

**Integrated, Place-Based Approaches to Changing Public
Housing Communities: A Case Study of Lord Selkirk Park**

**by
Carolyn Ryan**

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Abstract

Lord Selkirk Park (LSP) is a 314 unit public housing community in Winnipeg's north end. A major redevelopment of the community began in 2009 and included a \$17 million renovation of the housing stock, employment of local residents to undertake the renovation, a new community Resource Centre, a new infant childcare centre that employs an Abecedarian early childhood education model, and a new adult learning centre. This case study attempts to understand first how and why LSP changed as result of the redevelopment and secondly, why decision-makers chose to make such investments.

The case of LSP was selected because it is an example of an intervention in a public housing community grounded in social democratic ideology and is both integrated and place-based. Literature reviewed to establish the context for the study included studies related to: rationales for the integration of housing policy with the larger social policy context; perspectives on the role and future of social housing; studies on the persistence of poverty in public housing communities; and evaluations of interventions that have historically taken place in public housing – dispersal, mixed-income, homeownership and integrated, place-based programs. The thesis concludes that one perspective on these four issues is largely draw from a neoliberal ideology based on culture of poverty and new public management theories. A second perspective is drawn from social democratic ideology based on social determinants of health and community economic development theories.

Data collected includes interviews with thirteen tenants of LSP, eight service providers, and three senior decision-makers in the Manitoba government, participant observation data, and data drawn from public documentation. The thesis concluded that LSP had changed for the better as a result of the redevelopment. LSP became a safer, more desirable place to live. The

quality of the housing improved. Residents demonstrated better social cohesion and had access to and were using services that could lead to improved self-sufficiency. Further, the research concludes that the redevelopment was successful because it was place-based, integrated and based on identified community needs. Finally, the thesis concludes that decision-makers supported this model of redevelopment because they held social democratic values.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my dad, Steve Ryan.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Dedication	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Tables	vii
Chapter One: Introduction	8
Chapter Two: Literature Review	35
Chapter Three: Design and Methodology	74
Chapter Four: Findings	84
Chapter Five: Conclusions	117
References	131
Appendix One: Research Design Logic	146
Appendix Two: Data Displays	147
Appendix Three: Ethics Application and Certificate of Approval	148

List of Tables

Table One: Perspectives on the Future of Social Housing 52

Table Two: Synthesis of the Literature Review 72

Table Three: Data Gathering Plan 78

Table Four: Linkages Between the Research Propositions and the Theoretical Frameworks Guiding the Research 80

Table Five: Propositions associated with the Primary Research Question 80

Table Six: Synthesized Conceptual Data Display to Describe “How” the Community of LSP Changed as a Result of the Redevelopment 118

Table Seven: Case Dynamics Matrix to Explain “Why” the Community of LSP Changed as a Result of the Redevelopment 121

Table Eight: Case Dynamics Matrix to Explain “Why” Decision-makers Chose this Approach 123

Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis examines an integrated, place-based redevelopment of a public housing community in order to determine how and why the community changed as a result. This analysis relies on a case study methodology that employs qualitative data. The case in question is the community of Lord Selkirk Park (LSP), a public housing community in Winnipeg's north end. It is hoped that this thesis will advance discussions of social policy and social theory with regard to the nature and merit of public investment in public housing communities.

1.0 Background of the Problem

Predominantly during the 1970s and 1980s, some 600,000 social housing units were built across Canada (Guest, 1985). These units, once seen as temporary stop-overs for individuals and families needing housing assistance during periods of unemployment (Prince, 1998) have now become symbols of long-standing urban poverty across North America, characterized by high rates of crime and welfare dependency (Silver, 2011, Quercia & Galster, 1997, Crump, 2003). Policy-makers and academics have invested significant time and resources into understanding this phenomenon and proposing solutions.

This thesis examines literature related to four broad themes particularly relevant to understanding the context of the case study: 1) the integration between social policy broadly and housing policy specifically; 2) the perceived role of social housing, originally and looking forward; 3) perspectives on the persistence of poverty in social housing communities; and 4) interventions in social housing communities across Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom ostensibly aimed at reducing poverty and improving household self-sufficiency. The literature review then concludes with a synthesis that posits that perspectives on these four

themes fall generally within two categories, one based in a neoliberal theoretical tradition, and the other based in a social democratic theoretical tradition.

1.0.1 Interaction between Social Policy and Housing Policy

There is generally a consensus in the literature that housing policy has remained separate from the larger social policy agenda (Carter and Polevychok, 2004, Fallis, 1995, Prince, 1998, Vaillancourt and Ducharme, 2001) for two possible reasons. First, Fallis (1995) points to the early emphasis of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) on simply building and maintaining physical housing infrastructure, rather than on understanding and acting to address the social needs of the tenants who resided within. Secondly, both American and Australian authors, (Atkinson, 2008, Joseph, 2006, Newman and Harkness, 2002, Quercia and Galster, 1997, Santiago and Galster, 2003) point to the fact that in the earliest days of new housing development many tenants were working and not accessing traditional social services. Housing matters, therefore, were not social policy matters.

Many writers are now calling for greater integration between housing policy and social policy (Atkinson, 2008, Bryant, 2003, Carter and Polevychok, 2004, Riccio, 2006, Silver, 2011, Vaillancourt & Ducharme, 2001). The first rationale for greater integration is rather pragmatic – simply that there is a significant overlap between those families and individuals receiving social services (particularly income supports) and those receiving some sort of housing subsidy (Riccio, 2006). A second rationale is based on a social determinants of health theoretical perspective. This second perspective holds that there is a link between safe, affordable, appropriately sized housing and the physical and mental health and general well-being of families and individuals (Battle and Torjman, 2002, Condor, Istvanffy, Newton and Pitman, 2010, Fallis, 1995, Nichols

and Gault, 2003, Nightingale, 2000, Ong, 2008, Perry-Burney and Jennings, 2003, Sard and Springer, 2002).

A third rationale for greater integration between social policy and housing policy considers the potential for housing policy to advance welfare reform objectives (Crump, 2003, Glynn, 2009, Hackworth, 2009a, Kemp, 2000). This rationale is examined in detail in Jeff Crump's 2003 article, "The End of Public Housing as We Know It: Public Housing Policy, Labor Regulation and the US City". In this article, Crump examines the introduction of the *Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act* of 1998, which required that welfare recipients work in order to continue to receive housing subsidies. This same connection is made by Kemp (2000) writing on the United Kingdom's introduction of two Green Papers that proposed changes to income policy to improve work incentives, promote individual responsibility and discourage fraud, supported by housing policy.

1.0.2 Role of Social Housing

This review of the literature includes an examination of views on the original intent of the social housing program, the current role, and finally different perspectives on the future of social housing.

There are several views within both the Canadian and American literature on the original intent of the social housing program within the North American context. Carroll (1989), a Canadian writer, and Quercia and Galster (1997), American writers, state that the real intent of the social housing program was job creation and was one of many public infrastructure construction programs taking place at the time. For some, the provision of the housing itself – safe, clean, affordable housing for families temporarily in need of assistance – is seen as a

primary goal of decision-makers of the day (Hulchanski, 2002, Newman, Basgal & Nightingale, 2000). Bacher (1988), tracing the history of Canadian housing policy until the mid-1960s, writes that by explaining housing development on the basis of at least a half dozen rationales other than actual social need helped governments avoid accusations of socialism.

The original goals of the program have evolved as a result of a 1985 policy decision that changed who was eligible for social housing (Hulchanski, 2002). These policies focused eligibility criteria more specifically on those with the highest need for housing assistance. Because of this change, social housing came to be home to high concentrations of very low-income families and seniors. Rather than serving low-income and working families on a temporary basis, the mandate of social housing was revised to focus on households in “core housing need”¹ and people with special housing needs (seniors, persons with disabilities) who would be charged rent on the basis of their income (CMHC, 2011).

Social housing policy in North America is now in the midst of another evolution. Some imagine a future when social housing model is understood as a social program, and is fully integrated with other social programs that put the welfare of tenants first. The second possible future is more clearly focused on the “business” of housing – collecting rents, maintaining buildings and staying focused on the bottom line.

¹ A household is said to be in core housing need if its housing falls below at least one of the adequacy, affordability or suitability, standards and it would have to spend 30% or more of its total before-tax income to pay the median rent of alternative local housing that is acceptable (meets all three housing standards).

- Adequate housing are reported by their residents as not requiring any major repairs.
- Affordable dwellings costs less than 30% of total before-tax household income.
- Suitable housing has enough bedrooms for the size and make-up of resident households, according to National Occupancy Standard requirements (CMHC, 2011).

Turning first to this latter vision, much of the literature examining this option focuses on concepts such as the replacement of existing social housing with new, mixed-income communities (ideally created through private-public partnerships) and providing displaced tenants with housing vouchers, allowing them to choose new housing in the private rental market (Klymchuk, 2008, Quercia & Galster, 1997). The success of social housing is evaluated not on the basis of tenant outcomes but instead on the basis of bottom lines (Goodlad and Atkinson, 2007, Hackworth, 2009b, Spirings, 2010) and the displacement of tenants into the private rental or homeownership markets (King, 2010; Klymchuk, 2008). What social housing remains is reserved for the most difficult to house (Klymchuk, 2008). In this model, tenants become consumers who are empowered to choose between various housing commodities (Silver, 2011). This discourse of consumer choice and private sector-based performance measures has been operationalized by social housing administrators through the employment of New Public Management (NPM) techniques. NPM has been described as a method of public sector management that rejects traditional bureaucratic approaches in favour of mechanisms borrowed from the private sector (Burke, 2004, Charih and Daniels, 1997, Walker, 2000, 2001).

The alternate holistic vision that puts the welfare of tenants ahead of the “bottom line” is articulated by Atkinson (2008), Ong (1998), Riccio (2006), Sard & Springer (2002) and Spence (1993). Carter and Polevychok (2004) eloquently sum up this alternative view of the potential role of social housing: “social housing can become the basis for re-integration into mainstream society. It can become the platform for success of other social policy initiatives. It can be the foundation for independence.” (p.139). By integrating housing policy with the larger social policy agenda, social housing can become a place where other social policy objectives have a role such as improving early childhood outcomes, improving graduation rates, or facilitating

immigrant settlement. Housing policy and social policy can come together in a public housing setting to help individuals and families improve their self-sufficiency (Carter and Polevychok, 2004).

1.0.3 Perspectives on the Persistence of Poverty in Social Housing Communities

This section of the literature review considers various theories related to the persistence of poverty in social housing. Several hypotheses are reviewed. The first hypothesis reviewed is rent geared-to-income (RGI) policy, where one's rent increases as one's income increases. This policy is seen by some as an inherent work disincentive (Atkinson, 2008, Hulse and Saugeres, 2008, Kemp, 1998, Lee, Bancroft and Schroeder, 2005, Ong, 1998, Riccio, 2006, Van Ryzin, Kaestner and Main, 2003). Next, spatial mismatch theory hypothesizes that economic isolation (geographical distance coupled with poor public transportation) separates poor inner-city residents from entry level job opportunities that have been "suburbanized" (Bania, Coulton, and Leete, 2003). Another hypothesis is that social housing residents face discrimination in the labour market (Freeman, 1998). The skills mismatch theory hypothesizes that public housing residents lack education and skills relevant to the needs of the labour market (Cove et al, 2008). There is also the proposition that the cost and availability of private sector housing keeps low-income earners in social housing (Freeman, 1998). Finally, concentration effects and associated negative social networks hypotheses theorize that by placing large concentrations of low-income families and individuals together within a social housing community, poor neighbourhood conditions and a "culture of poverty" will result, including a generalized disincentive to work (Van Ryzin, Kaestner and Main, 2003 Freeman, 1998) and stagnant social networks that do not offer the opportunity to "get ahead" (Kleit, 2001, Cove et al, 2008).

This section also considers the results of studies that attempted to test hypotheses related to concentration effects, spatial mismatch and social networks. While most of the studies did little to resolve the debate, the literature reviewed with regard to concentration effects is wholly dismissive of the idea that social housing itself is the source of work disincentives. Finally, this section reframed the various hypotheses on the basis of whether they espoused behavioural (the attitudes, norms and values of poor individuals and households explain why they are poor) or structural (social, economic and political structures of society cause people to be poor) explanations of poverty in social housing communities (National Poverty Centre, 2010).

1.0.4 Social Housing Initiatives in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom

There is an extensive body of research (largely American) regarding initiatives undertaken in social housing communities that were (at least ostensibly) aimed at improving household self-sufficiency. These initiatives can be broadly categorized as dispersal programs, mixed-income programs, homeownership programs and place-based programs.

Dispersal programs originate with a 1976 Gautreaux court case that involved the residents of one of Chicago's largest public housing projects. As a result of allegations that residents had been intentionally segregated in a poorly-maintained, high crime area, the Court ordered that tenants be given housing vouchers and the opportunity to re-locate to neighbourhoods with significantly lower poverty rates and lower concentrations of minorities. Gautreaux was the start of a large American social experiment whose purpose was three-fold: spatial deconcentration, social integration and enhanced opportunity and choice (Galster and Zobel, 1998; Popkin et al, 2000). At the core of this strategy was a belief that higher-income residents would be positive role models for the relocated families (Popkin et al, 2000). Despite

mixed evaluation results (Crump, 2003), in 1994 the American government introduced a second dispersal program – Moving to Opportunities – again with mixed evaluation results (Crump, 2003, Cove et al, 2008).

A second category of interventions can be classified as ‘mixed-income’ programs. Mixed-income programs generally entail converting a low-income social housing community to a mixed-income community. This conversion can happen through outright demolition and displacement of low-income tenants, and rebuilding public housing in suburban neighbourhoods with a mix of income earners, or by changing eligibility criteria so that an existing public housing community gradually becomes more mixed (Popkin, 2009). Similar to Gautreaux and MTO, the displaced tenants are given vouchers and encouraged to move to “better” neighbourhoods. By reducing these localized concentrations of poverty, mixed-income projects hope to “transform the social and economic structure of public housing” (Curley, 2005, p. 108). However, there is also the premise, once again, that higher-income households will be positive role models for either the re-located families or those who continue to live in the new community (August, 2008).

Examples of initiatives that are based in this mixed-income model include the HOPE VI program, in place widely across the United States, and the re-development of Regent Park in Toronto, Ontario. HOPE VI has been widely criticized for moving away from its original commitment to replace all units targeting low-income families on a one-to-one basis (Silver, 2011). Evaluations of HOPE VI demonstrate that many of the former public housing communities targeted under the program have turned around, becoming cleaner, safer and more visually pleasing (Zeilenbach, 2003). However, other evaluations demonstrate that the lowest-income families may be worse off as a result of HOPE VI as they had difficulty finding

replacement housing with vouchers, were not able to return to their newly rebuilt communities because there were not enough low-income units, were not building new social networks, and were not connecting to the job market or other self-sufficiency measures as intended (Curley, 2005, Popkin, 2009).

Homeownership programs, and particularly the United Kingdom's Right to Buy (RTB) program, are a variant of the mixed-income model – promoting both income and tenure diversification (Goodard and Atkinson, 2007). RTB was introduced by the Thatcher government in 1980. It was premised on the belief that promoting homeownership at the expense of social housing would foster household independence and reduce the role of, and costs to, the state in housing low-income citizens (King, 2010). RTB legislated the right of social housing tenants living in council housing to buy their dwellings. Some 2.5 million council homes, or 40% of the stock, were converted to homeownership (King, 2010), placing considerable financial burden on both housing authorities and purchasers (Balchin, 1995).

The final category of initiatives are those that are 'place-based' and integrated, employing community economic development principles and working from a social determinants of health theoretical perspective. Place-based strategies recognize that "it is the local setting where many problems originate, it is also where innovative solutions are to be found" (Hay, 2005, p.6). Rather than premising interventions on either moving residents out (dispersal strategies) moving new residents in (mixed-income strategies), or selling social housing (homeownership strategies), place-based strategies work with individuals and families in their communities and incorporate needed social programs on-site in order to improve self-sufficiency (Silver, 2011).

Examples of place-based strategies in public housing are often limited to small-scale initiatives or pilot projects. Examples include the Family Self-Sufficiency Program and the Jobs Plus Program, both with promising results (Bloom, Riccio and Verma, 2005, Cramer and Lubell, 2005, Ficke and Peisse, 2004) and the redevelopment of LSP, the subject of this thesis.

1.0.5 Conclusions from the Literature

Returning to each of the four themes in the literature, it is possible to discern two distinct schools of thought within each theme, and then to further link these schools of thought across the themes.

With regard to the question of the integration between social policy and housing policy, there is generally a consensus in the literature that historically, the two have stood apart (Carter and Polevychok, 2004, Fallis, 1995, Prince, 1998, Vaillancourt and Ducharme, 2001). There is also a significant volume of literature that sees merit in viewing the two policy agendas in an integrated fashion, however for two very different reasons. One view holds that integration would facilitate the convergence of housing objectives with the overall objectives of welfare reform (Crump, 2003, Kemp, 2000). The second view holds that housing policy should be seen as integrated with social policy on the basis that housing is clearly linked to health outcomes (Battle and Torjman, 2002, Condor, Istvanffy, Newton and Pitman, 2010, Fallis, 1995, Nichols and Gault, 2003, Nightingale, 2000, Ong, 2008, Perry-Burney and Jennings, 2003, Sard and Springer, 2002).

Turning now to the role of social housing, it is evident from the literature that social housing has evolved from a temporary home for the out-of-work to a permanent home for high concentrations of low-income individuals and families (Hulchanski, 2002). As for the future,

again, two perspectives emerge. One perspective advocates measuring the success of social housing on how well it convinces tenants, newly labeled “consumers” to “choose” to live in the private rental market or homeownership market, with the remaining housing available to only the very neediest and operated employing NPM techniques (Klymchuk, 2008, Burke, 2004, Spirings, 2010). A second perspective continues to see value in providing affordable, safe housing to low-income individuals, but also imagines a further role for social housing – as the “platform for success” for other social policy initiatives aimed at reducing poverty and improving self-sufficiency (Atkinson, 2008, Ong, 1998, Riccio, 2006, Sard & Springer, 2002, Spence, 1993, Carter and Polevychok, 2004).

The third section asks why poverty is so persistent in social housing communities. Again, two distinct perspectives emerge. The first sees social housing residents as having a disincentive to work as result of concentration effects (Van Ryzin, Kaestner and Main, 2003, Freeman, 1998) and associated negative social networks (Kleit, 2001, Cove et al, 2008) – a behavioural explanation based on culture of poverty theory (National Poverty Centre, 2010). The alternative perspective instead posits that structural factors (ibid), including RGI policies (Atkinson, 2008, Hulse and Saugeres, 2008, Kemp, 1998, Lee, Bancroft and Schroeder, 2005, Ong, 1998, Riccio, 2006, Van Ryzin, Kaestner and Main, 2003), spatial (Bania, Coulton and Leete, 2003) and skills (Cove et al, 2000) mismatches, discrimination (Freeman, 1998), and the cost and availability of housing in the private market (ibid), explain the persistence of poverty in social housing communities.

The final section of the literature review examines various initiatives that have taken place in social housing communities. These initiatives flow easily from the two perspectives evident in the first three themes. First, dispersal, mixed-income and homeownership strategies

are premised on the belief that public housing residents need better role models and the state should minimize its intervention in the housing market (Popkin et al, 2000, Curley, 2005, King, 2010). These interventions, based on programs to sell and/or demolish social housing, displace low-income residents and replace them with higher-income residents, logically result from one set of conclusions drawn from the literature: housing policy and social policy should be better integrated in order to achieve welfare reform objectives (Crump, 2003, King, 2010); the success of social housing should be measured against goals of income maximization and the displacement of tenants to the private market (Klymchuk, 2008, Burke, 2004, Spirings, 2011); and it is up to public housing residents themselves to change their behaviours in order to escape poverty (National Poverty Centre, 2010). This discourse – welfare reform, privatization of publicly-owned assets, the primacy of the market and behavioural explanations of poverty - speaks to neoliberal ideology (Mullaly, 2007).

Alternatively, place-based, integrated initiatives are premised on the belief that residents of public housing want to improve their lives and know what they need in order to do so (Hay, 2005), and that governments can play a role in developing policies and programs within public housing communities that enable them accordingly (Silver, 2011). Interventions that incorporate other social policy objectives and work within public housing communities based on the articulated needs of tenants logically result from a second set of conclusions drawn from the literature: housing policy and social policy should be integrated in order to achieve better health outcomes (Battle and Torjman, 2002, Condor, Istvanffy, Newton and Pitman, 2010, Fallis, 1995, Nichols and Gault, 2003, Nightingale, 2000, Ong, 2008, Perry-Burney and Jennings, 2003, Sard and Springer, 2002); the success of social housing should be measured against both housing outcomes and broad social policy objectives (Atkinson, 2008, Ong, 1998, Riccio, 2006, Sard &

Springer, 2002, Spence, 1993, Carter and Polevychok, 2004); and the persistence of poverty in public housing settings can be explained by economic, social and political structures that disadvantage public housing residents (Atkinson, 2008, Hulse and Saugeres, 2008, Kemp, 1998, Lee, Bancroft and Schroeder, 2005, Ong, 1998, Riccio, 2006, Van Ryzin, Kaestner and Main, 2003, Bania, Coulton and Leete, 2003, Cove et al, 2000, Freeman, 1998). This discourse – community economic development, the interventionist role of the state, social determinants of health and structural explanations of poverty – speaks to social democratic ideology (Mullaly, 2007).

The majority of initiatives underway in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom are based on the neoliberal perspective. However, there remains a distinct and articulate alternative based on a social democratic perspective. Understanding the constitution and implications if the redevelopment of Winnipeg's LSP community since 2009 is part of advancing that social democratic perspective.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The preceding discussion on the background to the problem leads us to the specific gap in the knowledge to be addressed in this thesis: studies that seek to understand and evaluate initiatives based on the social democratic perspective. The selected case, LSP, is a robust example of such an initiative, and takes place within a Canadian context.

This case study then seeks to understand how and why the community of LSP has changed as a result of implementing a series of place-based, integrated initiatives. This case study will also examine the question of why decision-makers chose this approach, rather than choosing an initiative based on the neoliberal perspective, as so many other decision-makers have done.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this thesis is to understand how and why the community of LSP has changed following a multi-year, multi-system, place-based, community driven initiative (generally referred to as “the redevelopment”). The secondary purpose is to understand why the redevelopment was undertaken. The case study relies on data from observations, interviews with key informants and documentation.

LSP was selected as the specific case to study. Beginning in 2009, the Province of Manitoba undertook a three-year, multi-million dollar investment in the “bricks and mortar” of LSP. In addition to the capital investment, the Province has worked with local community groups to include training and employment opportunities for LSP tenants specifically, and north end residents generally, as part of the capital project. What makes the redevelopment at LSP unique, and an especially good candidate for this case study, was that this capital investment was coupled with other concerted multi-systems initiatives in LSP, including a resource centre, adult education and early childhood programs. The inclusion of these other programs was based on needs identified by local residents. A case study of LSP then is a unique opportunity to examine and understand an integrated, place-based approach to changing a public housing community, grounded in the social democratic perspective articulated above.

1.3 Significance of the Study

This thesis hopes to advance social policy discussions related to understanding how and why investments in social housing can make a difference to those communities and the people who live there. This thesis also hopes to advance social work theory related to the value of initiatives driven by the social democratic perspective, employing integrated, place-based

approaches. The research takes place within a social housing community, a unit of analysis not particularly well-examined in the Canadian social work literature.

1.4 Research Questions

The primary research question to be examined is “How and why has the community of Lord Selkirk Park changed as a result of the redevelopment that took place between 2009 and 2012?” A number of research propositions have also been developed. According to Yin (2009), research propositions reflect theoretical issues and help direct the researchers attention to what should be studied. The propositions associated with the primary research question are as follows:

The community of LSP has improved and become a more desirable place to live as a result of the redevelopment.

Residents of the community demonstrate better social cohesion as a result of the redevelopment.

The community of LSP is safer as a result of the redevelopment.

The quality of housing is better as a result of the redevelopment.

Residents of the community have more access to and are using services that could help achieve greater self-sufficiency as a result of the redevelopment.

The redevelopment was successful because it integrated housing supports with other social supports.

The redevelopment was successful because it was based on articulated community needs.

The redevelopment was successful because it dealt with people in their place.

These propositions were derived from community economic development and social determinants of health theory, as will be described in subsequent sections.

This case study will show that by taking an integrated, place-based approach based on community needs, LSP has transformed from an unsafe, divisive neighbourhood to one that is more socially cohesive and safe, and where residents are taking steps to achieve self-sufficiency.

The second research question is “why did decision-makers choose this approach?” The specific proposition behind this question is that *decision-makers held social democratic values*.

1.5 Research Design

This thesis is a qualitative research study, employing a case study method within a pragmatic paradigm of inquiry informed by critical theory. As is typically the case with qualitative studies, the sampling technique employed in this study is purposeful – the community of LSP can “purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study” (Creswell, 2007, p.125). Two specific purposeful sampling strategies were employed. First, theory-based sampling requires finding examples of a theoretical construct in order to elaborate or expand on it (ibid). In this case the redevelopment of LSP was based on the conceptual framework of the social democratic perspective. Second, the selection of LSP was also on the basis of political importance, a case that attracts attention (ibid).

The primary unit of analysis associated with the first of the research questions is the community of LSP – the people, the housing units and the social service and learning organizations situated within its boundaries. Embedded units of analysis are the residents, and the housing stock. The data to be gathered are directly related to the two research questions and their associated propositions, as described in the preceding section. The primary unit of analysis

associated with the second research question is the small group of decision-makers who directed and provided funding for the redevelopment. The data to be gathered, and the methods for gathering it, are described in detail in Chapter Three. The data will then be analyzed through the use of coding, followed by pattern matching (to address the “how” question) and explanation building (to address the “why” questions) (Yin, 2009). Data analysis will also be facilitated by the employment of a conceptually ordered data display (for describing), and a case dynamics matrix (for explaining) (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This thesis relies on two complementary theoretical frameworks: first, community economic development (CED) and second, social determinants of health.

1.6.0 Community Economic Development Theoretical Framework

The following review of CED theory is based largely on the work of John Loxley, and specifically his text *Transforming or Reforming Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Community Economic Development* (2007) and Scott Cumming’s (2001) overview of the history of CED in the American context. Loxley (2007) makes the important differentiation between two distinct types of CED, “growth-based” and “transformative”. Growth-based CED works alongside other capitalist structures in order to “fill in the gaps” in marginalized communities left behind by economic development. Transformative CED is drawn from socialist or anarchist traditions and seeks to replace the capitalist order with democratic co-operatives. CED theory is often operationalized by employing the “Neechi Principles”:

1. Use of locally produced goods and services: purchase of goods and services produced locally; circulation of income within the local community; less income drain; stronger economic linkages within the local community; less dependency

on outside markets; greater community self-reliance; and restoration of balance in the local economy.

2. Production of goods and services for local use: creation of goods and services for use in the local community; circulation of income within the local community; less income drain; stronger economic links within the local community; and less dependency on outside markets; and greater community self-reliance.

3. Local re-investment of profits: use of profits to expand local economic activity; stop profit drain; and investment that increases community self-reliance and co-operation.

4. Long-term employment of local residents: long-term jobs in areas with chronic unemployment or underemployment; reduced dependency on welfare and food banks; opportunities to live more socially productive lives; personal and community self-esteem; and more wages and salaries spent in the local community.

5. Local skill development: training of local residents, training geared to community development; higher labour productivity; greater employability in communities with high unemployment; and greater productive capability of economically depressed areas.

6. Local decision-making: local ownership and control, co-operative ownership and control, grassroots involvement; community self-determination; and people working together to meet community needs.

7. Public health: physical and mental health of community residents; healthier families; more effective schooling; and more productive workforce.

8. Physical environment: healthy, safe, attractive neighbourhoods; and ecological sensitivity.

9. Neighbourhood stability: dependable housing; long-term residency; and base for long-term community development.

10. Human dignity: self-respect; community spirit; gender equality; respect for seniors and Children; Aboriginal pride; and social dignity regardless of psychological differences, ethnic background, colour, creed or sexual orientation.

11. Support for other CED initiatives: mutually supportive trade among organizations with similar community development goals. (CED Network)

The 9th Neechi Principle, neighbourhood stability, is the theoretical basis for one of the “why” propositions - that the redevelopment was successful because it dealt with people in their

place. The 6th Neechi principle, local decision-making, formed the basis for another of the “why” propositions - the redevelopment was successful because it was based on articulated community needs. The 8th Neechi principle, the physical environment, partially formed the theoretical basis for two of the “how” propositions (the community was safer and the quality of housing improved because of the redevelopment).

Scott Cummings, a public interest lawyer in Los Angeles, has prepared a comprehensive overview of CED in the American context (2001). Like Loxley, Cummings contemplates the tension between what he terms “market-based” and “politically activist” approaches to CED, although the latter falls short of considering CED as a model that could replace capitalism. Cumming begins his review of modern CED history with the civil rights movements of the 1960s where the power of mass movements in forcing change became evident. Two related anti-poverty strategies emerged from this period. The first were localized economic strategies that fostered community empowerment. These localized strategies were early evidence of the eventually dominant understanding of “community” as place-focused. The second strategy was large-scale political activities to advance a “broad-based, redistributive economic agenda” (p.417) fronted by organizations like the National Welfare Reform Organization (NWRO) and the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN).

The economic justice strategies that were put in place in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as the basic income security programs that emerged as part of Roosevelt’s New Deal, were placed at risk in the two subsequent decades, described by Cummings as “Reagan neoconservatism in the 1980s followed by Clintonian neoliberalism in the 1990s” when the “deterioration in the economic conditions of the poor (...) shifted antipoverty programs toward market-based reform strategies” (p.421-22). American CED advocates shifted their focus to market- and place-

oriented initiatives within “Community Development Corporations,” abandoning the large-scale economic justice strategies that governed the preceding decades (ibid).

The Canadian literature does not devote the same level of attention to history. Sheldrick (2007), relying on the work of Eric Shragge, traces a brief history of CED in the Canadian context remarkably similar to Cummings narrative. Sheldrick acknowledges that the revolutionary potentiality of CED has not been realized and, following the retrenchment of social programs in the 1980s and 1990s, came to focus on local development as opposed to social action, largely as a result of the dominance of NPM theory in the public sector (ibid). Ostensibly, NPM includes a commitment to encouraging community participation through the diffusion of state power into community-based, alternative service delivery structures. In practice, the limits of community participation are firmly articulated in service delivery agreements. Rather than achieving the objective of democratizing public services, community agencies are instead increasingly bureaucratized in order to meet public sector demands for due diligence and accountability (ibid).

1.6.1 Social Determinants of Health Theoretical Framework

The following review of theory related to the social determinants of health relies largely on the work of Dennis Raphael and his 2004 book, *Social Determinants of Health: Canadian Perspectives*. Raphael relies on the following definition of the term “social determinants of health”:

“Social determinants of health are the economic and social conditions that influence the health of individuals, communities and jurisdictions as a whole. Social determinants of health determine whether individuals stay healthy or become ill (a narrow definition of health). Social determinants of health also determine the extent to which a person possesses the physical, social and personal resources to identify and achieve personal aspirations, satisfy needs and cope with

the environment (a broader definition of health). Social determinants of health are about the quantity and quality of a variety of resources that a society makes available to its members.” (p.1).

Raphael traces the origins of the social determinants of health perspective to the mid-19th century, and particularly to the works of Engels and Virchow. In 1845, Friedrich Engels wrote *The Condition of the Working Class in England* where he specifically linked poor health outcomes to the living conditions of the poor (poverty, poor quality housing and sanitation) and to the day to day stress of living under such conditions. In 1948, Dr. Rudolf Virchow linked a typhus epidemic in Germany to poor living conditions, poor diet and poor hygiene, which he linked in turn to unfair tax policies and a lack of democratic institutions available to the poor who lived under feudal conditions.

A social determinants of health perspective posits that health differences among Canadians result primarily from living and working in different environments (quality of housing, stress of working conditions, quality of education), as opposed to resulting from individual behaviours (smoking, drug use, obesity). These opposing views can also be expressed as explanations of health outcomes - a materialist/ structuralist explanation – focused on the quantity and quality of material conditions available to any given individual, or a cultural/ behavioural explanation – focused on an individual’s particular choices (ibid).

It is worth exploring the materialist/ structuralist explanation further, as it is the basis of the social determinants of health perspective. This explanation of health outcomes is based on a series of causal relationships. First, differences in material conditions accumulate over the course of a lifetime to produce health outcomes (for example, living in mouldy, over-crowded housing for many years results in respiratory illnesses). Second, these differences in material conditions lead to different experiences of stress, which also produces health outcomes (for

example, the stress of income insecurity leads to a weakened immune system). Finally, in response to these stresses, individuals may adopt behaviours that also produce health outcomes (for example, liver problems as a result of alcohol use as a means of coping with stress) (ibid).

Raphael also explores several nuances that have evolved within the literature – specifically the neo-materialist perspective, and the social comparison approach. The neo-materialist perspective hypothesizes that any given society's decisions on how to distribute its material resources (for example, through its social safety net, public infrastructure investments and income redistribution policies) influences the quality of the social determinants of health, which then impacts the health of the individual members of that society. The social comparison approach takes the view that health differences in developed nations are not primarily due to material conditions, per se, but are instead due to how individuals understand their relative standing in the social hierarchy. At the individual level, comparing oneself to others leads to feelings of envy and shame, which leads to both poor health, and poor coping behaviours, which in turn lead to poor health. At the societal level, these same comparisons reduce social cohesion, which leads to poor health, and weakens communal social institutions (like universal health care and public education), which in turn leads to poor health (ibid).

Raphael identifies eleven social determinants of health in the Canadian context: Aboriginal status, early life, education, employment and working conditions, food security, health care services, housing, income and its distribution, social safety net, social exclusion and unemployment and employment security (ibid).

The World Health Organization (WHO) has taken a particular interest in understanding the social determinants of health on a global scale. In 2007, the WHO's Commission on the Social

Determinants of Health (CSDH) commissioned a report on early childhood development. Among its many conclusions was a broad recognition that relative socio-economic status was the “most powerful” explanation for differences in early childhood outcomes (Irwin, Siddiqi and Hertzman, 2007). The WHO subsequently presented social determinants of health within the context of the concept of “health equity” (CSDH, 2008). The WHO identifies several key environments, including: the conditions of early childhood and schooling, the nature of employment and working conditions, the physical form of the built environment and the quality of the natural environment in which people live (CSDH, 2008). Differences in key environments are the result of the inequitable distribution of power, money and resources within and between societies (ibid). Like Raphael’s (2004) social comparison perspective, described above, the WHO, by considering the distribution of power within societies, has come to focus on socioeconomic position as a determinant of health. Socioeconomic position, as a relative measure, offers new perspectives on health equity than the traditional focus on socioeconomic status, an absolute measure (CSDH, 2008).

The CSDH report goes on to stress the importance of policy coherence between government departments in overcoming health inequities. Further, governments at all levels need to reach beyond traditional state structures to involve civil society, and the voluntary and private sectors, in decision-making on health equity issues in order to overcome health disparities (ibid).

For the purposes of this case study it is important to give deeper consideration to housing as a key determinant of health. Toba Bryant (2003) relies on James Dunn’s classification of three dimensions of housing as a social determinant of health: material dimensions, meaningful dimensions and spatial dimensions. Material dimensions refer to the adequacy of the physical infrastructure of the home and the affordability of housing costs. Meaningful dimensions of

housing include one's sense of belonging and control in one's home. Finally, spatial dimensions refer to the home within its larger environment, including proximity to services and exposure to hazards in the surrounding neighbourhoods. The WHO report on early childhood development speaks to the same concepts summarized in Bryant (ibid) but also stresses that strong child, parent and caregiver relationships within neighbourhoods can affect childhood resilience (Irwin, Siddiqi and Hertzman, 2007). Further, the extent to which there are mutually helpful relationships within a community is a primary driver of social inclusion, which in turn positively affects health (ibid). The 2008 CSDH report summarizes the importance of healthy homes to individual health outcomes as follows:

“Communities and neighbourhoods that ensure access to basic goods, that are socially cohesive, that are designed to promote good physical and psychological well-being, and that are protective of the natural environment are essential for health equity” (CSDH, 2008, p. 4).

Returning to the research propositions for this case study, the “how” propositions regarding quality of housing (a material dimension), access to services and safety (spatial dimensions) and desirability of LSP as a place to live and social cohesion (meaningful dimensions) are drawn from this social determinants of health / health equity literature (Bryant, 2003, Irwin, Siddiqi and Hertzman, 2007, CSDH, 2008). The importance of “policy coherence” (CSDH, 2008) in order to advance health equity led to the proposition that the redevelopment was successful because it integrated housing supports with other social supports (a “why” proposition).

1.7 Definition of Terms

This thesis relies on the following definitions of key concepts used through-out the report.

Community: people with common interests living in a particular area (Merriam-Webster on-line dictionary).

Social housing: housing managed on a non-profit basis by landlords such as provincial agencies, non-profit organizations, municipal authorities and co-operatives, with capital and/or operating costs subsidized by the state (modified from Goodlad & Atkinson, 2007).

Public housing: housing owned and managed by public sector agencies, principally provinces (but mainly municipalities in the Ontario context) (modified from Goodlad and Atkinson, 2007).

Social Cohesion: the sense of shared values and commitment to community across the dimensions of belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition and legitimacy (Jenson, 2002).

Community Economic Development/Place-Based Approaches: approaches that entail developing mechanisms that enable policy-makers to access local knowledge held by community residents and their networks (Hay, 2005).

Self-sufficiency: a state of being where the household is less reliant on income supports provided by the state in favour of employment income for those able to work. Initiatives that improve self-sufficiency include training, education and employment activities. (modified from the Neechi Principles, CED Network).

1.8 Summary

This chapter began by providing an overview of the literature related to the case study by examining four distinct research themes: the interaction between housing policy and social policy, the perceived role of social housing, the question of why poverty is so persistent in public housing communities and initiatives that have taken place in social housing communities in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. This section concludes with an examination

of the two distinct schools of thought that emerge from each of these research themes, the linkages across those themes, and their basis in either neoliberal ideology or social democratic ideology. Following this synthesis of the available literature, the “gap in the research” is identified: studies that seek to understand and evaluate interventions based on a social democratic ideology.

Subsequent sections considered the purpose and significance of the study. This case study of LSP is a unique opportunity to examine an intervention within a public housing community based on social democratic values. It is hoped that this thesis is relevant to both social policy (decisions on how investments should be made in social housing communities) and social theory (advancement of the social democratic perspective).

The next sections outlined the primary research questions: “How and why did the community of LSP change as a result of the intervention”; and “Why did decision-makers choose this intervention?” and the associated propositions. In order to answer these questions, this thesis is a qualitative study that uses a case study method within a pragmatic paradigm of inquiry, informed by critical theory.

The final sections provide an overview of the theoretical frameworks guiding this research – community economic development theory and social determinants of health theory, as well as definitions for some of the key concepts used throughout this paper.

Chapter Two will expand on the background of the problem with a detailed examination of the four themes covered in the literature along with the conclusion that perspectives on these four themes fall broadly within the social democratic or neoliberal ideological traditions. Chapter Three will provide an overview of the methodological issues considered in the study and detail

the study design. Chapter Four will present the case study in question, including a brief history of LSP, an overview of the redevelopment and a brief examination of a similar study conducted in the communities of Gilbert Park and LSP. The main focus of Chapter Four will be the presentation of the data gathered in response to the research questions and associated propositions. Finally, Chapter Five will attempt to answer the research questions, relate the conclusions back to the research gap and significance of the study as identified in this chapter, address the limits of the findings, identify unanticipated findings and identify questions for further research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Predominantly during the 1970s and 1980s, some 600,000 social housing units were built across Canada (Guest, 1985). These units, once seen as temporary stopovers for individuals and families needing housing assistance during periods of unemployment (Prince, 1998) have now become symbols of long-standing urban poverty across North America, characterized by high rates of crime and welfare dependency (Crump, 2003, Silver, 2011, Quercia & Galster, 1997). Policy-makers and academics have invested significant time and resources into understanding this phenomenon and proposing solutions.

This thesis examines literature related to four broad themes particularly relevant to understanding the context of the case study: the interaction between social policy broadly and housing policy specifically; the perceived role of social housing, originally, today and looking forward; perspectives on why poverty in social housing communities is so persistent; and interventions in public housing communities across Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom ostensibly aimed at reducing poverty and improving household self-sufficiency. The literature review then concludes with a synthesis that posits that perspectives on these four themes fall generally within two categories, one based in a neoliberal theoretical tradition, and the other based in a social democratic theoretical tradition.

2.0 Interaction between Social Policy and Housing Policy

Despite a preponderance of evidence of the deplorable living conditions in Canada's industrial centres through the 1920s and 1930s, including a study by the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations in 1919 and surveys of housing conditions in Toronto (1934) and Montreal (1935) by the National Construction Council, Canada's social housing program was not

introduced until 1944 (Guest, 1995). This year saw the release of the Curtis Report and the passage of the *National Housing Act* (Guest, 1995). The *Act*, and the subsequent creation of the Central (now Canada) Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) came on the heels of World War Two and was portrayed as a job creation initiative for the construction sector (Carroll & Jones, 2000). Underlying the *Act* was the principle that the persistent problems of adequate, affordable housing for the working poor would be addressed through a process of “filtering”, where housing for low-income families becomes available when middle-income families vacate their small, older and cheaper housing for the suburbs (Carroll, 1989). Unfortunately, the introduction of the *Act* did not result in large-scale social housing construction – between 1949 and 1963, only 11,000 new units of social housing were built across Canada (Bacher, 1988).

Following changes to the *Act* in 1964, construction of new social housing began in earnest as a result of the coming together of a number of factors, including the baby boomers beginning household formation, the urban reform movement and the subsequent eradication of large tracts of slum housing, and the assumption of more powers by the provinces relative to those of the federal government (Carroll and Jones, 2000). Some 600,000 social housing units were built between the mid-1960s and 1993. At that time, the federal government, followed by the provincial governments, announced their intention to cease funding for further housing development (Skelton, Selig and Deane, 2006). However, as noted by Carroll and Jones (2000), even during the period of sustained social housing construction, the role of the state gradually evolved. First, the federal government shifted responsibility for development to the provinces. Provinces subsequently changed their role from building and directly managing social housing to facilitating the efforts of municipalities, non-profit and cooperative providers to do the same.

This period is eloquently summed up by Jack Layton (2000) in his book *Homelessness: The Making and Unmaking of a Crisis*:

“As the political pendulum swung away from the interventionist state, housing programs, like many others, were left dangling by threads. First to go was the federal thread, as national support for new affordable housing was phased out. Then, in most provincial legislatures, the threads were sliced, too. Left alone, the threadbare municipal strand could no longer sustain the weight of responsibility to house all Canadians. Housing production fell completely into the realm of private economic activity.” (p.xxi)

Following the decision to cease funding in 1993, there was little new activity related to social housing construction. It was not until 2001 when the provinces and the federal government began signing new Affordable Housing Agreements that construction began anew. Since 2001, social housing construction has been on a much smaller scale than in the previous decades, and focused on “affordable” housing targeting homeownership initiatives and rental housing for moderate-income households rather than traditional social housing targeting low-income seniors and families (Skelton, Selig and Deane, 2006).

The preceding section traced the ebb and flow of housing policy related to the construction of new social housing units. It is also important to consider how housing policy evolved over that same time with regard to who was eligible to live in those units. For most of this period of new housing construction, tenants were generally a mix of the working poor, low-income seniors, and families on social assistance (Hulchanski, 2002). However, in 1985, the federal government announced its new housing policy in a 33 page booklet titled *A National Direction for Housing Solutions*. This policy document indicated that current programming was expensive and inefficient, and that, going forward, housing programs were to be focused on those with the greatest need (ibid). New housing constructed under the “post-‘85” programs was

targeted to the lowest income individuals and families, and rents were set at “rent-g geared-to-income” levels (CMHC, 2011).

As Canadian housing policy evolved, so too did the larger social policy agenda. Social programs began with relatively small initiatives designed to address the most egregious results of turn-of-the-century working conditions: Worker’s Compensation helped address dangerous job sites; legislation gradually increasing the minimum age for work helped limit child labour; old age pensions assisted the elderly; and minimum wage legislation was established for women and girls, who were typically the lowest paid and most exploited members of the workforce (Guest, 1985). During the Depression, programs evolved to include direct cash relief for the unemployed. War-time programs such as Mother’s and Children’s Allowances were designed to address the most intimate consequences of the war, the death of a husband/father and wage-earner. Canada’s first universal benefit, the Family Allowance program, was introduced in 1945 (ibid). It was not until the post-war period and the so-called “Golden Age of the Welfare State” that nationwide, uniform, comprehensive programs were introduced, including the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans (1965), the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) (1966) and the *Medical Care Act* (1966) (ibid).

Similar to the discussion on the evolution of housing policy, retrenchment of social programs began in earnest in the 1980s. By the 1990s, retrenchment came to define social policy, as epitomized by the replacement of federal transfers for income support under CAP with the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) (ibid). The introduction of the CHST was the start of the widespread introduction of “welfare reform”, a euphemism for minimizing the role of the state in social programs, reducing costs and program changes that pushed poor households into the labour market (Prince, 1998).

Despite having evolved in similar ways, social policy generally stood apart from housing policy throughout this period. An examination of major historical reviews of social policy undertaken in the post-war period, including the Marsh Report (1943), the Working Paper on Social Security in Canada (1973), and the Social Security Review (1994) reveals that they did not examine matters of social housing (Fallis, 1995, Prince, 1998, Vaillancourt & Ducharme, 2001). Carter and Polevychok (2004) indicate that “housing policy has never been fully integrated member of the social policy club” (p. 30). Vaillancourt and Ducharme (2001) contrast the Canadian situation with that of the United Kingdom, where “social housing assumes a central position in the social policy literature” (p. 7). Fallis (1995) asserts that the dominant Canadian perspective has held that social housing is a physical asset, connected to urban planning and architecture, rather than a social program, connected to income, health and child development policy.

Several possible reasons for this divide between social policy and housing policy are examined in the literature. Fallis (1995) points to the early emphasis of CMHC on building and maintaining the ‘bricks and mortar’ of a project, rather than on understanding and acting on the needs of the tenants themselves:

“An analysis of potential coordination and integration of social housing and other social policy programs would require a picture of the occupants of social housing. The relative lack of data about occupants is indicative of how different housing policy is from social policy. Housing policy has emphasized getting new units built. It has not emphasized how the entire stock is a ‘program’ delivering assistance to a certain group of people.” (p.31)

American and Australian authors point to the fact that in the early days of social housing construction, many tenants were working and not accessing traditional social services (Atkinson, 2008, Joseph, 2006, Newman and Harkness, 2002, Quercia and

Galster, 1997, Santiago & Galster, 2003). As described by Newman (2000): “At the time, there was more of a mix of working-poor, lower-class families, and very disadvantaged families. The result is that conversations about housing policy have never been conversations about poverty” (p.19).

Despite the ongoing divide some call for greater integration between housing policy and social policy in order to assist households to become more self-sufficient (see, for example, Atkinson, 2008, Bryant, 2003, Carter and Polevychok, 2004, Riccio, 2006, Silver, 2011, Vaillancourt & Ducharme, 2001). The first rationale for greater integration is rather pragmatic – simply that there is a significant overlap between those families and individuals receiving social services (particularly income supports) and those receiving some sort of housing subsidy. An integrated approach is therefore a relatively efficient way to serve those in need (Riccio, 2006).

The second, broader rationale is based on social determinants of health perspective – that there is a link between having safe, affordable, appropriately sized housing and the physical and mental health and general well-being of families and individuals (Battle and Torjman, 2002, Condor, Istvanffy, Newton and Pitman, 2010, Fallis, 1995, Nichols and Gault, 2003, Nightingale, 2000, Ong, 2008, Perry-Burney and Jennings, 2003, Sard and Springer, 2002). By addressing housing needs, one can free up the resources to address matters of self-sufficiency:

“Housing insecurity, whether for home-owners or renters, requires a constant juggling of priorities to keep a roof over one’s head that undermines physical and mental health, denies an individual or family the opportunity to identify and address the factors that underlie poverty, and isolates them from positive community connection. Housing insecurity creates the conditions for acute and chronic illness of all sorts, and increases the ease with which infectious diseases are shared.” (Health Nexus and Ontario Disease Prevention Alliance, 2008, p.31)

The promise of linking housing policy and social policy to better achieve self-sufficiency objectives has been reviewed in a number of spheres. For example, Carter and Polevychok

(2004) specifically examine the links between housing and health, education, immigrant settlement and income security. Cooper (2001) discusses the link between affordable housing and child development outcomes.

A second perspective on the potential benefit of integrating housing policy with social policy sees the potential to link housing policy with the broad objectives of welfare reform (Crump, 2003, Glynn, 2009, Hackworth, 2009a, Kemp, 2000). The American academic, Jeff Crump, explores this idea in depth in his article “The End of Public Housing as We Know It: Public Housing Policy, Labor Regulation and the US City” (2003). Of particular concern to Crump is the introduction of *The Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act* of 1998. This *Act* sets out the policy framework for the demolition of public housing and its replacement with mixed-income projects and institutionalizes housing “choice” for low-income Americans as policy mantra. However, the *Act* also puts in legislation a connection between work requirements for welfare recipients and the continuance of housing assistance. Crump traces the origin of this policy shift to the propaganda war waged against public housing:

“Widely disseminated media images of welfare mothers living in decayed public housing projects were used to develop a linkage between the morally loaded concept of welfare dependency and the material landscape of public housing.” (p.181).

Specifically, the *Act* included Welfare to Work (WtW) vouchers which introduced work requirements into social housing lease agreements. Failure to abide by these agreements could result in eviction. According to Crump, “rather than being an escape from poverty, WtW is a labor regulation policy” (ibid, p. 185). Given the shortage of affordable housing as a result of widespread demolition, this threat of eviction has created a compliant (and indeed, motivated) labour force for the plethora of low-wage jobs available in the burgeoning service economy

(ibid). This perspective is not limited to the American context. Margaret Wentz, a Canadian journalist, recently advocated this approach in the *Globe and Mail* (May 11, 2011), calling for changes to public housing policy in Toronto in order to better emulate the American model that specifically requires able-bodied tenants to work.

Kemp (2000) draws similar conclusions in his examination of social housing policy and welfare reform in the British context. Like Crump's depiction of the morality ascribed to public housing, Kemp examines the importance of the "work ethic" in British society. This moralism was manifested in policy propositions in the Department of Social Services 1998 Green Paper that stressed programs that promoted individual "character" and "responsibility" and cautioned against policies that unintentionally encouraged fraud. According to the Green Paper, reform of housing benefit was critical to improving work incentives (and thus improving character), improving responsibility (by giving tenants greater choice and control over their benefits) and by enhancing provisions to reduce fraud (ibid). Only one of these policies, fraud reduction, was further explored in the subsequent Green paper released by the Department of the Environment, Transport and Regions (DETR) – *Quality and Choice: A Decent Home for All, The Housing Green Paper* (2000). The Paper proposes further integration of the social service and housing systems to better investigate fraud across multiple systems, including pooled investigation resources and "shared intelligence" (DETR, p.112).

In sum, this section traces the history of Canadian housing policy specifically, and social policy broadly. Despite following similar trajectories, the two policy agendas have remained quite separate (Fallis, 1995, Prince, 1998, Vaillancourt & Ducharme, 2001, Carter and Polevychok, 2004). There are several reasons for this separation postulated in the literature, with many writers pointing to the fact that it was not until housing eligibility was refocused on those

in the most need that housing problems became poverty problems (Atkinson, 2008, Joseph, 2006, Newman and Harkness, 2002, Quercia and Galster, 1997, Santiago & Galster, 2003). Despite the separation, there is significant literature that advocates for an integrated approach, based on a social determinants of health theoretical framework (Battle and Torjman, 2002, Condor, Istvanffy, Newton and Pitman, 2010, Fallis, 1995, Nichols and Gault, 2003, Nightingale, 2000, Ong, 2008, Perry-Burney and Jennings, 2003, Sard and Springer, 2002). However, an alternate view demonstrates the potential to include housing policy as part of the larger toolkit to advance welfare reform objectives, forcing social housing tenants into the low-wage workforce (Crump, 2003, Glynn, 2009, Hackworth, 2009a, Kemp, 2000).

2.1 Role of Social Housing

This review of the literature includes an examination of views on first, the original intent of the social housing programs, second, the current role, and finally different perspectives on the future of social housing.

There are several views within both the Canadian and American literature on the original intent of social housing program within the North American context. Carroll (1989), a Canadian writer and Quercia and Glaster (1997), American writers, both assert that the real intent of the social housing program was job creation and was one of many public construction programs taking place at the time. Further, Carroll (1989) is of the view that construction of new social housing was a relatively minor objective of the initial *Act*. It focused instead on stimulating construction in the private market, with a particular focus on homeownership units. In that regard, the *Act* could be seen as quite a success – the private housing stock in Canada almost doubled between 1945 and 1968 (ibid).

Finally, for some, the provision of the housing itself – safe, clean, affordable housing for families temporarily in need of assistance – is seen as a primary goal (Newman, Basgal & Nightingale, 2000). As articulated by Hulchanski (2002), this understanding of social housing is rooted in a belief that housing is a human right. The subordinate nature of this view is perhaps best explained by Bacher (1988):

“The 1944 *National Housing Act*, which provided the basis for all subsequent legislation, perhaps best epitomizes Canadian housing policy’s retreat from the goal of providing Canadians with adequate shelter. In the place of such a social purpose, the objectives of Canadian housing policy have included the promotion of homeownership, the revival of the real estate business, the provision of profitable outlets for private investment, economic stabilization, the attraction of workers to munitions plants and the sheltering of angry veterans in the wake of a housing crisis. Perhaps the common thread running through all these objectives is the overriding goal of actually avoiding a government commitment to a housing policy based on social need, for this was viewed throughout the period as a dangerous ‘socialization’ of a major capitalistic institution, the housing industry.” (p.10)

As discussed in the previous section, in 1985, social housing evolved to focus eligibility criteria more specifically on those with the highest need for housing assistance. Because of this change, social housing came to be home to high concentrations of very low-income families and seniors (Hulchanski, 2002). Rather than serving low-income and working families on a temporary basis, the mandate of social housing was now focused on households in “core housing need” who would be charged rent on the basis of their income (CMHC, 2011). Almost thirty years later, social housing in Canada was virtually a dirty word, described by one writer as “depressing and difficult places to live” (Finkel, 2006, p. 334).

Social housing policy is now in the midst of another evolution. However, researchers and academics remain divided on this future vision. Some imagine a future when social housing is understood as a social program, and is fully integrated with other social policy objectives that

puts the welfare of tenants first. Others however, see a future when social housing is more clearly focused on the “business” of housing, collecting rents, maintaining buildings, and staying focused on the bottom line.

Turning to this second vision, much of the literature examining this option focuses on concepts like privatizing the social housing stock (Klymchuk, 2008), replacing existing social housing with new, mixed-income communities (ideally created through private-public partnerships) (Glynn, 2009a), and providing displaced tenants with housing vouchers and allowing them to choose new housing in the private rental market (Goodlad and Atkinson, 2007). The remaining social housing stock is retained for those with extraordinary need (Quercia & Galster, 1997).

One example of this vision is put forward by Daniel Klymchuk (2008), writing on behalf of the Frontier Centre for Public Policy. Klymchuk makes the case for selling Manitoba’s public housing stock in his article “Helping 21,000 More Manitobans: The Case for Selling Public Housing in Manitoba”. He begins by reviewing the array of housing programs available in Manitoba, as well as recent criticisms of the management of the Manitoba Housing Authority. He then asks “considering the challenging condition of, both, the department and the capital starved rental units, the obvious question arises, why not sell the real estate portfolio?” (p. 4). Although his assumptions are not clear, Klymchuk asserts that by selling the portfolio, there would be administrative savings of \$25 million annually. If this \$25 million were then focused on “needy” tenants, governments could offer subsidies to 21,000 of these tenants to live in the private market. Further, by selling the portfolio, the province would be able to pay down the provincial debt, resulting in further savings. Other than providing rental subsidies so that low-income tenants can live in the private market, the only remaining role for governments is to

provide additional subsidies to those that are particularly “hard-to-house”, including seniors, persons with disabilities and very large households.

This second vision also includes an articulation of performance measures on which to measure the success of social housing programs. These measures do not judge whether or not social housing programs succeed at providing safe, affordable housing but instead evaluate social housing programs on the basis of profit and loss (Goodlad and Atkinson, 2007, Hackworth, 2009b, Spirings, 2010) and its success in moving people out of social housing and into the private rental or homeownership markets (King, 2010; Klymchuk, 2008). Families are not tenants but are instead “consumers” of a chosen housing commodity (Silver, 2011). This new discourse of choice, profit-driven performance measures, and the reservation of social housing for the most deserving is encapsulated by the Housing Green Paper, *Quality and Choice: A Decent Home for All* (2000) published by the United Kingdom’s Department of the Environment, Transport and Regions (DETR). The Paper sets out eight “key principles” guiding housing policy development. While several of these principles seem to be what one would traditionally expect of a social housing program, others embrace the new discourse (Dodson, 2006):

- Offering everyone **opportunity, choice and a stake in their home**, whether rented or owned.
- Ensuring an adequate supply of decent housing to meet needs.
- **Giving responsibility to individuals** to provide for their own homes where they can, providing help for those who cannot.
- Improving the quality and design on the housing stock, new housing and residential environments, helping to achieve an urban renaissance and protecting the countryside.
- **Delivering modern, efficient, customer-focused public services and empowering individuals** to influence them.
- **Reducing barriers to work**, particularly in relation to benefit and rent policy.

- **Supporting vulnerable people**² and tackling all forms of social exclusion, including bad housing, homelessness, poverty, crime and poor health.
- Promoting sustainable development that supports thriving, **balanced communities** and a high quality of life in urban and rural areas. (DETR, 2000, p.16, emphasis mine).

Dodson (2006) comments that the Green Paper is notable for its emphasis on “rational, choice-oriented consumers” (p. 5) and administrative reforms that emphasize financial investment, division of housing assets amongst providers (by transferring stock from state-run managers to private sector and community-based landlords), incorporating market-based rent setting principles and greater managerial efficiency. Notably, the U.K. context is indelibly influenced by the Right to Buy program, introduced by Margaret Thatcher in 1980. This program, based on the ideological imperative that homeownership is central to any efforts to increase self-sufficiency (King, 2010), has skewed any discussion on housing policy in the U.K. to promoting the merits of homeownership at the expense of any other tenure (ibid).

The preceding description of one perspective on the future of social housing has been operationalized in social housing management through the employment of New Public Management (NPM) principles. NPM is a theory of public sector management that represents a significant shift in the organization and management of public sector organizations, including the social housing sector, rejecting the traditional bureaucratic approach in favour of mechanisms borrowed from the private sector (Charih and Daniels, 1997). Richard Walker (2000, 2001), describing the application of NPM to the social housing sector, theorizes that NPM principles could be organized between two broad themes: externalization, or privatization of housing stock and the promotion of housing as a commodity: and managerialisation, the promotion of efficiencies, accountabilities and customer service, usually resulting in fewer financial resources

² Similar to Klymchuk (2008), the Green Paper describes “vulnerable people” as the elderly and disabled (p. 10)

available to housing providers. Walker (2001) goes on to describe the changes to the social housing sector under a NPM regime:

“the impact of the NPM reforms and the use of private finance in particular has been to drive organizational behavior in a particular direction, promoting a business ethos and a performance culture. This has upgraded ‘core business’ as associations have had to focus upon the collection of rents, the letting of properties and the repair and maintenance of the stock. This has been at the expense of the more traditional concerns with the welfare of tenants and the regeneration of homes and neighbourhoods”. (p. 690)

Walker then goes on to consider the “end game” of NPM advocates in the social housing sector. His 2001 paper, “How to Abolish Public Housing” concludes: “Finally, and in relation to the title of this paper, the lesson on how to abolish public housing given the evidence available in England and Wales is simple. The policy formula reads thus: starve it of resources, create a hostile environment and wait. In time it will abolish itself!” This same view is articulated by Burke (2004), who describes NPM within the Australian social housing sector as “the last resort of governments and housing agencies that have run out of ideas or funds or both” (p. 2). Burke goes on to conclude that “the outcome, if Australian social housing can be used as an example, is to weaken the system it is purportedly improving. But perhaps that is the real intent. The system can then be replaced by demand-side housing allowances, which require minimal governance” (p. 6).

This vision, a return to the core business of property management employing NPM techniques, is one direction for social housing currently being advanced. There is a second vision, a holistic view of social housing that puts the welfare of tenants ahead of the “bottom line” (Atkinson, 2008, Ong, 1998, Riccio 2006, Sard & Springer, 2002 and Spence, 1993). Carter and Polevychok eloquently sum up this second view of the potential role of social housing: “social housing can become the basis for re-integration into mainstream society. It can

become the platform for success of other social policy initiatives. It can be the foundation for independence.” (2004, p.37). This same sentiment is expressed by Silver (2011): public housing “can be places where poor people transform their lives by building their capacities and capabilities” (p. 139). Social housing can achieve these objectives by promoting collaboration between housing departments and other departments responsible for social supports like education and workforce development (Sard and Springer, 2002, Atkinson, 2008), by offering on-site services that promote self-sufficiency (Riccio, 2007), and by the state recognizing and supporting that public housing residents themselves know what they need to change their lives (Silver, 2011). In Manitoba, this holistic vision is supported by the provincial government. It is useful to compare the guiding principles of the provincial department of Housing and Community Development (HCD) in its strategy document, *Strong Communities: An Action Plan* (2011) with those described in the DETR’s Green Paper:

- **Housing and community development are interrelated with health, education and social and economic well-being:** Manitoba Housing and Community Development must work with other provincial departments and agencies to develop and deliver appropriate policies and programs.
- Investment is maximized through efficient and effective use of resources: Manitoba Housing and Community Development must **make the most of its investment by co-ordinating housing and community development programs and services with other public policy areas.**
- Increase independence and self-reliance of people and their communities: Provincial housing and community development initiatives **help local people meet local needs**, and support the development of individual and community capacity.
- **Partnerships strengthen the housing environment and our communities: Government, community groups, Aboriginal organizations, the private sector and all citizens must work together to build communities and support the effective functioning of the housing market.**
- Housing and healthy communities are a shared responsibility: Individuals, communities, the private and non-profit sectors **and all levels of government are responsible** for good housing outcomes and healthy communities.
- Housing and community development activities **strive to promote social inclusion: Citizens must be encouraged to help address local issues that affect their lives. We must support them in their efforts** to increase their economic and social independence,

personal accountability, individual choice and the equitable development of Manitoba communities. Manitoba Housing and Community Development activities and operations are **designed to promote well-being and human dignity, provide local employment, develop local skills and knowledge, and encourage local ownership and decision-making whenever possible.**

- Strong communities have a range of housing options and community development activities that foster **economic, social and environmental goals**: A variety of tools are needed to respond successfully to the changing circumstances of residents and communities (Manitoba Housing and Community Development, 2011, p. 7).

Unlike the DETR, with its focus on consumer choice, individual responsibility and the primacy of the market, HCD's principles emphasize the relationships between housing and other social policy spheres, the importance of a coordinated approach and the importance of supporting local decision-making.

Another example of this holistic vision of the potential role of social housing programs has been put forward in the United States by the Council of Large Public Housing Authorities (CLPHA, 2008). The CLPHA's framework on the future of public housing affirms their belief that "decent and affordable housing is a fundamental building block for healthy families and communities", that this goal can be reached by asserting a "new paradigm" for public housing, one that "fosters access to new partners who can bring additional resources and expertise to address the human service needs of residents". This framework rejects "the prevailing view that our task is merely to allocate and manage the scarce resources which the existing program model and politics provide" (CLPHA, 2008, p. 1).

The CLPHA goes on to assert its own performance measures for the social housing program. Rather than focusing on profit and loss and the displacement of tenants into the private rental market, the CLPHA focuses on the "triple bottom line results of promoting economic opportunity, environmental sustainability and social equity" (ibid, p. 5). The CLPHA writes that the federal government can help social housing providers achieve these objectives by reinvesting

in the social housing stock, by establishing new partnerships, particularly to enhance tenant services and lessen the environmental impact of social housing operations, and by putting in place institutional reforms, including “reliable and adequate operating subsidies to support the public housing reinvestment strategy” (ibid, p. 6).

Returning to Manitoba, where the province is the largest social housing provider, the Department of Housing and Community Development outlines its objective of “building communities and revitalizing neighbourhoods while engaging residents in the process” (Manitoba Housing and Community Development, 2011, p. 3). This objective will be met by promoting and supporting community development, building greater community capacity, sustaining the existing social and affordable housing stock, addressing affordability and increasing the supply of quality, affordable housing, enhancing client opportunities and services, and building the capacity of the department (ibid).

The preceding paragraphs have presented two very different visions for the future of social housing, relying on perspectives provided by Canadian, American, British and Australian academics. These two perspectives are summarized below in Table One.

In sum, this section reviews different perspectives on the role of social housing in society, employing Canadian, American, British and Australian literature. As described by Bacher (1998), the early intent of the program varied depending on which rationale was the most politically expedient at any given time. Rarely was it related to the actual provision of affordable shelter. Policy changes in 1985 dramatically changed the role of social housing in Canada, serving to narrow its focus to housing the very neediest Canadians. Looking ahead, there are two very different perspectives on the next evolution of social housing policy. The first perspective

understands social housing as a business and by employing NPM practices, advances an agenda of privatization and consumer choice (Goodlad & Atkinson, 2007, Hackworth, 2009b, Spirings, 2010, Hulchanski, 2002). A second perspective advocates that social housing is a program and by collaborating with other social programs, can be a venue for the integrated delivery of a range of social services that could potentially improve individual and family self-sufficiency (Atkinson, 2008, Ong, 1998, Riccio 2006, Sard & Springer, 2002 and Spence, 1993, Carter and Polevychok, 2004).

Table One: Perspectives on the Future of Social Housing

Vision	Social housing is the business of collecting rents and maintaining buildings	Social housing is a social program, integrated with other social programs
Key concepts	Privatization Consumer choice Housing stock limited to those most in need, most often seniors, persons with disabilities	Healthy families and communities Collaboration Social housing residents know what they need to improve their lives
Performance measures	Profit and loss Moving tenants out of social housing and into the private market	Economic opportunity for tenants Environmental responsibility Building and revitalizing communities Engaging tenants
How performance is achieved	New Public Management techniques	Supporting community development Reinvestment Partnerships with other departments, private sector, community agencies, tenants

2.2 Perspectives on the Persistence of Poverty in Social Housing

The following section examines a range of explanations advanced to explain poverty in social housing settings. This section will also review studies that have attempted to determine why poverty is so persistent in social housing.

First, some studies consider the inherent work disincentive associated with rent geared-to-income (RGI) policies associated with social housing – that is, as one’s income increases or decreases, one’s rent is raised or reduced accordingly, a phenomenon unique to social housing (Atkinson, 2008, Hulse and Saugeres, 2008, Kemp, 1998, Lee, Bancroft and Schroeder, 2005, Ong, 1998, Riccio, 2006, Van Ryzin, Kaestner and Main, 2003). Next, as explained by Bania, Coulton, and Leete (2003), the spatial mismatch hypothesis (originating with Kain, 1968) hypothesizes that economic isolation (geographical distance coupled with poor public transportation) separates poor inner-city residents from entry level job opportunities that have been “suburbanized” in order for businesses to locate closer to their middle income, suburban customers. This suburbanization has especially affected the retail and service industries (ibid). The effects of economic isolation are compounded by real or perceived discrimination against job-seekers with a social housing address (Atkinson, 2008; Reingold, Van Ryzin and Ronda, 2001). In addition to spatial mismatches, social housing residents also encounter skills mismatches, when an individual’s education and skills are not relevant to the needs of the labour market (Freeman, 1998). Freeman (ibid) also hypothesizes that the cost and availability of private sector housing is a significant force that keeps poor people living in social housing.

Other writers examine the phenomenon labeled ‘concentration effects’ which theorizes that by placing large concentrations of low-income families and individuals together within a neighbourhood (i.e. a social housing community), poor neighbourhood conditions will result, including a generalized disincentive to work (Van Ryzin, Kaestner and Main, 2003). A sub-set of this literature posits that the social networks of social housing residents tend to be both smaller and more homogenous than those of low-income people living in the private rental market,

impairing their ability to build “bridging networks” that enable people to “get ahead” (Reingold, Van Ryzin and Ronda, 2001, Kleit, 2001).

Some of these explanations of the persistence of poverty in social housing have been tested. Researchers who have looked at how RGI policies may serve as a disincentive to work have found instead that these policies can free up income for the expenses associated with finding and maintaining employment, such as child care, transportation and appropriate clothing (Harkness and Newman, 2006, Van Ryzin, Kaestner and Main, 2003). Indeed, individuals and families who finally access affordable, appropriately-sized social housing are in a better position than their counter-parts housed in the private market (or not housed at all) to devote energy to looking for and maintaining employment (Harkness and Newman, 2006, Riccio, 2006, Van Ryzin, Kaestner and Main, 2003). Harkness and Newman (2006) expand on this theory, pointing out that not having secure housing can disrupt schedules and hinder job search activities; that frequent moves and poor health (especially for children) that results from unaffordable, poor quality housing can drain both emotional and financial reserves; and that not having a permanent address can be an impediment to a successful job search. Condor et al (2010) set out to understand how moving into social housing affected families in the Greater Vancouver area. They interviewed 17 key informants, primarily housing providers, and 85 families who recently moved into social housing. The results showed substantial positive improvements to the families’ quality of life, largely attributed to their new housing circumstances. These improvements included better quality, more suitable (relative to the size of the family) housing, improved physical and mental health (generally attributed to less stress as a result of improved finances), better school performance for the children, increased access to services and amenities (including education and training programs), and increased community involvement.

Cove et al (2008), examining the spatial mismatch hypothesis, conclude that it is too simple an explanation of how place of residence and self-sufficiency interact, finding that a family's decision on where to locate goes beyond being near employment opportunities to include issues like neighbourhood safety, affordability and access to child care.

Turning to the contention that “concentration effects” create a disincentive to work, there is ample literature that specifically and wholly rejects this explanation. The literature reviewed supports the contention that living in social housing itself does not have a negative effect on individual employment or earnings, but rather these effects were the result of personal characteristics and general neighbourhood disadvantage (Atkinson, 2008, Freeman, 1998, Galster and Zobel, 1998, Ong, 1998, Reingold, Van Ryzin and Ronda, 2001, Riccio, 2006, Van Ryzin et al, 2003, Zeilenbach, 2003). For example:

“In other words, residing in public housing in itself does not have an independent effect. The phenomenon is not due to place, per se, but to the mix of people. Consequently, there is no support for the belief that public housing projects are a breeding ground for dysfunctional work-related behavior. Therefore, we cannot eliminate social and economic problems by simply eliminating public housing projects.” (Ong, 1998, p. 790)

Further countering the concentration effects hypothesis are several studies that see social housing projects as communities in their own right, where people know each other, feel safe, and care about each other. Arthurson (2002) in her study of four housing estates in Australia finds that tenants and housing administrators alike regularly refer to their communities using terms like “closeness”, “resilience”, “innovation”, “self-sufficient” and “co-operative” (p. 253). Silver (2011), in his analysis of the changes to Regent Park (RP) in Toronto, tries to capture the sense of community amongst the “old-timers” who express feelings of safety and familiarity with the “RP culture” (p. 83). Similarly, residents of Uniacke Square, a social housing community in

Halifax, see their community and its residents as “strong”, where “many people are doing well” (ibid, p.104). An especially telling example comes from a report in *Harper’s Magazine* where a former resident of Cabrini-Green, a particularly demonized housing project³ in Chicago, tells us of his decision to leave the community:

“Just before we parted, I brought up a scene in the Cabrini-Green documentary, filmed in 1999, where he explains his decision to leave the project to his then eleven-year-old son, Trevonte. ‘Why are you quitting?’ Trevonte demands, pleading with his dad to keep the family at Cabrini. Looking back, Pratt thought it silly to believe he should have listened to an eleven-year-old. Yet, when they moved, Trevonte ended up travelling to and from school on his own, returning to an empty house. He skipped classes, got involved in gangs and drugs. At Cabrini, Pratt believed, none of that would have happened. Trevonte’s grandmother, his uncles and aunts, they would have all watched out for him. His older cousins would have seen him hanging out and ordered him to get his butt back home. ‘That’s community,’ Pratt said. ‘I didn’t think it through. I thought we were in a nice house, a new community. I made a terrible mistake.’ He shook his head. ‘Leaving Cabrini was the worst decision I ever made in my life.’” (Austen, 2012, p.50)

Finally, it is useful to look at the research related to social networks, and specifically, the question of whether or not social housing residents suffer from a lack of “bridging” social networks that allow them to “get ahead”, because they live in social housing. Neither Kleit (2001) nor Reingold, Van Ryzin and Ronda (2001) are able to draw definitive conclusions. However, the authors of both studies do offer some policy implications based on the evidence they found. First, Kleit recommends that, in order to encourage social networks in mixed communities that could result in job opportunities, the housing must be highly dispersed. Secondly, in situations where there are significant income differentials, the social housing agency needs to create and encourage opportunities for residents to intermingle – a difficult objective to meet in cases where tenants have been dispersed into the community-at-large through housing vouchers. Reingold, Van Ryzin and Ronda (2001) conclude that rather than

³ Cabrini-Green was so vilified that it was chosen as the setting of the 1992 horror movie, *Candyman*.

focusing on creating social networks to help residents “get ahead”, policy makers should devote their energy to “saturating existing public housing communities with education and workforce development initiatives” (p. 501). Initiatives such as these would help overcome both neighbourhood and individual disadvantage, which they find to be a significantly greater determinant of labour force activity than social networks (ibid). Cove et al (2008) and Popkin et al (2000) each find no evidence that social networks that could connect social housing tenants to job opportunities resulted when tenants moved to mixed-income communities. In fact, Cove et al (2008) found that some tenants lost helpful resources when they moved away.

The literature in this section can be categorized based on two opposing explanations of persistent poverty in social housing communities: behavioural and structural explanations. Behavioural explanations are those that rely on the attitudes, norms and values of poor individuals and households to explain why they are poor (National Poverty Centre, 2010). This focus on the shortcomings of the individual can be traced back at least to Oscar Lewis and Daniel Patrick Moynihan and their conclusion that individuals and families living in persistently impoverished communities perpetuated a “culture of poverty” (ibid). Freeman (1998) describes this culture of poverty perspective within social housing communities as follows: in response to limited opportunities for families to improve their situations, residents develop coping habits, and that these habits persist even when opportunities become available. Further, the longer one lives in social housing, the more ingrained these habits become. Thus, it is an “individual’s background and the receipt of public assistance” (ibid, p.327) that dictates how long one will reside in social housing. Of the various hypotheses reviewed in this section, those related to concentration effects and negative social networks can generally be attributed to a behavioural explanation of poverty.

On the other hand, hypotheses related to RGI policy, spatial mismatches, discrimination against public housing residents, skills mismatches and the cost and availability of housing in the private market, can be attributed to structural explanations of poverty. A structural explanation understands poverty as being caused by the social, economic and political structures of society that favour a dominant group and oppress a subordinate group (Mullaly, 2007). Oppression takes many forms. The hypotheses considered above, RGI policies, discrimination, spatial and skills mismatches and the cost and availability of housing in the private market are examples of marginalization, the exclusion of people from meaningful participation in the larger society (ibid). Additionally, although there is ample evidence of “community” within public housing communities, there is also evidence that they have been stigmatized (Finkel, 2006). This stigmatization is an example of powerlessness, another form of oppression (ibid).

As will be discussed in the following section, despite scant evidence in support, the majority of social housing program interventions have been designed around behavioural, rather than structural explanations.

In summary, this section of the literature considers various hypotheses on why poverty is so persistent in social housing communities and categorizes those hypotheses on whether they are based on structural or behavioural explanations of poverty. Structural explanations, those that understand poverty as being caused by the social, economic and political structures of society that favour a dominant group and oppress a subordinate group (Mullaly, 2007) include RGI policies (Atkinson, 2008, Hulse and Saugeres, 2008, Kemp, 1998, Lee, Bancroft and Schroeder, 2005, Ong, 1998, Riccio, 2006, Van Ryzin, Kaestner and Main, 2003), spatial (Bania, Coulton and Leete, 2003) and skills (Cove et al, 2000) mismatches, discrimination (Freeman, 1998), and the cost and availability of housing in the private market (ibid).

Behavioural explanations, those that rely on the attitudes, norms and values of poor individuals and households to explain why they are poor (National Poverty Centre, 2010), include concentration effects (Van Ryzin, Kaestner and Main, 2003, Freeman, 1998) and social networks that limit upward mobility (Kleit, 2001, Cove et al, 2008).

2.3 Social Housing Initiatives in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom

There is an extensive body of research (largely American) regarding initiatives undertaken in social housing communities aimed at reducing poverty and improving household self-sufficiency. These initiatives can be broadly categorized as dispersal programs, mixed-income programs, homeownership programs and place-based programs.

2.3.0 Dispersal Programs

In 1976, the United States Supreme Court heard the case of the residents of one of Chicago's largest public housing projects. They alleged that they had been intentionally segregated in poorly maintained public housing in a high crime, high poverty neighbourhood. As a result of the complaint, the Court ordered that the tenants be given housing vouchers and that the Chicago Housing Authority facilitate their relocation to neighbourhoods with significantly lower poverty rates and concentrations of minorities. The Gautreaux decision was the start of a large American social experiment whose purpose was three-fold: (1) spatial de-concentration; (2) social integration into middle class communities and (3) enhanced opportunity and choice (Galster and Zobel, 1998, Popkin et al, 2000). Further, Gautreaux and other dispersal strategies that followed were based on the premise that higher-income residents will be role models of good behaviour for the families that have been relocated from their public housing project (Popkin et al, 2000).

Findings from Gautreaux were that those who moved to the suburbs were more likely to find jobs but not jobs with higher pay, and that their children had better educational and employment outcomes (Kleit, 2001). However, these results have been called into doubt as other researchers point to significant flaws in the research design, including the self-selection of participants, the fact that many of those who relocated were not public housing tenants but were on the waiting list, and that the evaluation was limited to the minority who found housing in the suburbs (Crump, 2003; Popkin et al, 2000).

Despite the questionable results from the Gautreaux experiment, the American government introduced a second dispersal program in 1994 called Moving to Opportunities (MTO). MTO combined rent vouchers intended to help public housing families relocate in suburban neighbourhoods with intensive assistance in finding new homes. Evaluation results were mixed: an early evaluation showed that, like Gautreaux, residents who found jobs did not generally find higher paying jobs (Crump, 2003), that there was no significant impact on earnings or employment (Cove et al, 2008), and that focus groups participants reported “some people are finding better jobs and others are feeling motivated to look” (Kleit, 2001).

2.3.1 Mixed Income Programs

Since the 1990s, dispersal programs have largely been replaced by ‘mixed-income’ programs. Mixed-income programs generally entail either the demolition and replacement of predominantly low-income social housing communities with mixed-income communities, or the gradual evolution to the same, without the demolition, by making the community available and attractive to higher-income residents (Crump, 2003, Curley, 2005). Similar to Gautreaux and MTO, the displaced tenants are given vouchers and encouraged to move to “better”

neighbourhoods. Whatever the specifics of each development, the general belief is that, once again, higher-income households will be positive role models and the new communities will exhibit “harmony” and “balance”(August, 2008). As August notes, the employment of this kind of “progressively toned” (2008, p.94) language enables those in favour of mixed income approaches to deflect the criticism of those who note the overall reduction in the number of units available to low-income individuals (see also Hackworth, 2009a).

Examples of initiatives that are based in this mixed-income model include the HOPE VI⁴ program, in place widely across the United States, and the re-development of Regent Park in Toronto, Ontario. Curley (2005) describes the policy basis for HOPE VI as follows:

Supporters expect the program to increase the social mobility of the poor by having them live in closer proximity to better-off families. It is assumed that higher income families will be good role models for the poor (...) Many anticipate that the values of higher income families, such as their work ethic, community commitment, and family preferences, which are presumed to be lacking in higher-poverty neighbourhoods, will somehow rub off onto lower income families. (p. 109)

HOPE VI includes both the physical redevelopment of public housing properties, including the demolition of “severely distressed” units, and funding for a range of social service programs. Originally, HOPE VI mandated a one-to-one replacement policy for demolished units, but this requirement was eliminated in 1998 following the passage of the controversial *Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act* (Crump, 2003). This change leads to one of the most common criticisms of the program, the substantial loss of social housing units (Silver, 2011). Subsequently, HOPE VI funding was focused instead on creating smaller properties with a greater tenant income mix (Zeilenbach, 2003), and thus, fewer units of social housing (Crump, 2003). In evaluating the impact of HOPE VI, Zielenbach (2003) notes that conditions in the

⁴ HOPE VI stands for “Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere

communities had improved significantly throughout the later 1990s, but that HOPE VI was one of only a number of critical factors, the most notable being a relatively strong economy over the same period. Popkin (2009) found that many former residents now live in better housing that provides a safer environment for them and their children, but that the most vulnerable families have become worse off as they were increasingly concentrated in fewer projects. Curley (2005) reviews a number of evaluations of HOPE VI and finds that displaced residents had problems finding housing in new neighbourhoods, but those that did, found better quality housing; that the program is generally not successful in connecting residents with job opportunities; and that the desired “social mixing” between lower income residents and new, higher income residents, was not happening. Curley concludes:

“As a result of HOPE VI, poverty is deconcentrated at the original public housing sites, as intended. Yet, poverty is also reconcentrated in other public housing developments and other poor communities where many residents permanently relocate. Thus, while some residents may benefit from better housing and better communities, others end up in housing and communities similar to those they were forced to leave. As for its intended social effects, evidence to date does not suggest that HOPE VI is successful in helping families achieve social and economic mobility through the creation of economically integrated developments (for those who move into the new developments) or through relocation to other communities.” (p.114)

Despite evaluation results that show, at best, very modest gains for families affected by HOPE VI, and at worst, greater housing insecurity and the further concentration of marginalized families, HOPE VI continues to be the major driving force behind the re-development of the American social housing system. Furthermore, Canada’s largest city has also embraced the mixed-income model. In Toronto, one of Canada’s largest and oldest public housing projects is being partially demolished and rebuilt with a focus on creating a mixed-income community. The following quote from the Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) certainly brings to

mind August's comments about progressive language and the focus on concentration effects as explanations of poverty in public housing:

“Broadening the diversity of the community to include a wider range of social, economic and life-experience backgrounds provides an opportunity to address neighbourhood effects and reduce the barriers faced by current Regent Park residents. Connecting Regent Park residents to neighbours who can add new experiences, networks, relationships and economic assets to the community provides the already creative and energetic community with more tools to address the challenges that face it.” (TCHC, 2007, p. 1)

Jim Silver (2011), in his book *Good Places to Live: Poverty and Public Housing in Canada*, explores the redevelopment of Regent Park in detail. He notes that despite the commitment on the part of the Toronto Community Housing Corporation (TCHC) to replace all of the social housing units lost as a result of the redevelopment, not all of those units will be on the current Regent Park footprint, contributing to a sense of displacement. Secondly, the time frame on this replacement is some fifteen years – causing concern that the one-to-one replacement commitment will not be sustained over the period. Finally, Silver notes that despite the \$1 billion investment in Regent Park, no new units will be created, despite the long waiting lists for social housing in Toronto.

As this project begins to move out of the construction stage and into re-occupancy, academic scrutiny will undoubtedly increase. While anticipating those studies, it is interesting to note August's comments:

“It would appear that the priorities driving TCHC's approach are rooted more in a desire to be entrepreneurial and to capitalise on its valuable landholdings than in concern for tenant outcomes. Given that gentrification tends to negatively affect low-income tenants in gentrifying communities and that social mix and poverty de-concentration approaches to public housing redevelopment hold questionable promise for delivering equitable outcomes, the TCHC's embrace of this approach in Regent Park and elsewhere in its portfolio is cause for concern” (2008, p.95).

2.3.2 Homeownership Programs

The following section examines homeownership programs, and particularly the United Kingdom's Right to Buy initiative. Homeownership programs are a variant of the mixed-income model as they propose to not only diversify income in a community, but also tenure (Goodlad & Atkinson, 2007). The following description of the origins, implementation and evaluation of the Right to Buy initiative is largely informed by Peter King's book, *Housing Policy Transformed: The Right to Buy and the Desire to Own* (2010). Right to Buy (RTB) legislation was introduced by Margaret Thatcher in 1980. RTB was premised on a conservative belief that promoting homeownership at the expense of social housing would foster independence and reduce the role of, and costs to, the taxpayer. RTB created the statutory right for social housing tenants living in council housing to buy their dwelling, restricted only by a minimum length of tenure (three years). Subsequent amendments to the legislation, introduced by a series of Conservative and Labour governments, tinkered with various administrative components (systems of valuing and subsequently discounting properties, minimum tenancy requirements, repayment formulas for re-selling, mortgage rates and sell-back provisions) but the basic elements of the program remain untouched more than thirty years later.

As a result of this program, more than 2.5 million council homes, or 40% of the stock, were converted to homeownership units. The ideological imperative behind the program is not at all subtle or diffused. Consider this question posed by King:

“In any debate on the RTB, what matters is where we start from. So, for example, do we begin with the idea of individual freedom and personal choice and so see increasing owner occupation as particularly important? Alternatively, do we wish to deal with urgent housing need and to assist the vulnerable to find secure and affordable housing? Do we place a greater importance on personal responsibility

or social solidarity? Depending on what starting point we have, the RTB can be seen as either transformative or a disaster.” (ibid, p.65)

Criticisms of RTB abound. Balchin (1995) points out how the program placed overwhelming financial burdens on housing authorities, who lost both income and assets; favoured high-income tenants who tended to buy the nicest homes (usually single family homes), leaving behind the poorest residents with the worst of the remaining housing (disproportionately “flats”); created financial difficulty for some purchasers who had now mortgaged their futures; and failed to implement initiatives and funding that would allow for replacement of the lost stock. Following a qualitative study interviewing homebuyers in Exeter county in the south of England, James, Jordan, and Kays (1991) conclude that, for the homeowners interviewed, the decision to purchase their home was motivated not by a desire to own their own home but instead as a result of fear – fear of housing insecurity if their home was sold to a private sector landlord and fear of potentially being forced to relocate from their community.

Finally, as noted by Hodkinson (2009), the implementation of RTB was complemented by the slashing of social housing maintenance budgets – the share of public expenditure on housing fell from 7.3 per cent to 2 per cent between 1979 and 1994 (ibid, p.101).

2.3.3 Place-based Programs

The final category of initiatives is those that are ‘place-based’, employing community economic development principles and working from a social determinants of health theoretical perspective. Rather than premising the intervention on either moving residents out (as in the case of dispersal strategies) or by moving new residents in (as in the case of mixed-income strategies), or selling off social housing all together, these strategies work with individuals and families in their communities, recognizing that “it is the local setting where many problems

originate, it is also where innovative solutions are to be found” (Hay, 2005, p. 6) As described by Silver (2011), place-based strategies are premised on the belief that social housing communities can be places where “poor people transform their lives by building their capacities and capabilities in ways of their choosing” (p.139). Generally, these programs adopt the perspective that the mandate of public housing should not be strictly limited to the provision of shelter but could indeed serve as a springboard out of poverty through the deliberate nurturing of a household’s self-sufficiency efforts (Rohe and Kleit, 1999) and the integration of housing policy with other social policy. This approach is exemplified by the Family Self-Sufficiency Program and, to a lesser degree, the Jobs-Plus initiative, both based in the United States.

The Family Self-Sufficiency Program (FSS) was introduced in 1990 with the explicit goal of helping families in subsidized housing reduce their reliance on government income support programs and achieve greater economic independence (Ficke and Piesse, 2004). Since its introduction, it has been implemented system-wide across the United States (not universally, as funding limitations have limited the number of eligible participants). The two main components of the FSS program are individual case management and an escrow savings account. The individual case management includes a contract of participation and an individualized plan developed in consultation with the participant. Once barriers to self-sufficiency such as child care, transportation, education and training programs are determined, the case manager works with the participant to resolve these issues. The escrow account provision ensures that an amount equal to any increases in rent as a result of increased earnings is deposited into an escrow account. The participant is then able to withdraw their savings (plus interest) from the account at “graduation”, or, in consultation with the case manager, throughout the course of the program in order to help address some of the identified barriers (ibid). Reported program results have been

impressive. Participants enrolled in 1996 had experienced a 72 per cent median income increase by 2000, and employment earnings as a percent of all earnings rose from 47 per cent to 63 per cent. A comparison group of non-FSS participants saw median earnings increase by 36 per cent, and employment earnings as a per cent of all earnings also increased from 47 per cent to 63 per cent (ibid). The average escrow account in 2005 had a balance of \$2,400 and was growing at a rate of \$300 per month (Cramer and Lubell, 2005). Ficke and Piesse (2004) also note that participation in FSS had an even greater impact on those FSS participants who were also in receipt of welfare benefits – their income more than doubled. Ficke and Piesse (ibid) attribute this result to the complementary intensive support provided by the welfare program.

The Jobs Plus Program was initiated at six demonstration sites in the United States in 1998. The initiative had three core components: employment-related services and activities (job search assistance, training and education programs, child care, and transportation), financial incentives (flat rents for tenants in public housing) and what was termed “community support for work”, or the development and fostering of positive social networks (Bloom, Riccio and Verma, 2005). The program was jointly delivered by a board that included the public housing authority, resident representatives, the welfare department and the workforce development system (ibid). Notably, unlike the FSS programs, Jobs Plus did not actively include asset-building components, although it did attempt to remediate the work disincentive associated with public housing RGI policies by employing a flat rent.

As Jobs Plus was specifically designed as a demonstration project, a comprehensive evaluation was undertaken. The Jobs Plus site was chosen randomly from a matched pair or triplet of like housing developments. The site(s) not chosen were assigned to a comparison group. Additionally, data was collected for up to six years before and after the project launch

(ibid). The evaluation eventually centred on three sites that were able to fully implement all elements of the Jobs Plus program. Employment earnings for participants increased by an average of 14 per cent a year, and nearly 20 per cent in the final year of the evaluation. As noted by Bloom, Riccio and Verma (2005):

“These impacts, which total \$4563 over four years, are especially noteworthy both because they persisted even after the onset of a national economic recession and because they represent ‘value-added’ by the program over and above any effects produced by concurrent reforms in welfare, workforce and public housing systems” (p.7).

In contrast to the findings related to FSS, Jobs-Plus was found to have a greater impact on individuals who were not in receipt of welfare.

There are other small-scale examples of place-based initiatives in social housing communities, usually in the form of demonstration programs or pilot projects. The Chicago Family Case Management Demonstration provides enhanced, wraparound case management to residents of two of Chicago’s public housing communities. Service provision is premised on the family’s goals (Popkin, 2009). An off-shoot of that program – the Housing Opportunity and Services Together (HOST) Demonstration project employs a similar model to the Chicago Family Case Management Demonstration, but specifically includes youth engagement strategies (Popkin, 2012).

2.4 Conclusions from the Literature

Returning to each of the four themes in the literature, it is possible to discern two distinct schools of thought within each theme, to then further link these schools of thought across the themes and finally, to situate these two schools of thought within two distinct ideological traditions: neoliberalism and social democracy.

With regard to the question of the integration between social policy and housing policy, there is generally a consensus in the literature that historically, the two have stood apart. There is also a significant volume of literature that sees merit in viewing the two policy agendas in an integrated fashion, however for two very different reasons. One view holds that integration would facilitate the convergence of housing objectives with the overall objectives of welfare reform: “to privatize social service provision, move people out of public housing, off of welfare rolls, and into the labour force” (Crump, 2003, p.7). The second view holds that housing policy should be seen as integrated with housing policy on the basis that housing is clearly linked to health outcomes.

Turning now to the role of social housing, it is evident from the literature that social housing has evolved from a temporary home for the out-of-work to a permanent home for high concentrations of low-income individuals and families. As for the future, again, two perspectives emerge. One perspective advocates measuring the success of social housing on how well it convinces tenants, newly labeled “consumers” to “choose” to live in the private rental market or homeownership market, with the remaining housing available to only the very neediest and operated on NPM-aided private sector principles. A second perspective continues to see the value in providing affordable, safe, appropriate housing to low-income individuals, but also advances a further role for social housing – as the “platform for success” for other social policy initiatives aimed at reducing poverty and improving self-sufficiency.

The third section asks why poverty is so persistent in social housing communities. Again, two distinct perspectives, or in this case, explanations, emerge. Behavioural explanations are those that rely on the attitudes, norms and values of poor individuals and households themselves to explain why they are poor (National Poverty Centre, 2010). Of the various hypotheses

reviewed in this section, those related to concentration effects and negative social networks can generally be attributed to a behavioural explanation of poverty.

On the other hand, hypotheses related to RGI policy, spatial mismatches, discrimination against public housing residents, skills mismatches and the cost and availability of housing in the private market, can be attributed to structural explanations of poverty. Structural explanations are those that understand poverty as being caused by the social, economic and political structures of society that favour a dominant group and oppress a subordinate group (Mullaly, 2007).

The final section of the literature review examines various initiatives that have taken place in social housing communities. These initiatives flow easily from the two perspectives. First, dispersal, mixed-income and homeownership strategies are premised on the belief that public housing residents need better role models and the state should minimize its intervention in the housing market. Interventions that seek to sell and/or demolish social housing, displace low-income residents and replace them with higher-income residents logically result from one set of conclusions drawn from the literature: housing policy and social policy should be better integrated in order to achieve welfare reform objectives; the success of social housing should be measured against goals of income maximization and the displacement of tenants to the private market; and it is up to public housing residents themselves to change their behaviours in order to escape poverty. This discourse – welfare reform, privatization of publicly-owned assets, the primacy of the market and behavioural explanations of poverty - speaks to neoliberal ideology (Mullaly, 2007). Neoliberalism has been described by Mullaly (*ibid*) as a way of thinking that values individualism over society, assumes that individuals have a responsibility to look after themselves and are equal actors in the free market, and that the role of the state should be limited

to the most minimal requirements to maintain law and order, with the remainder of social functions left to the market.

Alternatively, place-based, integrated initiatives are premised on the belief that residents of public housing want to improve their lives and know what they need in order to do so, and that governments can play a role in developing policies and programs within public housing communities that enable them accordingly. Interventions that incorporate other social policy objectives and work within public housing communities based on the articulated needs of tenants logically result from a second set of conclusions drawn from the literature: housing policy and social policy should be integrated in order to achieve better health outcomes; the success of social housing should be measured against both shelter outcomes and broad social policy objectives; and the persistence of poverty in public housing settings can be explained by economic, social and political structures that disadvantage public housing residents. This discourse –community economic development, the interventionist role of the state, social determinants of health and structural explanations of poverty – speaks to social democratic ideology – described by Mullaly (*ibid*) as one that views humans primarily within their social (as opposed to individual) context, where the primacy of the collective good is achieved through the democratization of decision-making and the role of the state is to directly intervene in the economy in order to level out social and economic inequality. These two opposing perspectives are summarized below in tabular format.

Table Two: Synthesis of the Literature Review

Literature Reviewed	Evidence drawn from the literature	
Linkages between housing policy and social policy	Linked in order to achieve better health outcomes	Linked to advance welfare reform objectives
Role of social housing – origins	Provision of safe, affordable quality housing	Minimize competition with the private sector Economic stimulus
Role of social housing – today and beyond	Platform for success when integrated with other social policies	Tenants are consumers Goal is income maximization State should not intervene in the market
Explanation of the persistence of poverty in social housing communities	Structural: social, economic and political forces in society	Behavioural: the attitudes, norms and values of the poor themselves are to blame
Initiatives	Place-based and integrated: Jobs Plus, FSS	Sell/demolish/displace/replace: Gautreux, MTO, Right to Buy, HOPE VI
Conclusions from the literature		
Theoretical basis	Social Determinants of Health, Community Economic Development	Culture of Poverty, New Public Management
Ideological basis	Social democratic	Neoliberal

Perhaps this hypothesis on the two ideological perspectives could be best understood by looking at two legislative proposals: the *Preservation, Enhancement and Transformation of Rental Assistance Act* (2010) (PETRA), introduced by the Obama administration, and the *Secure, Adequate, Accessible and Affordable Housing Act* (2012) introduced by the New Democratic Party of Canada (NDP). PETRA is billed as “The End of Public Housing” by seventeen academics (Huron et al, 2010) who submitted written testimony before the House Committee on Financial Services. The *Act* proposes to convert 280,000 public housing units to housing vouchers and the mortgaging of 25 percent of the remaining public housing units. As expressed by the academics:

“Under the banner of preservation, public housing ceases to be public as it passes into the cradle of debt and leverage with its future mortgaged off to banks for

profit. As such, [PE]TRA, like the preceding shifts in federal assistance to Section 8 [housing vouchers], is not meant to truly help poor households and individuals, but is a means of getting the federal government out of the low-income affordable housing business” (p.1).

The second legislative proposal, the *Secure, Adequate, Accessible and Affordable Housing Act*, is one of several legislative proposals aimed at enshrining federal responsibility for the development and implementation of a comprehensive national housing strategy that the federal NDP has introduced over the past decade. This *Act* is premised on the belief that access to adequate housing is a human right, and that the federal government has an obligation to lead the development of a national strategy, and specifically includes a requirement to make available housing on a not-for-profit basis for those who could not otherwise afford housing in the private market.

Thus sit two diametrically opposed views of the future of social housing. One is a neo-liberal legislative agenda clearly intended to further engage the market in providing low-income housing, reducing the role of the state accordingly. The other is a social democratic legislative agenda trying to legislate an increased role for the federal government on the premise of the inalienable right of people to adequate housing. The preceding examination of the literature demonstrates that the majority of initiatives underway in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom are based on this neoliberal perspective. However, there remains a distinct and articulate alternative based on a social democratic perspective. Understanding the constitution and implications of the interventions that have taken place in Winnipeg’s Lord Selkirk Park community since 2009, as described in Chapter 4, is part of advancing that alternative.

Chapter Three: Design and Methodology

This chapter will describe the overall approach to the research, including how the case in question was selected, the data to be gathered and methods for doing so, data analysis procedures, how the validity and reliability of the study will be ensured and ethical considerations.

3.0 Overall Approach and Rationale

This thesis is a qualitative research study, employing a case study method within a pragmatic paradigm of inquiry informed by critical theory. A visual depiction of the logic behind the research design can be found in Appendix One.

Creswell (2007) indicates that qualitative methods should be employed when issues are complex, when the researcher is attempting to give voice to those with relatively little power and when understanding the setting is critical to understanding the problem being studied. This is certainly the case for the problems being studied here – understanding the impacts of an integrated, place-based intervention in LSP, a particularly impoverished public housing community.

The decision to employ a case study method was based on the research questions. As described by Yin (2009), case studies are particularly useful if the questions being posed seek to know “how” and “why”. This thesis asks “How and why has the community of LSP changed as a result of the redevelopment that took place between 2009 and 2012?” and “Why did the policy-makers choose this intervention?” Creswell (2007) goes on to define cases studies as being defined by a “bounded system”, in this case, the community of LSP in Winnipeg’s north end.

As indicated, this study is primarily grounded in a pragmatic paradigm of inquiry. Creswell (ibid) describes pragmatism as being focused on the outcomes - the application of the research findings in order to find solutions to problems. While the writer is hopeful that both she and the participants in the research may come to better understand the subjective meanings of their experiences (a social constructivist paradigm) or that this research may contribute to an agenda that changes people's lives for the better (an advocacy paradigm) (ibid), the overriding intent is pragmatic: to inform decision-making related to the means and methods of investments in social housing communities, and to contribute to advancing theory related to the value of the social democratic perspective.

Finally, this research is informed by critical theory, a perspective that is "concerned with empowering human beings to transcend the constraints placed on them by race, class and gender" (ibid, p.27). The residents of LSP are disproportionately female, Aboriginal, young and poor (by any income measure). The security of their very homes is vulnerable to state mechanisms related to application and tenancy. Further, LSP residents, by virtue of its North End setting, reside in a "tough" neighbourhood, one largely left to find its own way, drawing on its own strengths.

3.1 Case Study Selection

As is often the case with qualitative studies, the sampling technique employed in this study is purposeful – the community of LSP can "purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study" (ibid, p.125). Two specific purposeful sampling strategies were employed. First, theory-based sampling requires finding examples of a theoretical construct in order to elaborate or expand on it (ibid). The redevelopment of LSP is an

example of an intervention rooted in the two theoretical concepts described in Chapter One, community economic development and social determinants of health theories, as well as an example of an intervention based on the over-riding ideological framework of the social democratic perspective. Second, the selection of LSP was also on the basis of political importance, a case that attracts attention (ibid). LSP was once profiled over and over again in local media for incidence of crime. It is now very publicly touted as an example of success by politicians and community advocates alike (WFP, August 28, 2012).

3.2 Data Gathering Methods

This section describes the data gathered (which requires understanding the unit of analysis and any embedded units), how the data were gathered, how the information was recorded, and issues related to data gathering.

The primary unit of analysis associated with the first of the research questions is the community of LSP – the people, the housing units and the social service and learning organizations situated within its boundaries (Robinson Street to the west, Flora Avenue to the north, King Street to the east, and Dufferin Avenue to the south). Embedded units of analysis are the residents, and the housing stock. The data to be gathered are directly related to the two research questions and their associated propositions. The primary research question is “How and why has the community of Lord Selkirk Park changed as a result of the redevelopment that took place between 2009 and 2012?” The propositions associated with this question are as follows:

The community of LSP has improved and become a more desirable place to live as a result of the redevelopment.

Residents of the community demonstrate better social cohesion as a result of the redevelopment.

The community of LSP is safer as a result of the redevelopment.

The quality of housing is better as a result of the redevelopment.

Residents of the community have more access to and are using services that could help achieve greater self-sufficiency as a result of the redevelopment.

The redevelopment was successful because it integrated housing supports with other social supports.

The redevelopment was successful because it was based on articulated community needs.

The redevelopment was successful because it dealt with people in their place.

The second research question is “why did decision-makers choose this approach?” The specific proposition behind this question is that *decision-makers held social democratic values.*

The primary unit of analysis associated with the second research question is the small group of decision-makers associated with funding the interventions that took place. The data gathered, and the methods for gathering it, are further described in Table Three, below.

Further to the data gathering plan, the researcher had hoped to interview 8 to 12 residents of Lord Selkirk Park, with a preference for longer term residents who have lived in LSP prior to, during, and since the redevelopment. Key informants include the community advocates, service providers, Manitoba Housing staff and politicians responsible for shaping and funding the various initiatives that took place between 2009 and 2012. Interview questions for both groups are attached in Appendix Three (as part of the Ethics Application). Data was collected by means of interview notes and transcriptions of recordings (where permitted), participant observation notes, and by maintaining an inventory of documents accessed from agencies, Manitoba Housing

and the public domain. The interview notes, transcriptions, participant observations notes and the document inventory together compromise a case study database. Table Three: Data Gathering Plan

Proposition	Data to be gathered	How data will be gathered
Research Question #1: How and why has the community of LSP changed?		
Desireable place to live	Residents' perceptions Key informant's perceptions Manitoba Housing statistics	Interviews with residents and key informants To be requested
More socially cohesive	Residents' perceptions Key informant's perceptions Researcher's observations	Interviews with residents and key informants Participant observation
Safer	Residents' perceptions Key informant's perceptions Manitoba Housing statistics	Interviews with residents and key informants To be requested
Better quality of housing	Residents' perceptions Manitoba Housing data	Interviews with residents To be requested
More access to services that promote self-sufficiency	Resident's perceptions Key informant's perceptions Description of services in place	Interviews with residents Interviews with key informants Interviews and document review.
More use of services that promote self-sufficiency	Resident's perceptions Key informant's perceptions Usage data from agencies/organizations	Interviews with residents Interviews with key informants To be requested
Importance of integrated approaches	Resident's perceptions Key informant's perceptions	Interviews with residents Interviews with key informants
Primary role of articulated community needs	Resident's perceptions Key informant's perceptions	Interviews with residents Interviews with key informants
Importance of place-based approach	Resident's perceptions Key informant's perceptions	Interviews with residents Interviews with key informants
Research Question #2: Why was this approach chosen?		
Decision-makers hold social democratic values	Senior decision-maker's perceptions Public statements from policy-makers	Interviews with senior decision-makers Document search (press releases, political statements)

The most likely issue related to data collection is the issue of access – particularly access to long-term residents. I tried to overcome this issue by connecting with trusted community advocates who introduced me to community residents who were interested in participating in the research.

3.3 Data Analysis Procedures

Similar to the decision to use theory in order to select the case to study, and to devise the research propositions and associated data collection plan, data analysis was generally guided by theory. According to Yin (2009), using theory to guide data analysis allows the researcher to better focus data analysis, organize the case study and to define alternate explanations to the propositions. The use of specific analytical techniques, coding, followed by pattern matching (to address the “how” question) and explanation building (to address the “why” questions) was made easier through the employment of a conceptually ordered data display (for describing), and a case dynamics matrix (for explaining).

Coding is described by Creswell (2007) as “the heart of qualitative data analysis” and a means of “developing themes or dimensions through some classification system” (p. 151). Pattern matching is described by Yin (2009) as a technique to determine if the pattern emerging from the data aligns with one predicted by theory. In this study, the predictions are spelled out as the case study propositions. The theory in place is that a number of positive changes have happened at LSP as a result of the redevelopment: LSP is a more desirable place to live, residents exhibit better social cohesion, the community is safer, the quality of the housing has improved, and residents have access to and are using services that could help improve self-sufficiency. Explanation building is particularly useful to address the “why” questions (ibid). The explanation under examination here is that the positive changes that have taken place in LSP

(assuming the “how” propositions are supported by the data) are because the intervention was based on the social democratic perspective – place-based, employing social determinants of health theory and driven by articulated community needs. The second explanation is that policy-makers chose this vision as a result of their commitment to social democratic values. The linkages between the “how” and “why” research propositions and the theories of social determinants of health and community economic development can be found in Table Four, below.

Table Four: Linkages between the Research Propositions and the Theoretical Frameworks

The “How” Propositions	Theoretical basis
LSP is a more desirable place to live as a result of the redevelopment	Desirability of a home is a meaningful dimension of housing as a key determinant of health (Bryant, 2003)
Residents of LSP demonstrate better social cohesion as a result of the redevelopment	Social cohesion between neighbours is a meaningful dimension of housing as a key determinant of health (ibid)
The community of LSP is safer as a result of the redevelopment	Safety is a spatial dimension of housing as a key determinant of health (ibid) Neighbourhood safety is part of the physical environment, the 8 th Neechi principle (CED Network)
The quality of housing at LSP is better as a result of the redevelopment	Quality of housing is a material dimension of housing as a key determinant of health (Byrant, 2003) Housing quality is part of the physical environment, the 8 th Neechi principle (CED Network)
Residents have access to and are using services that could improve self-sufficiency as a result of the redevelopment	Access to services is a spatial dimension of housing as a key determinant of health (Bryant, 2003)
The “Why” Propositions	
Successful because it integrated housing supports with other social supports	Policy coherence between different social policy spheres helps to advance health equity (CSDH, 2008)
Successful because based on articulated community needs	Community-driven decision making is part of local decision-making, the 6 th Neechi Principle (CED Network)
Successful because it dealt with people in their place	Long-term residency in housing as the basis for long-term community development is part of neighbourhood stability, the 9 th Neechi Principle (CED Network)
Decision-makers held social democratic values	Synthesis of the literature review. Integrated, place-based initiatives are based on social democratic values.

Miles and Huberman (1994) describe data displays as a means to ensure valid analysis, as “displays are focused enough to permit a viewing of a full data set in the same location, and are arranged systematically to answer the research questions at hand” (p.92). The specific data displays being employed are first, a conceptual data display that uses an “informant by variable” matrix to assist in answering the question of “how did the community of LSP change as a result of the intervention?”, and a case dynamics matrix, a tool useful to display “forces for change” (ibid, p.148) to help answer the questions “Why did the community of LSP change as a result of the intervention?” and “Why did decision-makers choose this intervention?”. Data displays are attached in Appendix Two.

3.4 Validity/Reliability

This section examines the concepts of construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability and how each will be addressed through the study.

The test of construct validity is whether the study actually measures what it sets out to measure (Yin, 2009). According to Yin (ibid), construct validity is improved when the concept being studied is defined in terms of specific measures that relate to the original objectives of the study, and when operational measures match those concepts. In the case of this specific study, the concepts being measured for “how has the community of LSP changed as a result of the intervention” are residents’ and key informants’ perceptions with regard to the desirability of LSP as a place to live, social cohesion, safety, quality of housing, and access to and use of services. These concepts are drawn from the literature related to social determinants of health and CED theories. Where possible, the perceptions of residents and key informants will be

augmented by documentation. The concepts being measured for the question of “why has the community of LSP changed as a result of the intervention” are the importance of integrated approaches, articulation of community needs and place-based approaches, again drawn from social determinants of health and community economic development theory. The specific measures are the perspectives of residents and key informants on the importance and role of these concepts in the success of the redevelopment. Finally, with regard to the question of “why policy-makers chose this approach”, the concept being measured is social democratic values through measurement of the perspectives of senior decision-makers. This measure was chosen as it specifically relates to the conclusions drawn from the literature review.

The test of internal validity is whether or not causality is established between variables, effectively ruling out other hypotheses (ibid). In this case, the alternative hypothesis to the question of why has the community of LSP changed would be that higher-income earners came into the community and modeled better behavior, based on a culture of poverty perspective, and/or that Manitoba Housing adopted New Public Management methods for delivering public housing. The alternative hypothesis to the secondary research question is that decision-makers held values other than those normally ascribed to social democracy.

Internal validity can be improved through the use of specified data analysis techniques. In this case, internal validity is being addressed through the proposed use of pattern matching for the purposes of description and explanation building for the purpose of explaining, enabled through the employment of data displays.

The test of external validity is the generalizability of the study. In the case of case study research, generalizability is applied to theory (analytical generalizability) (ibid). As indicated in

Chapter One, this thesis seeks to understand and contribute to theory related to the advancement of interventions based on a social democratic perspective.

The final test is that of reliability – whether or not the study could be replicated, with the same results (ibid). In this case, reliability will be established through the development of a carefully indexed case study database and a case study protocol to guide data collection. The composition of the case study database was discussed in the preceding section.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Research being conducted for this thesis will be done under the auspices of the University of Manitoba's Research Ethics Board. A copy of the ethics application and certificate is attached as Appendix Three. The ethics application also serves as the basis for the case study protocol as identified in the previous section. It contains both the questionnaire and procedures and general rules to be followed in collecting data (ibid).

Chapter 4: Findings

This chapter will provide a brief history of LSP, including a focus on its construction and early years of occupancy, and touching on how the community came to be a place of concentrated urban poverty and crime. Next, this chapter will review the various aspects of the redevelopment that took place at LSP, with attention to the conceptual framework that guided the redevelopment efforts. This section will also look at how Manitoba Housing changed its management approach over the same time period. The third section will briefly review another study by Sarah Cooper of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (2013) that looks at how the communities of LSP and Gilbert Park have changed over the same period. The fourth section briefly recaps the data collection process. Finally, the remainder of the chapter focuses on the evidence relative to the primary and secondary research questions, and the associated propositions.

4.0 History of Lord Selkirk Park

On January 5, 1967, construction commenced on Lord Selkirk Park, a new, 328 unit, \$4.1 million public housing project in Winnipeg's north end (WFP, January 6, 1967). Like any large construction project, the path from concept to construction was bumpy. First conceived of earlier in the decade, LSP was part of Winnipeg's first forays into urban renewal. Winnipeg's north end, particularly the south-east corner, had once been a thriving, multi-ethnic community rich in social, cultural and business opportunities (Silver, 2006). However, during the post-war period, many of the more affluent residents and businesses relocated to newly developing suburbs, leaving behind an increasingly marginalized population. Aboriginal families moving into Winnipeg from northern communities and reserves were attracted to the North End by low

rents and increasingly took up residence. The north end, rather than just being ignored in favour of Winnipeg's suburbs, came to be stigmatized and vilified within Winnipeg's neighbourhoods (ibid).

As basic infrastructure languished, advocates of urban renewal recognized the desperate need to replace the housing in Winnipeg's north end. Perhaps inspired by the slum clearance and public housing construction taking place in cities across North America, plans were put in motion to purchase (and where necessary, expropriate) hundreds of homes, displacing some 2,000 residents to nearby neighbourhoods (WFP, December 9, 1967). While the need for good quality, affordable housing was undisputed, the process was not always well received. As reported in the Winnipeg Free Press (August 21, 1965, p.8). at the time, social work students from the University of Manitoba interviewed area residents and created a series of damning reports, one stating: "The Jarvis area project is a perfect example of clearing a slum, sending the slum-dweller to the next nearest low-rent area, and providing low-cost housing for higher-income groups".

Despite local resistance, the City of Winnipeg, with the backing of both the province and CMHC, soldiered on. On April 27, 1966, the architectural plans for Lord Selkirk Park were unveiled on the front page of the Winnipeg Free Press, and were thus described by writer Bill Morriss:

"Architects have taken care to screen the houses as much as possible from surrounding street traffic and provide true outdoor living areas, free from an institutional atmosphere. It is expected that a future shopping centre will be located between the project and Main Street, and in order to allow access from the surrounding residential areas, a system of public walkways has been established" (p.1).

On December 9, 1967, eleven months from the start of construction, the first 45 units at Lord Selkirk Park opened to tenants. The opening, again front page news, was attended by Winnipeg's mayor Stephen Juba, provincial labour Minister John Nicholson and the President of CMHC, Herbert Hignett (WFP, December 9, 1967, p. 1).

As block after block of LSP opened over the following months, the units became home to a mix of north end families. An apartment tower in the centre of the community housed local seniors. The local housing body – the Winnipeg Housing Authority – put in place strictly enforced standards related to housekeeping and disturbances between neighbours. No more than 25% of the tenants were on income assistance. There were long waiting lists to move in, and generally, tenants were happy with their new accommodations (Silver, 2006). Like other Winnipeg neighbourhoods, the community was busy with recreation – including a “bathing beauty contest to choose a Miss Selkirk” (WFP, July 26, 1969, p. 12), “skits, songs and plays” (WFP, July 31, 1971, p. 10), field trips to the Museum of Man and Nature and to a penny carnival at St. John' Park (WFP, July 8, 1972) and hosting a series of programs, including a girls' club, boys' gym and active game program, teen basketball and volleyball, elderly citizens' drop-in program, children's arts and crafts programs and the Winnipeg Actionettes practices (baton twirling) (WFP, October 21, 1972).

Over the following years, the enormous need for affordable housing for very low-income families, especially those on social assistance, started to erode the standards put in place at LSP. The 25% standard was amended, and then abolished all together, along with the strict rules that helped establish community norms. Within a larger environment of economic recession, cuts to social programs, the rise of the drug trade and the resultant gang affiliations, LSP eventually came to be a place synonymous with urban poverty and crime (Silver, 2011).

In 1991, LSP again returned to the headlines as local residents sought assistance with prostitution in the area (WFP, October 16, 1991). The following year, it was youth violence that made the news (WFP, August 25, 1992). By 1996, the local Chief of Police, David Cassels, agreed to accelerate plans to place a foot patrol officer in the area, in response to community complaints that the area was “overrun by prostitutes and their clients, and drug dealers” (WFP, May 7, 1996, p. A4). The provincial Minister of the day, Jack Reimer, offered to make space available within the project to create a safe house for “young Winnipeg prostitutes” as more than one hundred units in the project were vacant anyway. (WFP, June 11, 1996).

By 2006, little had changed. The CCPA (2009) reported that the 2006 Census indicated that within the Lord Selkirk Park neighbourhood,⁵ more than 80% of residents lived below the poverty line, the labour force participation rate was almost 30% less than the Winnipeg average, and almost two-thirds of residents had not completed high school. In 2005, the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) profiled LSP in its’ annual *State of the Inner City Report*. The situation seemed dire:

“Two metaphors occur repeatedly in the comments of those interviewed. One is the notion of a complex web – a web of poverty, racism, drugs, gangs and violence. The other is the notion of a cycle – people caught in a cycle of inter-related problems. Both suggest the idea of people who are caught, trapped, immobilized, unable to escape, destined to struggle with forces from which they cannot extricate themselves. The result is despair, resignation, anger, hopelessness, which then reinforce the cycle and wrap them tighter in the web.” (CCPA, 2005, p. 24)

⁵ The CCPA (2009) report defines the LSP neighbourhood as Selkirk Avenue at Salter Street, Eastbound to Main Street, South on Main Street to the CPR Railway, West along the railway to Salter Street. The public housing community of Lord Selkirk Park sits within this neighbourhood.

4.1 The Redevelopment

The 2005 CCPA report marked a point in the redevelopment timeline around LSP when a series of community efforts were finally being articulated. But the redevelopment itself could be said to have begun in 1997 with the formation of the Lord Selkirk Park Neighbourhood Council – a coalition of social agencies and community-based organizations working in the area. In 1998 the Council released a strategic plan for LSP, calling for the creation of a neighbourhood resource centre, for more resident involvement in decision-making, and for a more coordinated approach between organizations working in the area. In 2002, the North End Community Renewal Corporation (NECRC) hired a community organizer to develop the groundwork for a community revitalization strategy, and in 2004, formed a renewed inter-agency group, the Community Advisory Committee (CAC). The CAC, employing the toolkit of a Comprehensive Community Initiative (CCI)⁶ quickly reasserted earlier calls for a Resource Centre (CCPA, 2009).

⁶ Sheri Torjman and Eric Leviten-Reid explore CCIs in the Canadian context in their paper *Comprehensive Community Initiatives* (2003). CCIs emerged in the United States in the early 1990s as a response to the ineffectiveness of existing revitalization practices. Torjman and Leviten-Reid define CCIs as “neighbourhood-based efforts that seek improved outcomes for individuals and families” (p. 2) and describe seven features of a CCI:

- 1) Comprehensive: CCIs determine the broad set of interconnected projects that fall within an overarching issue. Interventions move beyond the needs of a single person or household to create new and/or improve existing physical and social infrastructure to the community’s wider social and economic context. Being comprehensive includes “fostering a (...) community’s capacity to solve its problems” (p. 4).
- 2) Holistic: CCIs try to work across traditional silos to identify how issues are connected and then bring together representatives from all relevant sectors to identify solutions.
- 3) Multi-sectoral: CCIs recognize that all sectors are responsible for developing innovative approaches in coordinated ways.
- 4) Long-term: CCIs recognize that complex issues require long-term solutions. CCIs are tied to the “rhythm of communities (p. 7), not political timelines.
- 5) Developmental: rather than being remedial in focus, CCIs aim to build community capacity, focussing on assets and resources rather than deficits and weaknesses.
- 6) Inclusive: CCIs seek broad, diverse engagement, with particular emphasis on enabling the participation of low-income residents.
- 7) Concerned with both process and outcome: CCIs identify goals and desired outcomes, but are equally focused on developing processes, including effective community structures.

A year later, at the time of the 2005 CCPA report, momentum was clearly growing, but the way forward was still murky. The report recognized that “intense community development and community organizing work needs to take place. Currently, residents are not engaged, and are not involved in building solutions to their own problems” (CCPA, 2005, p.27). But, and perhaps indicative of the power of the progressive language that formed the rhetoric around the HOPE VI program underway in the United States, CCPA proposed the following for LSP: “It is our view that the ‘D’⁷, as such needs to be systematically dismantled over a ten-year period, and restructured into mixed-income housing” (ibid, p.25). This included “parts knocked down, replaced by mixed-income housing, and re-integrated into the street grid” (ibid, p.27).

Over the following years, as the re-development strategy evolved, this inclination toward demolition was replaced by a new approach. In CCPA’s follow-up reports, released in 2007 and 2009, the LSP redevelopment strategy came to be known as “Rebuilding from Within”. As described by Jim Silver in his 2011 book, *Good Places to Live: Poverty and Public Housing in Canada*, the re-development of LSP came to focus on transforming the community and the people who live there, based on needs they have identified, not displacing or replacing them. The “Rebuilding from Within” strategy focused on eight principles:

- 1) Community organizers took an assets-based approach. Identified assets included the availability of good quality, affordable housing and the presence of “strong and healthy” (ibid, p. 125) individuals, mainly women, who wanted to build a strong community.

⁷ LSP is commonly known as “The D” or “The Ds”, short for “The Development(s)”

- 2) A recognition that people want to take advantage of opportunities, but those opportunities must be based on articulated needs, modified to address barriers to participation, and with supports in place to enable success.
- 3) The re-development of LSP was to be both “holistic” and “transformative” (ibid, p. 126). The principle of “holistic” recognized that “there is no single solution to the problems in Lord Selkirk Park, and many things have to be done simultaneously” (ibid). The term “transformative” recognized that the goal of the redevelopment was to “enable people to transform their lives and their community in ways of their choosing” (ibid).
- 4) This principle was premised on empowering individuals, the redevelopment should focus on developing the “capacities and capabilities of people in LSP *in ways of their choosing*” (emphasis mine, ibid, p.127).
- 5) Consistent with community economic development principals, hire locally whenever possible.
- 6) Work in a way that is culturally-based, with particular emphasis on Aboriginal culture.
- 7) Transformation requires a long-term approach. Problems that are generational in the making are not fixed overnight.
- 8) Residents must be engaged in decision-making.

Following countless hours of lobbying and advocacy, a series of initiatives were launched in LSP:

2006: The Lord Selkirk Park Resource Centre opened in a vacant unit, offering a clothing exchange, laundry facilities, job boards, computer access and itinerant office space for service providers.

2007: The CAC undertook a community survey. Residents identify a need for adult education and literacy training. Transportation and child care are identified as barriers to accessing existing off-site programs.

2007/08: An Adult Learning Centre, later named Kaakiyow Li Moond Likol, opened at Turtle Island Recreation Centre (adjacent to LSP). The Centre has flexible hours to ensure adult students can continue caring for their children, and includes a focus on Aboriginal culture. A part-time literacy program opened for residents who are not yet ready to start adult education.

2008/09: Kaakiyow doubled its enrollment and saw its first graduates.

2009: The Universities of Manitoba and Winnipeg jointly offer university-level courses in Community Recreation and Active Living. Pathways to Education, a modified high school program based on a model operating out of Regent Park in Toronto, opens. A multi-year, \$17 million renovation of the housing units in LSP gets underway, with a commitment to hiring locally. Funding is secured for a new, 47 space childcare centre, physically integrated with the Lord Selkirk Park Resource Centre and to be constructed on the main floor of the LSP tower.

2012: A “first in Canada” Abecedarian⁸ child care model was introduced at the new LSP child care centre (now called Manidoo Gi Minni Gonaan), a model demonstrated to result in better health, education and employment outcomes for low-income families.

Concurrent to the implementation of the initiatives listed above, Manitoba Housing, the landlord that oversees LSP, undertook its own transformation. This new model, the *Building Foundations Action Plan*, was first unveiled in December of 2007 by the Minister of the day,

⁸ An Abecedarian model focuses on ensuring every interaction between a staff and an educator is a learning opportunity, and includes staff who work specifically with parents in their homes (WFP, July 13, 2013).

Gord Mackintosh. This ten point plan included reorganizing Manitoba Housing to enhance accountability, large scale investments in renovating existing public and social housing, a focus on improving safety for tenants, a “community enrichment plan” whereby social services such as child care, adult literacy and youth programming would be operated within public housing communities, and an emphasis placed on tenant services. Manitoba Housing followed up this initiative with a department-wide strategy document, first released in 2009 and then revised in 2011 following a government-wide reorganization, that affirms the department’s commitment to understanding housing as linked with other social policy areas, underpinned by both social determinants of health and community economic development theory. *Strong Communities: An Action Plan* states the following:

“Manitoba Housing and Community Development links housing with related social, economic and community development programs and policies. This integration reflects the important connection between community and housing and increases opportunities for positive change in Manitoba’s neighbourhoods. By integrating community development initiatives with quality, affordable housing options we are leading with a holistic approach that is unique to Manitoba. We are building on existing programs and resources in both the housing and community development areas, expanding our goals, and aligning with larger provincial social and economic strategies to strengthen communities throughout Manitoba” (p.6).

While the results of the combined efforts of residents, community advocates and Manitoba Housing are still being revealed, and will be the subject of the sections to follow, the intent of key community stakeholders working within LSP were clear:

“A more stable, mixed-income community is gradually being created, but it is being built from within rather than by attracting higher-income people from outside” (Silver, 2011, p. 127).

Traditionally, mixed-income initiatives have generally entailed either the demolition and replacement of predominantly low-income social housing communities with mixed-income communities, or the gradual evolution to the same, without the demolition, by making the

community available and attractive to higher-income residents (Crump, 2003, Curley, 2005). Whatever the case, some number of the low-income residents are given vouchers and displaced to the private rental market (ibid). As the number of units designated for low-income families in the mixed-income community is fewer than what was in place before the change, not all low-income tenants can return (ibid). As described by Silver, the strategy for LSP was different. The number of social housing units available in LSP did not change. Tenants were not displaced as a result of the redevelopment, and as is detailed above, a number of new programs have been brought into the community. As residents access these services and hopefully upgrade their education and find employment, the community of LSP will gradually become more income mixed (Silver, 2011).

4.2 CCPA Study

Prior to examining the data retrieved as part of this investigation, it is helpful to look at the results of the follow-up study Sarah Cooper of CCPA Manitoba recently undertook: *It's Getting Great: Government Investment in Gilbert Park and Lord Selkirk Park* (2013). Cooper concluded that the sense of community within LSP is improving; that the housing renovations were a significant investment and were perceived by tenants as a signal from Manitoba Housing that they were committed to the community; that safety and security continue to be concerns; that the presence and availability of new supports like the Resource Centre, the Adult Learning Centre and the child care centre may help families achieve greater self-sufficiency; and that improved relationships between neighbours have positively impacted quality of life in the community. (ibid, 2013). However, Cooper also concluded that while it is difficult to determine exactly which of the many interventions that have occurred (renovations, new security measures,

new amenities, new programs and supports) has resulted in the changes seen, it is likely that the impacts are a result of the combined effect of all the initiatives.

4.3 Data Gathering Process

Returning now to the data collected as part of this investigation, it is useful to revisit the original research questions and associated propositions. The primary research question was “How and why has the community of LSP changed as a result of the initiatives that took place between 2009 and 2012.” The propositions associated with this question are set out in Table Six, below.

The second research question is “why did decision-makers choose this approach?” The specific proposition behind this question is that *decision-makers held social democratic values*.

Table Five: Propositions associated with the primary research question

How or Why	Proposition
How	The community of LSP has improved and become a more desirable place to live as a result of the redevelopment
How	Residents of the community demonstrate better social cohesion as a result of the redevelopment.
How	The community is safer as a result of the redevelopment.
How	The quality of the housing is better as a result of the redevelopment.
How	Residents of the community have more access to and are using services that could help achieve greater self-sufficiency as a result of the redevelopment.
Why	The initiative was successful because it integrated housing supports with other social supports.
Why	The initiative was successful because it was based on articulated community needs.
Why	The initiative was successful because it dealt with people in their place.

The original data gathering plan was premised on interviewing 8 to 12 residents of Lord Selkirk Park, with an emphasis on long-term residents. This interview data would be supplemented by interview data from key informants, including community advocates and stakeholders involved in the redevelopment, current service-providers within LSP and on-site Manitoba Housing staff. The secondary research question was to be addressed by interviews with key decision-makers. All of this interview data was to be complemented by participant observation and relevant documentation. To that end, I was able to interview 13 tenants of LSP, one of whom had been living at LSP since 1968 (most were in the range of four to ten years, three tenants had resided at LSP less than 3 years). All but one of these tenants resided in the Tower at LSP and were either elderly or single, non-elderly. The housing units in LSP include both the apartment tower in the centre of the community (and home to the Resource Centre, the child care centre and Manitoba Housing's regional office) and blocks of two-storey townhouses. The townhouse units are primarily homes to family households. Not having significant input from families who resided in the townhouses was a shortcoming I attempted to address through participant observation, but nonetheless represents a significant limitation of the study (addressed in Chapter 5). In addition to the 13 tenants, I interviewed four key community stakeholders who were either involved in the redevelopment or who now offered services on-site (or both), four Manitoba Housing staff (three of whom work on-site) and three senior decision-makers.

Interview data was augmented by participant observation data. As a participant observer, I spent four afternoons with the Manitoba Housing and Resource Centre staff and tenants of LSP, either touring the community, spending time in the tenant lounge or the Resource Centre (concurrent with interviews), and an afternoon barbeque at Kildonan Park. This time was spent informally visiting and interacting with staff and tenants, observing the environment and the

interactions and behaviours of participants. Following these sessions, I summarized the observations from each event. These summaries were often modified over the following days as I recalled specific events or discussions. While the research propositions were central to the interview process, they played a more secondary role in the participant observation process. In this manner, participant observation enabled an inductive approach to research. These participant observation data were augmented by my recollections of earlier visits to LSP in 2009 and 2010, when the redevelopment was in its early stages. A number of public documents related to the redevelopment were also collected and reviewed.

4.4 Evidence Collected

This section provides an overview of the data gathered from the interviews, participant observation and documents as described in the preceding section. In order to relate the data to the research questions, the section is broken down by first the primary and secondary research questions, and subsequently by their associated propositions.

4.4.0 Primary Research Question: How and why has the community of LSP changed as a result of the redevelopment that took place between 2009 and 2012?

This section will provide an overview of the data gathered relative to the first research question. First the data related to the “how” propositions will be presented, followed by the data related to the “why” propositions.

4.4.0.1 The “How” Propositions

The five “how” propositions assert that the community of LSP has changed as a result of the redevelopment, becoming a more desirable place to live, with improved social cohesion, is

safer, has better quality housing, and has more services that residents are taking advantage of to potentially enhance their self-sufficiency. These propositions were selected on the basis of theory related to social determinants of health and community economic development. As discussed in Chapter One, housing is a key determinant of health in the Canadian context (Raphael, 2004). There are three dimensions of housing as a health determinant: material dimensions (adequacy of the infrastructure, affordability), meaningful dimensions (one's sense of control and belonging in the home) and spatial dimensions (safety, availability of services in the surrounding neighbourhoods) (James Dunn, as described in Bryant, 2003). Additionally, the eighth Neechi principle, the physical environment, assisted in advancing community economic development theory for the "how" propositions (CED Network). Data collected in order to understand these propositions is primarily interview data with tenants and key informants, augmented by data from participant observation and documentation.

Research Proposition #1: *The community of LSP has improved and become a more desirable place to live as a result of the redevelopment*

Of the thirteen tenants interviewed, ten felt that LSP had improved and was a good place to live. Amongst the many changes they cited was that the Park was brighter, warmer, more comfortable, quieter and that they and their neighbours were happier, and more respectful of the community, and of each other. Eight of those tenants felt that that community had changed significantly for the better. As put by tenants:

From 2001 to now, the change has been huge. For the better.

Great, great, great. Ever since the change, it's very, very nice. I've seen something a little different over the past few years, not like it used to be, it's beginning to come slowly clean⁹.

Key informants were equally enthusiastic:

I've been in the community since 1990, and it is unrecognizable now from back then.

I think it's just a nicer place to be.

Of all those interviewed, only two¹⁰ felt differently, one stating “*It's not that good, nothing is different*”.

One indication of the desirability of LSP as a place to live is the current waiting list. Manitoba Housing advises that, as of June 24, 2014, of the 314 units available for rent at LSP, only 8 were available as a result of turn-over (tenants who had recently moved out), and 365 households were on the eligibility list (R. Koreen, personal correspondence, June 24, 2014). As one Manitoba Housing representative stated:

People lived here because they had to. Now they want to. That's why I have a waiting list. If I had more four or five bedrooms, I would fill them in a minute.

Or, as two other key informants put it:

I don't hear anybody say they want to get out of here, in the last three years, I don't even hear it. And I used to hear it daily – this is just temporary. And it was transient, people were always leaving.

I think in the community, people are wanting to get in here. I know people who left the community in early 2000, and they came back and say I never should have left.

⁹ “Clean” in this context refers to tenants who are good neighbours and do not cause problems in the community.

¹⁰ One tenant did not have a clear opinion on this question.

The many improvements cited by tenants - improved safety, improved quality of housing, the availability of services, and most commonly, the friendly environment, confirm the original research propositions related to “how” the community has changed.

Research Proposition #2: *Residents of the community demonstrate better social cohesion*¹¹.

During tenant interviews, the importance of relationships between the residents of LSP came up over and over again. Relationships are clearly a significant part of the quality of life in the community. In general, relationships between residents were very positive, eleven of the thirteen tenants interviewed talked about how friendly LSP is, or how they had made friends in the community. Seven of those tenants were even more emphatic, describing the residents of LSP as a “family”. As put by one regular user of the Resource Centre, who had left LSP in 2010 and was now trying to get back into the community:

I have a two year old girl and a six month old girl. I would love to bring them up here. It's so close-knitted.

Another tenant made the following comment:

People are very friendly, everybody helps each other. It is really good. It's like a big family, that's why I like living here.

More than half the tenants commented on a sense of responsibility for one another:

When the [fire] alarm goes off, not everybody hears it, it doesn't go off all over. Somebody has to get up and go in the hallway and remind somebody about the alarm, because you don't know how fast a fire can move. So that way, I know everybody is helping each other.

¹¹ Social cohesion was defined in Chapter One as the sense of shared values and commitment to community across the dimensions of belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition and legitimacy (Jenson, 2002).

Key informants also described a new sense of belonging in the community since the redevelopment – illustrated by the newly found barbeques, gardens, play equipment, and Christmas lights in the yards and the people sitting out and visiting in the evenings. As one key informant put it:

It [the redevelopment] helped in that it made them have more of a sense of community. I think the revitalization helped with making friends with each other and looking out for each other. Yeah, it's probably helped. You never used to see people sitting outside and having coffee.

Key informants were also very aware of the role on-site services played in promoting social cohesion, as will be discussed in a later section.

Research Proposition #3: *The community is safer as a result of the redevelopment.*

Safety is an important issue in LSP, and was the subject of lengthy discussions with tenants. In general, eleven of the thirteen tenants interviewed felt the community was safer as a result of the redevelopment. Tenants cited the improved lighting, increased number of higher-quality cameras, and the gating off of the enclosed breezeways that linked different townhouse complexes as having improved their sense of safety in LSP. Almost half of the tenants felt that Manitoba Housing's changed approach to security (increased on-site presence of Manitoba Housing security staff, rather than contract security) had both made the community safer, and improved the relationship between Manitoba Housing and the tenants:

The security is here, so you can interact with the security, which is better than it was before because then security didn't really care.
(tenant)

Security does come out as soon as a report is being made. They try to meet with the family, they try to work with the families. I think when the tenants see that security is actually trying to work with

them, the more there is a sort of collaboration with Manitoba Housing as a whole. (Manitoba Housing staff)

Key informants felt that the presence of on-site services, particularly the Resource Centre and the child care centre, were helping improve security, both by providing a safe “neutral” space, and by creating trusting relationships between staff and tenants:

I would hear community members saying that we can't have any more violence, there's children around here. I used to find that so funny, there's a school right there, there's daycare all over the place, but because it's right smack in the middle of the community, they were like, we can't have that. And I've even heard from gang members that they made a truce in the community, directly in LSP, because there are children around.

Well, just like the various programs that have support workers, when you have a Resource Centre in the community, people build trust, and people go to the Centre and communicate to the staff there, in ways, for example, they wouldn't communicate with the police or other government services.”

As a participant observer, I noted that there was now considerably less tension in the community than I had observed in 2009 and 2010. At that time, I had spent several Friday afternoons in August at LSP, and had noticed a palpable tension amongst the tenants as the afternoon progressed. Tenants described the weekends as a potentially dangerous time in the community, and felt that they were essentially “on their own” as on-site Manitoba Housing and Resource Centre staff would not be working. In 2014, this tension was notably absent.

Research Proposition #4: *The quality of the housing is better as a result of the redevelopment.*

In terms of the quality of the housing, all but one tenant thought the quality of their housing had improved dramatically. Among the changes cited most frequently were the new washers and dryers in the townhouses (they previously only had washers), the new playgrounds,

the painting of different blocks different colours, and the new “warmer” paint colours inside the apartments and townhouses. Tenants repeatedly described their renovated homes as “new”, and “modern” and the Park itself as “tidy and bright”. As one tenant put it:

It's really nice. It's like walking into a brand new home. And not that many people, especially around this community, get an opportunity to do that. That was a major, the renovation itself, that was a major improvement.

Both tenants and key informants felt that the improved housing was affecting families in a positive way:

Kids were happier when got their bedrooms renovated. Brand new paint, brand new walls, no patches in the walls, they were all fresh. So much comfort to say “I have a nice bedroom”, they get a chance to decorate it how they want. (tenant)

When you have a good place to live it just changes your whole outlook. I think that was a major thing in terms of being able to help people, kind of like a stepping stone or a ripple effect. (key informant)

Manitoba Housing staff felt that tenants were taking better care of their units:

The folks here are taking better care of them. There is way less damage. Way, way less damage. (...) On the whole, I'm seeing way, way less chargebacks¹².

Research Proposition #5: *Residents of the community have more access to and are using services that could help achieve greater self-sufficiency as a result of the redevelopment.*

There are a number of programs running in and around LSP, including the Family Resource Centre, Manidoo Child Care Centre, Kaakiyow Adult Learning Centre (at Turtle Island), LSP Adult Literacy Program, Healthy Baby programming (at the Indian and Metis

¹² A chargeback happens when a tenant is determined to be responsible for the damage in their unit and is charged for the repairs.

Friendship Centre), Ma Mawi youth programming (at Turtle Island) and health services (at Mount Carmel clinic). Service providers interviewed emphasized that their objectives were inclusive of, but broader than, improving household's self sufficiency.

All but one of the tenants interviewed was using at least one of the services in the community, most often the Resource Centre. Almost all (ten of thirteen) of the tenants were able to identify other nearby services. In June of 2014, 1,750 separate visits were made to the Resource Centre, or approximately 80 visits a day. This number had held pretty constant since the Resource Centre first opened its doors (personal correspondence, S. Goulet, July 4, 2014)¹³.

Almost half of the tenants interviewed described how they were using resources in LSP in order to access training and employment:

We got a pre-school, a daycare centre you know. We got a Resource Centre, thank god for the Resource Centre. I wish they got more donations because they help the community out. You can spend time on the computer looking for work, you can find out more resources that can help with resumes.

Most of these people are trying to get back on their feet, nobody wants to be in the ghettos. Everybody wants to succeed in life, everybody wants to be somebody. However, sometimes circumstances out of your control and you end up in the bottom of the barrel. But that doesn't mean you have to stay there, you can work your way out. But it's hard when you have children and neither you or your husband graduated from school. (...) This way, you've got your kids in daycare, you can go to school and one of you finds work at the temp agency.

¹³ As described by Samantha Goulet, Outreach coordinator at the Resource Centre, tenants come in for: "Community Lunch Gathering, to use the community phone, fax and or photocopier, to have 1 on 1 informal counseling by our Family Support Worker, referral to other agencies or organizations, some come for having someone advocate for them, to see our Career Counselor James Trimble from CAHRD, help with finding housing, childcare and most important having a safe place to come each day to have a sense of belonging and enjoy the BEST Coffee in the North End!!!"

Other Findings

The five research propositions related to “how” the community of LSP has changed as a result of the redevelopment were prepared to help direct the research toward relevant evidence (Yin, 2009). However, in the course of data gathering, other information came forward that did not fit with the research propositions.

First, one of the biggest changes taking place is LSP since the redevelopment was an influx of new families, specifically refugee African-Canadian families. Key informants were generally pleased with this change, advising that they thought it contributed to a more stable community. Based on participant observation data and limited interview data, it appears that the more established (and largely Aboriginal) families are getting along well with the newcomers, largely because of the ease children have in disregarding differences. Some tenants, however, particularly older residents living in the Tower at LSP, were less comfortable:

They're so set in their ways, the countries they come from and the religions they follow. Actually, I don't, I have a hard time explaining. They just don't seem to be Canadians yet, they've got a long ways to go. And I don't want to make that sound negative in any way, but that's the truth, they've got a long ways to go. But as neighbours, there is no problem.

Overall, distrust continues to impair social cohesion between residents at LSP. Of the 13 tenants interviewed, five stated (some repeatedly) “*I don't bother no one, and no one bothers me.*” Establishing trust with new tenants, whatever their ethnicity, remains problematic:

We get new people in, it's hard to make friends with them. We don't know what their intent is.

Second, although tenants generally felt the community was safer, some tenants, especially elders, were still fearful of walking around at night. Nine of the thirteen tenants

interviewed expressed a wish to see even more of a permanent, on-site presence of either Manitoba Housing security or the Winnipeg Police Service, and of more foot patrols in the area:

I'd have them walking around more. And once you see that, the guys aren't going to do anything. They're just going to say, those guys are going to say – “those guys are going to be walking around soon, we'd better not do anything”.

Third, while LSP community itself was seen as safe, some tenants still described problems with feeling unsafe and encountering drugs and prostitution on the north main strip to the east of LSP.

The fourth finding that is outside of the research propositions is that while tenants were generally very happy with the improved quality of their housing, there were still some complaints. One tenant did not like the new colour scheme for the exteriors, describing the place as looking like “lego”. Others complained about the poor quality of the renovations, the continued need to repair sidewalks and parking lots, and the ongoing presence of bed bugs.

Finally, the Resource Centre is clearly an important meeting place in the community, and plays an important role in promoting social cohesion at LSP. Tenants regularly came for coffee and visiting, one calling it “our closest Tim Horton’s”. As one tenant described it:

The Resource Centre, I'm just starting to go there, but it's really good. I didn't know it, actually. If you need to use a phone, sit around those big tables – some people have a big family – sit around the table like it's family time. I like it. It's how you meet everybody. It's our meeting place and it's got a friendly atmosphere.

As a participant observer, I also noted that elderly tenants of LSP who lived in the Tower were the main users of the Resource Centre in the afternoon, although parents and children were

also often present, making for a very dynamic inter-generational setting. Additionally, the relationship between staff at the Resource Centre and the tenants was important to four tenants:

*The staff are inviting, they greet you almost at the door – “Oh hi!
My name is so and so, how can we help you?”*

As a participant observer I noted the quality and frequency of interactions between tenants and staff. It was my impression that the tone of these interactions seemed to set the tone for interactions between tenants within the Resource Centre.

4.4.0.1.0 Conclusions on the “How” propositions

The data reviewed in the preceding sections confirm that the community of LSP has changed for the better as a result of the redevelopment that took place between 2009 and 2012. LSP is a more desirable place to live, residents demonstrate better social cohesion and feel safer, the quality of the housing has improved, and residents are accessing services that further assist with social cohesion and could help improve their long-term self-sufficiency. However, distrust between residents and ongoing security concerns are still impediments to improving LSP. Notably, the research proposed that tenants would use the on-site services to help advance their self-sufficiency. While there is evidence to support that proposition, there is more evidence that the tenants are using the Resource Centre specifically as a meeting place, and that it is helping improve social cohesion in the community.

4.4.0.2 The “Why” Propositions

Having now demonstrated the validity of the propositions related to “how” the community changed as a result of the redevelopment, we turn to the “why” propositions. These propositions were derived from the theoretical foundations of the study, community economic

development and social determinants of health theories. First, the proposition related to integrating housing supports with other supports was derived from social determinants of health theory, specifically the importance of coordinated approaches between social policy sectors in order to advance health equity (CSDH, 2008). The second proposition, that the redevelopment was successful because it was based on community needs, and the third proposition related to the importance of a place-based approach, were based on community economic development theory. Specifically, community needs as the basis of the redevelopment is based on the sixth Neechi Principle, “local decision-making”. The importance of a place-based approach was based on “neighbourhood stability”, the ninth Neechi Principle (CED Network). The findings that follow are based almost exclusively on interviews with key informants. Although tenants were able to speak at length on how the community of LSP had changed, they struggled with meaningfully expressing their views on why the community had changed.

Research Proposition #6: The redevelopment was successful because it integrated housing supports with other social supports

There is some evidence to support the research proposition that integrating housing supports with other social supports helped make the redevelopment successful. One key informant described how having affordable housing allowed a household to address other challenges in their lives:

If housing is your one main problem, at least you don't have to worry about that. You can work on your other problems.

Another key informant was of the view that having services on-site could help tenants eventually leave social housing:

[Services] increased their ability to treat housing as it's meant to be treated, as a leg up, it meant more opportunity to better themselves and get out of housing.

Research Proposition #7: The redevelopment was successful because it dealt with people in their place

Based on the interview data, there is evidence to support the proposition that taking a place-based approach was important to the success of the redevelopment. Three key informants felt that taking a place-based approach helped maintain the sense of the community in LSP:

If individuals move out of a community, you lose a sense of what that community is all about.

The community within the complex is very important.

In order to change the community, it took everybody, service providers and residents, to build that community up.

Key informants also believed that seeing LSP as having healthy assets right from the start contributed to the success of the redevelopment:

Right when we started, at that time we applied for funding for a CCI – it's a whole way of looking at a community – looking at assets rather than deficiencies.

So build on existing resources, and add in things (...) then you will see a greater sense of positivity in the community.

Research Proposition #8: The redevelopment was successful because it was based on articulated community needs

As described in a previous section, the Community Advisory Committee determined the need for adult learning, child care and a Resource Centre by undertaking resident surveys and consultation. Manitoba Housing also undertook consultations with regard to the planned

renovations, as well as tenant forums specific to security. Key informants felt strongly that community input into decision-making was one of the keys to the success of the redevelopment:

This was successful because we tried to build the things they said they needed.

What I've learned anyway, is that experts coming and kind of saying things, doesn't really fit in the long-term. It really does have to come from within the community with guidance from other people who can really help move them along.

Key informants particularly emphasized that it was important to take a different approach than the usual top-down approach to making change in public housing communities that did nothing to empower residents:

If it had been just housing, it would have been changing the paint colour. It wouldn't have been people taking care of their places, it would have been something done to them.

We worked from this inside out. And they had, they were part of it every step of the way. I don't think there were any plans to impose this on the community. It was – what are you needing? What are your barriers? What are your dreams? What would you like for your children? Those were my key questions at the time. My job was to remove the barriers and advocate so we can actualize these dreams. And you wouldn't have been able to do that if it just had been done.

Finally, key informants were of the view that community input was essential to the long-term success of the project as it helped create a sense of ownership:

We said, “you wanted to see this”, and I would report back regularly. (...) It gave them some ownership – “I had a say in that”.

Having a say – it's respectful. But it's also an essential component to their taking ownership.

Other Findings

The research propositions related to understanding why the redevelopment was successful were derived from social determinants of health and community economic development theory. However, in the course of interviewing tenants and key informants, other, purely pragmatic, explanations of the success of the redevelopment were raised. For example, several tenants spoke on the importance of having services nearby as they did not have ready transportation or child care, or “just wouldn’t feel comfortable” accessing services outside LSP.

The way people know each other in here, you can go “can you watch my kids for a few minutes? I have to go to the Resource Centre” and they know that they’re going to the Resource Centre and have their coffee, make their phone call, and then come back home. They don’t have to go blocks.

Key informants were more specific, discussing some very practical problems low-income families have in accessing services:

When you’re talking about primarily single parents, and multiple children, without transportation, access to services is essential. It’s really important to know that you can walk over to the child care centre, know that it is a quality child care centre, know that they’ll be well cared for. And then, from there, you are going to walk to – within the same complex – and go to school yourself, or for some of them, the residents, they may have been working on some of the units still.

If it’s not right within the complex itself, it has to be in walking distance.

Maybe for middle class families, it would be a given. But for low-income, and for people in LSP, I think it was life-changing.

Finally, some key informants felt that the redevelopment was successful because, quite simply, it was premised on the belief that the residents knew what they needed, and those needs were addressed.

Child care, the adult learning centre, that came from within.

4.4.0.2.1 Conclusions on the “Why” Propositions

Data analysis related to the three “why” propositions generally confirmed these propositions. With regard to the importance of an integrated approach, some felt that having housing secured allowed tenants to address other issues in their lives, or, that by making services available, tenants might get a “leg up” out of public housing.

Regarding the second “why” proposition – that the redevelopment was successful because it was based on the articulated needs of the community – there is evidence that community needs did indeed drive the redevelopment and that key informants thought this was important to the success of the redevelopment. One view held this process helped empower tenants, as opposed to the usual top-down approaches. Also, enabling and acting on community input created a sense of ownership, important to the long-term success of the project.

The third proposition was that the redevelopment was successful because it dealt with people in their place. First, some felt that employing a place-based model helped maintain a sense of community within LSP. Others thought that a place-based approach was important because it worked from the premise of community assets rather than deficits.

However, in addition to the data related to the theoretical propositions, there was also ample evidence that the redevelopment was successful because it provided what residents said they needed, access to jobs and education, in a place they could access it – right on site; a pragmatic rather than a theoretical explanation.

4.4.0.3 Conclusions Related to the Primary Research Question

This thesis asked: how and why did the community of LSP change as a result of the redevelopment that took place between 2009 and 2012? Based on the interviews conducted with both tenants and community stakeholders, as well as the ancillary data collected, it can be said that the community improved significantly as a result of the redevelopment – residents experienced improved social cohesion, felt safer, had better quality housing, and had services available that could lead to improved self-sufficiency when accessed. As theorized, this was because housing and social services were integrated, the intervention dealt with people in their place, and was based on articulated community needs. However, there is also evidence that distrust between residents continues to be a divisive force within the community, and that safety is an ongoing issue. Finally, there is also evidence that the redevelopment was successful because it addressed some very practical issues in the resident's lives.

4.4.3 Secondary Research Question: Why did Decision-makers Choose this Approach?

The secondary research question was directed specifically at senior decision-makers in the Government of Manitoba. The proposition associated with this question, based on the conclusions drawn from the literature review, was that decision-makers held social democratic values.

Perhaps most telling is the following statement from a senior decision-maker:

The test of a good government has got to be how respectful you are of those who are having a rough time and how you forge your policies to provide a gateway to upward mobility.

All those interviewed on this question expressed that they felt there were strengths within the LSP, and that these could form the basis for the redevelopment. They specifically rejected the deficit perspective that is the basis of neoliberal ideology:

LSP had some unique strengths to begin with on which we could build. (...) Going back, I went and studied what - we often heard people say that Lord Selkirk Park was a housing development for one, that should never have been built, and should probably be taken down if it could, because you should never agglomerate, for lack of a better word, people with multiple challenges in their life in one location, that it just compounds their challenges and takes away from positive synergies that a more mixed community might have. (...) So, I came to the belief that, first of all, there were extraordinary strengths actually in the Lord Selkirk community. And second of all, bringing people together with challenges could be met with an even greater, and directed, organizational effort, geographically and by bringing services together, in other words, providing a background for those services. It was the opposite of what the conventional thinking was that had been told to me. (...) Children have to be first. Especially children in a community like LSP. They are the ones that need decisions that are on their side.

I know there were a number of meetings held with tenants and with service providers in the community, that talked about “what are the strengths of the community and what do we need to do to build upon it”, partly that’s where the idea of the family resource centre and the child care centre came together, and that it would be much broader than a centre where you drop your children off and pick them up, there would be workers that would be available and other partnerships. (...) With the right tenant mix, with the right investment in both people and buildings, the community as a whole was also salvageable. So you didn’t need to go in on a path of destruction, is the way I would put it. There was opportunity to both save the buildings and save the community, and allow it to be a strong community again. (...) I think it speaks about the people who came before us, in 1968, they said “okay, we’re going to build these”, we were able to add some longevity, to their life. They aren’t going to last forever, but I’m sure this redevelopment we’ll get multiple decades from them, they’ll support a number of families

I think sometimes people look at it on too much of a linear way, or polar opposite kind of way – we have to destroy it and rebuild it in a completely different way, or we’ll just fix it up and keep going the way we are. The reality is that there is middle ground, and that

middle ground comes in the form of programs, services, targeting, which will all influence the dynamic of the community. So we chose that last one, which was to refurbish and look at what the challenges were, what the problems were in the community and say what kind of changes or services or programs or initiatives can we tie into this community that will work for the tenant group and the client group and make it a strong, healthy community. (...)I think it, just like the residents of LSP needed this, needed these improvements, lots of projects for Manitoba Housing needed it. They were good, almost in the context of being able to demonstrate to decision-makers that this was the right kind of thing to do, that these investments would have huge paybacks, and these paybacks were in the form of the people. We think about it as investments in the buildings, but they were actually investments in the people. That's where government's and society's payback is, because of that aspect of it.

These same perspectives were confirmed in public documents related to the redevelopment, including press releases, Manitoba Housing annual reports and statements in the Manitoba legislature:

During 2009/10, the Department continued to undertake initiatives that integrate community development and housing activities to promote the social and economic well-being of our tenants. Construction and renovation upgrades to direct-managed housing projects involved training and employing individuals who live in these housing projects. These training and employment opportunities help contribute to the capacity of individuals and instill pride within our communities. (Manitoba Housing Annual Report, 2009/10, p. 5)

In addition to these specific social democratic values, decision-makers also talked about the crisis in affordable housing in Canada, and in Winnipeg specifically. The housing at LSP was seen as a valuable asset in this context. On the same note, decision-makers also considered the cost of demolishing LSP and re-building the units as expensive, relative to investing in the existing stock:

We're dealing with a crisis across Canada about low-income housing options. (...) I would bet that it would cost a lot more money to rebuild 312 multi-bedroom units, and that's part of what makes LSP unique, just the sheer size of some of the units, that they can support larger families, and that's really beneficial when we're dealing with newcomers coming to our communities, Aboriginal families with multiple children. For me, it was a no-brainer, you have to do it, it would have cost a lot more to rebuild 312 units.

Well, first of all, number one, the asset was salvageable, structurally we knew we could salvage the asset that was there without going through demolition and new construction. The starting point is from an affordability stand point it made more sense to refurbish than deconstruct.

Decision-makers also cited the importance of having the right people in place to advocate for and lead the redevelopment:

Going back, bringing Darrell¹⁴ in from Saskatchewan was really critical to this, I thought. He had experience in different ways. I went to Saskatchewan and I saw what they were doing there and they had quite a different model and I learned some stuff from that. Getting Darrell here started a different direction.

So Carolyn Young¹⁵ was there, right place at the right time as well, very keen, very progressive, this team came together.

Jim Silver¹⁶ was also really involved. There's a whole story of the Resource Centre there. There was an existing Resource Centre there. That was an important initiative that built local leadership.

And the North End Community Renewal Corporation, and Janice Goodman¹⁷, these are all super people in place at the same time.

¹⁴ Darrell Jones joined Manitoba Housing in 2008/09, first as Chief Operating Officer, and then as Chief Executive Officer.

¹⁵ Carolyn Young has been an early childhood educator in the north end for many years and currently oversees the Resource Centre and child care programs at Manidoo, David Livingstone School and R.B. Russell School

¹⁶ Jim Silver is the head of the Urban and Inner City Studies program at the University of Winnipeg and routinely conducts research on inner city neighbourhoods, including LSP.

4.4.3.0 Conclusions Related to the Secondary Research Question

Data from the interviews with key decision-makers confirms the proposition that decision-makers held social democratic values, specifically, that the role of government is to help those in need, that there are strengths in the community of LSP on which to build, and that investment is a preferable option to demolition. Additionally, decision-makers cited the value of the stock when there is an evident shortage of affordable housing in Winnipeg, and the importance of having the right people in place to advocate for and enable a redevelopment of this nature.

4.5 Conclusions from the Data

While the major conclusions will be drawn in the following chapter, it is important to note at this point that the evidence has generally confirmed all of the research propositions that were advanced. The next chapter will attempt to relate those conclusions back to the literature review and the theoretical perspectives that formed the basis of this study

¹⁷ Janice Goodman is a community development worker employed by the North End Community Renewal Corporation.

Chapter Five: Conclusions

This chapter will attempt to draw conclusions related to the research questions and the related theoretical implications, relate the conclusions back to the identified research gap and significance of the study as identified in Chapter One, address the limits of the findings, identify unanticipated findings, and identify questions for further research. Finally, this chapter will offer some brief concluding comments.

5.0 Answering the Research Questions

How and why has the community of Lord Selkirk Park changed as a result of the redevelopment? As expected, the community of LSP has grown stronger. Table 4, below, demonstrates the major findings of the “how” propositions. The table is based on a synthesis of the conceptual data display that recorded the response of each interviewee to the questions posed.

LSP is generally a very desirable place to live, evidenced by long waiting lists and tenants trying to get back into the community. Tenants affirmed that the redevelopment improved social cohesion in the community, improved safety, improved the quality of housing and made available services that many were accessing. Key informants also noted that the community was not as transient, that there was physical evidence of greater social cohesion, that the community is more mixed, and seems more stable, that the presence of of-site services has helped make LSP safer, and that tenants are taking better care of their units.

Table Six: Synthesized conceptual data display to describe “how” the community of LSP changed as a result of the redevelopment (numbers in brackets refer to the number of tenants who made these, or similar, statements)

Propositions	Tenants	Key informants	Other data
LSP improved and is a more desirable place to live	(10/13) Like living at LSP: brighter, happier, more comfortable, quieter, respectful (8/13) LSP has changed significantly for the better	Not as transient	365 households on eligibility list
Improved social cohesion	(11/13) Friendly/made friends here (7/13) “Like a family” (7/13) Sense of responsibility for one another	Bbqs, play equipment, visiting is illustrative of sense of community Community is more mixed, stable	PO data: Children of new immigrant families and established families are integrating well.
Safety has improved	(11/13) Safety has improved: cameras, lights, closing of breezeways, feeling of safety (6/13) Better relationship with MH, MH takes action	Presence of on-site services has improved security: provided a neutral place, trusting relationship with staff	
Quality of housing has improved	(12/13) Housing quality has improved: modern, tidy, new (6/13) Improved housing has positive impacts: happier, proud, sense of belonging	Tenants are taking better care of the units: less damage, chargebacks, quicker turnovers	
Access to and use of services to improve self-sufficiency.	(12/13) Using services, most frequently the Resource Centre (10/13) Generally aware of at least one other service nearby (6/13) Using community services to advance self-sufficiency (job hunting, resumes, training)		80 visits per day PO Data: Regular interaction with staff, sets the tone for interactions between tenants; Seniors use RC in the afternoons, intergenerational setting
Other findings	(5/13) “I don’t bother anyone, they don’t bother me” (8/13) Distrust of new people (4/13) Crime is still a problem, not safe at night	Greater ethnic mix since the redevelopment is contributing to stability.	

	(4/13) Main Street and Dufferin still unsafe (9/13) Security/police should “walk the beat” more (6/13) Hallways are dirty, bedbugs, too hot, too cold, MH management is a problem, poor quality workmanship (11/13) Are using the RC for visiting (4/13) Specifically come to the RC to interact with staff	On-site services play a role in promoting social cohesion	
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Many of these findings reinforce the theoretical underpinnings of this research, social determinants of health and community economic development, or the literature related to the first three themes discussed in Chapter Two (value of integrating housing policy with broader social policy, role of social housing, and explanations for the persistence of poverty in public housing settings). Findings that the community is less transient, more mixed and stable, speak to the very premise of a place-based strategy, and specifically, the vision of the “Rebuilding from Within” framework that was established to guide the redevelopment of LSP (from Chapter Four):

“A more stable, mixed-income community is gradually being created, but it is being built from within rather than by attracting higher-income people from outside” (Silver, 2011, p. 127).

Secondly, more than half of tenants expressed a sense of mutual responsibility; an expectation that residents take care of one another. This sense of mutual responsibility is important for fostering social cohesion, one of the concepts put forward in the social determinants of health literature (Irwin, Siddiq, and Hertzman, 2007).

Almost half the tenants interviewed were using on-site services to look for work, get help with resumes or find out about training opportunities. Child care and adult learning was

deliberately located on, or next to, the community. This is evidence that public housing communities can indeed be the “springboards” to self-sufficiency that some have theorized (Atkinson, 2008, Ong, 1998, Riccio 2006, Sard & Springer, 2002 and Spence, 1993, Carter and Polevychok, 2004).

Finally, tenants described how the improvement in their housing has affected their lives – made them happier, helped instill a sense of pride, and contributed to a sense of belonging within their community. This finding speaks to housing as a key determinant of health, specifically the meaningful dimension of housing (Bryant, 2003)

A number of these improvements are beneficial from a purely pragmatic sense, and should be celebrated accordingly. Notably, pragmatic explanations also have a base in the research literature. For example, as discussed in Chapter Two, one of the rationales to integrate housing services with other social services is that there is significant overlap of clients between the programs (Riccio, 2006).

Why has the community of LSP changed as a result of the redevelopment? As detailed in the case dynamics matrix, below, data related to the “why” propositions can be classified as either based in theory, or based on pragmatic explanations.

The finding that having secure housing allows a family to work on its other issues can clearly be linked back to the very basis of social determinants of health theory – that differences in material conditions lead to different experiences of stress, which produce health outcomes (Raphael, 2004). This concept is also addressed specifically in the housing literature, as discussed in the section on the persistence of poverty in public housing - individuals and families who finally access affordable, appropriately-sized, clean social housing are in a better position

than their counter-parts housed in the private market (or not housed at all) to devote energy to looking for and maintaining employment (Harkness and Newman, 2006, Riccio, 2006, Van Ryzin, Kaestner and Main, 2003).

Table Seven: Case Dynamics Matrix to explain “why” the community of LSP changed as a result of the redevelopment

	Theoretical explanations	Pragmatic explanations
The redevelopment was successful because it integrated housing supports with other social supports	Secure housing allows a household to address their other issues. Integration of services with housing allows a household to use housing as a “leg-up”.	Child care is required in order to take education or work.
The redevelopment was successful because it was based on articulated community needs	Empowered residents, was not just “done” to them. Community input helped create a sense of ownership.	People know what they need to succeed.
The redevelopment was successful because it dealt with people in place	Maintained a sense of community. Started from an assets perspective.	Tenants find it easier to use services close to home – overcomes barriers related to child minding and transportation

The next finding, that an integrated approach helps a household treat housing as a “leg up”, can also be linked back to findings from the literature review. Returning to the various perspectives on the role of social housing, one view held that social housing, by working in concert with other social programs, could become a “foundation for independence” for low-income individuals and families (Atkinson, 2008, Ong, 1998, Riccio 2006, Sard & Springer, 2002 and Spence, 1993, Carter and Polevychok, 2004, Silver, 2011).

Secondly, findings on the proposition that the redevelopment was successful because it was based on articulated community needs, and specifically, that having input empowered residents and created a sense of ownership is the very premise of the sixth Neechi principle – local decision-making (CED Network). This principle asserts the importance of local ownership and control, grassroots involvement, community self-determination; and people working together to meet community needs.

Findings on the third “why” proposition – that the redevelopment was successful because it worked with people in their place – can also be linked back to theory. The value key informants placed on maintaining a sense of community speaks to the CED principle of neighbourhood stability: dependable housing, long-term residency; and base for long-term community development (CED Network). The other finding, that the redevelopment was successful because it was premised on the strengths of the community, can be linked to the discussion of social cohesion in the preceding section, specifically the finding that community members feel a sense of responsibility to one another. As discussed in Chapter Two, there are several studies that see social housing projects as places of resiliency and innovation, where people know each other, feel safe, and care about each other (Arthurson, 2002, Silver, 2011). These studies specifically reject the idea that public housing is synonymous with decay and disorder.

Finally, in terms of the secondary research question – why did decision-makers choose this approach? – there is ample evidence to support the proposition that decision-makers held social democratic values. Decision-makers cited their perspectives that governments should be interventionist and protect and promote the interests of the vulnerable and that low-income

communities had strengths upon which to build. The case dynamics matrix related to the secondary research question is below:

Table Eight: Case Dynamics Matrix to explain “why” decision-makers chose this approach

Social democratic values	Other explanations
Governments should be interventionist Public housing communities have strengths upon which to build Specifically rejected culture of poverty perspectives Specifically espoused SDOH and CED theory	Crisis in affordable housing Would cost more to demolish and rebuild than to re-invest Right people in place

As discussed above, many of the research findings are pragmatic in nature – LSP improved because the housing was of better quality, the community was safer and there were on-site services that community members were accessing that may have helped them achieve greater self-sufficiency, but are in the meantime contributing to building social cohesion in the community. There are also a number of very pragmatic explanations for the success of the redevelopment – residents identified what it was they needed in order to achieve greater self-sufficiency, those needs were addressed, and tenants began using the services. Even the decision to undertake the redevelopment in the first place has pragmatic tones – there is a crisis in affordable housing in Canada and it would cost more to demolish and replace LSP than it would to renovate it.

Digging deeper, many of the findings support the theoretical propositions examined in Chapter One, or findings from the literature review in Chapter Two. These findings support the very premise of the “Rebuilding from Within” strategy that drove the redevelopment. Returning to the theoretical foundations of this thesis, these findings support the material, meaningful and

spatial dimensions of housing as a social determinant of health (Bryant, 2003). The findings confirm that public housing communities can be changed for the better by working from a community economic development perspective, stressing local decision-making and neighbourhood stability. These findings support the notion that living in public housing need not mean a family is sentenced to a life of poverty, but can be a “leg up” to self-sufficiency, and further, that public housing itself is not inherently bad, but can be a place of strength, where people look out for one another. And finally, these findings confirm that decision-makers who choose to make these kinds of investments hold social democratic values. They believe that public housing communities, and more importantly, public housing tenants, deserve a government that believes in them as much as they believe in themselves.

5.1 Conclusions as Related to the Research Gap

The gap in knowledge, as identified in Chapter One, was that there are few studies that seek to understand and evaluate initiatives in public housing communities based on a social democratic perspective, premised on social determinants of health and community economic development theory, in order to advance this approach. This thesis helps address this gap in that it demonstrates the positive results of an integrated, place-based intervention in LSP, and further demonstrates that, at least to some degree, the results are because of the approach taken. Further, decision-makers interviewed clearly and specifically rejected alternate models based on NPM or culture of poverty theory. This study is also complemented by the one additional study looking at the initiatives in Gilbert Park and LSP conducted by CCPA (Cooper, 2013), which drew similar conclusions.

5.2 Conclusions as Related to the Significance of the Study

The significance of the study was to inform decision-making related to investments in social housing communities, and to advance theory related to the value of the social democratic perspective. At the time this thesis was conceived, the American government was rolling back some of the more progressive aspects of the HOPE VI program, and the development of market priced condominiums at Regent Park was well underway. Little has changed; the significance of this study remains. There continues to be a crisis in affordable housing in Canada, and hundreds of thousands of existing social housing units are at risk as federal subsidies are set to expire over the coming two decades. Most governments are continuing to advance social housing initiatives based on the sell/demolish/displace/replace paradigm. American left-wing media decries the return of the culture of poverty emphasis of the right-wing media (see, for example, Barbara Ehrenreich's article in the April 2, 2012 issue of *The Nation* or Alyssa Battistoni's 2010 article on Salon.com). Here in Manitoba, where the discourse of "fiscal restraint" dominates, and an election looms, one wonders whether the evidence pertaining to long-term, integrated, place-based approaches will continue to resonate when time and money rule the day.

5.3 Limitations of the Findings

The major limitation of the research was the failure of the investigator to identify and interview family households residing in the townhouses at LSP. Family households make up the majority of the residents at LSP, and are the biggest users of the child care centre and the adult learning centre. Both on-site service providers and Manitoba Housing staff acknowledged that it would be difficult to track down families to interview, as many were busy attending various programs. However, based on the one family household tenant interviewed, and interactions with families in the course of participant observation, it is my observation that the family households are more effusive about the positive changes at LSP than are the residents of the

Tower, who are primarily elderly, or single, vulnerable people (the majority of the units in the Tower are studio units). So, it is possible that, by not interviewing families, the evidence collected understates the extent of the change.

Second, as this study explored multiple variables and multiple explanations for the changes seen in those variables, it is difficult to assert specific cause and effect relationships. Similar to the Cooper (2013) study, it is likely that the changes resulted because of the compounding and reinforcing effects of the “why” propositions. Simplifying the research to focus on establishing one or two causal relationships would have required ignoring the complex interplay of social cohesion, safety, housing quality and the role of service providers within a public housing community. This approach would also have required the investigator to water down the redevelopment that took place, focusing on specific elements in isolation (the renovation, the new day care, etc.). Attempting to identify isolated causal relationships would not be mindful of the holistic and transformational nature of the redevelopment.

Third, this study is limited by the experience of the principal investigator, who has never undertaken a study of this scope and who has only limited interaction with the realities and requirements of data collection for academic purposes. The ongoing support of the faculty advisory committee has hopefully helped mitigate this limitation.

Finally, it is important to note that the principal investigator is a senior leader within Manitoba Housing. While my role does not involve any interaction with the staff, tenants or service providers at LSP, I do have “inside access” to staff, senior decision-makers and the advocacy community that another investigator may not enjoy. To that end, it is important to acknowledge the possibility that some interviewees may not have wanted to fully disclose

information, particularly information they thought to be unhelpful or contrary to my research propositions because of our ongoing relationship. Alternatively, this relationship enabled access to some interviewees (particularly senior decision-makers) that may have been hard to access otherwise, and some interviewees may have been more frank and open in the interviews because of that same relationship.

5.4 Unanticipated Findings

Although not addressed as part of the research propositions, three unanticipated themes emerged from the data analysis that are deserving of further research. First, service providers, in describing the services put in place as part of the redevelopment, specifically noted that there was resistance to including child welfare organizations as on-site service providers. As they reported, tenants remained very fearful of Child and Family Services (CFS), and in fact, developed informal networks to notify one another when a CFS worker was in the Park. Given that child welfare programs were specifically excluded from the redevelopment, it is particularly interesting that both key community stakeholders and Manitoba Housing staff reported that children seemed to be cared for better since the redevelopment:

See, we don't even see as much of that – it would break my heart to see the hasps on the bedroom doors, on the outside of the bedroom doors [clarification]. Hasps – like a shed lock, they'd lock them in there and then go out, or do what they do. I see less of it. Thank goodness. (Manitoba Housing staff)

If her children are out, she knows her children can play from this block to this block, and if they go over here, she knows she needs to phone her friend so and so, so they can keep an eye on her kids. They keep an eye on their children more. (Key informant)

You would ask a child: "Where's your mom? Where do you live?" and they just didn't know. They were just running. And now, they

are all accounted for, it seems. You don't see kids unattended. You see kids playing, but you know someone is watching out for them. (key informant)

A potential research question on this topic is “How and why did the redevelopment at LSP affect child welfare outcomes?”

Secondly, there was evidence that the Resource Centre played an important role in combating isolation amongst the elderly and single, non-elderly tenants housed in the Tower at LSP. Many of those tenants interviewed noted that they had not visited the Resource Centre when it was in a unit on one side of the community, but were now visiting since it had been moved to the Tower. These same tenants often indicated that they were still somewhat fearful to go out, particularly on to Main Street. As a participant observer, I also noted that the Resource Centre, particularly in the afternoon, had the feel of a seniors' centre. Elders and grandparents were also in attendance at the community barbeque the Resource Centre held at Kildonan Park. A potential research question is “How has the establishment of a Resource Centre in the LSP Tower helped to combat isolation for the single and elderly tenants who live there?”

Finally, pets are a contentious issue for the tenants of LSP. Recent Manitoba Housing policy changes allow tenants to have small dogs or cats. The topic of pets came up in almost half of the interviews, and in a couple of cases, almost hijacked the interview. Pets serve to divide tenants: “*people gotta look after their dogs better*”, and they bring them together: “*my cat helped me make friends*”. A potential research question is “How do pets affect social cohesion between tenants at LSP?”

5.5 Questions for Further Research

In addition to the three potential research questions identified in the preceding section, there are several other possible avenues of research that could be explored. First, this research was based on a handful of propositions derived from social determinants of health and community economic development theory. Returning to the eleven determinants of health and the Neechi principles, other elements of these theories could have been chosen as propositions: social determinants like Aboriginal status, early life and food security or community economic development principles of long-term employment of local residents and human dignity may be especially relevant within the context of LSP.

Second, it would be useful to conduct a robust cost-benefit analysis of the redevelopment to provide data for decision-makers in terms they more readily accept. A cost-benefit analysis would attach financial savings to the decreased vacancies, reduced damages and the faster turnover of units cited in interviews with Manitoba Housing staff, and then position those benefits relative to the costs of the renovations and the on-site programming. An even more robust analysis could try to measure and include the social benefits associated with attending adult learning, using job and training services at the Resource Centre, improved school readiness amongst the children attending the child care centre, and potentially, the value of improved child welfare outcomes.

Third, it would be useful for future researchers to focus on whether or not residents employed in doing renovations benefitted in the long-term from this opportunity. For example: Were those residents able to leverage those opportunities into further training and employment? What were the barriers to doing so? How were those barriers overcome? Answering these questions may require a long-term longitudinal study.

As the community of LSP changes and new tenants move in, particularly African-Canadian refugees, it would be useful to understand how those families are being integrated into the community, and how Manitoba Housing and community-based service providers could facilitate that integration. Finally, it would be useful to focus this study specifically on the subsets of the population that lives at LSP, particularly the family households who were largely missed in this research.

5.6 Concluding Comments

As this research concludes, it is useful to return to the comments made in the 2005 *State of the Inner City Report* issued by CCPA:

“Two metaphors occur repeatedly in the comments of those interviewed. One is the notion of a complex web – a web of poverty, racism, drugs, gangs and violence. The other is the notion of a cycle – people caught in a cycle of inter-related problems. Both suggest the idea of people who are caught, trapped, immobilized, unable to escape, destined to struggle with forces from which they cannot extricate themselves. The result is despair, resignation, anger, hopelessness, which then reinforce the cycle and wrap them tighter in the web.”
(p. 24)

Nine years later, there are two new metaphors to describe LSP. The first is that of family. LSP is a community in the truest sense, where tenants look out for one another like a family. This sense of community is what brings people to LSP, and is the reason they stay. The second metaphor is a foundation – there are strengths in the community of LSP that formed the foundation of the redevelopment, and now, with quality, affordable housing, a safer environment and community services in place, there is a foundation from which to build a better community and stronger families. As one key informant put it:

I'm optimistic about the future of Lord Selkirk Park. The children we're working with will be the leaders in this community.

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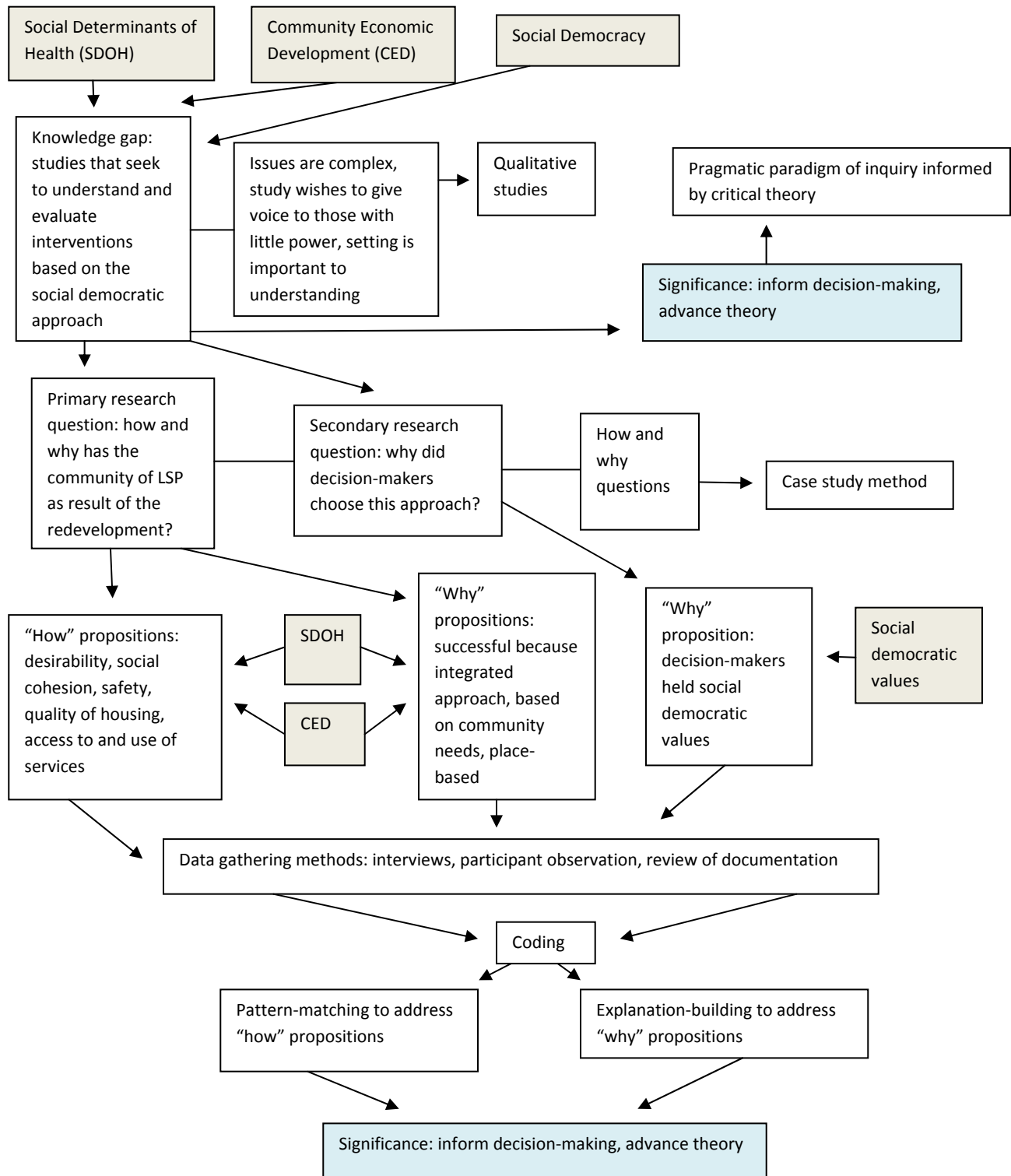
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Appendix One: Research Design Logic



Appendix Two: Data Displays

Conceptual data display: “How” did the community of the LSP change as a result of the redevelopment?

“How” proposition	Tenant #1	Key informant #1
The community of LSP has improved and become a more desirable place to live as a result of the redevelopment.		
The residents of LSP demonstrate better social cohesion as a result of the redevelopment		
The community of LSP is safer as a result of the redevelopment		
The quality of housing is better as a result of the redevelopment		
Residents of the community have access to and are using services that could help achieve greater self-sufficiency as a result of the redevelopment		
Other results		

Case dynamics matrix: “Why” did the community of LSP change as a result of the redevelopment

	Theoretical (SDOH and CED) explanations	Pragmatic explanations
The redevelopment was successful because it integrated housing supports with other social supports		
The redevelopment was successful because it was based on articulated community needs		
The redevelopment was successful because it dealt with people in place		
Other explanations		

Case dynamics matrix: Decision-makers chose this approach because they held social democratic values

Social democratic values	Other explanations

Appendix Three: Ethics application and certificate of approval

1. Summary of Project

This thesis examines a large-scale physical and social redevelopment intervention in a public housing community, Lord Selkirk Park (LSP). The intervention included a \$20 million investment in the physical infrastructure, the introduction of new community services focused on promoting adult education and a tenant and community engagement strategy (“the intervention”). The primary purpose of this thesis is to understand how and why the community of LSP has changed following the intervention, and secondly, why such an initiative was undertaken. Using a case study method, it will rely on data from observations, interviews with key informants and documentation within a case study method.

This thesis hopes to advance both social policy discussions related to understanding how and why investments and initiatives in social housing can make a difference to communities. It will look at social work theory from a social democratic perspective and interventions that employ place-based and community-driven approaches. These approaches are based on social determinants of health and community economic development theories. The unit of analysis is a social housing community. Such communities have not been well-examined in the Canadian social work literature.

This thesis is a qualitative research study, employing a case study method within a pragmatic paradigm of inquiry informed by critical theory. The sampling technique employed in this study is purposeful – the community of LSP can “purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study” (Creswell, 2007, p.125). Two specific purposeful sampling strategies are employed: theory-based and politically important sampling.

Participants will be community residents and representatives of government and community-based organizations involved in delivering services to LSP. Community residents will be recruited through advertisements posted in the community, the researcher attending local community meetings and referrals made by community leaders. Organizational representatives will be contacted directly, based on their involvement delivering services to community residents. Participants who provide informed consent will be asked to participate in one semi-structured interview. Interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Interviews will take place in a location selected by the participant. Participants will be given the option to receive sections of the thesis that reflect their comments by either email or regular mail (their choice) and be invited to validate the section or to provide the researcher with any comments or concerns either by regular mail, email or over the phone. The data to be gathered through the interview process include the perceptions of residents and key informants on questions of how

safety, social cohesion, desirability of LSP as a place to live, quality of housing, and access to and use of social services has changed following the intervention. It will also ask about perceptions of an integrated approach, a place-based strategy and the primacy of articulated community needs in the success or failure of the intervention. Data obtained through interviews will be augmented by a review of relevant documentation. The data will then be analyzed through the use of coding, followed by pattern matching and explanation building (Yin, 2009), facilitated by the employment of a conceptually ordered data display (for describing), and a case dynamics matrix (for explaining) (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

2. Research Instruments

The research instrument is a semi-structured interview. Interview questions for both community residents and representatives of community-based organizations are attached in Appendix One.

3. Participants

Participants will generally fall into one of two categories. Written and oral recruitment communications are attached as Appendix Two.

a. Community residents

Interviews will be conducted with residents of Lord Selkirk Park, with an emphasis on medium- to long-term residents who lived in LSP prior to, during, and since the interventions that took place between 2009-12. The researcher is hoping to interview a minimum of eight and a maximum of twelve residents.

b. Representatives of community-based organizations

Interviews will also be conducted with representatives of government and community-based organizations which either provide services in LSP, or which serve the larger north end Winnipeg community and were involved in planning and implementing the intervention that took place in LSP. Examples of organizations include Manitoba Housing, the Winnipeg Regional Health Authority, Mount Carmel Clinic, North End Community Renewal Corporation, the Lord Selkirk Park Resource Centre, Lord Selkirk Park Child Care Centre, Ma Mawi, Ndinawe, and the Lord Selkirk Park Adult Learning Centre. The researcher is hoping to interview representatives from a minimum of six organizations.

4. Informed Consent

The consent form to be used by both groups of participants is attached as Appendix Three.

5. Deception

No deception will be used in the study.

6. Feedback/debriefing

A summary of the results will be provided to participants in approximately September of 2014. Participants will be asked to identify how they would like to receive this summary (regular mail, e-mail).

7. Risks and benefits

The benefit to the participant is the opportunity to include their views in a study on the redevelopment of LSP. There is no risk of harm to a participant greater than one would normally experience in the normal conduct of one's everyday life.

8. Anonymity or Confidentiality

Apart from the Informed Consent document, there is no need to collect identifying information from any participants. Transcripts of interview recordings will be linked to consent forms only by a number. Consent forms bearing these numbers will be stored in a locked cabinet in the Principal Investigator's home. No one but the Principal Investigator will have access to the cabinet. Participants will not be identified in the interview transcripts and no identifying information will appear in any reports in the student's thesis. Consent forms and transcripts will be destroyed by shredding in September of 2014.

9. Compensation

In recognition of the inconvenience caused by participation in the study, each participant will be provided with a \$15 coffee shop gift card at the time of first meeting.

10. Dissemination

Research results, including the formal report (thesis), will be shared with the Principal Investigator's thesis committee. The thesis will also be available at the University of Manitoba, through both its physical and on-line libraries. All or portions of the research may be included in academic and research journals.

Interview Questions

Questions for LSP Residents

1. Can you tell me a little about you and your family? How long have you lived at LSP?
2. How do you think the LSP community has changed since the re-development? What kind of changes have happened for you and your family?
3. Do you think LSP is a good or not-so-good place to live? In what ways?
4. How have your relationships with your neighbours changed as a result of the re-development? How do you feel these changes have affected quality of life for you and your family?
5. How has the quality of your housing changed as a result of the re-development? How do you think the change in the quality of your housing has changed the quality of life for your family?
6. How do you feel safety for you and your family has changed as a result of the re-development?
7. There are a number of new services here in LSP as a result of the re-development. How are those services making a difference for you and your family? How important is it that those services are available right here in LSP?
8. Do you feel that LSP residents' needs guided the re-development? How?

Questions for Key Stakeholders

1. How was your organization involved in the re-development of LSP? How were you personally involved in the re-development of LSP?
2. Generally, how do you think the community has changed as a result of the re-development?
3. How do you think relationships between the residents of LSP have changed as a result of the re-development? Can you give an example of that kind of change?

4. How do you think the quality of housing at LSP has changed as a result of the re-development? How do you think that change is impacting the families who live at LSP?
5. How do you think safety and security at LSP has changed as a result of the re-development? How do you think that change is impacting the families who live at LSP?
6. How were the needs of the community as identified by the residents incorporated into the re-development? How important do you think that was to the success of the re-development? Why?
7. The re-development included the addition of new community services like child care and adult education in addition to the housing upgrades. How do you think the changes you've described may have been different if the re-development had been limited to upgrading the housing stock and didn't include the new services?
8. Why do you think the province chose this approach, when so many other jurisdictions are choosing to demolish public housing?

Recruitment Communications

Oral recruitment (face-to-face)

My name is Carolyn Ryan and I am a graduate student at the University of Manitoba conducting research in Lord Selkirk Park. I am interested in interviewing you to hear your perspective on some of the changes that have happened in Lord Selkirk Park over the last three years. The interview would take approximately one hour. Any all information you share would be kept confidential. The interview would be at a location of your choosing. Would you be interested in participating in this research?

(If interested) I have a consent form I'd like to share with you. If you're interested, we could schedule a time to get together.

Oral Recruitment (phone – primarily focused on organizational representatives or those who have responded to a recruitment poster)

Hello, my name is Carolyn Ryan and I am a graduate student in the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Manitoba. I am conducting a research project on how Lord Selkirk Park has changed since the redevelopment that took place between 2009 and 2012.

I learned about your organization's involvement in the redevelopment from my background research.

I was hoping to speak with the person who is primarily involved in the redevelopment. Is that you?

I would like to learn more about your organization's view of how Lord Selkirk Park has changed as a result of the redevelopment. Your participation would involve meeting with me for a semi-structured interview that lasts about an hour, in a location and a time of your choosing. I will ask about your perceptions of how Lord Selkirk Park has changed, including the housing infrastructure, safety and services available on-site.

I will record the interview and take notes. In order to protect your confidentiality, I will assign you a number so your name will not be on my notes. I will not use your name or other personal identifiers in any presentation or research paper. All information

containing personal identifiers, such as your consent form, will be destroyed in September of 2014.

After the research paper is completed, I will be presenting it at the University of Manitoba as a part of the course requirements and all or portions of the research may be included in academic and research journals. With your agreement, I will provide to you a summary of results, by email or surface mail, in approximately May of 2014 for your review and validation.

Would you be interested in participating in this research project?

If Yes:

When and where is it convenient for you to meet?

o Date: _____

o Time: _____

o Location: _____

May I have your email address? The purpose of this is to send you a copy of the consent Form that you can review before the interview.

If we have arranged to meet in person: I will bring another copy of the Consent Form to the interview for us both to sign before the interview begins.

Your participation is confidential. Your contact information will not be shared with anyone. If you decide to participate, your name will not be used in the research. Please refer to Informed Consent Form.

Do you have any questions?

If you think of any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me by phone or email (██████████/████████████████████).

I look forward to talking to you more about your experiences (at this date and time) _____. Thank you for participating.

If No:

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Letters to community organizations asking them to put up recruitment posters (University of Manitoba letterhead)

Dear (Executive Director or Director)

I am student researcher in Social Work at the University of Manitoba currently conducting research in order to complete my thesis. This research examines the redevelopment that took place at Lord Selkirk Park between 2009 and 2012. The primary purpose of this thesis is to understand how and why the community of Lord Selkirk Park has changed following the intervention, and secondly, why such an initiative was undertaken. Using a case study method, it will rely on data from observations, interviews with key informants, including tenants and representatives from community-based organizations.

This thesis hopes to advance social policy discussions related to understanding how and why investments and initiatives in social housing that employ place-based and community-driven approaches can make a difference to communities.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board. The research supervisor is Dr. Lawrence Deane, who can be contacted at (204)791-7217.

As part of my research, I am hoping to interview long-time residents of Lord Selkirk Park. The interview will take about an hour and will be held at a location of their choosing. Please find enclosed a recruitment poster that describes the study and provides my contact information. I would appreciate it if you were able to place this poster in a public, high traffic location within your organization.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me directly at [REDACTED]

Sincerely,

Carolyn Ryan

Written recruitment (posted notices intended to recruit residents)

Lord Selkirk Park Research Project (University of Manitoba letterhead)

My name is Carolyn Ryan and I am currently conducting research at Lord Selkirk Park. The research is for my thesis toward the completion of a Master's of Social Work program at the University of Manitoba.

I am looking for long-time residents of Lord Selkirk Park to interview to hear your views on how LSP has changed over the last three years. The interview will take about an hour

and be held at a location of your choosing. The information you provide will be kept confidential.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board. The research supervisor is Dr. Lawrence Deane, who can be contacted at [REDACTED]

If you are interested in participating, please contact me directly at [REDACTED] or umryan26@cc.umanitoba.ca and I will provide you with more information about the study, and a consent form. Thank you for your interest in my project!

Consent Form (TO BE PRINTED ON U OF M LETTERHEAD)

Research Project Title: Integrated, Place-based Initiatives in Public Housing Settings: A Case Study of Lord Selkirk Park

Principal Investigator and Contact Information: Carolyn Ryan

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Research Supervisor and Contact Information: Dr. Lawrence Deane

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you a basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Study Information:

I am a student researcher at the University of Manitoba. This research is being done as part of my thesis.

The primary purpose of this research is to understand first, how and why the community of LSP has changed following the redevelopment that took place between 2009 and 2012. The second purpose is to understand why the redevelopment was undertaken. This interview will involve questions about your experience of the Lord Selkirk Park redevelopment. It will take approximately one hour.

Your name will not be used in this interview and will not appear on any transcripts. No identifying information will appear on any reports emerging from this research. This Consent Form will be linked to the transcript of your interview only by a number which will be kept confidential.

Consent forms will be stored in a locked cabinet and only I and my thesis advisor will have access to them. Your participation in this research will be kept anonymous and confidential.

With your permission, I would like to record this interview with a digital recorder. This will ensure that I have an exact record of your views and will help to ensure that I reflect them accurately. I would like to take notes as we speak.

You will be given the option to receive sections of the thesis that reflect your comments by either email or regular mail (your choice) and be invited to validate the section or to provide me with any comments or concerns either by regular mail, email or over the phone.

In appreciation of your participation in the study, I would like to offer you a \$15 coffee shop gift card at the time of first meeting. You are free to withdraw from the interview at any time, or decline to answer any question. Your participation, or withdrawal from the study will in no way affect any services you receive from Lord Selkirk Park.

Research results, including the formal report (thesis), will be shared with my thesis committee. The thesis will also be available at the University of Manitoba, through both its physical and on-line libraries. All or portions of the research may be included in academic and research journals.

A summary of the results will be available to you in approximately September of 2014. If you would like to receive a copy of the summary please indicate whether you would like an electronic or a printed copy and provide a regular mail or email address below.

All data except the final reports will be destroyed in September of 2014 by shredding.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at my research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

This research has been approved by the Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the

above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at [REDACTED]. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's signature

Date

Principal Investigator's signature

Date

If you would like a copy of the summary results of this study, please indicate your preference for an electronic copy or printed copy and provide an appropriate address below:

Please send me a:

Electronic copy

Printed copy

Email address:

Regular Mail address:



UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

Research Ethics and Compliance
Office of the Vice-President (Research and International)

Human Ethics
208-194 Dafoe Road
Winnipeg, MB
Canada R3T 2N2
Phone +204-474-7122
Fax +204-269-7173

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

April 4, 2014

TO: Carolyn Ryan (Advisor L. Dean)
Principal Investigator
FROM: Jacquie Vorauer, Chair
Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board (PSREB)
Re: Protocol #P2014:019
"Integrated, Place-Based Initiatives in Public Housing: A Case Study of Lord Selkirk Park"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2). It is the researcher's responsibility to comply with any copyright requirements. **This approval is valid for one year only.**

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note:
- If you have funds pending human ethics approval, please mail/e-mail/fax (261-0325) a copy of this Approval (identifying the related UM Project Number) to the Research Grants Officer in ORS in order to initiate fund setup. (How to find your UM Project Number: <http://umanitoba.ca/research/ors/mrt-faq.html#pr0>)
- if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

The Research Quality Management Office may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba Ethics of Research Involving Humans.

The Research Ethics Board requests a final report for your study (available at: http://umanitoba.ca/research/orec/ethics/human_ethics_REB_forms_guidelines.html) **in order to be in compliance with Tri-Council Guidelines.**

umanitoba.ca/research