership and input measures. NPOs may, for example, choose to evaluate their ability to increase revenue, diversify revenue streams, recruit and retain employee talent and volunteers and/or build networks (Lee and Nowell, 2015). Government-NPO partnership characteristics and collaborative capacity have also been found to influence performance outcomes. A study researching 174 NPOs in Georgia, demonstrated goal agreement and the age of the NPO-government partnership had the greatest explanatory power on reported accomplishments and the perceived effectiveness of the partnership (Gazley, 2010). The amount of NPO-government collaborative activity was also found to impact reported accomplishments (Gazley, 2010). The fact that so many nonprofit providers in the settlement services sector in Canada have long established relationships with government funders such as IRCC should, consequently, be beneficial.

Social innovation has been a particularly challenging area for evaluators due to its dynamic, exploratory nature, complexity of actors, practices and systems and the need for flexibility. Social innovations are characterized by design thinking, experimentation, collaboration across sectors, stakeholder co-creation, non-linear processes, transformation and complex wicked problems necessitating significant social change (e.g., poverty reduction, homelessness, youth alienation, etc.) (Svensson et al., 2018; Shields et al., 2019). Traditional summative (judgement oriented) and formative (program improvement-oriented) metrics stifle innovation in this context (Svensson et al., 2018). Instead, mixed methods, participatory or developmental evaluation (i.e., evaluators embedded in the project and responsive to changing needs), and/or allowing outcomes and metrics to emerge and evolve throughout the design process is more appropriate (Svensson et al., 2018). This suggests that if funders wish to capitalize on the NPO sector's front-line innovative capacity, there should be more space for collaborative, experimental funding with dynamic, flexible evaluation and a focus on learning and disruption.

Despite extensive study, NPO performance measurement remains controversial and challenging. As Benjamin and Campbell note: "Existing outcome measurement systems track the programmatic activities staff complete and the extent to which participants respond in programmatic ways" (Benjamin and Campbell, 2015: 988). Short-term milestones and cost per client metrics may work in opposition to long-term client success. Human services, for example, often demand approaches that build client agency, self-esteem and independence (Benjamin and Campbell, 2015), which go beyond standard notions of service delivery. While co-production may take a longer and result in non-linear paths, in many disciplines, research has validated that client-led service models lead to better, more sustainable outcomes (Benjamin and Campbell, 2015). Funder outcome metrics often fail to capture essential aspects of NPO performance: (1) measurement systems often do not adequately describe the complex progression of a client's improvement; (2) the analysis ignores the "street level" staff judgements that drive outcomes; (3) clients are not always ready to partner and pushing client action could prove detrimental; and, (4) client goals may not align with short-term metrics in program logics (e.g., a program may be structured to secure entry level jobs whereas the client's employment aspirations require additional education and coaching) (Benjamin and Campbell, 2015). Intangibles can be difficult to measure and NPOs are reluctant to report on failures due to punitive actions by funders (Polonsky et al., 2016). This can be exaggerated if agencies perceive funders to be authoritative and demanding compliance (Strickhouser and Wright, 2015). Funding can often be insufficient to cover data capture and analysis and nonprofits may lack the skillset to provide meaningful insight from data (Polonsky et al., 2016). As Carnochan et al. observe:

> "Despite the increased emphasis on performance measurement as a means to ensure accountability to funders, research indicates that government monitoring of contracted service providers may not improve performance and imposes costs that may not be outweighed by the benefits" (2014: 1016).

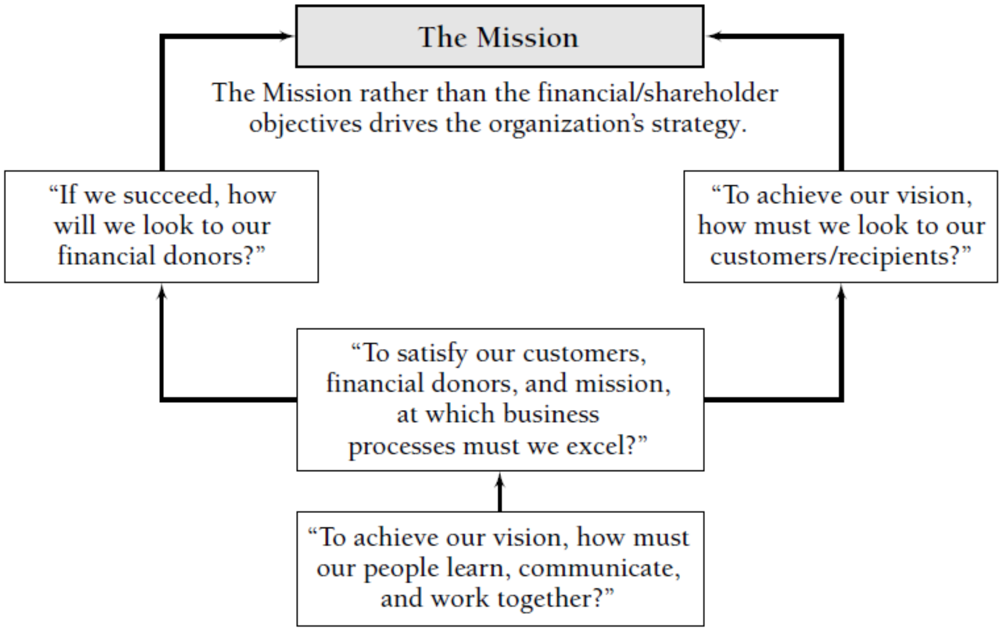
Benjamin and Campbell further note: "Performance is a key concern for nonprofits providing human services. Yet our understanding of what drives performance is incomplete" (2015: 988).

Nonprofit Measurement Frameworks

Nonprofits pursue missions for which performance is difficult to measure and in response, researchers have attempted to devise segment specific frameworks to capture the substantial complexity, heterogeneity and intangible nature of nonprofit contributions. These models range from enterprise-wide evaluation and management systems to discrete program specific initiatives. Dominant contemporary frameworks include the Balanced Scorecard, Logic Models, Social Return on Investment, Cost-benefit Analysis, and more recently, collaborative, cross-sector approaches such as "What Works" centres.

Kaplan and Norton's **Balanced Scorecard** (Strategy Map) framework was initially developed for industry, recognizing that historical financial metrics failed to predict future performance, whereas factors such as organizational learning, internal processes, and customer measures (i.e., leading indicators) were more accurate predictors of future results. For NPOs, the scorecard includes: (1) the mission as its highest-level aspiration (i.e., public value and accountability to society replaces financials); (2) a clear strategy statement; (3) the customer outcomes (client and donor); and, (4) the internal processes and learning, innovation and employee capabilities requisite for mission attainment (see Figure 1) (Kaplan, 2001). Experience demonstrates that in implementing and working with the Balanced Scorecard in industry, the process guiding its construction is as pivotal as the value inherent in the scorecard itself. Through an iterative process, stakeholders across the organization must align on the optimal strategy to achieve the organization's mission, and of particular importance for NPOs, the initiatives and outcomes that *do* and *do not*, support its achievement (Kaplan, 2001). The balanced scorecard situates the critical but often neglected area of capacity building (e.g., improved employee engagement, learning, innovation, etc.), as a driver of funder and client outcomes. In this way the scorecard builds stakeholder recognition that long term NPO performance depends upon "the rate at which it can learn to improve its operations as well as continue to carry them out" (Moore, 2003: 22 as quoted by Lee and Nowell, 2015: 305). As a strategic framework, the balanced scorecard excels. However, the model is less instructive with respect to the mechanics of translating intangible outcomes into valid and reliable metrics.

Figure 1. Adapting the Balanced Scorecard Framework to Nonprofit Organizations



Source: Kaplan, 2001: 361.

Outcome Frameworks seek to demonstrate how an NPO's actions create substantial change in environmental conditions or in the lives and behaviours of those it serves (Lee and Nowell, 2015). The United Way's Logic Model pioneered this approach, characterized by, for example: (1) quantitative outcomes as the measurement of program effectiveness; (2) regular and systematic measurement to produce longitudinal data; (3) utilization of a unique approach vs traditional evaluation (i.e., the methodology does not assert causality); (4) an extended time horizon for implementation, testing and refinement (i.e., 2-4 years to produce meaningful data); (5) the use of Logic models to display linkages between inputs-activities-outputs and outcomes; (6) local level analysis; and, (7) program improvement as the main objective (Hendricks et. al, 2008: 15-17). The emphasis on outcomes, program improvement and the acknowledgement of longer time horizons are recognized strengths of the approach. However, gaps in agency expertise, the lack of specific guidance, difficulty quantifying human services and limited NPO capacity for insight activation (i.e., translating the data into program improvements), as well as the short-term character and unique reporting requirements of various funder models all proved challenging (Hendricks et al., 2008). In many NPO domains, social change involves a collaborative effort with other nonprofits and cross-sector collaboration. When the unit of analysis is reduced to a single nonprofit enterprise, it can be difficult to demonstrate results.

Cost-effectiveness and Cost-benefit Analysis (CBA) frameworks calculate NPO program effectiveness as a function of marginal costs and quantified social outcomes. Advocates of CBA argue it supports public decision making through a rigorous social accounting framework whereby a consistent set of economic principles are used to calculate a social "bottom line" (Cordes, 2017). For illustration, a student dropout prevention program might involve: (1) direct costs for staffing, supplies, incremental insurance, computers and opportunity costs relating to parents (e.g., time transporting students), and students (loss of part-time job income for program participants); and, (2) benefits, such as higher lifetime after tax earnings for participants (i.e., marginal earnings vs. control group), higher self-esteem (intangible), future reductions in welfare payments, increased tax revenue and reduced incarceration costs (Cellini and Kee, 2015). A CBA analysis incorporates both quantifiable direct costs/benefits (i.e., excludes intangibles) and costs/benefits associated with externalities or secondary effects (e.g., the governments' higher tax revenue – benefiting society — due to the student's higher future earnings) (Cellini and Kee, 2015).

CBA's "social surplus" indicator goes beyond traditional profit measures as it ascribes value to social outcomes that do not have market value (Cordes, 2017). CBA calculations generally leverage 5-50 year time horizons and calculate a Net Present Value (NPV) figure denoting all applicable start-up and discounted future marginal costs/benefits (Cellini and Kee, 2015). Whereas NPV calculations in business leverage a firm's cost of capital, CBA discount rates must consider the "social weight" of public programs on current and future generations (Cordes, 2017). The government of Canada recommends a real discount rate of 8% for CBA evaluations of regulatory interventions (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2007[2]: 38). CBA frameworks are useful for ranking initiatives and illustrating and quantifying marginal costs/benefits with consideration to the time span of impact. The frameworks, however, fail to capture intangible social goods.

Social Return on Investment (SROI) seeks to measure a much broader concept of value, with a mix of qualitative and quantitative measures and an equation that incorporates social, environmental and economic costs and benefits (Nicholls, 2017). While SROI is derivative of CBA, it differs in two significant aspects: (1) SROI involves those affected in the determination of relevant issues (Nicholls, 2017); and, (2) SROI incorporates and quantifies intangible costs and benefits, such as social inclusion or a sense of belonging (Luke et. al, 2013). The indicator can be calculated as an NPV (similar to CBA), an internal rate of return or simply as the project's net benefits relative to the investment required (Luke et al., 2013). Mook et al.'s 2015 research with NPO SROI implementations revealed significant benefits to the process: (1) the process identified diverse stakeholder expectations and nuanced insights regarding their clients' lives and impacts; (2) SROI afforded the opportunity to make social outcomes visible; and, (3) funders appreciated the evidence-based approach to understanding and reporting social

[2] The Treasury Board Secretariat of Canada`s most recent (2018) guideline for the CBA discount rate references their 2007 report. This report recommends that a real discount rate of 8% be used for the evaluation of regulatory interventions in Canada (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2007: 37).

impact. Other studies noted that employees felt empowered by their ability to articulate the social impact of their work (Walk et al., 2015); the framework provided a more complete understanding of the activities and contribution of NPOs (Nicholls, 2016); the use of ratios and monetary values garnered attention (Yates and Marra, 2017); and, the SROI evaluation had an enlightenment function that was valuable (Yates and Marra, 2017).

Luke et al. question the legitimacy of SROI and are critical of the approach:

> "While the need for performance evaluation is widely accepted across sectors, the use of measures such as SROI in third sector organizations raises the issue as to whether this approach to performance evaluation is more about measuring value or merely valuing measures" (2013: 235).

Critics of SROI fault its resource intensity, the range of outcomes that cannot be meaningfully quantified in monetary terms, its extreme subjectivity, its reductive nature (e.g., reducing tangible/intangible costs and benefits into one aggregate value), and the reliability and validity issues inherent in SROI (Mook et al., 2015; Luke et al., 2013; Walk et al., 2015). To illustrate these concerns through an example, an SROI analysis for an Arts program for the elderly operationalized the value of *decreased social isolation* as the number of elderly people attending 2+ art sessions, multiplied by the cost per client/session, multiplied by the number of sessions attended (i.e., the social inclusion benefit was assumed to be directly related to the cost of the art classes) (Bosco et al., 2019). In contrast, an SROI analysis for a job skills program calculated *improved self-esteem* at 3% of gross income or social assistance estimates, irrespective of the program's cost (Walk et al., 2015). The assignment of value to intangibles is arbitrary at best. In a review of 40 SROI interventions in public health the authors raised similar concerns; practitioners were advised to incorporate peer reviews, include additional data sources and provide transparency throughout the process (Banke-Thomas et al., 2015). Training, triangulation and including a sensitivity analysis (that systematically varies the measures and assumptions to represent different stakeholder perspectives), were also recommended as a means of reducing subjectivity (Yates and Marra, 2017). Mook et al., 2015 concluded their analysis by recommending an interpretivist approach to SROI. This is a measure that supplants the aggregate SROI value with an information rich, transparent, explanatory approach.

More recent innovations in outcomes measurement include collaborative models, **"What Works Centres"** and taking a broad systems approach. The latter looks at how the immediate intervention is influenced by interrelated systems-level factors (Mowat Centre, 2017). For example, in the context of newcomer employment, daycare availability, mobility, language, credential recognition, etc., may all be factors. A journey map facilitates the identification of barriers and conditions predicting success (which are then used to prototype comprehensive solutions). What Works Centres are collaborative evidence institutions wherein clients, researchers, NPOs and policymakers engage directly in the evaluation of "what works" (Mowat Centre, 2017). Shared data infrastructure allows external groups to engage in the topic and contribute to the collective effort. Also, characteristic of this method is the inclusion of impacted groups, who are given agency in informing mandates and research agendas (Mowat Centre, 2017).

Newcomer Settlement and Inclusion in Canada

Canada welcomes approximately 340,000 permanent residents each year with a planned increase to 350,000 by 2021 (IRCC, 2020) under the Canadian Government's multi-year immigrant recruitment planning model. A total of 852,691 newcomers were admitted to Canada from 2015-2016 (Government of Canada, 2018). The demographic reality of Canada's aging population and declining birth rates demands a focus on immigration and newcomers bring diverse experiences, talents and perspectives that expand and enrich Canadian society economically, socially and culturally. Canada's multiculturalism act promises "the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of Canadian society and (to) assist them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation" (Sadiq, 2005: 62). In a 2017 stakeholder presentation, Immigration Refugee and Citizenship Canada articulated their objectives: "The ultimate goal is for immigrants to fully participate in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada" and, "The sooner immigrants integrate, the sooner Canada benefits economically and socially" (2017d: 2, 4). Canada's immigrant settlement approach also embraces a so-called two-way street model that that envisions that both newcomers and Canadian society adapt to each other in a dialectical matter in the process of immigrant settlement and integration. Newcomers, of course adapt the most, but they are to arrive to a welcoming society and are supported by facilitating policies like multiculturalism and a dense network of government funded settlement supports to assist in the settlement process (Praznik and Shields, 2018). This is a settlement system that is intended to maximize migrant resilience with the aid of social resilience strategies.

In 2020, Canada's immigration program is set to admit 195,800 skilled newcomers, 91,000 family members and 48,700 refugees (IRCC, 2017b). Settlement services are delivered primarily through nonprofit service provider organizations (SPOs), who bid on program funding through a competitive contracting model (Lowe et al., 2017). Indirect services such as capacity building, coordination of services and agency collaboration initiatives are funded through local immigration partnerships (LIPS) and other difficult to get non-programing-based funding sources. The collective action and leadership of SPOs is largely through provincial umbrella organizations such as OCASI (Neudorf, 2016). Federal government funding for the settlement program was on average $581 million per annum between 2012-2016 (IRCC, 2017a: 52).[3] Indirect services funding is minimal, capped at 10% and administrative costs are restricted to

[3] Settlement funding by IRCC increased between fiscal year 2014/15 and 2015/16 by 11% and increased in 2016/17 by a further 3% (2017a: 17). In part, this increase is due to larger numbers of immigrants admitted per year since 2015, about 10,000 additional immigrants per year. The average cost per newcomer client for IRCC in 2015/16 was $1,441 (IRCC 2017a: 54).

15% of SPO budgets (Neudorf, 2016: 94, 95). However, the actual expenditures by IRCC in these areas was more modest constituting just 5% for indirect costs and 11% for administrative costs (IRCC, 2017a: 52). A positive development is that IRCC has moved to longer-term financing of programs with the promise of also reducing some of the administrative red tape attached to the funding (Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration, 2019).

Thirty-nine percent of Adult Permanent Residents admitted in 2015 utilized at least one settlement service between January 2015-April 2017 (31% of Economic Principal Applicants; 43% of Economic Spouses, 33% of Sponsored Family & 72% of Refugees) (IRCC, 2017a: 3-4). Given the importance of pathways, pre-arrival services are critical and funding of this service commenced in 2015. Approximately 7.3% (30,163) of newcomers utilized pre-arrival services between April 2015 – August 2017; funding for SPOs providing pre-arrival settlement services was $61.7 million during this period. (IRCC, 2018: 20[4], 18).

Despite Canada's focus on immigration and the critical skills and experience newcomers bring, a 2018 TRIEC report indicated newcomer unemployment rates are 2.4 times higher than rates for Canadian born residents; newcomers with foreign degrees continue to have high rates of underemployment and significant wage disparities persist (12). Reitz et al.'s 2013 research found newcomer skill underutilization in Canada has actually grown, "…its economic significance in real terms is now more than twice what it was in the mid-1990's…immigrants are less well paid even when working in occupations at the same skill levels as native born Canadians" (19). In 2008, 45% of newcomers to Canada held a university degree yet newcomer foreign credentials were fully accepted for only 33% of male newcomers and 22% of females (Houle and Yssaad, 2010: 21). Employers' failure to recognize foreign work experience and credentials, the requirement for "Canadian experience", discrimination and racism (for example, approximately 86% of newcomers to the GTA are visible minorities (TRIEC, 2018: 7)), have been repeatedly raised as systemic issues requiring immediate government intervention. Richmond and Shields (2005) have argued that the historic role of the settlement sector, as advocates for newcomer policy, anti-racism and equity, has been diminished as a consequence of the NPM contracting regime (see also: Bushell and Shields, 2018; and Lowe et al., 2017).

The significant disparities and systemic barriers, while often beyond the settlement service providers' sphere of influence, have a profound impact on newcomer integration and their movement toward full and equitable participation in the evolution and shaping of Canadian society. Research is further illustrative of the complexity of the newcomer settlement experience, and the challenges this complexity poses for newcomers, SPOs, as well as for

[4] 30,163 newcomers utilized at least one pre-arrival service between April 2015-August 2017 and 382,733 newcomers did not utilize pre-arrival services (IRCC, 2018: 20); therefore, the total number of newcomers during the period was 412,896 and 30,163/412,896 = 7.3% of newcomers used at least one pre-arrival service.

program design and evaluation.[5] The bullet points below capture a broad sampling of some of the issues faced by newcomers and the broader settlement system. These include:

- Settlement is a lifelong and sometimes multi-generational journey that involves: (1) the initial reception, shelter, language training; (2) obtaining appropriate employment, housing, education; and, (3) a sense of belonging, inclusion and engaged citizenship (Richmond and Shields, 2005; Praznik and Shields, 2017).

- This journey is often not linear nor finite. Settlement is complex and sometimes precarious as newcomers navigate employment challenges, family separation and reunification, housing and childcare affordability, discrimination and other challenges (Nunn et al., 2017; Fuller, 2014).

- Social inclusion requires full participation, recognition and belonging; it is not about participation at the margins. It involves "respect for differences and the removal of barriers to effective and equitable participation in all spheres of public life" (Saloojee, 2005: 3).

- Social networks and connections, social support, freedom from discrimination and violence and economic participation have all been cited as important social determinants of newcomer women's health and mental health (Delara, 2016).

- The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada found that approximately 40% of newcomers encounter difficulties finding housing (Walsh et al., 2016: 900). Women's experiences with housing insecurity differ from men's due to dependencies (e.g., economic), greater barriers to labour market access and child rearing responsibilities; discrimination is also a factor (Walsh et al., 2016).

- Syrian newcomer youth have faced language and social barriers integrating into schools. Youth feelings of isolation, low self-esteem, grief and trauma, discrimination and a sense of discouragement from being set back in school are all concerning (IRCC, 2019).

- Immigrant youth are a particularly vulnerable group that face economic and social exclusion. They need tailored programing to address their special needs (Shields et al., 2019).

- Within the context of newcomer employment, *pathways matter*. Newcomers unable to secure appropriate employment early on (year 1-2), often face precarious work, unemployment and underemployment. Skill atrophy in the newcomer's intended occupation becomes an issue.

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[5] On the complexity of the settlement ecosystem and its impacts on migrant services and their outcomes see Türegün et al. (2019).

For women, lack of affordable childcare support is a critical concern; defaulting towards survival jobs in the initial 2+ years to support a spouse's job search puts future employment in the desired occupation at risk (Procyk et al., 2017; Fuller, 2014; Grenier and Xues, 2011).

- Human capital (e.g., Canadian &/or foreign education and professional experience), social capital (e.g., bridging capital, Canadian networks with high occupational heterogeneity), cultural capital (e.g., place-contingent/elite club membership, local accents) and citizenship status can either facilitate or enact barriers to employment outcomes depending on the nature of the capital held (Bauder, 2008; Creese and Wiebe, 2009; Elrick, 2016; Majerski, 2019; Nakhaie and Kazemipur, 2012; Frank, 2011).

- Canada's primary/secondary applicant classification, its impact on service delivery and the lack of affordable childcare, disproportionately disadvantage women (Bhuyan et al., 2019; Creese and Wiebe, 2009).

- Between 2003-2007, TRIEC and its partners placed 740 immigrants in bridging internships; 80% found employment in their field (Stasiulis et al., 2011: 117).

- A qualitative study executed by Creese and Wiebe (2009), found government funding of skill-bridging and co-op programs to support professional re-entry was insufficient; this resulted some settlement agencies directing women into low-wage survival jobs.

- The precariousness of the nonprofit service workforce and the organizations themselves, due in part to funding shortfalls and unpredictable funding has been a major challenge for the settlement sector and a threat to migrant resilience (Shields et al., 2017; Baines et al., 2014).

Structural barriers such as systemic discrimination, program barriers, the diversity of client experiences and needs, and the non-linear, multi-generational nature of settlement are instructive of the complexity of the settlement process and the challenges involved in defining meaningful measurement strategies.

Settlement Program Evaluation

> "What is the purpose of holding an actor to account for its behavior? Is it simply to enforce rule following behavior, or is it linked to a larger view of public interests?" (Ebrahim, 2005: 61).

At the highest level, an evaluation of Canada's performance with respect to newcomer integration and settlement must address full and equitable participation, recognition and belonging, both economically and in all aspects of Canadian society. This represents the public interest. All of Canada benefits when newcomer experiences are recognized and rewarded, when inclusion is assured, and when the significant economic, social and civic benefits of immigration are realized. For newcomers, who bring their skills, talents and experiences to Canada, on the promise of full and equal participation, Canada's failure to meet its promise can be demoralizing and damaging to the economic and social empowerment and wellbeing of families. It has a diminishing impact on their resilience. A systems level evaluation *must* address the vision of full and equitable participation by newcomers in Canadian society. Measurement of this nature would appropriately describe the gaps in performance and highlight the place of government intervention, investment and scale of collaboration, innovation and partnership with SPOs required. Regrettably, IRCC's current evaluation approach privileges instrumental accountability (top down accountability concerned with managing contracts), at the expense of the more critical expressive and mission focused accountabilities (balanced accountabilities with an emphasis on bottom up approaches). Giving scope for broader accountability practices would open up the possibilities for building deeper collaborations with SPOs with an emphasis on listening to migrant communities and active engagement with newcomers.

IRCC describes outcomes measurement, in addition to financial inputs and outputs, as the basis of accountability under its Modernized Approach. (Neudorf, 2016). SPOs are granted funding if they can demonstrate a contribution to the *ultimate outcome*, most recently expressed as "successfully integrated and settled clients benefit Canada" (Neudorf, 2016; IRCC, 2017c: 4). To achieve the *ultimate outcome*,[6] the Settlement Program Logic Model includes immediate outcomes, for example, *Clients improve official language skills* and *Increase knowledge of life in Canada* and intermediate outcomes such as *Clients participate in the Canadian labour market* and *are connected to communities and institutions* (See Appendix I). IRCC and SPOs then agree upon related program specific outcomes and program level data collection is facilitated through APPR Narrative Reports, GCS Budgets and Operational Data entry, iCARE Client Inputs, and the Newcomer Outcomes Survey (See Appendix II).

While SPOs see the value in outcomes measurement and accountability, they have been critical of the level of oversight and administrative burden imposed. In one study, SPO interviewees expressed concerns regarding: (1) hard barriers between budget lines which prohibit the reallocation of savings to further client value creation; (2) IRCC program officers exercising unreasonable oversight (e.g., in one instance counting chairs); (3) capacity issues with respect to the evaluation and evidence gathering required for outcome measurement; (4) the labour intensive nature of consolidated application forms; (5) the lack of consultation and top down process for settlement program development; and, (6) the prioritization of direct services funding which thwarts capacity building and for smaller SPOs that "creates a struggle to survive" (Neudorf, 2016: 98-100, 103; see also: Baines et al., 2014). In a recent IRCC survey, only 48%

[6] IRCC's "ultimate outcome" equates to "successfully integrated and settled clients benefit Canada" (see above).

of SPOs agreed or strongly agreed that monthly iCARE reports were useful to their organizations (IRCC, 2017a: 50). Overall, the IRCC model appears to privilege reporting over capacity building and a relationship of principal-agent (a focus of NPM) rather than a partnership for social change.

The recent IRCC performance evaluation of the Settlement Program is similarly extensive but insufficient. The report was effective in detailing the programs and extensive role of SPOs, the complexity, newcomer participation rates, program expenses and the scale of the effort involved. Equally valuable was the newcomer survey to measure program satisfaction outcomes. However, because the survey was restricted to rating the parameters of existing programs, the tool did not grant newcomers the agency to identify challenges and co-create innovations. The scope of the Settlement Program evaluation was equally limiting. It failed to address higher rates of newcomer unemployment and underemployment and instead situated the review within a transactional space. Overall, the Settlement Program was deemed effective at meeting the growing demand for services and that program outcomes were being met (IRCC, 2017a). At a transactional level IRCC's positive assessment is a reasonable conclusion, but it lacks a broader and more comprehensive approach to understanding and evaluating its services and programs based on the deeper meaning of accountability and performance measurement as discussed above.

Employment-related services, for example, used by 8.3%[7] of settlement services' clients, were found to have the "most widespread positive impact on client outcomes" and amongst clients surveyed, the majority (62% of respondents), had found employment (IRCC, 2017a: 8, 9, vii, 54). There was, however, no analysis as to whether employment was at a suitable job level in the newcomer's field. IRCC's analysis in the area of employment would be appropriate for an objective of reducing EI expenditure and the immigrant unemployment rate; it is not sufficient to assess equal participation and quality employment. Also, because employment outcomes at a basic level can be readily counted, they more easily fit into the IRCC's measurement matrix. Other 'softer' supports such as services related to information, orientation, connecting and counseling, are much more difficult to quantify within outcome frameworks. Yet such services have been linked to building critical immigrant knowledge capacities and social capital. Failures of measurement systems to adequately account for the benefits of such services works to discount their value and thus jeopardize their funding (Türegün et al., 2019).

The state of government mandated performance measurement in the settlement sector appears consistent with the literature's bleak assessment of the nonprofit sector at large. IRCC's measurement requirements are transactional, onerous and challenging SPO capacity. In this

[7] The IRCC reported 412,392 unique clients used at least one settlement service (IRCC, 2017a: 8) and 34,197 clients used at least one employment related service (IRCC, 2017a: 9) during the reporting period 2016/2017. Therefore, 34,197/412,392 = 8.3% of clients utilized employment services.

critical sector, SPO capacity building is essential but funding is insufficient. Settlement agencies, on the front-line, work to meet client needs and deliver appropriate, accessible and equitable services within the confines of austerity politics. Furthermore, the government's emphasis on instrumental accountability at the expense of expressive, mission-focused accountability appears to be odds with the data and analysis required to address the urgent system needs.

While IRCC focuses on transactional outcomes and contract administration, the larger measurement issues are neglected. If we fail to measure against the larger public interest, how can we allocate dollars effectively to drive the social development, change and innovation required to substantially improve the newcomer experience and enhance migrant resilience?

Conclusions and Recommendations

Nonprofit organizations are mission focused, care deeply about the welfare of their clients and will do what it takes to support client goals and outcomes. It is common for clients to describe settlement workers in terms of being like mentors, friends and family, this is part of the highly valued personal touch (caring work) that nonprofit providers offer to clients. Of course, clients appreciate the resume tips, their improved interviewing skills, exceptional confidence gains made, and such, but significantly they speak strongly of the positive relationships formed with other clients, participants and staff (Shields and Lujan, 2019; Shields, et. al., 2019). This provides a sense of belonging, helps to build confidence and voice, and builds social capital. The research has aptly identified the complexity and diversity of newcomer needs, the value of newcomer agency, the significant contribution of intangible benefits and "felt" responsibility. It is critical that the government work in partnership with SPOs to define meaningful metrics that account for this complexity. It is also crucial that short term funder goals (e.g., cost per client or time to find employment) do not work in opposition to higher-level long-term client goals (e.g., the *pathway* imperative for prioritizing skill appropriate employment and the negative impact survival jobs may impose upon this path).

The Immigration and Settlement sector is emblematic of the broader nonprofit performance measurement challenges debated in the literature. The following recommendations should be considered:

- The overall IRCC mission, objectives and measurement of newcomer integration and settlement programs should be updated to more accurately reflect the public and newcomer interest: *Valued participation, valued recognition and belonging and full and equitable participation, both economically and in all aspects of Canadian society.*

    - There needs to be an acknowledgment that SPOs work towards these mission critical objectives *and* that all levels of government need to partner to address the structural issues that are beyond SPO control (a whole of government/society approach (Shields et al., 2019). This effort also requires strong, collaborative government-SPO partnerships and measurement to ensure progress on systemic issues is being made.

- A balanced scorecard approach, both at the IRCC and agency levels, would more accurately reflect the mission, objectives and the capacity building and processes required to deliver sustainable innovation and results throughout the system.

- At the major program level, an interpretivist SROI approach would be informative. This would facilitate an understanding of the intangibles, that while difficult to measure, are fundamental to achieving outcomes. To avoid the reductive, subjective aspects of SROI, the interpretivist approach would exclude the monetization of intangibles and the expression of costs/benefits as a single value. A better understanding of the intangible aspects of performance is critical.

- Longitudinal data is required – cross-sectional newcomer surveys are helpful but are inadequate vehicles for measuring a lifelong and sometimes nonlinear journey.

- Newcomers and SPOs must have greater agency in evaluation and co-creation. More participative approaches are required (e.g., Actionaid example). SPOs should have a role in designing shared systems (e.g., iCARE) so the information and reporting is useful for SPOs.

- A high proportion of newcomers do not obtain services. Outcomes for this segment should be measured. How would outcomes improve if this segment accessed services?

- The current command and control level of detailed and micro-level expense management is a waste of resources. Its focus is on audit and sanction of SPO activities rather than enhancing their innovative and flexible responses to improve outcomes (Phillips, 2013: 900).

- There is a need for a greater segmentation of results and more client segment specific outcome measures.

- Measurement should include more experimentation, collaboration and an approach that centres on "what works" for newcomers and service providers. For example, how can the sector ramp up the successful TRIEC mentorships and internships at scale?

- Funding of SPOs delivering services and programs must be appropriate to meet newcomer demand. The funding dollars need to be more flexible and geared to outcomes not narrowly defined and restricted input measures with excessive monitoring of overhead costs. Moreover, IRCC should be funding SPOs to cover the full cost of delivering programs as well as supporting organizational capacity building. The organizational and financial health of SPOs are critical since it is organizations that are needed to deliver programs. Program financing must recognize such nonprofit organizational needs in their funding models (Shields et. al, 2017; Shields, 2014).

- A positive development is IRCC's movement to longer-term program funding for SPOs away from typical short-term (one year competitive based funding) financing. This allows SPOs to more effectively plan into the future by providing greater funding predictability. This assists in mitigating SPO workforce and organizational precarity (Shields et al., 2017; Shields, 2014). The movement to longer-term funding models and the reduction in excessive funder oversight measures are to be encouraged.

Such reforms would promote a healthier more resilient immigrant settlement system and help to enhance the resilience capacities of migrants themselves.

There is an adage, *what gets measured gets managed*. A financially healthy, high performing nonprofit settlement sector is vital for Canada and the newcomers it serves. Higher performance means better outcomes for clients. More efficient use of resources can facilitate funding for innovation and allow service providers to assist a greater number of newcomers with high quality services. Performance does need to be measured, however, it is paramount that we get the metrics *right* and ensure that our measurement strategies do not in fact impede the true determinants of success. Settlement services are human services and need to be centred on relationships and on empowering newcomers. The intangibles and "street level" staff judgements that drive client outcomes must be recognized and respected. It is time that we move beyond a transactional and instrumental approach to accountability and refocus our evaluation system on *measuring value* rather than simply *valuing measures*.

A more holistic approach to accountability and measurement will promote a settlement system that has more effective programing and services that reach deeply into immigrant communities. A system that recognizes the value of the multiple accountabilities of settlement services providers also better enables immigrant voice. Empowering newcomers and enabling providers with the flexibility to act works to strengthen the overall settlement system, SPOs and migrant resilience.

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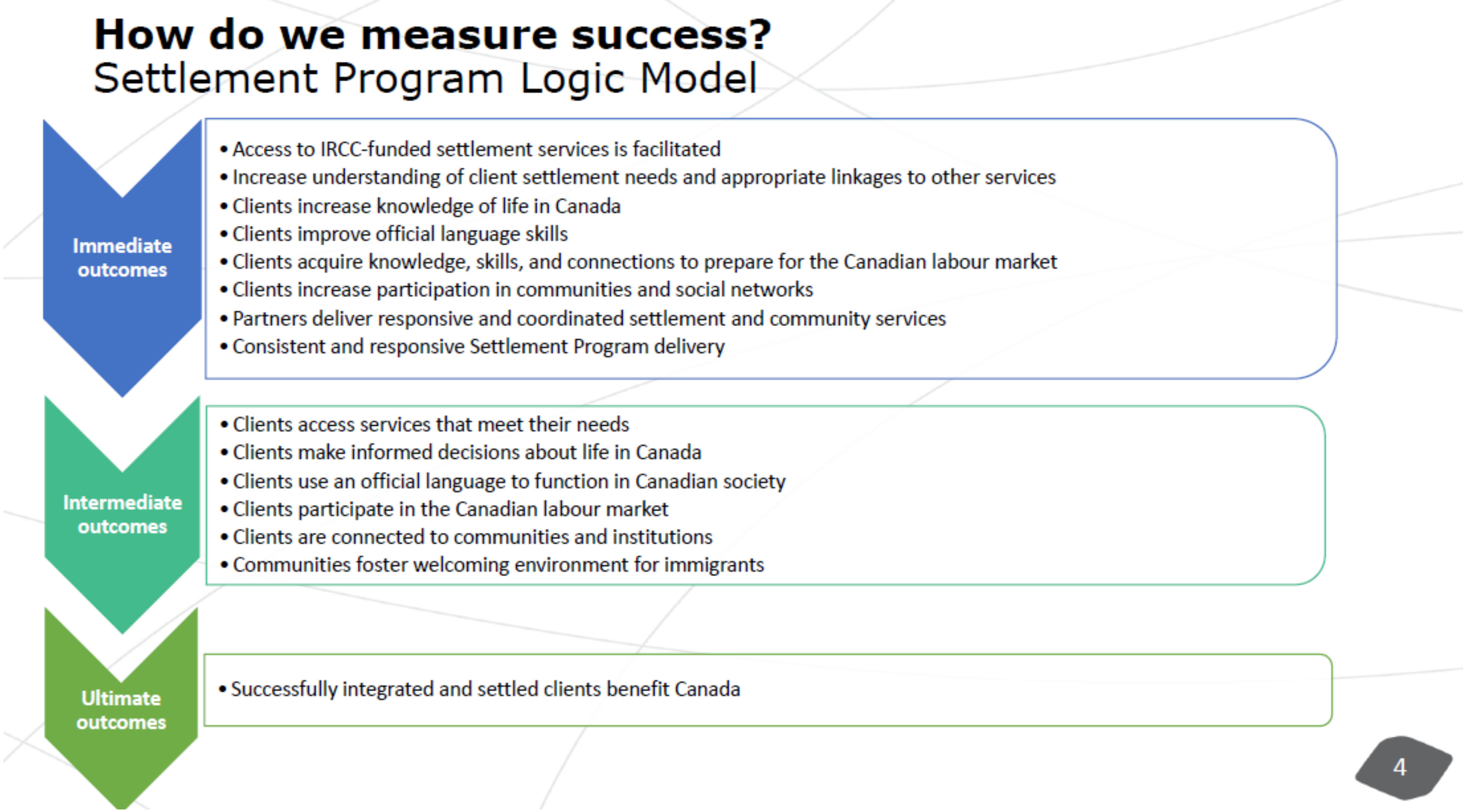

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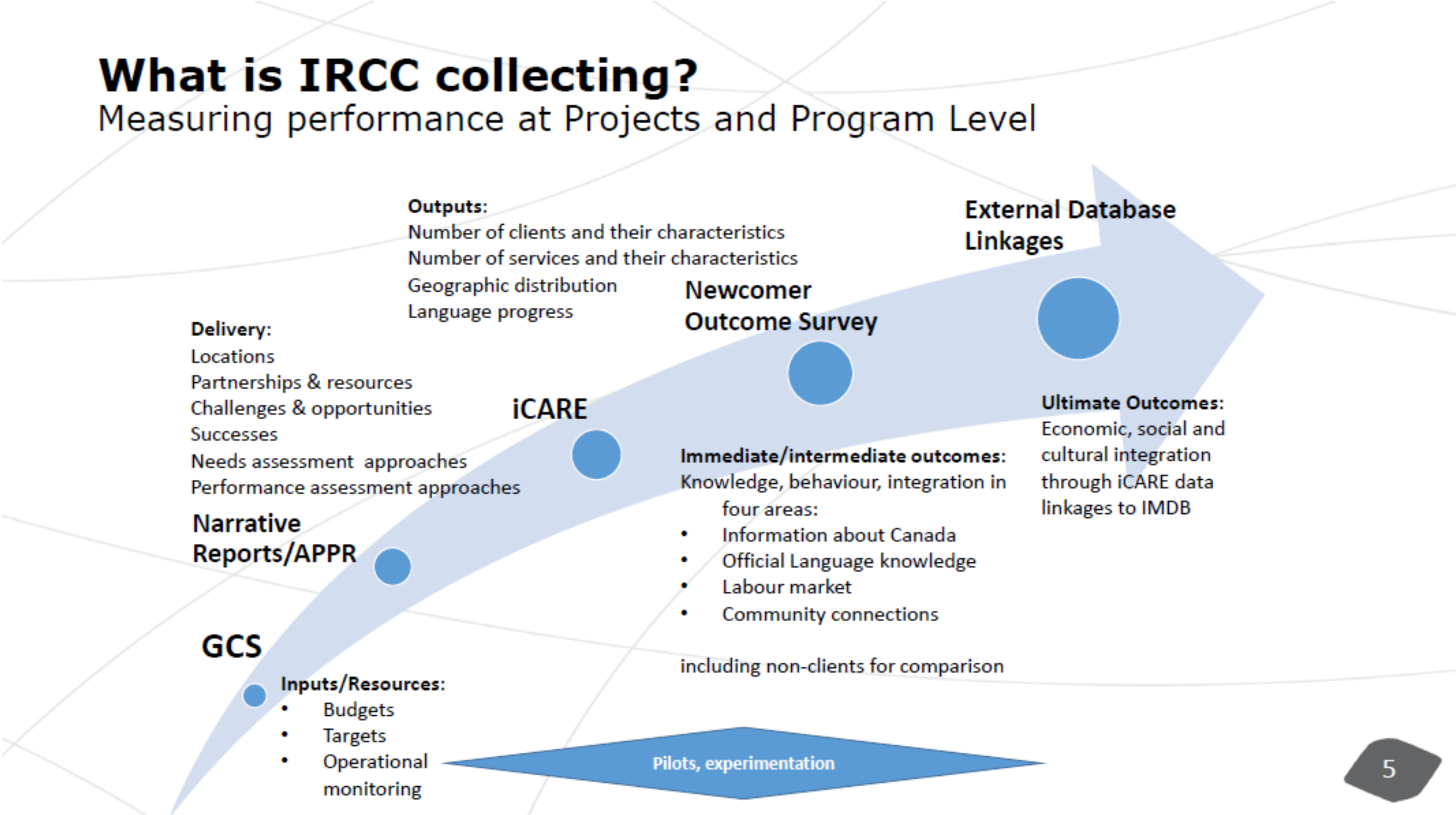

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