

**Good 'Grassroots' Government
A Millennium Model for Winnipeg**

By:

Kathryn M. Knudsen

**A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of**

MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

**Department of Political Studies
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of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
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The City of Winnipeg Community Services Department provides a range of diverse public services from Libraries to Recreation Services to the Assiniboine Park Zoo to Animal Services to Health Inspections. As a Manager within this Department, I have been fortunate to work together with my valued colleagues in the development of a Community Resource Are Model for service delivery. This is a model about providing integrated services at the neighbourhood level and which embraces a supportive approach in working together with the community. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the Department's Director, Ms. Ursula Stelman, for her steady and inspiring vision, which serves to challenge the management team daily in 'working together to build strong communities'.

This community development approach to service delivery is rooted in my own personal and professional experiences. In the early part of my career, I worked as a public health nurse. In that front line service role, I had the opportunity to work together with individuals, families, groups and communities in a neighbourhood-based model of service delivery. This approach enabled me to better understand the needs of the community, and to support efforts towards strengthening individual and community capacity. I have experienced first hand, the power of 'helping people to help themselves'.

According to Robert Putnam, successful outcomes are more likely in a civically engaged community. His research claims that the quality of governance is determined by long standing traditions of civic engagement. This thesis is about a model that will facilitate citizen engagement.

This work is dedicated to my family.

ABSTRACT

Local government is often cited as the 'level of government closest to the people'. This reference comes from the recognition that the functions provided by local government, for the most part, have an impact on the every day lives of citizens. Given the fiscal constraint being experienced in all levels of government today, and the need to rethink what, how, and if services are to be maintained, it is logical to assume that citizens would be interested in the decision-making processes that are occurring. Yet, the level of political literacy appears to be on the decline, and citizen apathy towards local government continues. Indeed, this apathy is often attributed to a lack of citizen knowledge and awareness of the issues, which concern local government. In its final form, this apathy translates into an attitude of mistrust and dissatisfaction with how our communities are governed.

This thesis presents an opportunity to examine the concept of public participation, as well as the historic and current mechanisms for citizen involvement in local government. It explores the concept of the 'neighbourhood' as an organizational framework for citizen engagement and decision-making in local governance structures. This thesis develops an innovative neighbourhood model for local government that seeks to re-engage the citizen; to provide authority and decision-making power at the level of the neighbourhood; to strengthen community capacity; and to renew citizen faith and trust in government.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

A frequent topic of contemporary debate involves the growing dissatisfaction with the way in which we govern our communities. Frustration with large tax burdens, gross bureaucratic errors, political scandals, ethical corruption and blatant disregard for the most basic democratic principles, have all contributed significantly to an uncomfortable perception of political arrogance and an attitude of mistrust. Consequently, a renewed citizen interest in the principles of participatory democracy and a re-emerging desire for involvement in decision-making processes regarding the issues affecting their local communities is surfacing. The evidence points to public demand for a stronger community voice; for a greater sense of control over the allocation of resources in their community; for an assurance that core expectations, such as safety, will be addressed; and finally to a need for neighbourhoods to understand how they can each contribute to the quality of life within the overall community. Regaining control at the neighbourhood level may foster a greater sense of 'community' and pride in 'ownership'. This hypothesis and its ability to facilitate revitalized citizen interest and engagement in local government affairs will be the subject of this research paper. Should this statement prove valuable, it seems apparent that new approaches to governance need to be implemented. This renewed public interest and demand for change can provide a meaningful starting point for a new model of local governance. Concrete strategies that aim to engage the average citizen in decision-making processes from a neighbourhood perspective will be

explored. The development of such strategies may also contribute to a renewed sense of faith and trust in how we govern our communities.

1.1 The Thesis Statement

The premise of this thesis is twofold. Firstly, if we can recreate neighbourhood councils, then neighbourhood involvement in decision-making will be revitalized. Further, such revitalization will lead to good 'grassroots' government which will renew our faith and trust in local government.

To establish these assertions, it will be necessary to understand the origins of local government, and the inherent differences from provincial and federal levels of government. As well, an examination of the contemporary issues that are challenging local government today may further reveal the underlying cause of citizen dissatisfaction and apparent mistrust of our local government systems.

A definition of public participation must be researched, and the advantages and disadvantages of this concept discussed. In particular, an explanation must be sought as to the perceived positive benefits of public involvement in decision making and in building community capacity. It has been suggested that citizens no longer see public participation as an opportunity, but rather regard it as a basic service and an integral part of local governments. As models for citizen participation are sparking renewed interest, governments are still coming to grip

with this re-emerging philosophy of a government that focuses on citizen and community responsibility. As many authorities have recently described, including Katherine Graham and Susan Phillips¹, it is readily apparent that there is a much greater pressure on government to be accountable to citizens and to legitimize and utilize public input in policy and decision-making.

Defining the nature of the 'neighbourhood' and discovering its historical basis as a public organizational framework will be critical in determining the neighbourhood as a principle foundation on which to rebuild citizen engagement. In addition, it will be important to explore the assumption that citizen participation and broader neighbourhood involvement is, indeed, a positive force. In order to further this particular assumption, it will be necessary to study the evolution and/or devolution of public participation mechanisms in public policy determinations, including the origins and impacts of neighbourhood-based mechanisms for public participation. A comparative analysis with other local government jurisdictions will be undertaken with an emphasis on tangible mechanisms for participatory democracy and public participation in building community solutions. It is anticipated that there will be a delicate balance between the impracticality of full public participation on every issue and the avoidance of mere 'token' participation.

¹ K Graham and S. Phillips "Citizen Engagement: Beyond the Customer Revolution" Canadian Public Administration 1997. Vol. 40, No. 2 p. 256

An applied case study will examine the issue of citizen engagement and the evolution and effectiveness of the current political structure within the City of Winnipeg. I will attempt to identify the scope of the issue and the pertinent precipitating factors within this local urban context. This will involve an exploration of recent significant public policy issues, and approaches undertaken for solutions. Critical direction setting documents such as Plan Winnipeg; Council Priorities; Budget Papers and Position Papers will be studied.

Finally, this thesis will provide practical recommendations for reforming local government political structures in a way that includes sustainable, ongoing and meaningful citizen engagement. It is anticipated that through the development of a Neighbourhood Council model, citizens will find renewed faith and trust in a local government that is truly responsive to the needs of its citizens.

2.0 THEORETICAL RESEARCH FRAME

2.1 The Institution of Local Government

It is important to examine the uniqueness of the role of local government in comparison to other levels of government. Establishing this difference will aid in understanding the quest for change in traditional local governance structures within the context of citizen interest and engagement. Rethinking future opportunities and strategies for an innovative model of shared local governance requires an appreciation of the fact that local government differs in the conventional ways by which it relates to citizens. The politics of local government is very much about the politics of everyday life. The tangible impacts of decisions have a direct effect on the quality of urban life².

As Dylis Hill explains, local government is seen as an essential part of democratic society. "Since the time of John Stuart Mill, local government has been justified as an integral part of democracy. The ordinary person learnt democratic citizenship in his own community and shared in power and influence. The democratic values of liberty, equality and fraternity were made real in the self-governing community"³.

² K. Graham and S. Phillips "Making Public Participation More Effective: Issues for Local Government" in K. Graham (ed.) Citizen Engagement: Lessons in Participation from Local Government. Ottawa. Carleton University. 1998. p. 5

³ D. M. Hill Democratic Theory and Local Government London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd 1974., p.146

Local government can be classified to include cities, towns, villages, rural, regional and metropolitan municipalities. Other special purpose organizations, such as health boards and school boards may also be considered as bodies of local government. The focus of this paper is on the municipal level of local government.

According to Tindal and Tindal, municipal local government exists in order to serve two primary purposes.⁴ The first, and from the author's viewpoint the most significant, is to act as a political mechanism through which a local community can voice and act upon its collective objectives. Secondly, local government is said to exist in order to provide a variety of programs and services to its local citizens.

2.1.1 Historical Foundations for Local Government In Canada: An Overview

A review of the literature on the origins of local government in Canada provides an important contextual background as to how the above purposes evolved. In discussing the comparative origins of local government, Michael Keating⁵ contends that these structures have true historic significance in that they reflect national traditions, as well as, social and political interests. For example, in

⁴ C. R. Tindal and S. Tindal Local Government in Canada Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited. 1995 p. 3

⁵ M. Keating Comparative Urban Politics Aldershot Edward Elgar Publishing Company 1991 p. 26

Britain, the development of local government derived its roots from the middle ages when towns incorporated in order to secure independence from the feudal order of the countryside. In the United States, local government developed in individual states according to local needs and pressures, reflecting the American tradition of pluralism.

Upon examination of the origins of local government from a Canadian context, the two separate purposes of municipal government, as outlined above, are quite apparent. Katherine Graham⁶ wrote that as Canada increasingly became home to more settlers, and as more of those settlers became concentrated in the few urban hubs of the country, it was necessary to establish community controls and regulations, as well as to provide some basic services. Given the vast nature of Canada's lands and the patterns of population settlement, it was not possible to effectively handle the basic needs of the citizenry through one centralized government. Despite the requirement of an essentially colonial administration, it was necessary to have some form of district administration over the pre-confederation colonies. The early roots of local administration were found in the military dominated administrations of the French and English colonial authorities. A system of electing local officers had been established in places like Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivieres by 1647, and further by 1663, a system which allowed the election of a board of civilian aldermen was accomplished in Quebec. As British settlements began to expand, a numbering system was

⁶ K. Graham et. al. Urban Governance in Canada: Representation, Resources and Restructuring Toronto: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1998 p. 45

utilized for the purposes of establishing 'local identity'. Critics cite such developmental milestones as evidence that at this time, the notion of true local administration was still far away⁷. The emergence of municipal institutions including the characteristics of democratic methods, independent elections and revenue capacity have been generally "attributed to the arrival of settlers from New England, who had experience in and a taste for local democracy, through the passage of the Reform Act in 1832 and the first modern piece of legislation affecting English government in 1835"⁸.

In essence, the core foundations of local government in Canada are based upon the constitutional and legal frameworks provided by the British North America Act. As Tindal confirms, the "basic features of Canadian local government evolved before Confederation and the new provincial governments established in 1867 inherited existing municipal institutions and/or operating philosophies of how local governments ought to operate".⁹

The roots of local government's role distinction are found in The British North America Act. The British North America Act (now the Constitution Act) articulated distinct operational parameters for both the national and the provincial levels of government, thereby allowing each of the senior levels to have power to act relatively autonomously. However, municipal government was not granted

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., p. 47

⁹ R. Tindal and S. Tindal, *Op Cit.*, p. 16

the same autonomous degree of authority and powers.¹⁰ Instead, the Act referenced municipalities as one of the responsibilities that would be allocated to the provinces.

This legal framework has had a resonating impact on local governments, even by contemporary standards. Municipal government exists, for all intents and purposes, only to the extent that the more senior level of government – the province - sees fit. Provincial legislation must necessarily be enacted in order for all types of municipalities, their boundaries, responsibilities and their finances to be authorized.

Graham and Phillips discuss the adoption of the Baldwin Act in Ontario in 1849 as having a seminal influence on the development of local government to its present state.¹¹ The Baldwin Act espoused principles of local government which are recognizable even today. For instance, it created a uniform system for municipal government for an entire province, which saw the creation of a two-tier system of county government. Counties were to deal with broader activities while local town, villages and townships were to assume other local responsibilities. This formed the foundation of municipal organization and local democracy. This model spread, as other Provinces also adopted this system of local government. Other descriptive aspects of the Baldwin Act included the concept of the municipality receiving delegated authority status from the

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

provincial legislature; the separation of urban and rural units (a principle which apparently recognized the fact that urban and rural needs could be quite distinct); and that the local right to vote was to be restricted to property owners which has served as the kernel for the principal role municipalities hold in providing property-related services.

A system of municipalities was, for the most part, in place within each of the provinces by the beginning of the twentieth century. It is evident that the systems were, in fact, established mainly as a response to the population growth and the subsequent demands for services being experienced within the provinces. The systems shared similarities in that they generally consisted of urban units which included cities, towns, and villages; and rural units which included townships and rural municipalities. By and large, councils were elected. As well, there were similar expectations in that local governments were to provide a limited range of services, with a primary focus on property. As such, the major source of revenue was derived from the levy of property tax in order to finance the provision of services.

2.1.2 The Unique Nature of Local Government

A widely espoused phrase often cited respecting local government claims that it is the 'level of government closest to the people'. Throughout the literature, it is apparent that this reference is born directly from the nature of the core functions

provided by local government. In large part, these functions include primary responsibility for protective services such as police and fire, for transportation services including roads and transit; for land use planning services; for environmental services ranging from garbage collection and disposal to sewers to ensuring safe water supply; for recreation and cultural services; and for social and health services. As such, the nature of service provision has a direct impact and effect on the everyday lives of the citizenry. Indeed, most authors on this subject share the assertion that local government has an extremely important impact on the day to day life of the citizen. As John Stewart articulates, local government has within its purview the overall economic, cultural and physical wellbeing of community, and for this reason its decisions impinge with increasing frequency upon the individual life of its citizens¹².

C. R. Tindal¹³ also observes that not only do we recognize the fact that local government is responsible for a wide range of programs, services and regulatory functions, they also act as agents for the senior levels of government in the delivery of programs. He contends that government at the local level is the most accessible for the citizen because of its physical proximity, as well as its less complex bureaucratic structure in comparison to its senior counterparts. Interactions with local government officials tend to be less formal and more personalized. It is a more straightforward machine for the average citizen to

¹² J. Stewart Local Government: The Conditions of Local Choice. London: George Allen and Unwin (Publishers) Ltd. 1983. p. 10

¹³ C. R. Tindal You and Your Local Government Toronto: Bramalca Printing Limited. 1982. p. i

understand – people are acutely aware if the garbage pickup cycle is effective as compared to issues related to environmental or foreign policy.

However, the strength of this assertion has been the source of debate amongst some authors. For instance:

Local governments are praised as the provider of services essential to the everyday life of the citizen, services which “mean the difference between savagery and civilization”. Yet local governments are also dismissed as impotent, lacking the authority and funding to respond to local servicing needs. The institutions of local government are revered as the very foundation of democracy, and yet one hears constant concern about voter apathy, acclamations to elected office and widespread public indifference to the activities of local government. In short local government – appears to constitute - at one and the same time- the most important and the least important level of government in Canada.¹⁴

Local government is viewed as not only a provider of service, but as the provider for local choice within our systems of government. In this sense, local governments are significant political institutions. That is, they are 'elected bodies with a capacity for choice within the limits of their powers and the constraints of their environment. They constitute the diffusion of political power'.¹⁵ Tindal and Tindal ¹⁶argue that the main reason for the existence of municipal governments is to provide a mechanism for inhabitants of defined local areas to express, debate and resolve local issues and concerns. As the authors point out, local government is also intended to provide another very significant role – that of a political institution. As such, local government is carried out by directly elected

¹⁴Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid. p. vi

¹⁶ R. Tindal and S. Tindal., *Op. Cit.*, p. iv.

local authorities, with responsibility for a certain jurisdiction and for the provision of a range of functions. Within this overall context, it serves as a mechanism for local choice. Citizens have the opportunity to exercise their democratic choice in electing community representatives who then must shoulder the burden of reflecting the issues, preferences and goals of their constituents in local decision making processes. In this sense, municipal government is performing an important political and democratic role.

In writing about intergovernmental relations in 1994, Jack Masson¹⁷ discusses the power relationships between the federal, provincial and local governments in Canada. He purports that the responsibilities of governmental sectors are not strictly delimited, and their relationship cannot be categorized precisely as vertical and horizontal. Masson observes that in a federal system, the functions and activities of the governmental sectors overlap often, and as a result of the ever changing social and economic conditions, the power and fiscal relationships between those sectors are in a state of constant flux. The responsibility for housing is cited as an example for which all three levels of government share the burden for formulating policy and delivering programs. The existence of such power relationships can work for and against the local government level. Similarly, Tindal and Tindal suggest that provincial control usually increases when a particular function appears to have outgrown local government and where there may be concern on the part of the province about

¹⁷ J. Masson Alberta's Local Governments Politics and Democracy Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press. 1994.

minimum standards. Recent examples in Winnipeg that illustrate this fact include the shifting of responsibility for the delivery of public health care from the municipal to the provincial level with the creation of a regional authority model for health care. Concerns about unsafe and substandard housing within inner Winnipeg compounded by recent arson activity have made housing policy and program issues a 'hot' topic among all three levels of government.

Being familiar with local concerns and issues is the duty of the political representative within local government. However, as Tindal ¹⁸states "that because of this knowledge, they [political representatives] are more sensitive to local needs does not follow. That local governments are responsive to local needs and preferences is even more dubious". In the Canadian context, such sentiments surround the fact that local governments are by and large creatures of the Province. Municipalities are established through incorporation and, like any corporate body, they are limited to the powers granted by their creator. Unlike the federal and provincial governments, municipalities have no guaranteed constitutional position. The responsibilities which they exercise are limited specifically to those which their Provincial Government sees fit to provide. As a result, the capacity of local government to respond to a certain issue, may well be limited as a result of the scope of mandate provided to it by the Province. Stewart¹⁹ writes that local choice is constrained within the national system of government and, further, the national system of government can be regarded as

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4

¹⁹ J. Stewart, *Op. Cit.*, p .vii

setting the boundaries of the system of community government. In contrast, most countries within western Europe grant their local authorities the power of general competence – “the right to take any action on behalf of its local community, that is not specifically barred to it... bolsters the conception of the municipality as a general political authority which acts in its own right to foster the welfare of its inhabitants and confront whatever problem may arise in the local community.”²⁰

In addition, John Stewart discusses the dilemmas which are particular to local government. He acknowledges the simple, yet complex fact, that each local authority has its own character and its own pattern of working. “Each local authority possesses its own past history and its own present experiences within its local political and management system”²¹. While there may be some shared conditions between local governments such as a common legal framework, the patterns of identifying and responding to needs within the community may be quite distinct.

The responsiveness factor may also be limited by the skirting of accountability that is so possible within the elected council itself. Even within the local Winnipeg context and as recently as 1976, The Committee of Review –The City of Winnipeg Act expressed concern about the apparent neglect of the significance of this role by government. According to a paper on local government reform in

²⁰ Ibid. p.17

²¹ J. Stewart. *Op Cit.*, p. 21

Winnipeg, its author George Rich references The Committee Report as stating that there was very little reform legislation that was oriented towards strengthening the accountability of municipal government. The Report, as cited by Rich, stated:

One of these neglected qualities is accountability. Municipal government may be closer to the people, it may be more accessible, it may even be more responsive than both provincial or federal governments, but it is not as accountable: the important matter of who is to be held accountable for the decision, policies and actions of the municipal governments is generally obscure²².

While there may be some benefits gained by the absence of formal party politics within municipal councils, it may also translate into a direct lack of accountability amongst elected representatives. "Council operates as a collection of individuals, each with his own personal accountability to his electorate. Everyone is responsible for everything, which may also mean that no one is really responsible for anything".²³ However, in some municipal councils such as the City of Winnipeg for example, legislative changes have recently been implemented (1997), that sought to strengthen the leadership role of the Mayor as a basis for greater cohesion and accountability.

²² G. Rich "Local Government Reform in Winnipeg, 1945-1977 A Sympathetic view". Winnipeg (Man.) University of Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies. 1987 p. 79

²³ R. Tindal Op Cit. p.5

2.1.3 Contemporary Issues Facing Local Government

Building upon an appreciation of the origin and nature of local government, it is necessary to provide a contemporary context to the forces in action that are contributing to the demand for more effective mechanisms of participatory democracy.

One of those major contemporary challenges facing local government is the issue of the global environment and its inherent opportunities and threats. Globalization's main impact has been to force municipalities to consider its local issues within a hugely broad context – in essence to act locally, yet think globally. Ensuring sustainable economic development strategies within this global competitive environment has forced the local level to become actors on the international stage. Public sector leaders are challenged to manage an increasingly complex and turbulent environment. A new spirit of competitiveness has embraced all levels of government, and indeed all sectors – both private and public. From this perspective, Jeff Luke asserts “every government – local, regional and national – now functions in a situation of interconnectedness”.²⁴ Others echo this concept of interconnectedness. Michael Shaen, for example writes that ‘free trade, globalization and the telecommunications revolution are but three of the forces creating fierce competition among municipalities both

²⁴J. Luke ‘Managing Interconnectedness’ in M. Bailey and R. Mayer (eds.) Public Management in an Interconnected World. New York: Greenwood Press. 1992 p. 17

nationally and internationally.²⁵ This fierceness of competition adds to the complexity for local government in its efforts to sustain viable communities that will attract business and ensure an economic base for its population aimed at some level of prosperity and self-sufficiency. Graham and Phillips question what urban governments can really do to steer cities to prosperity and civility in this new environment while also avoiding urban decline. In this regard they state 'our review of the constitutional position of urban governments suggests that their scope for policy and other actions is severely limited by provincial government's control over local government power and operations. Also, many key policy levers vis a vis the international order, reside with the federal government, with its responsibility for international trade, monetary policy and the conduct of foreign affairs'²⁶.

Issues of urban planning have also increasingly surfaced as a contemporary challenge facing local government. The realities of urban decline, particularly within inner cities, have been complicated by the characteristics of urban development which has seen a steady growth beyond city limits to surrounding smaller municipalities with larger properties and lower taxes. "We are now seeing more widespread awareness that the commuter city ringed by tracts of predominantly single-family houses may not be the best way ahead. In addition,

²⁵ M. Shaen The 3 P's of Municipal Infrastructure. Public Policy Forum. Acumen Consulting. 1997 p. 11

²⁶ K. Graham et al. Urban Governance in Canada: Op. Cit, p. 10

new needs are being voiced by aging baby boomers, Aboriginal people in cities and others".²⁷

Another major factor has been the downloading of program responsibilities from federal to provincial governments and from the province to the municipality.

Graham, Phillips and Maslove describe this contemporary period as having been characterized by heightened concerns about the financial situation of urban governments, causing them to renew cries for fiscal reform and to revisit the priority of municipal economic development initiatives. They write that:

Cutbacks and changes to transfers from the federal to provincial governments, especially in areas related to social spending have contributed to decreasing provincial-municipal grants. In addition, provincial governments have sometimes used the approach of downloading costs and responsibilities for particular services to the local level. In some cases, urban governments find themselves having to fill the gap left when provincial governments simply ceases to be involved in a particular activity.²⁸

The above activities have fueled a significant fiscal crisis for most urban governments. Local governments have concluded that they can no longer afford to function in the same old way. As a result, they are revisiting their service priorities, asking themselves what are core services, and what other services might best be delivered by another agent, or may not even need to be delivered. This quest for alternative methods of service delivery has significant implications for the issue of governance and the nature of citizen involvement in the activities

²⁷ Ibid. p. 5

²⁸ Ibid. p. 4

of local government. The fiscal crisis challenge has caused local government to ensure that it knows and understands the needs of its communities and their preferences well, as it struggles with the complexities of which services to continue to provide and which to eliminate.

2.1.4 Analysis

All of the above factors have contributed to a prevalent theme in contemporary public opinion towards government. This is a theme centering on public mistrust, antipathy and even repugnance. Within the globalized society we live in today, bureaucratic institutions are increasingly failing to meet citizen expectations. As Robert Putnam has determined:

The norms and networks of civic engagement also powerfully affect the performance of representative government... Systematic inquiry shows that the quality of governance was determined by longstanding traditions of civic engagement (or its absence). Voter turnout, newspaper readership – these were the hallmarks of a successful region. In fact historical analysis suggested that these networks of organized reciprocity and civic solidarity, far from being an epiphenomenon of socioeconomic modernization, were a precondition for it.²⁹

Citizens themselves have access to more information than ever, and are better educated. However, the level of political literacy appears to have declined. This may be in part, because local government has not consistently performed well when it comes to making information available related to issues and decisions

²⁹ R. Putnam "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital" Journal of Democracy 6:1 Jan. 1995 p. 65

that are under consideration. As such, citizens are demanding an active role in their local government, not superficial representation, consultation or opinion gathering. As Graham and Phillips acknowledge, 'citizens no longer see public participation as an opportunity graciously granted by the council and administration: it is regarded as a basic service and an integral part of local governance'.³⁰ As a result, municipalities are being challenged to find new ways that allow and encourage the citizen to assume an active planning function in the delivery of services provided by their local governments. Paul Thomas provides this eloquent synopsis of the issue:

During the past two decades governments have faced three types of deficits: a financial deficit; a performance deficit and a democratic deficit. Most of the talk and action has focused on the first two of these deficits, since they are seen to relate to efficiency and economic growth. More attention needs to be paid to the democratic deficit – the underlying citizen discontent with City Council and the civic administration. Restoring public trust and confidence in city government will require greater efforts to foster genuine dialogue and a deliberative approach to public judgement.³¹

There is little doubt that more than ever, local government is an instrument ripe with challenges and citizen expectation. The decisions, which are made by the local authority, have a certain impact on the citizens who live and work within their jurisdictions. A strong conclusion can be made that, for the most part, citizens have apparently become mistrusting, suspicious, uninformed and uninvolved in the activities of their local government.

³⁰ K Graham and S. Phillips. *Op. Cit.* p. 2

³¹ P. Thomas "Diagnosing the Health of Civic Democracy: 25 Years of Citizen Involvement with City Hall" in Klos, N. (ed) The State of Unicity – 25 Years Later. Conference Proceedings (October 3-4, 1997) Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies. 1998. p. 50

2.2 Public Participation Within Local Government

The literature recognizes public participation as an essential element to the concept of local democracy. Darke and Walker have said that 'participation is a fundamental value in local democracy, alongside the efficient provision of services, justice and liberty'³². It is apparent that there is a greater demand for more effective mechanisms of participatory democracy. Increasingly, citizens have greater and greater expectations for public participation to be utilized as a principal tool in governance.

2.2.1 The Roots of Public Participation

Beginning with a brief historical perspective, participation in local government sometimes took the form of a direct democracy where the entire adult population was granted a part in the decision making process. This is readily illustrated by the ancient Greeks who practised a form of direct democracy in which men attended community meetings and where the majority vote on matters ruled.³³ However, this open system of participatory democracy became increasingly difficult to manage as the responsibilities of local government and its populations grew. It was soon obvious that it was no longer possible to call whole populations together and to conduct orderly public business in this manner. As a result, the concept of representative democracy was born, whereby the local

³² R.Darke and R. Walker "Means of Participation in Local Government" in R. Darke and R. Walker(eds) Local Government and the Public London: International Textbook Company 1977. p. 104

citizenry elected a smaller group of citizens to represent them and to make decisions for the collective. This evolution of practical democracy had a profound influence on the nature and role of citizen participation.

From a local government perspective, the primary responsibility for providing some mechanism for public input seemed to naturally evolve from the purview of the politician to the influence of the local urban planner. This is as a direct result of the individual's apparent democratic right to appear at planning inquiries, in order to know what is being planned and to have the opportunity to object, if necessary. However, planners have been the target of direct criticism in this regard. Dilys Hill, among others, asserts that planners are ambivalent towards public participation. "They advocate more participation to improve their own image and make their work acceptable – while recognizing the need for genuine consultation. One severe criticism of planners is that they become committed to their decisions and that once the process is set in motion it cannot be diverted or halted."³⁴

³³ J. Masson et. al., *Op. Cit* p. 16

³⁴ D. Hill, *Op. Cit.* p. 147

Such observations led to what others, including Sherry Arnstein, termed the 'sham' of participation. Ms. Arnstein conceptualized the 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' – which begins with manipulation, information and consultation and climbs up to partnership, delegated power and citizen control.³⁵

Rarely have our local government structures embraced any real efforts at the upper rungs of that ladder – that is, partnership and shared governance. In this writer's view, the most powerful examples of those upper rungs are found in the experiences of neighbourhood-based mechanisms for public participation.

2.2.2 The 'Neighbourhood' as the Organizational Foundation for Citizen Involvement – The American Context.

Neighbourhoods have served as a common denominator for organized local activity on many different levels for hundreds of years. According to Hallman, in the early 1900's strong community council movements were formed, and the neighbourhood unit was recognized as the essential building block in city planning efforts. With the issue of urban decline and calls for revitalization efforts in the 1950's, interest in a neighbourhood planning approach grew.³⁶

³⁵ Ibid. p. 148

³⁶ H. Hallman Neighbourhood Government in a Metropolitan Setting London and Beverly Hills: Sage Publications. 1974 . p. 1

In his analysis of grass-roots democracy, Masson wrote that as populations increased and many North American cities became as large as, if not larger than many provinces and states, people became uneasy about the practice of democracy and the formulation of public policy at the local level³⁷. In the United States, the response was a movement to bring the citizenry into the policy-making process and an effort to embrace participatory local democracy. Known as *grass-roots democracy*, the movement successfully caught the attention of political theorists.

According to Hallman, the American experience included community action groups, neighbourhood councils, and street-level government initiatives similar to mini-city halls. Robert Yin and Douglas Yates point to the neighbourhood service crisis of the 1960's.³⁸ According to the authors, this service crisis emerged at a time when urban bureaucracies were overly centralized, inflexible and removed from the neighbourhoods. The crisis consisted of a rise in the demand for civic services that was reflective of high crime rates, overloaded sanitation systems, failing school systems, vandalism and complete disrespect for civic bureaucracy. When faced with responding to this urban crisis, urban administrators proposed a new theme – that of decentralization. Decentralization was intended to mean the enhancement of the functions of the servers and the served. Some of the decentralized strategies that were implemented included the development of police community relations; neighbourhood health centres; neighbourhood

³⁷ Ibid. p. 16

³⁸ R.K. Yin and D.Yates Street Level Governments Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company. 1975

councils and community development corporations.³⁹ Douglas Yates⁴⁰ observed that the role of the citizen in the urban renewal programs was criticized as an afterthought and was deemed to have been included only to facilitate the acceptance of decisions that were made by city hall – “citizen participation was no more than a slogan”.⁴¹ It is apparent that there was an accidental quality to the development of these strategies. Citizen participation was limited to an advisory role in policy making at best.

It was concluded the only way for such neighbourhood level mechanisms of public participation to be effective was to ensure that appropriate resources were also provided.

Citizen groups and their desire for citizen involvement in the management of urban issues emerged as a major phenomena in the mid 1960's and 1970's.⁴² To date, the boldest experiments in citizen involvement have been in the adoption of neighbourhood associations and neighbourhood council models for local government. The emergence of such grass roots models, according to Jack Masson, once again have grown out of the disenchantment of the citizen

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ D. Yates Neighbourhood Democracy Lexington : D. C. Heath and Company. 1973 p. 19

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 17

⁴² L. Axworthy et. al Meeting the Problems and Needs of Resident Advisory Groups Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies. 1973 p. 6

with the impersonality of big-city governments and the low rate of working and under class participation as a phenomena of the late 1960's and early 1970's.

Consequently, advocates for decentralization of municipal governments such as Milton Kotler⁴³, emerged. In the American experience, organization at the level of the neighbourhood was seen as a realistic channel of impact on neighbourhood life and government policy. Kotler boldly asserted that "the purpose of neighbourhood action today is to regain self-rule and representation in municipal government". Advocates for decentralized 'street-level' government called for the creation of semi-autonomous neighbourhood corporations that would be governed by citizens in an open and democratic system and that would have actual power to tax and to determine the distribution of services⁴⁴. This was a movement which had a visible presence in the United States. Initiatives such as the Model Cities program were implemented in the United States that embraced a community development approach. Model Cities was a federally assisted program, whereby the Department of Housing and Urban Development awarded planning grants to 150 cities and prescribed guidelines which mandated problem analysis; goal setting; 5 year plans, with specified program activities for the year ahead. It also required widespread citizen participation and formal structures that the communities themselves were able to define. Criticisms of this program ranged from suggesting the level of citizen participation was too

⁴³ M. Kotler Neighbourhood Government. The Local Foundations of Political Life New York: Bobbs Merrill Company. p.8

⁴⁴ J. Masson *op. cit.* p. 16

extensive and cumbersome to suggesting that because the nature of participation was advisory, it did not go far enough.

Because of the distinct alignment of public participation in issues related to development and planning matters, public participation was felt to be the professional turf of the urban planner. However, this perception is also provided as one of the reasons for the eventual failure of public participation in the 1960's and 1970's. It was viewed as an exercise of control on the part of the planner – in hindsight, the exact opposite of what it should have embraced. The public sought mechanisms for true participation in the decision-making process, not control and tokenism. There was no real attempt at power sharing which in effect, served only to heighten the sense of manipulation and mistrust felt by citizens. William H. Stewart, writing in 1976, offered this quote from United States Senator Edmund S. Muskie which attributed citizen – government conflict to the fact that “citizens have not been involved, or believe they have not been allowed to become involved in solving their own problems. We have divided cities because citizens have lost a sense of community”⁴⁵.

Historically speaking then, American policy makers would probably argue that the experiments in citizen participation in the 1960's and 1970's were unsuccessful. Within this era, the American experiences have primarily demonstrated

⁴⁵ W.Stewart Jr. Citizen Participation in Public Administration Birmingham: Birmingham Publishing Company. 1976 p. 11

resistance on the part of government officials and administrators towards citizen participation.

2.2.3 The Canadian Perspective on Public Participation in Local Government

The Canadian experience with local government and public participation is similar to what the American experience had been historically. According to Graham and Phillips, in Canada, municipal governments were encouraged to make public participation an element of their decision-making processes also in the late 1960's and early 1970's ⁴⁶. They contend that this occurred for two reasons.

The first centred around the municipal land-use planning process. It was recognized that toward the end of the planning process, cities more often than not encountered community groups which were opposed to the particular development for one reason or another. The concept was that the earlier citizens and community groups became involved in the planning and decision-making process, the less likely cities were to come across any major opposition. This was seen as much more productive and efficient in that there was less likelihood of having to abandon any planning project, after major investments of its resources, including time and money. Provincial governments actually mandated

municipal governments to include this public participation component as an essential element in the development of official plans.⁴⁷

The second reason the authors discuss as a call for public participation within municipal government was as a result of the efforts of community activists. The desire to involve the public in community development activities was a principle goal for community activism. This was a time when the initial concepts of building healthier communities began to emerge, whereby community activists took the position that involving the citizen in community decision-making served to enhance democracy and increase awareness and understanding of the political institution. As a result, in the 1960's and 1970's the Canadian federal government began to provide grants for local organizations and youth in an effort to help to foster the capacities of disadvantaged populations.

The call for participatory democracy at the neighbourhood level did not fully emerge in Canada until the late 1960's and early 1970's. To put this in the Canadian perspective, the creation of Unicity in Winnipeg was yielded as a "bold experiment in efficiency and democracy".⁴⁸ In his research paper evaluating Winnipeg's Unicity, Phil Wichern observed that "at the time Unicity was being

⁴⁶ K. Graham and S. Phillips "Making Public Participation More Effective: Issues for Local Government, in Graham, K (ed) Citizen Engagement: Lessons in Participation from Local Government. Ottawa. Institute of Public Administration Carleton University. 1997 p.5

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.5

⁴⁸ Ibid p. 16

conceived, the major text on Canadian municipal and metropolitan government scarcely mentioned citizen participation...citizen participation was not a major theme... at the time there clearly was a failure of political science to grapple with citizen politics"⁴⁹.

2.2.4 Why is Public Participation in Local Government a Concern?

As Lloyd Axworthy wrote in an article entitled '*Towards a Democractic City*' , "people should be involved in decision-making and should be able to exercise the rights and privileges of democratic citizenship".⁵⁰ He went further to say that modern day government, complete with the traditional democratic trappings of elected councils, public hearings, and the like, simply are insufficient in providing opportunities for people to have any real involvement in the affairs of their neighbourhoods and city. Axworthy suggested that very few people are really informed on the decisions being made in local government and that very few people have any real access to the decision-makers. Others agree and observe that too few people participate in the governmental process⁵¹. Too few people seem to feel that they share responsibility for making government work better. Too many people are content or apathetic enough to rely on their elected officials

⁴⁹ P. Wichern "Evaluating Winnipeg's Unicity: Citizen Participation and Resident Advisory Groups 1971-1984." Winnipeg (Man.) University of Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies. P. 8

⁵⁰ L. Axworthy "Towards a Democractic City" in Axworthy L. (ed) The Future City Winnipeg (Man.) University of Winnipeg: The Institute of Urban Studies. p. 47

⁵¹ J. Berry et al The Rebirth of Urban Democracy Washington: The Brookings Institution. 1993. p. 1

to solve their community problems, even though they consistently voice their dissatisfaction with the results of their local government's actions.

A contemporary definition of public participation that is offered by Graham and Phillips is ' the deliberate and active engagement of citizens by the council and/ or administration – outside the electoral process – in making public-policy decisions or in setting strategic directions'⁵². They argue that public participation should be designed within a broad context of varied objectives. These objectives include information-sharing; accountability and legitimization; education; community empowerment and actual power-sharing. To date, there has been relatively nominal success in achieving these objectives within the structure of local government. An analysis of the advantages and limitations of public participation may help to reveal the underlying cause for a history of experimentation in participatory democracy that is rich with limited success, failure and trepidation.

2.2.5 Advantages of Public Participation in Local Government

Darke and Walker contend that participation benefits the participants in many intangible ways and that overall "participation educates; it can raise confidence; it

⁵² K.Graham and S.Phillips. *Op. Cit.* p. 4

can throw up new ideas about policy and action which transcend traditional approaches and it can form new relationships and deepen understanding".⁵³

Others such as Jeffrey Berry suggest that if strong democracy structures offer citizens the chance to significantly influence the decisions that affect the quality of life in their communities, more citizens will participate more often.

Contemporary theorists such as Jane Mansbridge maintain that participation builds on the bonds of friendship and that this dynamic leads to true equality within the community. Further, communitarians have said that the development of a sense of shared purpose in a community helps people to find meaning in their lives that goes beyond themselves and their own accomplishments and identities⁵⁴. There are other claimed benefits of citizen participation which relate to the social and psychological health of the citizen. For instance, William H. Stewart Jr. references the fact that people who become involved in creating their own environment are encouraged to create their own pride. Of significance, he further contends that citizen involvement is likely to stimulate heightened trust in government officials and greater confidence that officials are acting in the best interest of the total community.⁵⁵

Citizen participation in local government is said to build community capacity.

Community capacity is supported through the development of communication

⁵³R. Walker and R. Darke "": Means of Participation In Local Government" in .Darke, R. and Walker R. (eds) Local Government and the Public London:International Textbook Company. 1977. P. 89

⁵⁴ J. Berry et al. op cit. p. 6

⁵⁵ W. Stewart Jr. op cit. p. 22

and problem solving strategies that facilitate citizens working together to determine community-based solutions. Jeffrey Berry draws upon political theorists like Rousseau and J. S. Mill who recognized the link between public service and the vitality of the state. Mill is credited with the following quote “ Let a person have nothing to do for his country and he will not care for it”⁵⁶.

It can also be argued that citizen involvement in the decision-making processes of local government also contribute to the moral, emotional, social and political development of the individual. They develop a sense of responsibility, trust in others, respect, tolerance, compromise, and leadership skills, among other positive attributes.

William Stewart discusses a number of other positive aspects of citizen participation in public administration. He identifies more efficient, flexible and responsive administration as one such benefit. “More likely than an increase in efficiency, as traditionally understood, would be improvements in the flexibility and responsiveness of administration...a more responsive government is one in which the citizen has a larger role in the decision-making process”.⁵⁷ These assertions suggest that the elected official and the bureaucracy would be more inclined to respond to identified needs and issues if a shared governance model were embraced. Greater participation can also lead to increase public support

⁵⁶ J. Berry et al. op. cit. p.5

⁵⁷ W. Stewart Jr. op cit. p.25

for innovations in government such as simplified bureaucratic processes or 'one stop shop' service points.

2.2.6 Limitations of Public Participation in Local Government

While citizen involvement purportedly has many benefits, the literature also reveals a number of disadvantages and limits to participation that must also be considered. Perhaps one of the most widely quoted critiques is that of Daniel Patrick Moynihan who summed up the fear of citizen involvement when he said "we may discover to our sorrow that participatory democracy can mean the end of both participation and democracy"⁵⁸. His concern is that the currently uninvolved members of the public hold antidemocratic and intolerant opinions. Ken Thomson et. al. sums up the liberal position against public participation as "one of ineffective rituals where everyone merely goes through the motions, and the end result is a fait d'accompli"⁵⁹. The conservative position he contends, is "one based on the fear that citizen involvement may actually force costly changes in their development visions. They shy away from the potential of diminishing their own authority by sharing it with others".⁶⁰

As the statistics respecting the trend in eligible voter turnout for civic elections reveal, many citizens are simply not interested or are duly satisfied such that they

⁵⁸ D. Moynihan as quoted in K. Thomson et al. (eds.) Kernels of Democracy Medford: Tufts University. 1994. p. 3

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

are not concerned in local affairs, even to the extent that they may not exercise their right to vote. Dilys Hill noted that most people want fair and impartial services, not an opportunity to take part. Only about a third of the electorate bother to go to the poll and although there is a general belief in democracy, the ordinary man knows or cares little about what his council does. In Winnipeg for example, the voter turnout in civic elections from 1966 – 1998 ranged from a low of 34% in 1986 to a high of 60.7% in 1971 (Unicity). On the other hand, opponents of this viewpoint would contend that this apathy may be attributed to the fact that people are not aware of the issues and dilemmas with which local government is dealing.⁶¹

It is also argued that more citizen involvement in government will only serve to increase the number and intensity of power struggles and conflict. "Conflict between citizen participants and elected officials and full-time bureaucrats may reach dangerous proportions"⁶². Another problem is that citizen participation may also increase the level of community conflict. Positions of opposing forces may threaten to become even more polarized. Indeed, critics of the communitarians believe their position to be somewhat naïve, such that the values that communities may come to share may not always be virtuous. In other words, the development of strong community bonds and the sharing of common values and beliefs may well lead to exclusionary efforts aimed at those who do not fit the community's image.

⁶¹ L. Axworthy *op cit.* p.47

⁶² W.H. Stewart Jr. *op cit.* p. 35

The above notion also leads to an apparent difficulty relative to power sharing. In fact, even if local officials were willing to surrender their authority to community, it may not be possible within the municipality's legal framework and jurisdiction. Stewart quotes Jerry Johnson, a former City Manager of Hays, Kansas who reminded officials that they must not use citizen committees "in such a way that they preempt the legal power, responsibility and authority which you as administrative and elective officials possess. You cannot abdicate your responsibilities for decision making by placing them in the hands of a citizen group"⁶³. Hence, there may be real limitations in terms of power and authority. The obvious argument against this particular stance is that legislation can always be amended to allow for the legitimacy of mechanisms for citizen participation, given there is leadership and political will.

A similar theme in the argument against extending citizen participation relates to idea of responsibility. People who are not elected to public office or appointed to positions in the career civil service lack formal responsibility and should not be trusted to wield power. Elected local officials and appointed staff working under their direction will be held responsible for the satisfactory administration of services. Further, the elected official and the career administrator may have a much better conception of the community's genuine interests than

⁶³ W. Stewart *op cit.* p. 35

unrepresentative citizen participants⁶⁴. Citizen participants may be so wrapped up in their own immediate concerns that they cannot understand the needs of the larger community.

The recruitment and retainment of citizen participants is another major problem often cited in the literature. The issue of apathy has already been raised. If citizens are coerced into becoming involved in local affairs, the concept of citizen participation is rendered meaningless. On the other hand, if the same community players are the ones to risk involvement, how representative of community interests is that? Are they participating to achieve only their own self-interests?

Many authorities on public participation also raise the issue that mobilizing marginalized populations is particularly difficult. It is true that the disenfranchised in our communities are poignant reminders of powerlessness. However, this profound statement offered by Lloyd Axworthy, provides reason to rethink this argument: 'Powerlessness demeans, participation dignifies'.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Ibid p. 32

⁶⁵ L. Axworthy and J. Cassidy *The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal*. Winnipeg (Man.) University of Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies. 1974. p. 12

2.2.7 Contemporary Parameters for Meaningful Citizen Participation

Graham and Phillips have proposed a number of guiding principles for public participation that have emerged from local government case studies in Canada. Several key principles are discussed. The first involves the establishment of a contract (formal agreement) with the community, which would set forth the terms of reference for public participation so that everyone has the same expectations. In effect, this may prevent the involved citizen from feeling a sense of tokenism and manipulation. If citizens are aware up front, as to the purpose of their participation, they can make an informed decision immediately as to whether they are interested in participating.

A second principle that is discussed is that of timing. This principle involves the balance between too much consultation, too early in the process against too little, too late, in the process when decisions have already been determined. The challenge is to determine the point at which people can provide concrete suggestions and make real choices.

Ensuring that public participation is community based is another key principle espoused by Graham and Phillips. This is a fairly complex task in that it involves a variety of considerations and methods. It should consider the value of involving groups versus ordinary citizens, reaching large numbers of people or small groups of participants who are familiar with the issues and are innovative

strategists. It also needs to consider how to be inclusive and ensure involvement of the more marginalized populations within the community.

The importance of connecting public participation to the political process is also recognized. Political involvement is critical in any public participation process because of the interactive nature of the learning process and more importantly, because the politician needs to feel a sense of ownership for the process as well as confidence in the process⁶⁶.

2.2.8 Analysis

As can be seen, the literature presents strong arguments both for and against public participation in the democratic process. The critics focus their position on straightforward and utilitarian grounds, while the proponents of public participation approach their arguments from an idealistic and philosophical basis.

This paper has examined the roots of the institution of local government. From this analysis, one can easily conclude that there has been relatively little, if any, change in its structure and in the legitimization of true public participation. Even in its most contemporary form, the average citizen has limited contact with their government, and even less real decision-making power. Efforts at community

⁶⁶ K. Graham and S. Phillips *op cit.* p. 141

consultation remain skewed with skepticism and cynicism. The formal opportunities which do exist for public participation such as appearances before Community and Standing Committees, occasional public forums and town hall meetings, are utilized by few citizens. One might even argue that, for the most part, it is not only a few, but a familiar few that repeatedly appear to have their voices heard.

However, if we believe in democracy, which we apparently do given the nature of our governmental systems, then we must embrace this notion on the basis of some basic principles. Dilys M. Hill discussed the evolution of democratic theory from classical liberalism in Victorian times centering on the idea of representative government in fulfilling the aims of liberty, equality and fraternity. Free elections, majority rule; and the assumption that government operates on a basis of widespread awareness and debate in ensuring responsiveness to public opinion are the cornerstones of representation. He further stated that representative institutions are said to be truly democratic when all kinds of people can take part. Participation was seen as fundamental.⁶⁷

The central issue then, is not so much whether participation is good or bad. We accept the principle that democracy requires widespread participation in some

⁶⁷ D. M. Hill *Op Cit.* p. 21

form. Therefore, public participation can continue to be seen as a basic tenet of participatory democracy. Jeffrey Berry articulates a compelling position with the following:

Despite the legacy of failure, citizen participation retains one powerfully attractive attribute: it represents the democratic ideal in a way that representative democracy never can. It involves people taking responsibility for their government; being conscientious citizens and improving their communities with their own hard work. The idea itself can never be dismissed, no matter how many times efforts to implement it in the political system have failed. ⁶⁸

The more significant issue, from a contemporary perspective, becomes one of balancing and legitimizing the level and structure of public participation within a stable and efficient governmental system.

⁶⁸ J. Berry et al Op. Cit. p. 45

2.3 The Neighbourhood As An Essential Foundation For Public Participation in Local Government

More recently, authors such as Jeffrey Berry et. al. are once again supporting the concept of a decentralized city government which places significant authority in the hands of the neighbourhoods. It is suggested that this model represents a sensible compromise between the realistic needs of efficiency and scale for services and the promotion of participatory democracy.⁶⁹ They further state that:

neighbourhood –based government draws easily on people's sense of identity with the area they live in. People know they are going to have frequent interactions with their neighbours, so even if they attend meetings infrequently, they have a powerful incentive to think about long-term relationships in addition to the policy questions at hand.⁷⁰

2.3.1 The Nature of the Neighbourhood.

There is no question that the word 'neighbourhood' means different things to different people. Many theories exist about the origins of 'neighbourhood'. Ever since cities began to grow large, neighbourhoods have been a focus of attention and a geographical basis for organization.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 12

⁷⁰ Ibid. p.12

⁷¹ Hallman, op. cit. p. 7

Jeffrey Berry⁷² et al. have observed that the importance of neighbourhoods to urban life has been clearly portrayed by such influential observers as Jane Jacobs, Herbert Gans, Suzanne Keller and Gerald Suttles. They claim that in many ways, these authors have been responsible for taking the inner-city neighbourhood out of its ghetto status and reframing its potential as a city's vibrant core. Others such as Irwin Altman have described the broader social and psychological contexts in which such communities function.

Still others have questioned the very existence of the neighbourhood as social organism and have doubted they could fulfill any form of a political entity. For instance, Robert Park argued that neighbourhoods begin as mere geographic entities and become localities with sentiments, traditions and histories of their own. Others, such as Milton Kotler argue the opposite - that neighbourhoods began as political units with self-governing charters like the city of Lakeview (now part of Chicago) and deteriorated to mere geographic expressions.⁷³ A leading proponent of the neighbourhood as the basis for political entity, Kotler advocates full-scale neighbourhood governance in order to regain political and economic vitality that the downtown interests have dominated.⁷⁴

Regardless, many would agree with the statement that neighbourhoods offer a sort of *identity and commonality* for those people living within some measure of

⁷² J. Berry et al The Rebirth of Urban Democracy Washington: The Brookings Institution. 1993 p. 167

⁷³ Ibid. p.2.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

proximity to one another. In this sense, neighbourhoods are often referred to as the '*building blocks of society*'.

2.3.2 Contemporary Neighbourhood-Based Models of Public Participation

A review of the literature on the concept of public participation demonstrates that the concept of neighbourhood-based models for public participation in local government activities has not been dismissed. It remains an ideal that many urban centres are continuing to pursue. Increasingly, neighbourhood-based models of citizen participation are being recognized as an instrumental force in building healthy neighbourhoods and revitalizing our communities. A focus on the 'neighbourhood' as the foundation for public participation is regaining momentum. In their study on lessons learned from a local United Way planning process, David Julian et al. contend that since citizen participation has been touted as an effective way to address community issues, one of the greatest challenges for contemporary urban planners is to set up local mechanisms that allow for true citizen participation. The authors of the study conclude that such activities could shift the responsibility for improving or changing neighbourhood conditions to the neighbourhood residents and could function to enhance their sense of empowerment, and ultimately their sense of community⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ D. A. Julian "Citizen Participation – Lessons from a Local United Way Planning Process" in Journal of American Planning Association Vol 66 No. 3 1997 p. 354

Neighbourhood Associations:

At this point, it is important to provide a distinction between methods of citizen participation within a neighbourhood context. The literature reveals that typically the neighbourhood association kind of approach is advisory in nature, and enables citizens to influence, but not have any real decision-making authority or control in public policy. This method is one which primarily supports a community development approach. Typically, a neighbourhood association is a voluntary organization of residents who work together to improve and maintain their quality of life. Generally speaking, officers are elected and by-laws are established to foster democratic processes. Initially, neighbourhood associations tend to bring citizens together as a result of a mutual concern for a particular issue, such as safety. There is a need to have organized input into the civic decision-making processes. They can be formed by citizens acting on their own accord or at the request of government. City government tends to work together with neighbourhood associations and may consult them in decision-making. A formal link with government is achieved through this mechanism. General membership meetings are held as a means to communicate with neighbourhood residents. Activities of neighbourhood associations might include the monitoring and expressing of neighbourhood views on civic policies and priorities, establishing neighbourhood programs such as crime prevention / watch; and traffic safety projects.

Many benefits of the neighbourhood association approach have been recognized. It is seen as a way to involve affected citizens in the decision making process upfront, rather than at the end in the *fait d'accompli* manner. In essence, neighbourhood associations are a means of beginning to solve problems at the grassroots level, encourage citizen involvement, provide a vital link to city hall and provide an environment for the development of future civic leaders⁷⁶.

The obvious argument of critics against the effectiveness of neighbourhood associations centres around the fact that they have no real authority or decision making power. As such, they can be no more than parapolitical systems along the same lines as church groups, other community groups and nonprofit organizations. The disadvantages of public participation, which were described earlier, would tend to more readily surface in this model as a direct result of the lack of power and decision-making authority.

Neighbourhood Councils

A second method of public participation at the neighbourhood level, and one in which power is legitimized, is where the citizen contributes to the public policy decision making role. Local government typically creates neighbourhood councils as the result of a political and administrative decision to decentralize. Neighbourhood councils may also be created in an effort to strengthen urban

⁷⁶ City of Birmingham. "Birmingham Neighbourhood Associations Bring Local Voice to Community Development". City of Birmingham. 1998. p. 3

neighborhoods and to place the issues of neighbourhood renewal and local economic development strategies in the hands of local decision makers. In an analysis of current neighbourhood council models, a by-law is created by City Council that typically establishes the electoral process, structure, authority and reporting relationships for the neighbourhood council. Representatives are elected, and generally the council is staggered, such that only 50% of the members are up for election at any time. Budgets are generally provided to each council, including additional resources such as an office space, operating dollars and human resources. Additional funding may be provided for neighbourhood specific projects⁷⁷.

The benefits of the neighbourhood council model are the same as for neighbourhood associations, with the obvious additional benefit of legitimate power and decision-making authority. Neighbourhood councils are seen as the legitimate bearer of neighbourhood interests on questions that affect the local community. They function as the part of the system that is truly closest to the citizen.

Critics of the neighbourhood council model wonder how truly representative and responsive the council is to the people in their neighbourhood. Many see this as just another way for the elite to gain unwarranted power. Others question how the more marginalized and disenfranchised neighbourhoods achieve strong representation and an equal voice in having their issues heard.

⁷⁷ City of Winnipeg Office of the Mayor Unpublished research report

2.3.3 Contemporary Benchmarks for Grass-roots Governance Models

The American experience with neighbourhoods and participation can be viewed as a contemporary benchmark for resparking grassroots governmental approaches. In their study on the rebirth of urban democracy, Jeffrey Berry, Kent Portney and Ken Thomson⁷⁸ examined several cities that have actualized some form of face-to-face democracy, based upon a neighbourhood model for participation. A synopsis of their findings is presented below.

1. Dayton, Ohio

Growing out of the Model Cities program and neighbourhood councils of the late 1960's and 1970's, the City of Dayton established 'Priority Boards' on a city-wide basis beginning in 1975. The members of the Priority Boards are elected, with each Board area divided into neighbourhoods. Most of the Priority Board areas encompass both low and higher income neighbourhoods and work with the city to improve services such as garbage collection and housing rehabilitation. Each month, an Administrative Council representing each city agency meets with every Priority Board to listen to their issues and work together on solutions. The system is viewed as an effective two-way communication channel between citizens and their local government. The Priority Boards act as mini-city halls to hear individual complaints from residents and provide a focal point for

⁷⁸ Ibid p. 12

neighbourhood input on policy and programs of the city. The Boards are responsible for the preparation of annual neighbourhood needs statements. The provision of a wide range of neighbourhood planning initiatives provide certain avenues for citizens to be a vocal part of community decision-making and they provide an opportunity for individuals to develop their leadership knowledge and skills.

2. Birmingham, Alabama

Birmingham's system is comprised of 3 tiers of neighborhood organization. Neighbourhood associations form the foundation, in which neighbourhood officers in over ninety-five neighbourhoods are elected every two years. They each receive a community development block grant and work together with administrative staff to find solutions to neighbourhood concerns. Each association engages in regular communication strategies, including monthly newsletters. Broader community boundaries exist which encompass several neighbourhoods. A city-wide Citizen Advisory Board, composed of representatives from each of the broader community areas, works together to determine a common vision for the city.

3. Portland, Oregon

A city-wide system of autonomous neighbourhood associations, including seven District Coalition Boards has been developed in Portland. Each District Coalition Board is under contract with the city to provide citizen participation

services to its own jurisdiction, and is able to hire its own staff. Annual neighbourhood needs reports are provided, as well as crime prevention teams within each coalition and participation on city-wide initiatives. Such initiatives include budget advisory committees for the city as a whole; comprehensive neighbourhood based planning; self help development grants and a citizen mediation program.

Portland's City Council has demonstrated its commitment to citizen involvement by formally adopting "Citizen Involvement Principles" as outlined in Figure 1 below.

<p>FIGURE ONE⁷⁹:</p> <p>CITY OF PORTLAND – CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT PRINCIPLES</p> <p><i>February 7, 1996</i></p>
<p>To carry out our commitment, we adopt these guiding principles of citizen involvement:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Value civic involvement as essential to the health of the city. 2. Promote on-going dialogue with citizens by maintaining relationships with neighbourhood and community groups. 3. Respect and encourage citizen participation by ensuring that city communications and processes are understandable. 4. Reach out to all our communities to encourage participation which reflects Portland's rich diversity. 5. Think creatively and plan wisely, using citizen involvement processes and techniques to best fit the goals of the particular project. 6. Seek early involvement of citizens in planning, projects and policy development. 7. Consider and respond to citizen input in a timely manner, respecting all perspectives and insights. 8. Commit to coordinate City bureaus' outreach and involvement activities to make the best use of citizens' time and efforts. 9. Evaluate and report on the effectiveness of City outreach efforts to achieve the quality of City/ citizen collaboration critical to good governance. 10. Promote on-going education of citizens in neighbourhood and community groups and City Officials and staff in community organizing, networking and collaboration. 11. Provide financial and technical support to Portland's neighbourhood association network as the primary channel for citizen input and involvement.

⁷⁹ City of Portland "City Council Resolution". February 7, 1996. Brochure. Office of Neighbourhood Involvement. Portland, Oregon.

4. St. Paul, Minnesota

Citizen groups and community councils organized in the early 1970's to demand a voice in city government. The city responded by creating a comprehensive system of 17 District councils. Each council is elected by the residents of the area served by the council and have significant powers including jurisdiction over zoning, housing, hazardous waste and pollution control, crime watches and art festivals. In addition, the councils have substantial influence in capital improvements projects and expenditures. The councils are incorporated as nonprofit organizations and, as such, engage in many collaborative projects with other nonprofit organizations. They are often located in community centres with other non-profit groups. Through their neighbourhood location and communication efforts, which include a district newspaper in every council area, the district councils are viewed as an important core of both formal participation and broader civic engagement.

2.3.4 Analysis

Ken Thomson asserts that the study on the best citywide models for citizen action in America is proof that participatory democracy can grow and develop, even in contemporary society with its inherent political frameworks. Each of the cities that were studied demonstrates a participation system that is quite different than the traditional representative democracies which continue to reign as the

status quo in most major cities. The study authors argue⁸⁰ that it is the existence of neighbourhood structures within each of these cities that provide realistic channels of impact on neighbourhood life and government policy. They successfully promote the breadth and depth of participation, the ability to reach out to every community resident and the ability of participants to have influence on policy and administrative actions. Rather than being token and marginal to urban life, the neighbourhood structures can become central.

⁸⁰ K. Thomson et al. *op. cit.* p. 4

3.0 IMPLICATIONS FOR A PUBLIC POLICY FRAMEWORK

The analysis of historical and current information on the role of local government, the concept of public participation; the nature of the neighbourhood and its potential as the foundation for revitalizing citizen involvement was a necessity in order to critically examine the research assertions for this thesis.

From an overall perspective, the analysis reveals the belief that citizens do have a unique interest in the affairs of their local government and in the contemporary forces challenging urban areas. Examination of neighbourhood based models of citizen involvement, both past and present, reveal that while they are far from perfect, mechanisms for participatory democracy are possible, and there is merit in pursuing this ideal. The literature review offers many key insights, which can be applied to new approaches in building frameworks for public policy that seek to engage the citizen in an active capacity.

3.1 Summary of Insights:

1. Local governments are significant political institutions that provide a mechanism for local choice and are reflective of the uniqueness of each locale's past history, demography, development as well as its current and emerging needs.

2. The contemporary forces impacting on municipalities, ranging from globalization to severe fiscal challenges, have likely had an impact fueling citizen desire and expectation for a model of shared local governance.
3. Citizen participation is acknowledged by many, as a basic tenet of representative democracy.
4. Local government structures which include neighbourhood- based mechanisms of public participation offer the most realistic vehicle in which to effectively mobilize citizen interest and involvement.
5. Critical success factors for meaningful citizen involvement in local government include:

- *Sufficient motivation and demand for change must exist*

Motivation in this instance is more likely derived from an extrinsic perspective, rather than an idealistic desire to be an involved citizen. That is, motivation is derived from catalytic pressure to effect change. Historically speaking, it was generally crisis events in local planning that served as the motivator for grassroots involvement. In a more contemporary perspective, issues around community safety and, once again, urban decline— have served as the precipitating events. In addition, people must have the knowledge and skills to be able to participate. One requirement for individuals is a psychological sense of political efficacy, the feeling that they can affect the outcomes of events.

- *People have a tendency to organize around their perceived neighbourhood boundaries where there is a sense of ownership and a belonging to a community.*

Many residents want to participate in issues of familiarity where meaningful face-to face discussion decision and action are the underlying foundation for participatory democracy. The literature suggests that many citizens have an altruistic desire to improve the quality of life within their neighbourhoods and overall community.

- *Legitimacy is a must*

Much can be learned from the decades of failed attempts at meaningful citizen participation. A central theme has been the impotent mechanisms and pseudo-participation systems that were imparted. Providing an 'advisory' role in systems that are inherently about power and control, is doomed for complete failure from the start. In this sense, the advisory appendage is no different than any other community organization. In effect, it serves to increase the competitive element within communities, as like organizations struggle to have their voices heard. It has not proven to be a lever for collaboration.

As such, an essential requirement for effective citizen participation is the provision of mechanisms for local decision-making authority.

□ *Connection to the Political and Administrative Processes*

Building on the principle of legitimacy, another essential feature is that of political ownership for ensuring effective citizen participation. In order for the elected representatives to value citizen participation, they must have sufficient reason to 'buy-in' to the notion. The only realistic means to ensure this buy-in is to 'structure' a shared governance role. The mechanism for citizen participation must also have a legitimate power and authoritative base, including a strategic link to the administrative systems. A partnership comprised of community, political and administrative champions must exist.

□ *Balanced Approach to Participation*

Local government must consider the particular issues and needs of the overall community in order to effectively strengthen its community capacity. In order to assure a balanced approach, a greater intensity of supports and mechanisms must be allocated to the more marginalized populations within the community. The issues that these neighbourhoods face are generally of a higher need and greater concern for the overall community. Groups which are marginal in economic and political terms are generally found to have the weakest sense of political efficacy or political self-confidence. As such, higher need populations require a more significant ratio of resources and support in order to build individual and community capacity.

□ ***Community Awareness and Accountability***

Productive citizen action depends upon the understanding and ability to respond to the issues of the community. Mechanisms for dynamic communication are paramount to the success and sustainability of citizen participation. These strategies include face to face exchanges of information; publicized regularly scheduled public meetings; regular written communication such as newsletters which include feedback mechanisms; information technology levers, such as e-mail; electronic referendums on issues; etc.

Accountability for identifying and responding to the needs of its community will ensure systems for citizen participation remain democratic and truly representative. Public performance measures can include the production of neighbourhood needs assessments and the development of neighbourhood strategic plans for action in response to identified issues. Neighbourhood residents can utilize such performance measures for evaluation purposes.

4.0 AN APPLIED CASE STUDY: WINNIPEG

4.1 Winnipeg: An Historical Overview

Winnipeg is the eighth largest city in Canada, with an ethnically diverse population of 618,477 residents. As the largest urban centre in the Province of Manitoba, it dominates the Manitoba economy. Tourism Winnipeg's historic account of Winnipeg claims that the cultural diversity and entrepreneurial spirit of modern-day Winnipeg are a direct legacy of its colorful past⁸¹.

Prosperity first arrived in Winnipeg as a result of the fur trade in 1783.

It was a seasonal ritual: natives of the northwest interior would hunt and trap beaver and other fur-bearing animals in the winter, load their canoes in the spring and travel north to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company. In the autumn, loaded with the fresh supplies they had received in exchange for their furs, they would make the long journey home, and begin preparations for the upcoming winter trapping season.⁸²

In 1783, with the arrival of the NorthWest company and their entrance into the fur trade, the above noted ritual soon changed. They established trading posts and traded directly with the Indians. Competition between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company soon became tense, as did relations with the people. Eventually, the Hudson's Bay Company obtained exclusive land and

⁸¹ Tourism Winnipeg. "Winnipeg: Time Travel" Internet Site: <http://www.tourism.winnipeg.mb.ca>. January, 2000.

⁸² Ibid.

trading rights after interventions by the British government and, consequently, the settlement mirrored a single industry town. In 1869, the Hudson's Bay company sold its land rights, including the Red River to the new Dominion of Canada. The Metis people rebelled under the leadership of Louis Riel and took control of the Red River. With Riel as president, a provisional government was established, and eventually as a result of his negotiations with Ottawa, Manitoba became the first new province of the Dominion. Three years later, the Red River Settlement was incorporated as the City of Winnipeg.

Once Manitoba had entered the Dominion of Canada, Winnipeg experienced a boom of immigration. 'Waves of immigrants flooded into Manitoba from Iceland and Eastern Europe, eager to put their old country grain growing experience to the test in the rich prairie soil. Soon, they were producing bumper crops which the Winnipeg Grain Exchange sold to markets around the world.'⁸³ Winnipeg's commercial boom and rapidly growing population were fueled by the demand for merchandise, lumber and agricultural implements. In 1891, Winnipeg was the eighth largest urban centre in Canada, but a mere twenty years later, it was the third largest and fastest growing city population in the country. It had grown to become a major Canadian city, and a business and transportation hub for the West. It was heralded as the Chicago of the North.

⁸³ Ibid.

However, in 1914, the United States opened the Panama Canal which had a direct impact on the transportation and rail industry, as grain was transported at lower cost by water through Vancouver. This had obvious implications for Winnipeg, which had served as the rail transportation gateway to the West⁸⁴.

The period from 1920 – 1945 was initially a period of stabilization and then decline for Winnipeg. Patterns of development reflected a tendency towards suburban settlement, as well as migration to surrounding municipalities and away from the downtown region.

A significant occurrence in the development of Winnipeg's local government occurred in 1943, when the idea of a metropolitan planning agency for Greater Winnipeg emerged. At an October meeting that same year, eleven municipalities agreed with the concept of metropolitan planning. The Metropolitan Planning committee was formed, consisting of two representatives from each of the participating municipalities. By 1944, the Committee had appointed a consultant – an American by the name of Earl Mills from St. Louis – to prepare a Master Plan. Reflecting the American philosophy of "grassroots democracy", Mills stressed 'the importance of informed and concerned citizens in the plan-making process'⁸⁵. Based upon the Mills report, the Chairman of the Committee asked for names of citizens to serve on eight committees which would assist with the

⁸⁴ J. Jackson The Centennial History of Manitoba. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1970 p. 162

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 6

planning tasks at hand. At the time the call for citizen participation in the planning process was visionary; according to George Rich:

Citizen participation as it was practiced at that time was forthcoming and during the period 1945-50 some 200 citizens, selected because of their expertise and interest, participated in the work of the committees. Today's advocates of citizen participation may wish to criticize this exercise in involvement on the grounds that it was structured and selective; only those citizens with known expertise or interest were invited to participate and implications of 'elite-ism' can be made. However, even to contemporary eyes the plans that they produced are of a very good quality and had greater impact on the growth of the metropolitan community⁸⁶.

The 1950's were marked by responses to urban decay that many aging North American cities were experiencing. The response was an attempt at urban renewal. At that time, municipal government in the regional area of Greater Winnipeg consisted of the central city of Winnipeg and 12 suburban municipalities. This involved a population approaching 550,000 and over 228 square miles. Again, according to George Rich, the most significant next step in the 1950s relative to local government was the formation of the Provincial-Municipal Committee in 1951, and the report of its exploratory subcommittee on the 'Organization of Local Government Services in the Greater Winnipeg Area'. In summarizing this period, Rich wrote that:

⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 7

“to summarize the situation that prevailed towards the end of the 1950s, the majority of those involved or concerned with local government in Winnipeg were coming to the realization that there was a need for some form of metropolitan government. Services which could be provided better on a metropolitan basis could be identified. The need was acknowledged to provide a political decision-making system with boundaries co-terminus with the metropolitan area. Co-ordination was necessary for those services, which while remaining primarily the responsibilities of the municipalities, did have certain aspects or implications which were metropolitan in nature.”⁸⁷

By the early 1960's, the initiation of this form of metropolitan government began to emerge in legislation under the leadership of then Premier Duff Roblin. Bill 62, An Act to Establish the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg and To Provide for the Exercise by the Corporation of Certain Powers and Authority was unanimously adopted in the legislature. It created a realignment of seven cities, five suburban municipalities and one town. The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg had central planning responsibility for the area, as well as the central administration of certain area-wide services such as metropolitan streets, the transit system, water supply, planning, sewage and disposal and assessment within the same urban area.⁸⁸

Winnipeg was characterized by a continued trend of expansion and development efforts primarily targeted toward suburbia in the 1960's and 70's. As a direct result of such planning activities, Greater Winnipeg's population continued on the decline. Demolition and redevelopment signified the activities

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 16

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 41

in Greater Winnipeg. Buildings such as City Hall, and many others of regional importance were demolished and modern structures built in their place.⁸⁹

At the Provincial level, urban issues were of importance and the future of Metro Winnipeg was debated often. The notion of some form of amalgamation of area municipalities was a frequent topic of debate. In June, 1968, resolutions from Metro Council indicated strong support for the concept of total amalgamation.⁹⁰

In December 1970, the New Democratic Party government of Edward Schreyer published a provincial government White Paper titled: "Proposals for Urban Reorganization in the Greater Winnipeg Area". In reviewing the problems confronting the Greater Winnipeg area, three main problems were identified. They were: fragmented authority; segmented financial capacity and a lack of citizen involvement⁹¹. With respect to the latter issue, the White Paper stated:

Many citizens in Greater Winnipeg, faced with the complexities and confused authority of a two-tier system of local government, now find themselves unable to focus clearly on the responsible authority. The citizen often knows neither whom to blame for a given situation, to whom to turn for remedy, not to whom to tender advice if he feels he has a worthwhile idea to offer. The inevitable result is that the citizen begins to feel frustrated, alienated and hence withdraws from active participation in the community. He is unable, in short, to exercise his full rights of democratic involvement in the level of government theoretically most responsive to his wishes⁹².

⁸⁹ U. Stelman MPA Thesis Report: "Reframing the Social and Economic Reality of Winnipeg's Main Street to Restore its Symbolic Value for the City." London: University of Western Ontario. 1997 p. 44

⁹⁰ G. Rich. Op cit. P. 69

⁹¹ City of Winnipeg Winnipeg. Canada's Third Largest City . An Explanation of its New Government Winnipeg (Man.) City of Winnipeg. 1974.

⁹² Ibid.

The White Paper outlined the concept of "Unicity". It was the subject of public discussion, and in 1971 legislation based on this new concept was introduced. Unicity became a reality in July, 1971 with the adoption of the City of Winnipeg Act. This new and unique form of government for a major Canadian city came into legal existence on January 1, 1972. Unicity replaced the previously fragmented municipal structure of twelve municipalities and a metropolitan corporation with a single, unified city government which had exclusive municipal jurisdiction for the Greater Winnipeg area.

The concept of citizen involvement was a valued principle in the development of this new structure for local government. George Rich noted that the legislation was the first attempt in North America, and perhaps elsewhere, to legislate for resident participation in local government, an attempt in line with prevailing attitudes of open government and citizen involvement.⁹³ As a result, a system of Community Committees was established 'through which individual citizens could achieve a greater sense of involvement with the process of government'.⁹⁴

4.2 The Birth of Unicity:

A Superficial Experiment in Grassroots Government

The passage of the City of Winnipeg Act in 1972 was supposed to usher in a new era of efficient and responsive local government. According to Axworthy

⁹³ G. Rich. op. cit. p.77

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 15

and Cassidy⁹⁵, the new Winnipeg system was a response to two of the most troublesome problems facing urban areas: dealing with the fragmentation of many separate jurisdictions; the resulting economic inefficiencies and lack of coordination; and the challenge of developing closer involvement of citizens with their local government. Wichern observed that the White Paper took a firm stance on the nature and significance of citizen participation. According to him, the White Paper stated those convictions as follows:

1. "that citizen participation and involvement with local government needs to be greatly increased and intensified; and
2. that, in a democracy, the elected representative must always be responsible to, and as accountable to, the people he [sic] represents as is humanly possible."⁹⁶

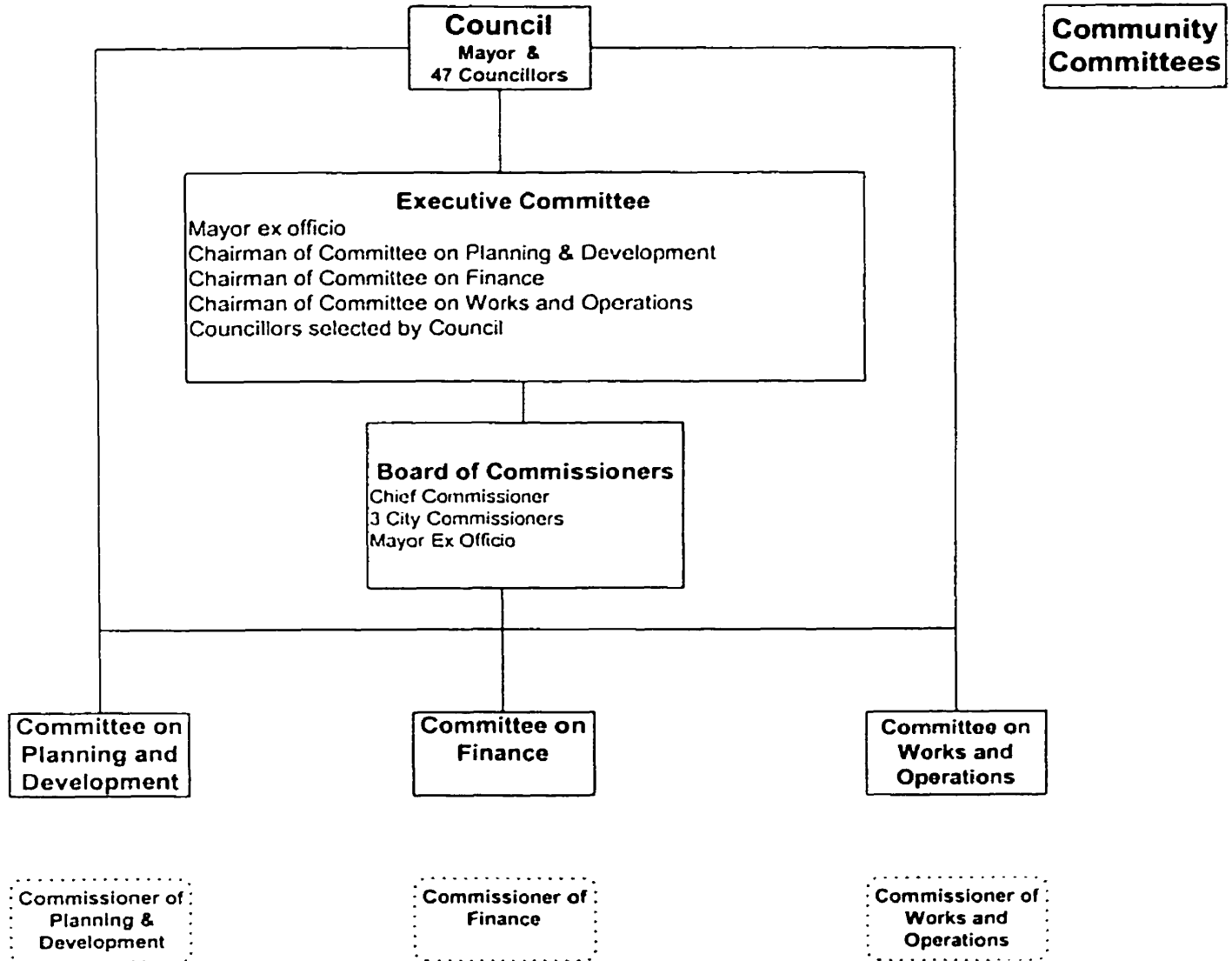
The reasons cited for these convictions included the realization that citizens were confused about local authority, which had led to citizen alienation and non-participation in the affairs of local government.

The apparent solution lay in the creation of a new form of government structure, based upon the principles of administrative and financial centralization, as well as mechanisms for citizen involvement. (See Figure Two –below)

⁹⁵ L. Axworthy and J. Cassidy Unicity: The Transition Winnipeg (Man.) University of Winnipeg : Institute of Urban Studies

⁹⁶ P. Wichern Evaluating Winnipeg's Unicity... op. cit. p. 7

FIGURE TWO: STRUCTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF UNICITY



The political form of the Unicity structure was intended to balance centralization with decentralization. In terms of decentralization, communities were given some responsibility for governing their local issues, as well as ensuring an open and accessible local government. This was to be accomplished through an elected councillor / ward system based on a population of approximately 10,000, which would then combine three to six wards in a community committee structure. The community committee structure was to be similar to a neighbourhood council structure, whereby each community committee was to have supervision over local services and local planning. According to its own explanation of Unicity, the City of Winnipeg stated that in order to develop a closer relationship between citizens and the local government, "it was necessary to devise a framework within which the local citizen cannot merely perceive the issues affecting him, but can act forcefully and effectively in his own self-interest"⁹⁷.

Thirteen Community Committees were established under the Act. Each Community Committee was comprised of the Councillors who represented the wards within each of the Community boundaries. Six of the Community Committees which were located in inner Winnipeg were also constituted as the Inner City Joint Community Committee. The responsibilities of the Community Committees are summarized as: ensuring communication and representation of local citizens views on policies, programs and budgets in all Council matters; facilitating community-based mechanisms for citizens to have the opportunity to

⁹⁷ City of Winnipeg "Winnipeg Canada's Third Largest City An Explanation of its new government." Winnipeg (Man.) City of Winnipeg.

debate and discuss those issues; preparing their own budgets relative to local service delivery including culture and recreation services; public works and operations; protection of persons and property; and health and social development programs.

This was viewed as being the strategic and innovative mechanism for enabling citizen participation, by providing a link between the citizen, the elected representative and overall Council. Lloyd Axworthy offered this perspective.

The other objective of the new structure, that of providing for and legislating for citizen participation, becomes one of the most innovative and exciting concepts in the history of local government. This was the Community Committee and Resident Advisory Group concept. This concept grew out of the desire to devise at the community level, a framework within which the citizen could clearly perceive the issues affecting him and act forcefully and effectively in his own self-interest⁹⁸.

It was envisioned that, through this structure and process, communities would be empowered to retain their own distinctive characteristics and to best determine their own priorities.

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 26

4.3 The Resident Advisory Groups as Mechanisms for Citizen Involvement

Resident Advisory Groups (RAGS), comprised of private citizens, were attached to each community committee for the purposes of advising councillors on local matters. While provision was made for the creation of RAGs under the Unicity legislation, the exact nature of their role and the sources of their influence upon Councillors was vague. The relevant statutory provisions regarding the RAGs were worded as follows:⁹⁹

Resident's Advisory Group.

21 (1) A residents' advisory group may be elected at any community conference referred to in subsection (1) of section 24, by the residents of the community who are present, from their number.

Manner of Election etc.

21(2) The number of members of the resident's advisory group, the manner of their election and the period for which they are to serve, may be determined by the residents present at the community conference during which the group is elected.

Recall of member.

21(3) Any member of a residents' advisory group may be recalled by the residents present at a community conference for the community at any time.

Role of resident's advisory group

21(4) The role of a residents' advisory group is to advise and assist the members of the community committee for the community at whose conference they were elected as to the performance of their functions under this Act.

⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 107

4.4 The Inherent Problems with the Resident Advisory Group Model

In a March 1973 report prepared by the Institute of Urban Studies, Lloyd Axworthy et al. discussed the issues and needs of the Resident Advisory Group model in Winnipeg. Many significant issues were identified, and for many, the Resident Advisory Groups were seen as meaningless and ineffectual right from the start. An interpretative summary of the Institute's research findings¹⁰⁰ is provided below.

Initial Role Confusion for the Community Committee: Initially, the Community Committee was thought to have the authority to supervise the delivery of services in their local area. After clarification through a legislative amendment in 1972, the role of Community Committee was clarified to mean 'to watch, observe and make qualitative assessment'. The Resident Advisory Group role was limited to an advisory capacity. In effect, power was centralized with the overall council.

Lack of Guidelines for the Resident Advisory Groups: Frustration quickly emerged amongst members of the Resident Advisory Groups related to the apparent vague nature of their roles as advisory members. There were difficulties in determining the local issues that required their attention, as well as, identifying the goals and objectives for the Resident Advisory Groups. In addition, it soon became evident that there was a lack of available resources. This

¹⁰⁰ L. Axworthy et al. Meeting the Problems ... op. cit.

included support services and the ability to secure appropriate information as was necessary.

Inconsistency in Structure and Process There was great diversity in how each Resident Advisory Group came together. While diversity is valued in representing the needs of communities, it seems in this case that it created confusion and management dilemmas. For instance, the number of advisors ranged from 200 in St. Boniface to 15 in West Kildonan; the criteria and process for election varied widely from community to community; the structure of the Group itself and its organizational framework varied greatly; some were concerned with being proactive, others less so.

Obstacles with Information The lack of, or difficulty in obtaining, information is cited often as an issue. In addition, the lack of knowledge in local government issues, such as planning and social services, for some lay advisors created difficulties.

Barriers in Communication Given the apparent role confusion, there is no doubt that the Resident Advisory Groups experienced a lack of community involvement and awareness. In fact, the research findings indicate that there was an overwhelming sense that there was no communication between the ordinary citizen and the Resident Advisory Group. As a consequence, there were huge communication barriers in understanding community objectives. A lack of guidance and involvement from the elected representatives was also identified, however for the most part, communication with the respective Community Committees was felt to be sufficient.

Elected Representatives Value of Public Participation Given the above, it is also not surprising that the elected representative did not see much value in the impotent role of the Resident Advisory Groups. The Resident Advisory Groups were haphazard in terms of organization and in their real ability to effect any influence on decision making. They simply did not possess enough power, even in the informal sense, to make politicians pay much notice. Power was centralized and, as such, more comfortable and easier for the elected representative to control. There was little incentive to share power or governance. Indeed, council and administration were apparently regarded as being suspicious and hostile towards the Resident Advisory Groups. As a consequence, council did not make any bold attempts to provide any of the identified resources that the Resident Advisory Groups required in order to be truly effective.

4.5 Analysis

Most critics agree that while the creation of Unicity was recognized as a noble and inspirational effort to enact a vision for local government which included the creation of a mechanism for public involvement, it lacked the necessary substance in order to truly establish and to sustain it. The most prominent explanation for its ineffectiveness was the lack of political will and commitment to the decentralized model. There was a distinct absence of community, political and administrative champions.

Upon analysis of the citizen participation aspect of the Unicity model, it was recognized as a rather courageous and well-intentioned attempt. However, in reality it was a weak undertaking from the start that required a firmer foundation and structure in order to ensure an effective and sustainable model for citizen participation. The parameters of the model were vague and hollow. In effect, it was akin to handing over quicksand to a diverse grouping of communities with the expectation of creating a uniquely defined, yet 'solid' foundation for citizen involvement.

It is apparent that this model was one that more closely reflected representative and not participatory government, in that the citizens again, had only an advisory role. At best, this was a conventional model which effectively brought few citizens into contact with their local government, and even then, in a significantly subordinate role. At the risk of history repeating itself once more, the elected council did not prove itself to be dedicated to the concept of citizen participation. They appeared reluctant to provide any resource support to the resident advisory groups for fear of political activism. This reluctance may be partially explained by a perception of 'threat'. Perhaps the politician feared political rivals would rise from the ranks of the RAGs or that there was a self-interest to hold power. The politician may also have believed that citizens lacked the commitment, knowledge and skill that was necessary in order to assume a decision-making

role. The power and control tug-of war was manifest and the resident advisory group concept is now near extinction¹⁰¹.

4.6 Unicity and Beyond: From Unicity to the Cuff Report

George B. Cuff and Associates, a management consultant group engaged by the City of Winnipeg in 1997 to undertake a corporate review of its legislative structure and senior management structure, provided this evolutionary synopsis of Winnipeg's political system¹⁰².

1971- Unicity created, uniting 13 separate civic governments into one City. Province passes Bill 36 (Chapter 105 of the Statutes of Manitoba) known as the City of Winnipeg Act; metro government is removed.

1972 – January 1 – new City officially came into existence; consisted of 50 Councillors (one each from 50 wards) and a Mayor elected at large; all elected for a 3 year term.

1972 – Thirteen Community Committees also established; these had limited administrative duties related to local services and jurisdiction in certain land use matters, principally rezonings, variances and conditional uses; Act also provided for the creation of resident advisory groups; these people were to be elected at Community Committee meetings to provide direct citizen participation to the Committees.

1974 – Community Committees reduced to twelve

¹⁰¹ Few Resident Advisory Group structures remain in Winnipeg. They have no formal role in the present local political structure. The author is a senior manager with the City of Winnipeg.

¹⁰² G. Cuff "City of Winnipeg Corporate Review" October, 1997 p. 12

1975 – A Committee of Review (chaired by Judge Peter Taraska) recommended a reduction in size of council from 51 to 39 members and more autonomy for Council in appointing and creating committees, administrative structure and the planning process; also recommended that the Mayor should be chosen among the councillors by a majority vote; Province rejected recommendations.

1977 - Community Committees reduced to six and the number of wards to twenty-nine with the Mayor still to be elected at large

1984 – City of Winnipeg Act Review committee (chaired by former City Councillor Laurie Cherniak) recommended retention of Community Committees if given an opportunity to play a vital role in the implementation of Local Plans; suggested committees remain at six with four Councillors each; recommended that Council continue with the resident advisory groups (RAG) or establish a new mechanism to facilitate resident involvement

1987 – Province released a White Paper in response to Review Committee proposals; favored retaining then current twenty-nine Councillors; supported expanded role for Community Committees in planning matters of a local nature and increased financial assistance to resident advisory groups.

1987 – City of Winnipeg Act amended to incorporate provisions for establishing a Winnipeg Wards Boundaries Commission to review the boundaries and the name of wards as well as the boundaries and names of each community

1988 – Boundaries Commission recommended changes to the boundaries of the twenty-nine wards to guarantee an average population of 20,502

1989 – Province adopted recommendations on wards and boundaries; also in 1989 changes were made to the City of Winnipeg Act to strengthen the role of the Mayor and Executive Policy Committee; in addition to being made chairperson of EPC, the Mayor was given responsibility for appointing a Deputy Mayor, an Acting Deputy Mayor and the Chairpersons of each of the four Standing Committees; position of presiding officer of Council also established; presiding officer replaced the Mayor as the Chairperson of Council.

1991 – Province appointed the Winnipeg Wards Review Committee; Committee recommended that the composition of Council be changed to fifteen full-time members elected in

individual single member wards, a Mayor elected at large and if Community Committees were to be retained, that they be reduced from six to five with three Councillors per Community Committee. The Province enacted amendments in July, 1991 reducing the number of Councillors to fifteen and the number of Community Committees to five effective with the October 1992 municipal elections.

It should also be noted that the provincial government changed from the New Democratic Party (NDP) to the Progressive Conservative Party (PC) in March, 1988. The Filmon government saw the need to streamline city government to make it more efficient. The NDP government appeared to have more philosophical commitment to the idea of citizen involvement.

In their corporate review, Cuff and Associates provided recommendations for the most significant change in Winnipeg's local government since Unicity. These changes included the recommendation to abolish the Board of Commissioner administrative model in favor of a Chief Administrative Officer model for local government. In addition, there were recommendations for changes in the legislative structure. Of particular note is the discussion related to mechanisms for citizen participation and the subsequent recommendations related to the Community Committees and Resident Advisory Groups. Mr. Cuff wrote that:

we believe that Council should have the authority to determine its own mechanisms of public participation. We view the establishment of community committees as likely an important evolutionary step in making the transition from metro Winnipeg to unicity Winnipeg. It should be noted that we do not recommend any legislative change in order to remove Council from public scrutiny, but rather to increase the legitimacy of public access.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 76

As a result, it was recommended that the statutory reference to Resident Advisory Groups be deleted. Instead, it was recommended that public input should be gained through the provision of a number of forums including methods such as non-profit community leagues; neighbourhood groups; issue-related task forces; delegations to standing committees and council; public advisory groups; Mayor's roundtables; community forums; public hearings; newspaper columns, councillor newsletters, etc¹⁰⁴.

The full motion¹⁰⁵, which was adopted by Council at a Special Meeting, held on October 29, 1997 is included in Appendix A.

- I. That a new political decision-making model for the City of Winnipeg be implemented in accordance with Appendix A, including the following components:

Four Standing Policy Committees:

- Standing Committee on Fiscal Issues
- Standing Policy Committee on Public Works
- Standing Policy Committee on Protection and Community Services
- Standing Policy Committee on Property and Development

- II. That the Province of Manitoba be requested to amend the City of Winnipeg Act in accordance with changes identified in Appendix 'B'.

...

- k. s. 35 Community Committees
Enable Council to determine the process for citizen participation including the option of Community Committees.

- l s. 41 Resident's Advisory Groups
Delete the statutory reference to Resident's Advisory Groups...

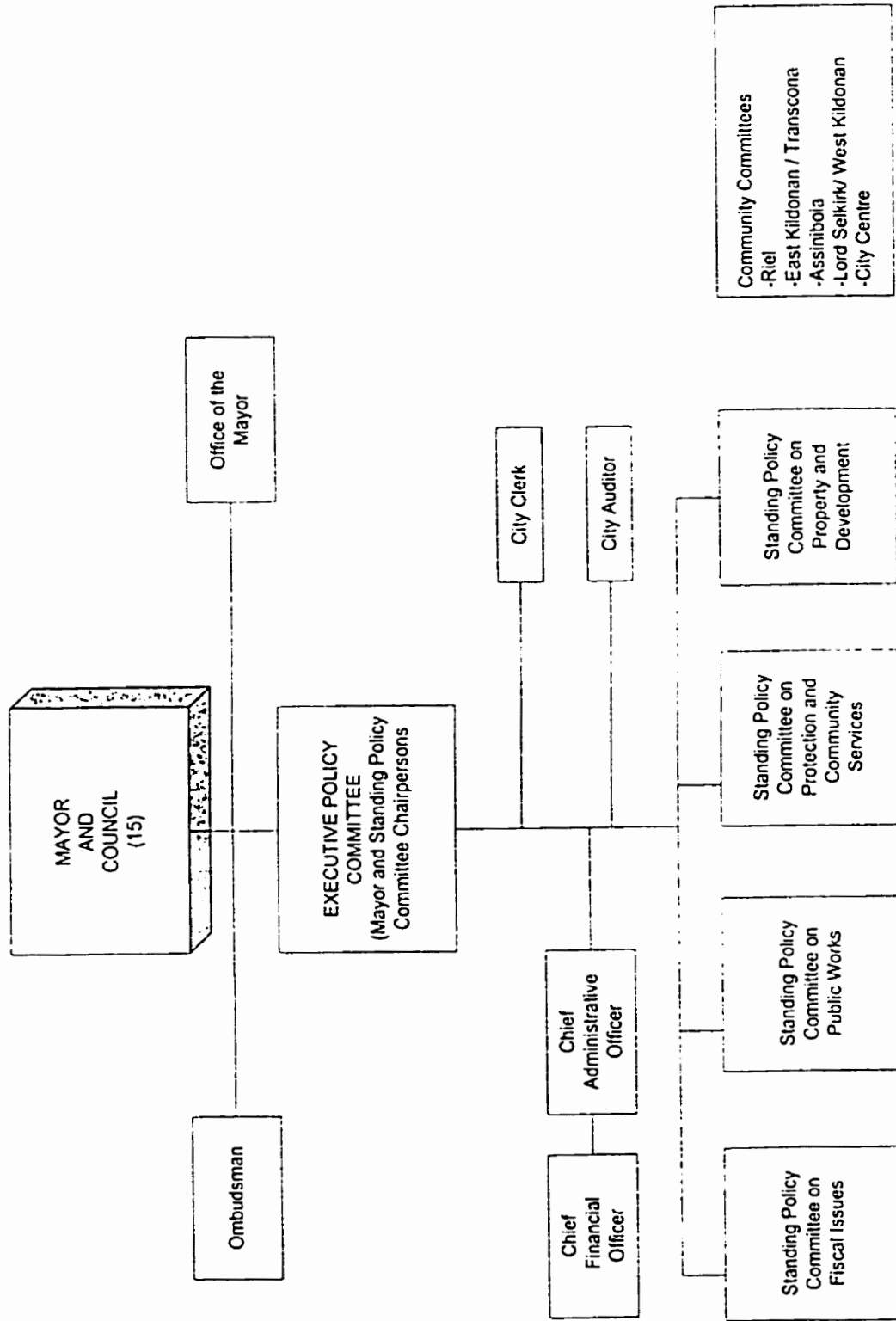
¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ City of Winnipeg, Special Meeting of Council, October 29, 1997.

This request was submitted to a Progressive Conservative government led by Premier Gary Filmon. The PC government favoured streamlining both the political and administrative structures at City Hall. In 1998, *Bill 36, Amendments to the City of Winnipeg Act*, was given Royal Assent. The powers of the Mayor were increased and changes were made to the political decision-making and administrative structure. With particular respect to the current role of Community Committees, the 1999 Municipal Manual states that 'recent amendments to the City of Winnipeg Act repealed the statutory requirement for Community Committees, and Council has been given the ability to structure public participation'.¹⁰⁶ (See Figure 3 below)

¹⁰⁶ City of Winnipeg 1999 Municipal Manual Winnipeg, 1999. p. 92

FIGURE THREE: CURRENT CITY OF WINNIPEG STRUCTURE



4.7 Analysis of the Current Model

In the writer's opinion, the structural changes that were achieved with the advice of George Cuff and Associates have resulted in a highly centralized and controlled method of governance. While this may well have been the intended result of the Council at the time, it can be argued that, it has further disintegrated the frail elements of participatory democracy. To some extent, it may be understandable that the Council sought to have a strong control on its decision-making power, as they were struggling to respond to the challenges of a climate of severe fiscal restraint, downloading and downsizing. Council's primary concern was achieving an affordable and entrepreneurial government. As Paul Thomas observed, the City of Winnipeg was faced "with cost pressures, scarce resources, taxpayer resistance and a disillusioned public"¹⁰⁷.

What remains contestable in this model is the aspect of the 'disillusioned public'. When one examines the very recent practical and policy related challenges that the City of Winnipeg has had to deal with it – the mask of citizen dissatisfaction is clearly unveiled. The rash of arson activity and the unforgiving swell of national negative publicity as the 'Arson Capital of Canada' will not have done much to attract newcomers and potential entrepreneurs to Winnipeg. The root cause of this activity and its visible symptoms in the form of crime, violence and unsafe

¹⁰⁷ P. Thomas "Diagnosing the Health of Civic Democracy: 25 Years of Citizen Involvement with City Hall" in Klos, N. (ed) The State of Unicity – 25 Years Later Conference Proceedings (October 3-4, 1997) Winnipeg (Man.) University of Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies. 1998 p. 50

housing conditions in Winnipeg's core, have been sufficiently ignored by the majority of politicians over the last decade. Clearly, issues of the Province's urban centre, including the continuing cycle of decay and decline, were not foremost on the Conservative agenda.

The mechanisms which were intended to have been built with the Unicity Model were further weakened in this centralized structure. Resident Advisory Groups are almost non-existent, and most certainly powerless. Indeed, the Community Committees themselves have become appendages that are simply administrative- type forums dealing with primarily with issues of planning, but with debatable and limited authority. It is a fairly safe assumption to state that the general public does not presently view the Community Committees as an effective avenue to have their local concerns and issues dealt with. At one point, there was apparent consideration given to abolishing the Community Committee structure completely. Determined individuals with some measure of political savvy and knowledge with the centralized system, instead appear as delegations at Standing Policy Committees or Executive Policy Committee. A scan of the nature of these delegations would suggest however, that they are for the most part organized groups (special interest groups), community agencies, and organizations or business¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁸ Personal Experience. The writer is a civic administrator and member of the City of Winnipeg's Community Services Department's core management team.

However, less than one year after the adoption of this new model, a civic election was held that gave some indication that further change was around the corner. On October 28, 1998 after a voter turnout of 53.6% (well above average), a new Mayor was elected on a platform which promised a 10% reduction in property tax over the course of his four year term. Mayor Glen Murray had previously served Winnipeg as a Councillor from 1989 – 1998. Known for his charisma and grass-roots political style, Mayor Murray has articulated a vision for Winnipeg and its local government that is somewhat reminiscent of the Unicity model. This Mayor appears to have a strong belief in community development approaches in building a vital and sustainable Winnipeg.

4.8 Winnipeg in the Twenty-First Century

Winnipeg continues to face significant challenges as it moves into the next century. In a recent speech, the City of Winnipeg's Chief Administrative Officer, Gail Stephens¹⁰⁹ outlined the nature of some of those challenges for Winnipeg's local government. Winnipeg has received widespread criticism respecting its property tax rates, as compared to other urban centres in Canada. While some of the comparison may be unfairly drawn, it is a fact that Winnipeg's municipal government is overly reliant on its property tax base, which accounts for 62% of its total revenue. In most other Canadian cities property tax accounts for 45 – 50% of revenue. To add to that challenge, it is further predicted that growth in

¹⁰⁹ Personal Communication. Gail Stephens, Chief Administrative Officer, City of Winnipeg. January 17, 2000

revenues will be modest and slow. The City of Winnipeg receives the remaining 38% of its revenues from Provincial Government grants, business tax, user fees and fund transfers. The City's debt consumes about 20% of its revenues, compared to an average of 11% in most other Canadian Cities.¹¹⁰ In purely accounting terms, this computes to the need for the City of Winnipeg to find thirty million dollars in savings annually, in order to simply maintain a freeze on property taxes. The trend in prime development continues to be occurring outside inner city limits, leaving an unattended and aging housing stock in the core. Ms. Stephens adds "our population is aging, we face increasing social service challenges and we have to address the deterioration of our downtown core. Our City infrastructure, too has deteriorated, and requires significant reinvestment¹¹¹".

The recent arson crisis that swept across inner Winnipeg, dubbed the 'arson zone', required a swift, multi-dimensional 'strike force' response. While the City of Winnipeg appears to have been successful with an intensified effort to apprehend arsonists, it is readily recognized that this is a short-term solution. Arson activity is symptomatic of a much deeper issue among Winnipeg's high need youth. Long term and broad based preventive solutions targeted at high need populations and which address a deteriorating social, economic and built

¹¹⁰ City of Winnipeg "Achieving Affordable Government : Community Consultation Background" Winnipeg (Man.) City of Winnipeg. January 2000.

¹¹¹ Personal Communication. G. Stephens. op cit.

environment within Inner Winnipeg are long overdue. At the same time, it is recognized that citizens themselves are better educated, more articulate and more vocal than ever before. They are demanding more affordable, more accountable and more responsive government.

In his 1999 State of the City Address, Mayor Murray described his vision for the Winnipeg of the future. He described Winnipeg as the economic centre of the country leading the way in new fuel and energy technology; as a manufacturing innovator of ground vehicles, aerospace and agricultural technology; as Canada's leading outerwear apparel centre; as the major hub of biosciences and microbiology research; as 'Smart Winnipeg' with the most cutting edge communications and information technology; as Canada's education centre with the nation's most skilled and flexible work force; as a true competitor; as a performing Arts capital, complete with a thriving downtown.¹¹²

Of particular significance was a statement on his vision for local government in Winnipeg. He stated 'decentralization and deregulation have restored neighbourhood decision making and has [sic] given the city a deserved reputation for being the least bureaucratic in Canada'.¹¹³ With the release of his budget discussion paper in September, 1999 entitled "*Achieving Affordable Government for a Sustainable Winnipeg: Getting Taxes Off Our Backs and On*

¹¹² Mayor G. Murray State of the City Address Winnipeg January 21, 1999

¹¹³ Ibid

Our Side – A Five Year Plan”, Mayor Murray elaborates further on this vision¹¹⁴. Building on the original intent of Unicity, the Mayor asserts that a unitary civic government should be concerned with matters that are of significance from a city-wide or broad policy perspective. However, it is noted that within the current legislative structure, 75% of issues which appear on Standing Committee agendas relate to the local neighborhood level. The solution, he believes, involves the creation of a flexible system which allows for local governance in neighbourhood planning and local services. The Mayor references “some neighbourhoods like West Broadway would embrace a high level of citizen participation in community governance. Other areas of the city would prefer more responsive, accessible services and have little interest beyond the traditional citizen involvement in Community Centre boards and the like”.¹¹⁵ However, it is also readily acknowledged that Community Committees no longer function in many parts of Winnipeg, such that some citizens are content with a community process that involves nothing more than communications from their local Councillor. The creation of neighbourhood associations in areas where there was an identified need is one method mentioned as a mechanism for sustainable citizen participation.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Mayor G. Murray “A Budget Discussion Paper: Achieving Affordable Government for a Sustainable Winnipeg: Getting Taxes Off Our Backs and On Our Side- A Five Year Plan.” City of Winnipeg. September, 1999.

¹¹⁵ Ibid p.22

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

Presently, mechanisms for citizen participation have included community forums and consultations relative to Plan Winnipeg, achieving affordable government and budget related issues, as well as inner Winnipeg housing issues. It is debatable as to the relative success of such mechanisms, as from a peripheral view it appears to be the usual interest groups, such as the Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce, that are utilizing these opportunities for their own platforms. This writer is of the view that this kind of public involvement can be readily criticized as 'controlled tokenism'. In a recent Free Press editorial¹¹⁷, the Mayor was openly criticized for responding to a community concern respecting a two hundred dollar differential in property tax by chuckling 'that's no big deal'. As a result, the editorial wondered how meaningful and effective this kind of public participation was, if concerns were so readily dismissed.

4.9 A Current Policy Challenge: Housing

In October 1999, Mayor Glen Murray tabled a draft Winnipeg Housing Policy. The policy can be interpreted as the starting point for the actualization of the Mayor's vision of a flexible, neighbourhood-based governance model. It seeks to achieve three goals, as follows:

- To bring new life back to older neighbourhoods through locally planned, community supported housing renewal initiatives.
- To support housing renewal strategies that integrate economic and structural change to improve the quality of life for local residents while building neighbourhood stability.

¹¹⁷ Winnipeg Free Press. "Editorial: The Mayor Consults". Winnipeg. (Man). January 11, 2000. p.8

- To create and provide tools to enable communities to implement renewal efforts, and to support, wherever possible, locally developed products, businesses and initiatives.¹¹⁸

The policy proposes the establishment of 'Housing Improvement Zones', whereby the City would classify and then categorize all of its neighbourhoods.

Four categories and specific criteria for each are presented. They include:

1. *Major Improvement Areas*: older areas that have experienced significant decline to the point where housing and neighbourhood infrastructure require complete renewal.
2. *Rehabilitation Areas*: areas where decline is having a spill-over effect to the extent that it is beginning to impact the overall stability of the neighbourhood. Some intervention would be required in order to stimulate private reinvestment and improve infrastructure.
3. *Conservation Areas*: neighbourhoods which are physically and socially stable but are showing initial signs of decline. The City will monitor these areas for any potentially detrimental intrusions and may intervene in isolated cases.
4. *Emerging Areas*: areas in which new development is being considered. The City's role will be to ensure appropriate coordination of land use and infrastructure.

*Only neighbourhoods within the first two categories, Major Improvement Areas and Rehabilitation Areas, may qualify for designation as Housing Improvement Zones.*¹¹⁹

Upon designation as a Housing Improvement Zone, the City will provide support and coordinate resources to assist neighbourhood groups in the development of

¹¹⁸ Mayor G. Murray "Draft Winnipeg Housing Policy". City of Winnipeg. October 25, 1999 p. 1

¹¹⁹ Ibid p. 4

Comprehensive Neighbourhood Housing Plans. Multi-disciplinary housing teams, comprised of civic resources including a planner, a health inspector, building inspector, zoning officer, fire prevention inspector, police officer, and a community development worker would be charged with supporting neighbourhoods in efforts to assess their needs, develop a vision and plan for their neighbourhood, and to implement their plan.

This policy appears to be consistent with the historical roots of neighbourhood organizations that initially form around issues related to local planning. There is recent evidence in some of the American examples that this approach can go much further in supporting healthy and vibrant communities. It has the potential, in this writer's view, to go beyond the physical structures of the neighbourhood, to foster the development of leadership and innovation, and to address social and economic opportunities at the neighbourhood level. Recently, The City of Vancouver has created a model similar to the notion above, with the formulation of integrated neighbourhood service teams. The Neighbourhood Integrated Service Teams are "composed of City and other community employees working across organizational boundaries to help communities solve problems. Goals include: creating safer and more pleasant neighbourhoods and community involvement in creative problem-solving"¹²⁰.

¹²⁰ City of Vancouver. "Vancouver's Neighbourhood Integrated Service Teams". Internet: [Http://www/city.vancouver.bc.ca/nist/nis/teams.htm](http://www/city.vancouver.bc.ca/nist/nis/teams.htm) (October, 1998)

Utilizing the stepping stone of neighbourhood housing assessments, identifying housing improvement zones and assigning civic resources to specific neighbourhood designations, takes the City of Winnipeg one step closer to actualizing a re-vitalized model for shared governance. Winnipeg has a unique opportunity to truly capitalize on the many valuable lessons and insights gained from the innovative Unicity model. Recently, other Canadian municipalities such as the City of Toronto have recognized merit in this kind of a governance model and are pursuing a similar path to the Unicity model some thirty years later¹²¹. The City of Toronto has amalgamated into one mega-municipality and has adopted a Community Council model. The Community Councils have a direct line to Council, and are responsible for local matters including development controls, transportation, recreation, and neighbourhood improvement and development initiatives.

In addition, the examination of historical and current models of participative democracy, support the thesis assertions that it is worthwhile to go further than the Unicity model did and more recently, than the City of Toronto has.

Embracing a grass-roots approach to augment a Community Council governance model, with neighbourhood-based leadership and development committees can revitalize citizen involvement, and in so doing, restore citizen's faith and trust in local government.

¹²¹ City of Toronto. Home Page Internet: <http://www.city.toronto.on.ca/council/images/orgchart.gif>

"What great and enduring achievement has the world ever accomplished that was not based on idealism"

Sir Wilfred Laurier

5.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 De-fibrillating the Unicity Model: Achieving Effective Citizen Engagement Through A Grass-roots Governance Model.

The current political structure in Winnipeg has the distinct potential for actualizing decentralized local government and participatory democracy in a way that restores citizen faith and trust. The Community Committee model can be enhanced and strengthened in a meaningful way. Lloyd Axworthy has previously suggested it is useful to compare Winnipeg's Community Committee model to the notion of neighbourhood city halls that several American cities have implemented. The following quote provided by an urban commentator by the name of Donald Canty, is referenced by Mr. Axworthy:

The little city functions much as the ward bosses office once did, and there is evidence that they are gradually changing the neighbourhood resident's feelings about their government... They are also changing if slowly and gradually neighbourhood bureaucracy. The little city hall staffs feel personally responsible to the neighbourhoods they serve. They become neighbourhood advocates and push city agencies for responses.¹²²

¹²² D. Canty in L. Axworthy. 'Towards a Democratic City' in L. Axworthy (ed) The Future City. A Selection of Views on the Reorganization of Government in Greater Winnipeg. Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies. University of Winnipeg Press. 1974 . p. 51

5.2 Specific Recommendations

5.2.1 Council Adoption of Principles for Public Participation

The review of the literature has identified the importance of political will and ownership relative to any models of public participation. Katherine Graham discussed the significance of ensuring an alignment of public participation mechanisms to the political process. Cities that claim recent and successful efforts in citizen involvement, such as the City of Portland, have had guiding principles for public participation formally adopted by Council. In this writer's view, the unanimous and public Council adoption of such principles provides the critical foundation on which to formalize structures for public participation.

Lessons learned from Unicity reveal that the lack of political will, leadership and championship for the value of public participation contributed greatly to its lack of success in effectively engaging the citizen.

5.2.2 From Community Committees to Community Leadership Councils

There are presently five Community Committees in Winnipeg. They cover larger geographic areas, with each Community Committee comprising three electoral wards. As described in the City of Winnipeg Municipal Manual¹²³, they are as follows:

¹²³ City of Winnipeg. 1999 Municipal Manual. P. 54-57

- ***City Centre Community (Population:116,400)***
 - Fort Rouge Ward
 - River Heights Ward
 - Daniel McIntyre Ward

- ***Assiniboia Community (Population: 121,400)***
 - St. James Ward
 - Charleswood-Fort Garry Ward
 - St. Charles Ward

- ***Lord Selkirk-West Kildonan Community (Population: 127,400)***
 - Point Douglas Ward
 - Old Kildonan Ward
 - Mynarski Ward

- ***East Kildonan-Transcona Community (Population: 114,300)***
 - North Kildonan Ward
 - Elmwood Ward
 - Transcona Ward

- ***Riel Community (Population: 139,200)***
 - St. Boniface Ward
 - St. Vital Ward
 - St. Norbert Ward

Each ward is represented by a locally elected Councillor for a four year term.

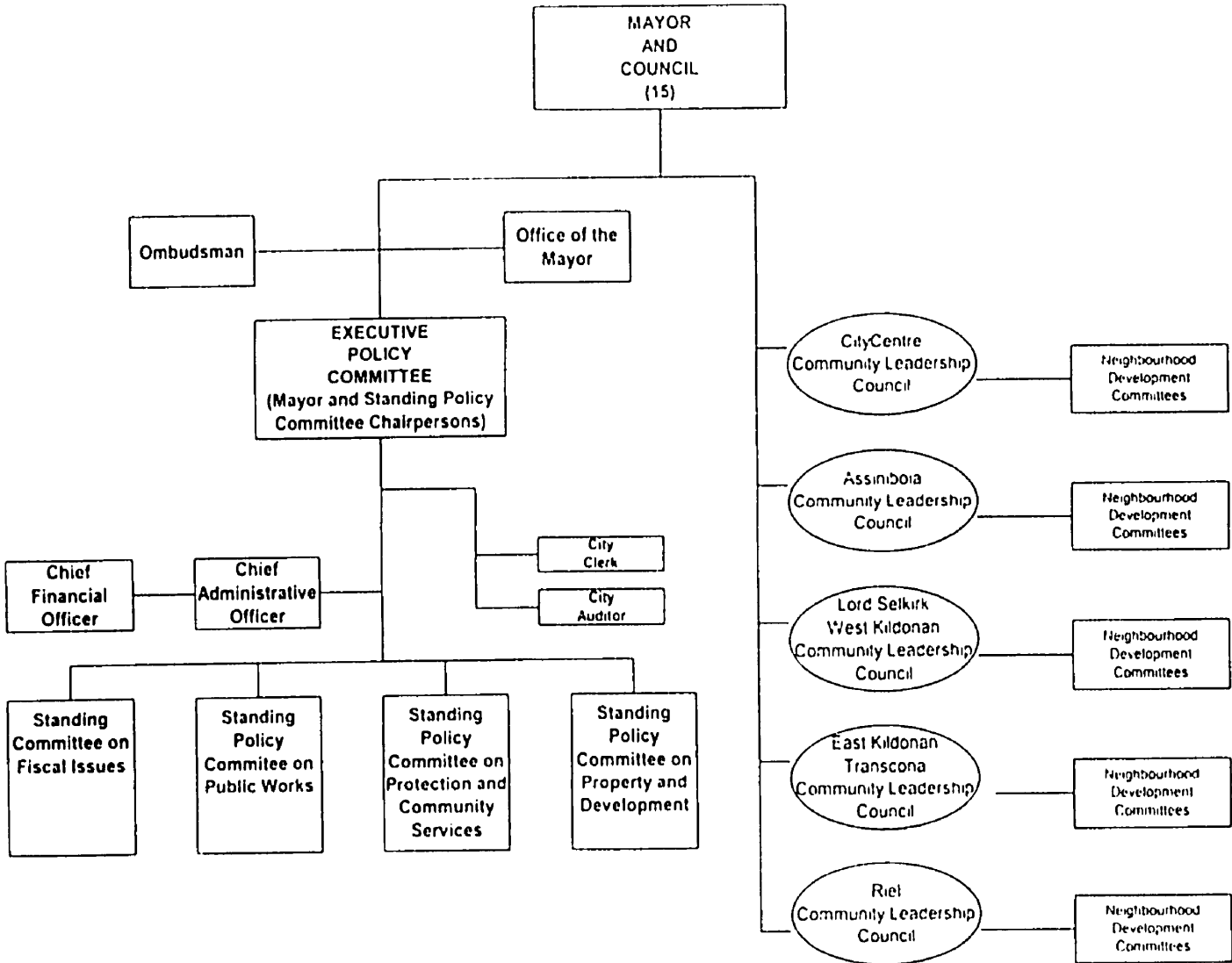


FIGURE FOUR: PROPOSED 'MILLENNIUM MODEL'

This new model proposes the reshaping of the City of Winnipeg's political structure from "Community Committees" to 'Community Leadership Councils' with legitimate local decision making authority and appropriate fiscal resources.

Rationale:

Adopting a Community Leadership Council model will enable local decision-making structures which are more appropriately scaled and have the authority to respond to the diverse neighbourhoods within Winnipeg. Lessons learned since the birth of Unicity dictate that the Community Leadership Councils must have greater authority than 'supervisory' powers in order to be truly legitimate and accountable decision bodies. Further, the addition of the word 'leadership' is proposed in order to reflect a renewed emphasis for a community-based, grassroots leadership and development approach.

Structure:

- **Five Community Leadership Councils** would report through a Chairperson directly to Council. **(See Figure Four – p. 95)**
- The **Community Leadership Council** structure would mirror the present Community Committee structure with the following enhancements:
 - A Chairperson would be appointed to serve for a 16 month term. This would allow each Council member to rotate as Chair, over their 4 year term.

- **Representation from aligned Neighbourhood Development Committees** (explained below), to a maximum of two persons, currently serving as Chairpersons of Neighbourhood Development Committees, and elected by the Neighbourhood Development Committees to serve on the Community Leadership Council.
- **Alignment of a Community Resource Coordinator with each Community Leadership Council** to achieve collaboration and support from Administration.

Function:

The Community Leadership Council should be responsible for service planning and decision-making, within their respective jurisdictions, related to the following:

- Preparation of Community Area assessments; including neighbourhood profiles; neighbourhood housing assessments; demographics, social and economic indicators, etc.
- Preparation of Community Development Plans including articulation of a vision for the community in five years; and the establishment of objectives that work towards achieving that vision
- Preparation of annual Community Strategic Implementation Plans (prioritized, debated and approved at Council)
- all matters pertaining to local development controls

- all neighbourhood matters; including all neighbourhood improvement and development initiatives, including housing issues.
- all local recreation services
- all local community centres
- all local cultural services, including library programs
- all local transportation matters
- all local safety issues related to Community Policing matters
- all local fire prevention education matters

Each Community Leadership Council should have any associated community development funding mechanisms delegated to its authority. Examples would include the following:

- proportionate share of Community Incentive Grant Program funding (see Appendix for Program Description),
- proportionate share of any neighbourhood redevelopment funding – such as Manitoba Winnipeg Community Revitalization Program; designated Housing Improvement Zone dollars; Provincial 'Neighbourhoods Alive' initiative
- recreation program reserve funds

Each Community Leadership Council would be accountable for the following:

- Establishment of Neighbourhood Development Committees
- Establishing and maintaining positive and dynamic collaborative working relationships with respective Neighbourhood Development Committees

- Hold monthly public meetings
- Ensure local agendas are publicized
- Provide formalized communication mechanisms, including regular newsletters, annual community forums
- Work in partnership with other community councils and organizations

5.2.3 Structure and Formalize Legitimate Mechanisms for Citizen Participation

Establish Neighbourhood Development Committees (NDC) as legitimate mechanisms for active citizen participation and with an intensified focus and ratio in Inner Winnipeg.

Rationale:

The diversity within Winnipeg's neighbourhoods is recognized, and can be capitalized upon as a tremendous strength. Within each electoral ward and logical boundaries therein, neighbourhood characterization areas can be easily determined and utilized as an important foundation for organizing and fostering citizen participation mechanisms. The City of Winnipeg has developed an innovative planning tool for a neighbourhood- based delivery system. The development of the Neighbourhood Characterization Areas divides Winnipeg into 192 neighbourhoods. Each neighbourhood has been demographically profiled by the City of Winnipeg using 1991 census data. In addition, a consortium of

several community service providers in Winnipeg has formed, known as 'Information Winnipeg'. The purpose of *Information Winnipeg* has been for the partnering agencies to utilize the neighbourhood characterization tool in order to identify and agree upon the identification of 'clusters of neighbourhoods' as common boundaries and data sets for the purposes of a shared database. This will generate comprehensive neighbourhood profile information, comprising demographic, public health, property-based, safety, and other such data¹²⁴. Neighbourhood profile data, together with other data indicators such as the criteria for designation of Housing Improvement Zones, can be utilized to establish areas of high need. Such areas require a greater intensity of resources and supports in order to build community capacity. This can serve as a rational basis for a flexible, grass-roots model.

For instance, it is well understood that neighbourhoods within Winnipeg's core area and north end are in serious decline and distress. In its recent draft Housing Policy, the City of Winnipeg recognizes that "homes in central and north end neighbourhoods have experienced significantly decreased market values (as much as 50%) from 1988 to 1998."¹²⁵ In addition, it is noted that community advocates and neighbourhood associations are becoming increasingly active in developing solutions to address local needs. "By empowering those who live and function in declining communities, solutions will be grounded in neighbourhoods

¹²⁴ The author is a senior manager within the City of Winnipeg Community Services Department.

¹²⁵ Mayor G. Murray "Draft Housing Policy" October, 1999 p. 1

and will reflect the social, economic and cultural realities of the local populations".¹²⁶

Structure:

- Neighbourhood Development Committees would be aligned directly to their respective Community Leadership Council. The number of NDCs per Community Leadership Council will be variable and dependent upon identified need, citizen interest and designated administrative supports. Intensified civic resources would be directed towards supporting a greater ratio of Neighbourhood Development Committees within Inner Winnipeg, in order to provide grass-roots solutions in dealing with issues of urban decline in Winnipeg's core¹²⁷.
- Neighbourhood Development Committees may be representative of a single neighbourhood characterization area , or a 'cluster' of neighbourhoods.
- Elections to determine NDC membership would be held every two years, separate from Municipal Elections, and via direct mail balloting process.
- Chairperson to serve for 18 month term to ensure consistency between NDC membership. May also serve as representative on Community Leadership Council.

¹²⁶ Ibid. p.2

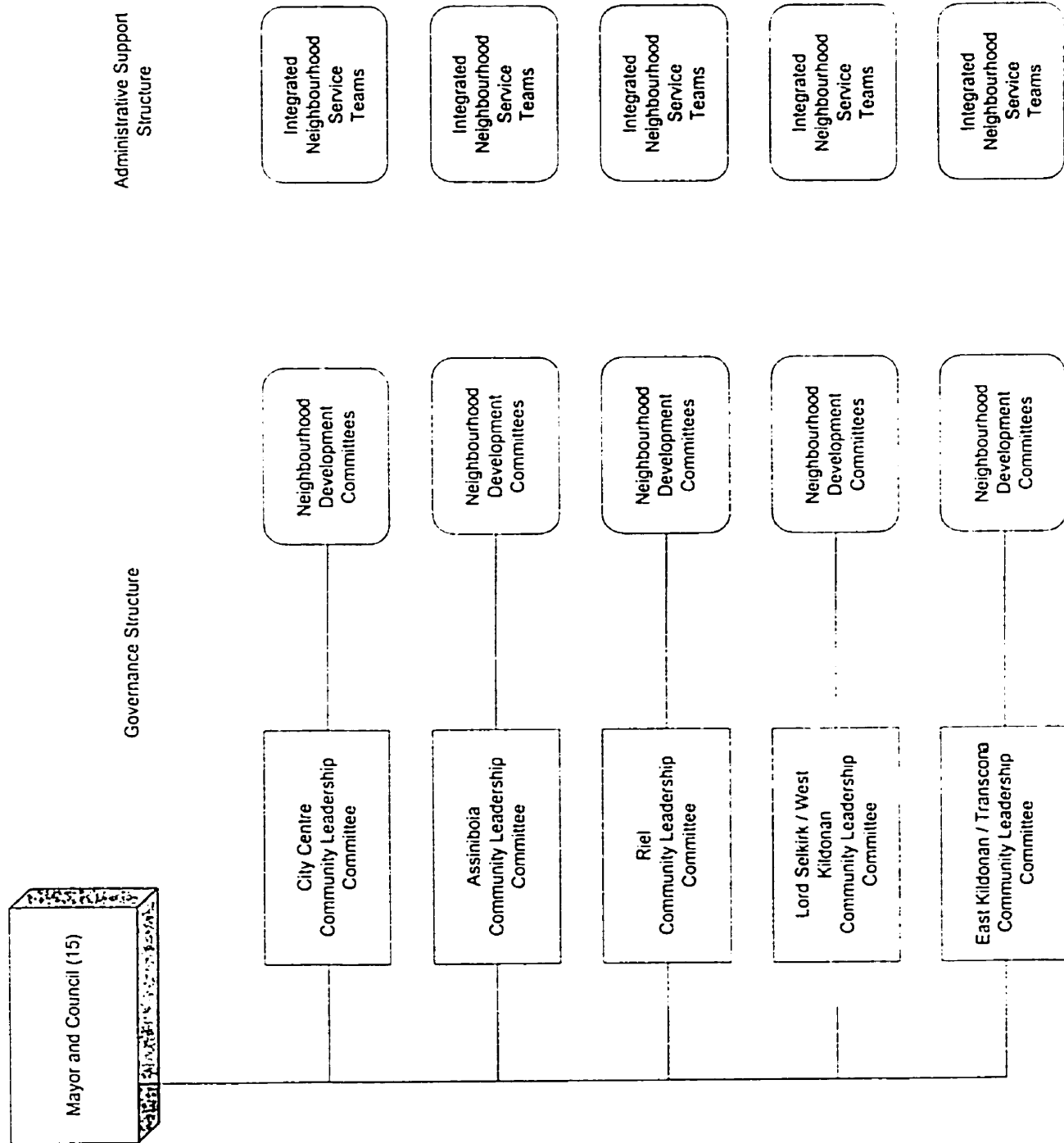
¹²⁷ It is proposed that through a comprehensive administrative assessment of neighbourhood indicator data, recommendations would be put forward to Council to aid in decision-making respecting the appropriate numbers of Neighbourhood Development Committees.

- A Community Development Worker would serve as the liaison to the Community Resource Coordinator and administration and would be assigned to work together with each NDC.
- Neighbourhood Development Committees would be housed in a Community Centre; or other neighbourhood recreation facility.

Function: *(in partnership with designated civic resource supports / community development workers)*

- Preparation of Neighbourhood Assessments and Characterization Profiles; including neighbourhood housing assessments; demographics; etc.
- Preparation of an annual Neighbourhood Priorities Action Plans to be approved by Community Council. The Neighbourhood Priorities Action Plan would address issues such as neighbourhood improvement initiatives; recreation and community centre programming; safety and Community Policing initiatives.
- Responsibility for working together with administration in ensuring dynamic citizen communication mechanisms such as neighbourhood flyers, organization of neighbourhood feedback forums; etc.

FIGURE FIVE: GOVERNANCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE



5.2.4 A Formalized And Supportive Administrative Structure

A key strategic underpinning in supporting effective mechanisms for citizen involvement is the commitment of civic resources, both financial and human. As such, appropriate liaison mechanisms and alignments must exist not only within the political structure, but as importantly, also within the administrative structure. The proposals for the City of Winnipeg's administrative structure within this governance model, build upon those elements which have been established in the Community Services Department.

5.2.4.1 City of Winnipeg Community Services Department – Community Resource Model

The City of Winnipeg's Community Services Department has developed a 'Community Resource Model' utilizing the neighbourhood characterization boundaries as an organizational framework¹²⁸. Seven 'Community Resource Areas' have been identified within Winnipeg. They are as follows: Downtown; Point Douglas; East Kildonan /Transcona; Seven Oaks/Inkster; River Heights / Fort Rouge; Riel and Assiniboia. (See Appendix – Community Resource Area Map). This innovative model of service delivery supports processes for citizen engagement and strategic opportunities for local government to partner with neighbourhood associations, community organizations, local business and other levels of government in building community solutions and capacity. This model,

¹²⁸ Personal experience. The author is a civic administrator and member of the Community Services Department's Core Management Team.

through facilitating strategies for neighbourhood mobilization, aims to increase community capacity for vitalization by addressing social, economic, development and health issues. Each Community Resource Area has a designated Community Resource Coordinator whose function is to be the primary liaison and interface with the community, elected representatives, other community organizations, and other levels of government. In addition, the Community Resource Model forms the foundation for the collection and sharing of community profile data necessary for decision support and in monitoring and tracking information related to Winnipeg's neighbourhood priorities. This information can be utilized to ensure service responsiveness to identified neighbourhood issues and priorities.

From an administrative perspective the Community Resource Model can be further enhanced in three ways within this proposed model.

1. *The Community Resource Coordinator and Integrated*

Neighbourhood Service Teams:

In the course of developing its Community Resource Model, the Community Services Department had conceptualized a broad based community service approach that would address the root causes of urban decline. Drawing upon the resources available within the Department, the concept involved a multi-disciplinary approach to service provision. Presently, the Community Services Department includes Community Development and Recreation Services; Library

Services; Community Resource, Safety and Protection Services and Cultural Amenities and Services. From a front line service viewpoint, this involves library and recreation service providers, environmental health officers, community development workers and community resource coordinators. While maintaining direct reporting lines to their respective Divisional Managers, these front-line service providers, as well as other civic service providers such as neighbourhood planners, community police officers, fire prevention officers and zoning officers, could be organized by neighbourhood and coordinate their efforts under the leadership of the Community Resource Coordinator. (see Figure Six below)

Integrated Neighbourhood Service Teams

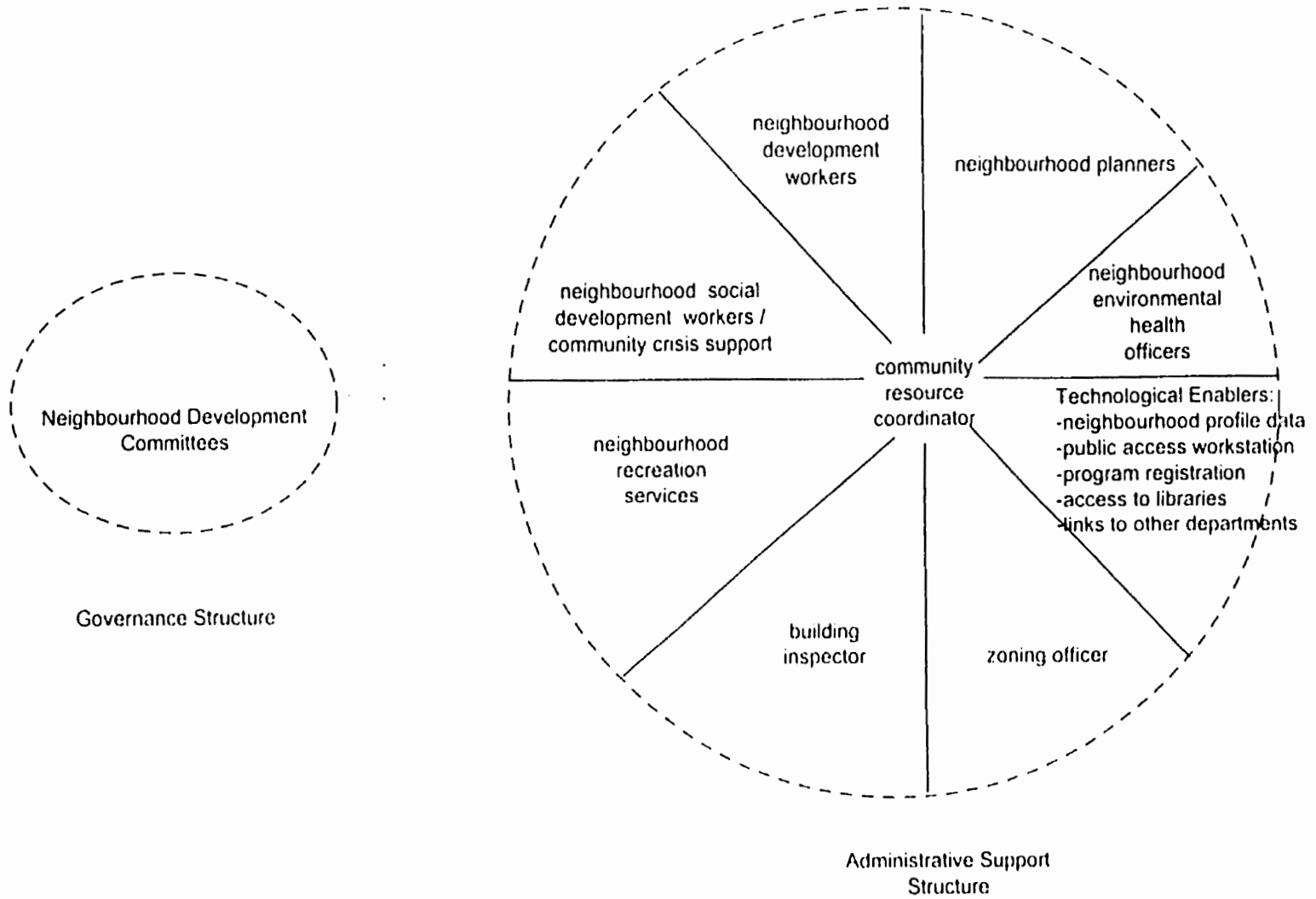


FIGURE SIX : INTEGRATED NEIGHBOURHOOD SERVICE TEAM

This integrated neighbourhood service team orientation would help to facilitate a more responsive and relevant civic service in accordance with neighbourhood priorities. As conceptualized by the Department, this model would:

Build systems which serve citizen interest – that listen and respond to the community and its elected officials... Ensure community needs assessment through consultation and strategic linkages... Generate and analyze community characterization data to develop relevant services and ensure a needs-based response... Provide leadership and support to strengthen community capacity and support positive development of our city... Practice annual strategic business planning and measure results.¹²⁹

2. *The Community Resource Coordinator and Community*

Leadership Councils

This administrative model would help to ensure cooperative working relationships that would better meet the challenges of Winnipeg's neighbourhoods.

¹²⁹ City of Winnipeg Community Services Department Unpublished Diagram – Integrated Neighbourhood Service Plan. 1998.

As referenced in the description of the Community Councils, a Community Resource Coordinator would be aligned with each of the five Community Councils. In addition, the Community Resource Coordinator position presently dedicated to working together and supporting Winnipeg's Urban Aboriginal community would collaborate with Community Councils as needed.

The functions of the Community Resource Coordinator in the Community Council Model would include the following:

- Serve as primary liaison with Community Development workers that are working together with Neighbourhood Development Committees (NDCs).
- Coordinate neighbourhood profile data gathering and ensure analysis of issues, needs and priorities for those neighbourhoods within the jurisdiction of the Community Council.
- Provide administrative leadership and support in the preparation of Community Area assessments, (including housing assessments) vision documents and annual strategic implementation plans.
- Work together with civic departments to ensure the coordination of relevant neighbourhood services in accordance with identified priorities.
- Ensure linkages and collaboration as appropriate with other community organizations and other levels of government service providers.

- **Assist in ensuring appropriate communication and feedback mechanisms are maintained with citizens, including organizing annual community forums, community newsletters, etc.**

3. *The Community Development Worker and Neighbourhood Development Committees.*

As previously described within the functions of the NDCs, a Community Development Worker, under the leadership of the designated Community Resource Coordinator, would have the following functions:

- **Enhance the city's outreach and public involvement efforts by facilitating neighbourhood-based opportunities for citizen engagement (forums, surveys, etc)**
- **Facilitate and assist with the preparation of Neighbourhood Profiles and Assessments, including neighbourhood housing assessments**
- **Liaise with other community development workers, neighborhood development committees, other community organizations, and the citizenry in identifying needs and developing responsive community – based solutions.**
- **Support the building of neighbourhood and community capacity by facilitating citizen awareness of issues and their involvement in solution-building.**

- **Ensure citizen awareness by coordinating communication mechanisms such as neighbourhood newsletters, flyers, meetings, etc.**

5.3 Positive Supporting Forces to Actualize Model

As earlier alluded to, given the commentary of the Mayor's State of the City speeches, there appears to be a champion of a grass-roots governance model on the horizon. An imminent opportunity to further develop this kind of a governance model exists with the Housing Policy and its proposed implementation. There is opportunity to implement a community development approach, which will support the neighbourhoods themselves in determining community-based solutions. Many citizens want to be partners in participation and are no longer interested in governments and bureaucrats providing top down programming.

As well, it can be seen that there are also significant administrative structures being established which recognize the power of supporting the strengthening of community capacity. Subsequently, some resources are being directed towards such efforts. However, these resources must be intensified in order to be truly supportive and embrace a community capacity building approach.

5.2 Analysis:

Both research and practical experience suggest that there are more advantages than disadvantages, to be gained through citizen involvement in governing local affairs. The key strategic lever in creating a political structure which includes authoritative mechanisms for public participation, is to provide the appropriate administrative support structures to work together with the community in developing and strengthening its ability to build solutions at the grass roots level. This is the fundamental difference between the former Unicity Model and the model proposed within this thesis. It involves an appreciation of the power of a community development approach in truly engaging the citizen and revitalizing citizen interest in the affairs of the community. The dedication of civic resources functioning in a supportive, 'working together with the neighbourhood' role, as opposed to the traditional 'do to' approach of government, is the cornerstone of this proposed model.

In essence, this model is about the building of community capacity.

Opportunities for involvement will serve to educate, to develop leadership and communication abilities, to foster a sense of ownership and pride in our neighbourhoods, and to strengthen citizenship in our communities. Camilla Stivers asserts that "under enabling structural conditions, citizens and administrators together can transform the agency setting into an authentic polis: a public space in which human beings with different perspectives join to decide

what to do and to act together for the public good".¹³⁰ Occasional efforts at public participation, through large community consultative processes and the like, have proven to be insufficient. Citizens remain apathetic, unaware and even mistrustful of government institutions as a result. A structure which provides for shared governance, authority, and power in real decision-making, at the level of the neighbourhood, is the essential means in revitalizing citizen interest and renewing faith and trust in our local government. Truly building community capacity means challenging our selves to learn more and to care more.

¹³⁰ C. Stivers "The Public Agency as Polis: Active Citizenship in the Administrative State" Administration and Society. Vol. 22 No. 1 1990 p. 96

6.0 CONCLUSION

Winnipeg has the opportunity to once again be a leader within the public sector, by creating an innovative citizen-centred governance model. Building upon the innovation of the Unicity model, and by legitimizing the structural mechanisms for public participation as outlined in the proposal contained in section 5, Winnipeg can once again lead the way for other local governments. The development of a flexible, balanced and logical political structure coupled with appropriately aligned administrative support and resources may provide the most significant strategic link in fostering a healthy and vibrant Winnipeg.

The review and analysis of the literature uphold the research assertions of this thesis. Historic and contemporary forces impacting local government have generated a renewed call for not merely preserving, but enhancing, the basic tenets of a true participatory democracy. Citizens must be given the opportunity to awaken from their apathy, to address their state of dissatisfaction, and to achieve a level of trust in how their communities are governed. In his writings on civic democracy, Robert Putnam confirms this direction, with his observation that:

the concept of civil society has played a central role in the recent global debate about the preconditions for democracy and democratization. In the established democracies, ironically, growing numbers of citizens are questioning the effectiveness of their public institutions...High on America's agenda should be the question of how to reverse these adverse trends in social connectedness, thus restoring civic engagement and civic trust.¹³¹

¹³¹ R. Putnam. *op cit.*, p. 76.

Public administrators and political leaders have been challenged to 'put citizens at the heart of the practice of public administration'¹³². This thesis is furthering that challenge – put the citizens at the *head* of the practice of public administration. Recognize and support the power of the citizen intellect, interest and ability – embrace it.

"I DWELL IN POSSIBILITY"

Emily Dickinson

¹³² K. Graham and S. Phillips "Citizen Engagement:" op. cit. p. 256

APPENDIX

APPENDIX ONE:

COMMUNITY INCENTIVE GRANT PROGRAM

Purpose: to provide assistance to community organizations for the development of community recreation facilities.

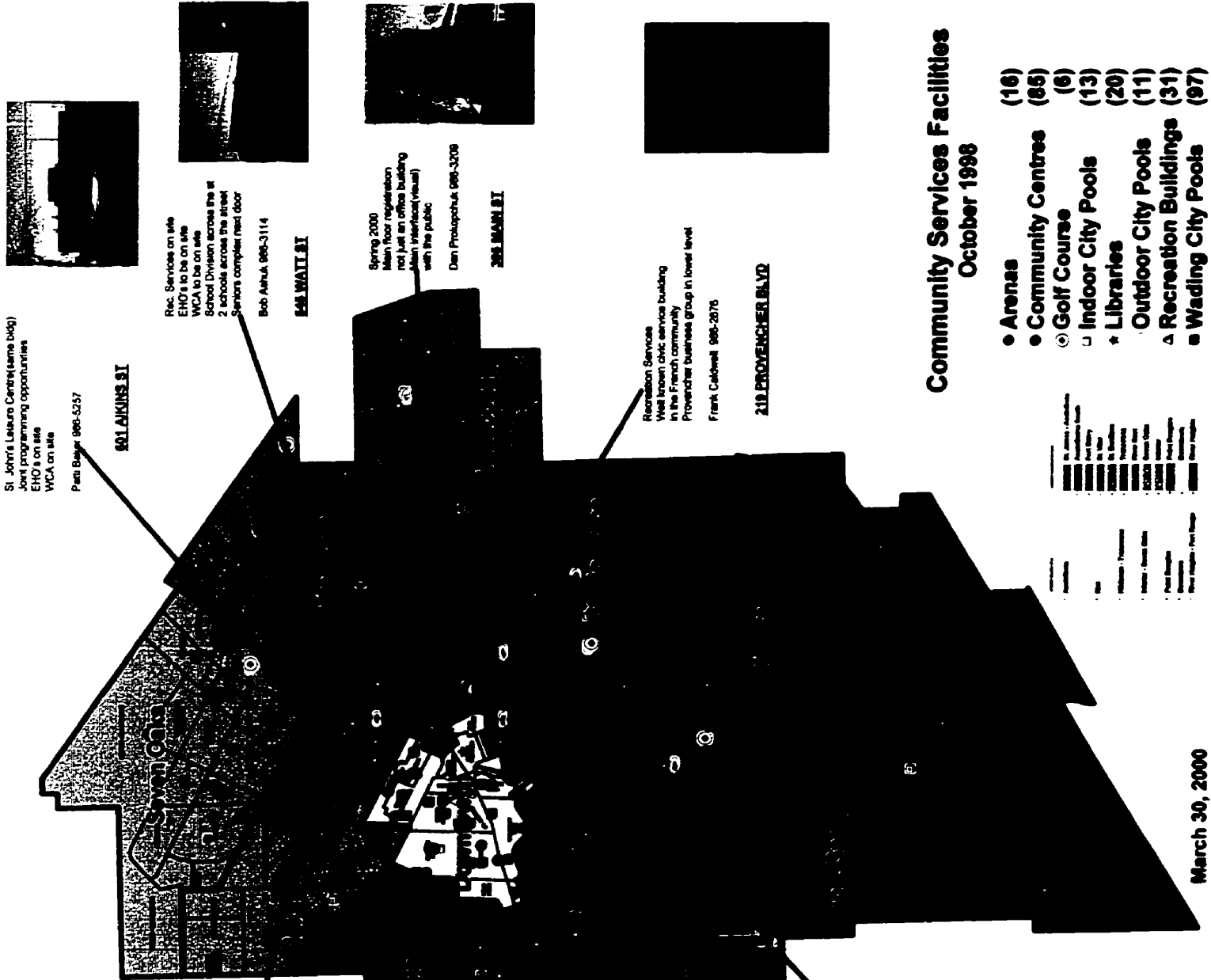
Eligible Projects are those involving construction, renovation or expansion of existing community recreation and sport facilities serving a neighbourhood or community within the City of Winnipeg (ie: community centers, leisure centers, drop-in facilities, arenas).

The **Council approved criteria** state that proposed projects should:

- Make a significant contribution to the long-term benefit of the community at large in terms of improved services and facilities.
- Not compete with or duplicate other community facilities
- Benefit the community at large and remain accessible to all members of the community
- Include confirmation of sufficient resources to maintain and operate completed projects
- Involve a reasonable mix of capital and labour components and clearly articulate a plan of activities including projected work schedules, material, labour, equipment and other project requirements. Project activities should lead to other completion of a substantial physical product.
- Be feasible within the project management capabilities of the applicant, the community's human resources, and the regulations of the Community Incentive Grant Program.
- Be eligible for contributions of funds from other programs such as federal, provincial and private sources. Confirmation of total project funding is required prior to the allocation of Community Incentive Grant Funds
- Not include any funds from City sources towards the applicants 75% share of the project costs.

Community Incentive Grant Program funds are allocated from the Annual Capital Budget and have increased from \$100,000 per Community Committee in 1985 to the current level of \$ 278,600 per Community Committee (\$1,393,000 in 1999.)

Community Resource Areas and Community Characterization Areas



St. John's Leisure Centre (same bldg)
Joint programming opportunities
EHO's on site
WCA on site
Patti Bayle 985-5257

501 LAJKINS ST

Rec. Services on site
EHO's to be on site
WCA to be on site
School Division across the street
2 schools across the street
Seniors complex next door
Bob Ansh 985-3114

545 WATT ST

Spring 2000
Main floor registration
not just an office building
main street (visual)
with the public
Dan Protopchuk 985-3208

205 MARL ST

Recreation Services
Well known civic service building
in the French community
Provencher business group in lowest level
Frank Caldwell 985-2875

218 PROVENCHE BLVD

Sr William Stephenson Library
Winnipeg's newest public library
Public access to the Internet and CD ROMs
Public meeting space
Joint programming opportunities
Elise Kuebler 985-3098

125 KEENEWATER ST

Rec. Services & Registration
City Museum
Proximity to Plains & Open Spaces (same bldg)
EHO's to be on site

Rita Britton 985-3111
2080 PORTAGE AVE

F1 Rouge Leisure Centre
Sam Southern Arena
Seniors complex next door
Osborne Library
EHO's to be on site
Seniors Group on Site
Joint programming opportunities
Karen Dunlop 985-4712

528 OSBORNE ST

URBAN RECREATIONAL COMMUNITY

Development and delivery of integrated services
within all Community Recreation Areas that
meet the specific needs of Winnipeg's Aboriginal
people.

Seniors services with Aboriginal Community-based
services to ensure cultural and family values
delivery by the Community Services Department.
Seniors Activities 984-3071

Community Services Facilities October 1996

- Arenas (16)
- Community Centres (65)
- Golf Course (6)
- Indoor City Pools (13)
- ★ Libraries (20)
- Outdoor City Pools (11)
- △ Recreation Buildings (31)
- Wading City Pools (97)

Facility	Count
Arenas	16
Community Centres	65
Golf Course	6
Indoor City Pools	13
Libraries	20
Outdoor City Pools	11
Recreation Buildings	31
Wading City Pools	97



City of Winnipeg
Community Services Department

March 30, 2000

APPENDIX TWO:

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