IN PLACE OF INTEREST:
A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PLACE AND COLLABORATION FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

by

Kristy LeBaron

August 21, 2001

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

Department of City Planning
Faculty of Architecture
University of Manitoba

0-612-62776-4

Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
*****
COPYRIGHT PERMISSION

IN PLACE OF INTEREST: A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PLACE AND
COLLABORATION FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

BY

KRISTY LEBARON

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of

Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree

of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

KRISTY LEBARON © 2001

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an exploration of the relationship between the 'place-based' or 'neighbourhood' approach to community development and community collaboration. This relationship is interesting because both the neighbourhood approach and the collaborative approach are complimentary to the more recent community-led style of community development. Both can be used to encourage community participation, both can inspire holistic perspectives and strategies, and both would support the building of local capacity by focusing on local resources and assets.

To investigate this relationship, this thesis has pursued both empirical and non-empirical examinations. The exploration of this relationship begins with an examination of the neighbourhood approach, or strategy, of community development as used by North American governments. Through this examination, both the literature and empirical data investigate the use of the neighbourhood or place approach to community development, the features which make it an attractive strategy, and the definitions of and associated beliefs with the concept of 'neighbourhood', such as the neighbourhood as a holistic unit or entity, as a social organiser, and as a community of place. The relationship is then explored through both a literature and empirical examination of the association of collaboration with community development, and its potential linkages with the neighbourhood strategy. Through this investigation, neighbourhood or 'place' is explored as a potential common focus for community collaboration, and thus the relationship between the neighbourhood strategy and collaboration is examined fully.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 PREAMBLE

This thesis has been inspired by current work experience in the field of community development, as well as by strong personal beliefs about that experience.

Community development is emerging as a subject of great interest to many academic disciplines and professions in North America and abroad. Its diverse appeal is due to its broad scope of interest, including physical, social, economic and environmental development, and because of its non-conformance to a single authority. However, its greatest appeal seems to be its grass-roots leanings in practice. This bottom-up style of planning and organising has become popular with both citizens and government, as it promotes local action and puts more responsibility into the hands of local people.

This popularity has led many governments to create strategies and initiatives that support community development, such as the Provincial initiative (called Neighbourhoods Alive!) this author has had experience with. This initiative, as with many others, supports community development at the neighbourhood level, where a geographic community is 'targeted' for government support. This neighbourhood strategy of community development is very common and is often the approach used by government because it allows for the concentration of financial resources and other supports to a defined area, namely the inner city.

From this author's experience, the neighbourhood strategy of community development appears to foster a more holistic and comprehensive approach to community development. By defining or targeting a neighbourhood, a 'community of place is identified', both geographically and socially, and is viewed as an 'entity' which encompasses a multitude of interrelated and interdependent interests, such as physical, economic, political and social interests. It is the community of place--in this case, neighbourhood--which this thesis is concerned with, as the purpose of the study is to explore whether the neighbourhood--as a 'place'--could be the common focus for promoting community collaboration, which could result in more holistic approaches to community development.

Community collaboration is essential to community development, as it is the combined efforts and resources of different interests working together for more holistic community development. According to Sandercock (1998), collaboration is the understanding and acceptance of one another's perspectives and the willingness to work together through conflict for a common goal (Sandercock 1998, 95). It is based on equalizing information through horizontal relationships, and by doing so, creates and environment where authority is held equally and not by a powerful few (Sandercock 1998, 96). Collaboration can also be viewed as being built on Friedmann's concept of 'Social Learning', that sees learning as an 'interactive process'; one which involves conflict, consensus and negotiation (Sandercock 1998, 95). This concept is based on the idea that "no side has all the answers" and therefore

2

all sides working together can come up with something more complete and just (Sandercock 1998, 95).

However, many well-intentioned organisations providing much needed services are often working in isolation from one another, concerned mainly with sustaining resources for the particular interest or issue they serve. These groups are invariably in competition with one another as resources for community services are limited and often come from the same 'pot' (government programs). What this thesis suggests is that through the 'place-based' or 'neighbourhood strategy' of community development, these organisations could find a common ground or purpose, which could lead them to community collaboration and the sharing of resources, due to a shared tie to the neighbourhood/place.

It is through an extensive literature review and the production of qualitative data, that this thesis has attempted to investigate this potential place-collaboration relationship.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

I am studying the neighbourhood or place strategy of community development because I want to find out if a focus on neighbourhood/place can bring about community collaboration among interest groups, through their common ties to place, in order to create more holistic and comprehensive community development.

1.3 SCOPE/OBJECTIVES

The scope of this study covers three main areas: government involvement in community development; the concept of 'neighbourhood as place' in community development—and more specifically the neighbourhood strategy of community development; and the role of place-focused collaboration in community development. It ranges from a general, historical review of community development in North America, to a more specific examination of local community development work in Winnipeg.

The main objective of the study is to determine whether collaboration could occur among various organisations due to a shared interest in neighbourhood—a community of place—fostered by the neighbourhood strategy of community development. The exploration of this objective has been carried out through an intensive and extensive examination of the relevant literature, and through the production of empirical data gathered from participants with backgrounds in community development. Both methods were crucial in addressing the various research questions that ultimately led to the main objective.

First, it was vital to address the question of *what factors have led to an increased emphasis on community-driven development.* Literature on decentralisation and retrenchment set the context for understanding a less 'top-down role of government, with an increased focus on community self-help. Also, community development and planning literature show the role of government shifting from an emphasis on

physical, urban renewal with little community involvement, to one focused more on

the provision of social and economic supports, dictated by community needs.

Second, it was important to explore government's current and historical focus on the

neighbourhood strategy of community development (whether top-down or bottom

up). Towards addressing the questions of *does government use the neighbourhood*

strategy and why, empirical data was gathered through qualitative interviewing of

government employees (Canada) about government's involvement with community

development, and about the extent to which the place and/or neighbourhood approach

has been used, in their experience and to their knowledge. The concepts of place and

neighbourhood are also examined in detail in these interviews.

Third, the issues of competition, fragmentation, and duplication faced by those

involved in community development are addressed, stressing the benefit of, and need

for, a collaborative approach in CD. This thesis draws upon the literature to frame

the theory of the collaborative approach as a way to achieve consensus, mutual

learning, and integration. From this examination, this study will address the question

of *is collaboration an effective way to achieve holistic and comprehensive CD*.

This literature is then synthesised with empirical data to address the main objective,

that of the relationship between neighbourhood/place and collaboration. For both

issues — community collaboration and neighbourhood approaches to community

development -- more empirical data was gathered through conducting a focus group

with participants of a local neighbourhood development process in the Spence

neighbourhood of Winnipeg, Manitoba. The participants included representatives

from Spence-based organisations as well as from organisations associated with

specific services/interests. These participants were targeted because of their

association with a place-oriented community development process, of the provincial

government, called Neighbourhoods Alive!, and their input would directly lend itself

to addressing the question of *can groups work together for the common purpose of*

neighbourhood-focused community development, through a common focus on

neighbourhood.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE

This thesis will provide new knowledge for those concerned with community

development. It will provide insight and understanding, and a possible new

acceptance of the neighbourhood strategy of community development, as a means to

inspire community collaboration and perhaps more holistic, comprehensive and

sustainable development strategies. Recommendations produced from this study

could aid both communities and government in developing community development

strategies that encourage collaboration and more holistic approaches.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODS

To add to an extensive literature review, this researcher felt it crucial to gather

empirical data to address the research questions of *does government use the*

neighbourhood strategy and why', and *'can groups work together for the common*

purpose of neighbourhood-focused community development, through a common focus

on neighbourhood'.

This researcher felt that these questions should be explored through qualitative

methods, which would provide in-depth insight from those involved in community

development, describing what they think about the concepts addressed in the research

questions.

Qualitative Methods

Cassell and Symon describe qualitative methods as "interpretive techniques which

seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not

the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social

world" (1994, 3). Qualitative methods accept and promote the inherent subjectivity of

the research and rely more on interpretation than objectivity and calculation, and

there is more flexibility with qualitative methods as they are responsive to the

circumstances of the study and participants, not confined by rigid questioning routes

(Cassell & Symon 1994, 4).

As this study is concerned not with the frequency of phenomena, but is rather an

exploration of the relationship between place and collaboration, qualitative methods

are highly suitable. To further this exploration, this researcher felt that qualitative

interviewing would be the most appropriate method.

The Interview Method

Interviewing was the chosen method because it offers features that would provide the most relevant data for the study. Interviewing was also considered the best choice for this study because it offers a wide range of interviewing 'types' or styles that would allow for a variety of approaches to obtaining the data needed for the study. Interviewing was chosen for this study because it is a method that most people are familiar with as people participate in all sorts of interview situations on a regular basis, such as when they start a new job, when they are asked their opinion on a particular topic, or when a telephone solicitor questions their reading habits (Cassell & Symon 1994, 14). However, for the purposes of this study, only interview types that produced qualitative data were used (see below). Interviewing was also chosen because it is a method somewhat familiar to, and within the capabilities of this researcher.

Qualitative interviews are those which lean toward an 'unstructured' approach. According to the literature (Rubin & Rubin 1995; Robson 1993; Gillham 2000; Cassell & Symon 1994), unstructured refers to the level of control that the researcher has over the interview. Unstructured interviews can range from relatively spontaneous conversations (also called *non-directive* or *informant* interviews by Robson 1993, 231) to interviews that follow a more detailed guide or schedule of questions, but that still maintain enough flexibility to adapt those questions to changing circumstances (often called *semi-structured* interviews, Gillham 2000). This unstructured approach was much more suited to the type of data needed than

would have been a more structured, or quantitative form of interviewing (such as a Survey or Questionnaire) because less-structured interviews often have a preponderance of open-ended questions that allow for more in-depth understanding of the opinions and perspectives of the interviewee, they allow more flexibility and adaptability in the questioning than would a standardized questionnaire, and they are generally face-to-face so as to pick up on the non-verbal communication (such as gestures, eye contact and head nods). Another important and useful feature is that qualitative interviewing practitioners openly accept the subjective nature of the interview as they see the interviewee as a participant in the discussion and not as a 'subject'. In this sense, the qualitative interview approach accepts that the researcher will have an impact on the outcome of the study and that this relationship between interviewer and interviewee is part of the process and not a distraction (King 1994, 16).

For all of these reasons, qualitative interviewing is the method chosen. However because the study requires different types of information to address the key research questions, different types of qualitative interviews are required. Therefore, qualitative interviews of varying types and levels of structure or control were selected for the different components of the study.

Interviewing Instruments

To address the two main research questions outlined at the beginning of this chapter, this researcher used three types of qualitative interviews, these being semi-structured, focus group and key informant.

Semi-Structured Interview

The reason for using semi-structured interviews was to address the key question of *does the public sector use a place-approach to community development and why?* by having people with knowledge on the subject to give their perspectives on it.

Gillham (2000) specifically discusses the features and approach of the semi-structured interview. The semi-structured interview is the most structured of the qualitative interviews in that it uses an interview guide or schedule to direct the conversation. This guide or schedule often relies heavily on open-ended questions, but may have closed questions as well. According to Gillham, the interview guide or schedule often follows a format consisting of an introduction, opening questions, key or central questions, and a closing or summary. This overall structure provides 'stages' for the interview which then helps the interviewer shift and adapt the interview accordingly, especially if time is of the essence (Gillham 2000, 37). This type of interview approach is still considered qualitative because it deals with exploring the in-depth perspectives of the participants through the use of open ended questions, however there is a more focused purpose for the interview and the researcher has more control to retain this focus by having the guide or schedule.

Because this researcher has little experience with interviewing, this style was ideal, as it allowed for a more 'guided' approach using a questioning format, but still allowed for the production of open, qualitative data.

Analysis

In terms of analysis, the semi-structured interview follows a set of topical questions whose responses are transcribed immediately after each interview. Key points are identified from the transcribed text and coded into categories or themes most important to the study, and these are then formed into an overall interpretation of the session (Rubin & Rubin 1995, 234). Because of the amount of data produced in an interview of this type, audio-taping was a valuable tool used for each interview.

Focus Group Interview

The reason for using focus groups was to attempt to address the key research question *can place act as the common or shared interest among groups for community collaboration?* by having people with experience in community development process share their perspectives.

According to Krueger (1994) focus groups are used to gain insight on how people feel about something, and to promote self-disclosure (1994, 11). Focus groups are exploratory, seeking the in-depth perceptions of a small, but specific group of people. Focus groups are ideal in discussing concepts because often people need to first listen

to others before they can form their own opinion, reacting to what has been said, or be influenced by their comments (Krueger 1994, 11).

Krueger lists many positive features of focus groups:

- participants provide a flow of input and interaction related to the topic, so much data is gathered in a short time
- participants can be targeted so that the topic will be relevant to the participants and they will have some interest in or knowledge about it
- focus groups provide in-depth and subjective data (i.e. perceptions, feelings, attitudes and motivations)
- they offer the opportunity to view 'group dynamics'

These are all reasons why the focus group was a suitable instrument to address the key research question of *can a place-approach to community development bring about community collaboration?* It was a way to involve participants in community development to share their knowledge and experience and to offer the chance to reflect on others opinions, and perhaps to further develop the community's own development processes.

The main drawback of this instrument, as cited by Krueger, is that the interviewer cannot be sure whether the respondents are answering a question according to how they feel or if they have been influenced by the group dynamics (i.e. some groups have dominant speakers, power struggles, etc.) Added to this is the lack of control an

interviewer can have over topic focus, as many responses are reactions to group members rather than the actual questions.

Although there were drawbacks to using the focus group instrument, for reasons of time, ability and relevance, it seemed the most appropriate option for this portion of the study as the group setting of the focus group was a natural way to discuss the concept of collaboration among groups.

Analysis

According to Krueger (1998, 2), analysis is a reflection of the ability of a focus group leader. The key elements of a good focus group leader, or moderator, include keeping in mind the intent of the study, the context in which comments were made, trends and patterns, internal consistency, and range and diversity, as each of these elements are important to the analysis. Krueger states that the key characteristics of focus group analysis include a disciplined process, systematic steps, a defined protocol, verifiable results, and multiple feedback loops (Krueger 1998, 4). For the purposes of this study, the analysis of the focus group will include the transcription of the 'raw' data (produced from an audio-taping of the session), convergence around common themes, descriptive statements, interpretation and recommendations.

<u>Key Informant Interviews</u>

Key informant interviews were not used to directly address the key research
questions. Rather, a key informant was used to help develop and direct the focus
group process by providing useful background and 'insider' information in terms of
what was occurring in the 'case' neighbourhood and who some of the key players
were.

According to Robson, key informant interviews are the most natural of all qualitative
interviews. Due to their loose and flexible nature, Robson calls them unstructured or
non-directive informant interviews (Robson 1993, 231). According to Gillham, key
informant interviews are ideal for gathering background information because they
allow for spontaneous conversation where the interviewee guides the conversation
(Gillham, 2-3).

1.6 BIASES AND LIMITATIONS

The main biases with this study are represented in the following assumptions:

1) That many organisations are competing rather than working together for purposes
of community development. This is to say, that while they may work together to
some degree on special interest projects and/or concerns, these groups do not work
together for overall holistic and comprehensive community.

2) That groups can and will work together for the purposes of community
development.

3) That collaborative efforts are needed for successful and sustainable community development.

My main limitation is that of scope. To maintain a feasible or 'doable' thesis, I have had to limit my case research to one site, that of a neighbourhood in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The results, then, will not be completely exhaustive in providing a perspective on whether collaboration is an effective strategy for producing holistic and comprehensive community development. It would have been ideal to work with many neighbourhoods through the same process, for comparison, but this would not have been possible given the strict time constraints.

1.7 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

Chapter One has been an introduction to the thesis study itself, including its purpose and objectives, and the methods used to carry the study out.

Chapter Two is the main literature review of the thesis. It provides the context for the thesis, with a review of the literature focusing on the emergence of a community-driven model of development, the evolution of government involvement with this model, and how government has approached community development in general. Chapter Two also provides and extensive examination of what this thesis refers to as the *neighbourhood strategy* of community development, including explorations on the different aspects of neighbourhood—what it is, the concept of neighbourhood as a community of place--what the strategy is, a historical overview of the use of this

strategy by U.S. and Canadian governments, and theories on 'why' this strategy is used, and arguments against its use. Following this, chapter two then addresses the issues of the collective action and inter-group collaboration for place-focused community development as a means for developing holistic and comprehensive community strategies, using the neighbourhood as a focus.

Chapter Three goes on to supplement the preceding literature review by providing an analysis of empirical research gathered from interviews, with Manitoba and Winnipeg government employees, on the subject of the neighbourhood strategy as used by those governments. The analysis offers a synthesis of the empirical data with the literature, expanding on and enforcing common themes.

Chapter Four presents the findings from a focus group, including representatives involved with a specific community development process in Winnipeg. The empirical data presented in this chapter aims to address the main objective of this study, by finding data to grounds the arguments presented in the literature review.

Chapter Five puts all the pieces together. The empirical findings are synthesised with the preceding literature review, providing a more thorough investigation of the concept—being the relationship between place/neighbourhood and community collaboration. This chapter ends by offering some recommendations to both community and government for how to enhance and encourage neighbourhood-

focused collaboration to produce more holistic and comprehensive CD. This chapter also includes some suggestions for further research, and a closing remarks section.

1.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has outlined the purpose and objectives of this thesis. It has provided a glimpse into what will be found in the following chapters. It has addressed the methods used, biases and limitations of the study, as well as what the significance is.

CHAPTER TWO: COMMUNITY, NEIGHBOURHOOD AND

COLLECTIVE ACTION

2.1 INTRODUCTION:

This chapter examines several aspects of change in the field of community

development. Current definitions are explored as they relate to the perception of

community development practice today, as well as how they compare with the

practices of the past century. This chapter will explore the evolution of government

involvement with community development, from a top-down exercise in public

service provision, to support for a more bottom-up and community-driven approach

to improving local quality of life. This chapter will also look at the use of the

neighbourhood as a community development 'tool' or 'mechanism' for fostering self-

help through the delivery of support services to disenfranchised populations, and its

potential for encouraging collaborative community relationships. While much of the

following literature traces the U.S. experience, it must be noted that policy and action

within Canada paralleled that of the U.S., and therefore much of the U.S. findings can

be linked to what occurred in Canada.

2.2 WHAT IS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT?

Community Development (CD) is a very popular phrase and activity at present.

Current connotations associated with this phrase and activity are those of 'grassroots',

'bottom-up', or 'community-led', and are applied to the activism of resident groups

and community leaders. The common association of descriptions such as

'community-led' or 'resident-driven' with the term 'community development' can be found in much of the current literature on the subject.

According to Griffiths (1974, 89), the purpose of Community Development (CD) is to "promote, sustain, support, and maintain community action". Griffiths also points out that the term 'development' describes the overall concern of CD as one of "going forward towards defined goals, with purposeful activity aimed at real achievement...in respect to genuine and real problems of deep concern within the community" (Griffiths 1974, 89).

Batten (1974, 97), describes CD as "the process of people thinking, discussing and deciding on what they really want, and then planning, organizing and acting together to implement the decisions they have reached". He also suggest that through community development, citizens both develop more fully their potentialities as people, and promote changes for the better in the environment in which they live (Batten, 1974, 97).

Bratt (1985, 83) states that "community development has to do with a number of people deciding to do something to improve life for themselves, for their community, or for some other group in the community for whom they feel they have some responsibility". She also states that a definition of CD might be "a number of people who organise themselves to tackle some recognisable problem about which they feel concern" (1985, 83).

Wilkinson suggests "as a process, development means capacity building, and community development means building the capacity of local people to work together to address their common interests in the local society" (Wilkinson 1989, 340).

Finally, Patterson refers to community development as both a process and an end state. He states, "As a process, it concerns people gaining control over their lives—often termed 'empowerment'. It also encompasses support for and facilitation of 'citizen participation'. As an end, the term describes various services relevant to the quality of life and includes government programs aimed at improving the quality of life and ameliorating deprivation." (Patterson 1993, 320).

Each of these statements describes CD as an activity or process of organising and planning. They emphasise community control, organization, mobilization and empowerment. They stress self-reliance and decision-making power in the hands of community, and a community-driven model to develop solutions to local poverty. However, this perspective of CD is a recently evolved one (since the 1970's), and it has been only most recently (as seen in both Patterson's & Wilkinson's definitions above) that the needed elements to support this new perspective have become available—where while the idea of community-driven development has been around since the 1970's, only of late has government begun to introduce 'capacity building' supports to ensure there can be fuller community control. In contrast to this new perspective of CD, the original intent had little to do with community or resident decision-making control or community empowerment, and in fact often discouraged

such participation and involvement. The following section examines this earlier 'face' of CD, as well as the political shifts and social changes that have occurred to evolve CD into the 'face' we are familiar with today.

2.3 FROM TOP-DOWN TO BOTTOM-UP: THE EVOLUTION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Several authors, such as Bratt (1985), Goetz (1993), Halpern (1995), Keating, & Smith (1996), Mitchell-Weaver (1990), Patterson (1993), and Tsalikis (1985), have explored the evolution of Community Development (CD). While much of CD literature has been dominated largely by historical overviews of the American experience, this group of sources, as a whole, has provided insight on both American and Canadian perspectives of this evolution. This insight suggests that in North America, government involvement with CD has shifted from a federal, top-down and centralized role, to one that supports a community-driven model devolved to the local levels.

From Top-Down

Goetz has suggested that the U.S. federal government initially became involved with community development (CD) in the 1930's as a response to the extreme poverty faced all over United States due to unprecedented unemployment rates during the Great Depression (Goetz 1993, 26). The response taken was to employ a top-down approach where the federal government would claim full responsibility for the provision of public services. This type of federal response was also found in Canada

around the same time, as Canada was facing many of the same economic and social pressures as in the U.S. According to Mitchell-Weaver (1990, 349), the top-down government CD initiatives of this era, in both Canada and the U.S., focused on homebuilding and homeownership programs in urban areas, and on local economic development in rural areas. Mitchell-Weaver also states that these CD initiatives were aimed at stimulating housing demand through improving access, and stimulating the depressed economy through special financing policies, such as Works Progress Administration, which provided public employment through a "host of infrastructure and construction and maintenance programmes" (Mitchell-Weaver 1990, 349). In Canada specifically, Patterson describes CD as being "an integral part of government housing policies and programs" (Patterson 1993, 320). However, according to Tsalikis, these stimulation strategies mainly benefited the middle class and not the poor because they were market-oriented (Tsalikis 1985, 6-7). In fact, Goetz claims that the U.S. homeownership programs benefited the private homebuilding companies more than they did the low-income population (Goetz 1993, 27).

According to Patterson, suburban development in Canada, much like the U.S. experience, appropriated much of the federal support for poverty alleviation due to the housing and job shortages resulting from the Great Depression, through World War II (Patterson 1993, 322). Patterson claims that the support of all three levels of government in Canada, and the lending institutions--through the development of new housing policies such as joint-mortgages, mortgage insurance and rental construction programs--encouraged the development industry to become dominated by corporate

developers to finance the growth of the suburbs, as only the market was seen as being able to accommodate the new scale of housing needed (Patterson 1993, 322-23).

After WWII, Mitchell-Weaver states that a strategy known as *Urban Renewal* dominated urban community development in both Canada and the U.S. for the majority of the next two decades. He states that due to the preoccupation with stimulating homeownership of the previous decade, or what he calls "financing suburbia", many of the central and inner cities in North America were facing decline, and government made it their next responsibility to revitalize downtowns into the thriving business districts they once were (Mitchell-Weaver 1990, 349). However, according to Mitchell-Weaver *Urban Renewal* actually meant "legalized destruction", as most of the ghettoized, poor neighbourhoods (considered to be *blight*) were cleared so as to replace them with new downtown businesses and public housing--often in different locations, displacing the poor (Mitchell-Weaver 1990, 349).

According to Patterson, the Urban Renewal phase in Canada "placed the responsibility for achieving CD objectives on government", whether it was directly the responsibility of the federal level, or through partnership agreements between the federal and provincial levels (Patterson 1993, 324). However, in Canada, as in the U.S., the public housing projects that replaced the cleared communities in many cities actually detracted from what government was trying to do with CD; by tearing apart communities and displacing people, more harm was done than help.

Halpern suggests that urban renewal destroyed more than it developed, because for every 20 homes torn down, only 1 might have been replaced with new housing (Halpern 1995, 59). By removing the 'visible' signs of poverty, urban renewal claimed success for having eradicated it. However, popular opinion today suggests that this form of CD did not reduce poverty, but in fact played a large role in creating a worse situation by isolating the poor and destroying the social fabric of their old neighbourhoods where there had developed 'networks of support'. This top-down and rational approach to community development, found in similar fashion in both the United States and Canada, would not be allowed to continue without opposition.

To Bottom-Up

According to Halpern, the 1960's saw an enormous backlash against the centralised and paternal federal policy of the previous decades in the U.S. (Halpern 1995, 84). Youth riots and civil rights movements revolted against urban segregation and the exclusion of the low-income in the development of their own communities (Halpern 1995, 86). In Canada, Patterson describes the controversy over Urban Renewal in a similar way when he states that "Poor people and their advocates came to view urban renewal's objective as the removal of poor people", suggesting that all Urban Renewal did was remove the poor and not alleviate poverty (Patterson 1993, 327). According to Mitchell-Weaver, the federal governments of both Canada and the U.S. had to immediately responded to this outrage.

In the U.S., the federal government created the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and the cabinet level Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to deal with such issues in 1965. Through these new departments, government tried to placate the most vocal groups by adding a component of consultation into their activities. Demands for increased participation in community development decision-making led to programs such as the Model Cities Programme in 1966 and the Neighbourhood Development Programme in 1968 (Mitchell-Weaver 1990, 350). Patterson suggests that during this same period in Canada, "there was a gradual realisation of the need to minimize dislocation and rent increases, and to work with tenants and home owners in *situ* to achieve community development objectives", thus in 1964, an amendment to the National Housing Act of Canada permitted the granting of loans to non-profit housing companies to deliver this public necessity locally and increase the opportunity for community involvement (Patterson 1993, 327-28).

Canada followed up on these initial amendments during the Trudeau government in the early 1970's with the refocusing of the Central (Canada in 1979) Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), on more social issues (Mitchell-Weaver 1990, 350), and through the creation of a Ministry of State for Urban Affairs (1971) to oversee Canadian urban planning and policy (CMHC 1981, 1). Under this coordinating body, two employment programs were developed to encourage locally-driven solutions; these were the Local Initiatives Program and Opportunities for Youth (1971). Both programs supported citizen participation through assistance and storefront community services (Patterson 1993, 330). As well, through a refocused CMHC, the federal

government became more intent on involving community participation and using local delivery models for urban development and housing programs—one of the results was an amendment to the National Housing Act, which saw the creation of a tri-level neighbourhood renewal program called the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in 1973 (see section 2.4, Resurgence of the Neighbourhood Strategy). This program was seen as a direct response to the "heavy criticisms" made against the urban renewal projects occurring in Canada during the 1950's and 60's (CMHC 1981, 1). NIP reflected a shift in Canadian government policy on poverty alleviation, from a concern with demolition to one concerned with the conservation and stabalisation of neighbourhoods (CMHC 1981, 1).

According to Mitchell-Weaver, by the 1970's "advocacy of black and low-income community interests became the key-note of urban development and planning work" and "community planning became radicalized as new participatory theories of planning and public decision-making were formulated" (Mitchell-Weaver 1990, 350). However, authors such as Bratt argue that while participation became a concern for government, too often it was in the form of 'tokenism' and that real, community-led CD processes were not achieved (Bratt 1985, 82-83). She states that while these types of programs "created an official citizen participation process"…they "did not guarantee that resident views would be incorporated into the final plans." Halpern's work also suggests that community development initiatives in the U.S. at this time were not as concerned with 'true' community control as they were with subduing protest. He states that the programs that were to support citizen participation were

often undercut due to the perception that community input and organization led to 'trouble-making' (Halpern 1995, 111). Halpern suggests that as soon as residents began to take the federal government up on its offer of community participation, it backed away from its commitments to them (Halpern 1995, 116). In Canada, the efforts made toward increasing citizen participation were also under minded by a lack of funding and fragile commitment to the new CD programs.

Community Development and Decentralisation

As citizens began to demand more effectual participation in the CD process, there also emerged an interest to have more control at the local level. The 1970's and 80's were not only the years of increasing community participation, they were also the years of decreasing responsibility for the provision of public services by federal government (Goetz 1993, 31). This was, at the same time, the era of the community *and* the era of decentralization.

According to Orlansky (2000), decentralization shifted power from the federal government to states and cities, and placed the responsibility for the delivery of public services into the hands of 'smaller units', such as non-governmental organisations (Orlansky 2000, 181). Thus, the community organizations and advocates, who were demanding more community control, now had the opportunity to act on this demand by taking over responsibility for the delivery of public services. This shift in decision-making power from the federal government to the community and local government not only occurred at the right time because citizens were

demanding it, it also occurred at a time when a popular belief was that the provision

of public services was best delivered at the local level because those at the local level

had the best understanding of needs (Goetz 1993, 2). This belief that the *community*

could provide its own best solution to poverty alleviation was not only the perspective

of advocates and community groups; it would also become the hallmark of a new

federal regime in North America.

New Federalism — a new paradigm

Goetz describes the 1970's and 80's as exhibiting a change in U.S. political paradigm,

to one that focused on reducing the role of government, both financially and

politically, in the provision of public subsidy (Goetz 1993, 9-10). During this time,

government stressed the idea that their role in poverty alleviation was only adding to

'the problem' and not providing any solutions, and therefore they stressed the concept

of community control and self-help as the way to go (Goetz 1993, 28). The paradigm

of this time was that the community and the private market, if left alone, could right

all the wrongs of previous generations. Goetz states that the Regan administration,

along with Trudeau (and Thatcher), believed that "reducing government intrusion into

the private market [would] allow the market to address social problems" (Goetz 1993,

28). According to Mitchell-Weaver, this led to the majority of the 1980's being

focused on 'economic development', where "market forces, supported by

government, were supposed to create economic development, 'plan' the

neighbourhoods, and solve urban social problems" (Mitchell-Weaver 1990, 351).

These ideas of self-help and privatization--while mainly used as a camouflage for

declining government responsibility--did in fact have some positive merit, although in ways not intended. According to Goetz, increasing reliance on local government and community organizations (such as community development corporations and non-governmental organizations) to take over responsibility for aiding the poor and delivering public services led to a new form of CD that was truly community-driven (Goetz 1993, 35).

Period of Learning

This era of decentralisation and self-help, based largely on a push from government, did have some benefits. Although funding sources were dramatically reduced and organizations were left to compete over limited resources, the shift to the community led to an increased capacity of community organizing and planning. According to Skelton (2000, 6), the 1970's were generally a 'period of learning' for non-profits, as they had never before been responsible for so much, and few had the expertise or resources to do so. Goetz describes this period as the formalizing or 'corporatizing' of non-profit organizations; for as these groups grew into their responsibilities, they had to take on more formalized and structured approaches, leaving much of the trimmings of activism behind to work in partnership 'with' the government on service provision (Goetz 1993, 49). These were the organisations providing direct services to those in need, and to do this in a way that maintained a good relationship with their funders, they moved from advocacy to 'production', and from 'protests to partnerships' (Goetz 1993, 49). The concept of the community as 'self-helping' as well as 'self-funding' is still an attractive feature of current CD practice and is to

varying degrees built into government supported CD strategies of today. However, there is another concept that is equally attractive to government-supported CD, and that is the concept of the 'neighbourhood strategy'.

2.4 THE NEIGHBOURHOOD STRATEGY UNDER REVIEW

Introduction:

The concept of the neighbourhood is often that of a residential community--a place where people live, work and interact. According to very early planning literature, such as Charles Perry's work (1929), the neighbourhood is described as a 'unit', whose "parts have been put together as an organic whole" (Perry 1929, 34). Perry saw the neighbourhood 'unit' as an ideal model for family life, and it was this concept that inspired much of the early suburban development. Halpern's work agrees with this sentiment, as he suggests that North Americans are "preoccupied with the idea of community" as a "social organizer", meaning that the neighbourhood community is viewed as the ideal setting for family and group life, bringing people with common interests together (Halpern 1995, 9). The underlying principle in Perry's concept of the neighbourhood is that "an urban neighbourhood should be regarded as a unit of a larger whole and as a distinct entity in itself" (Perry 1929, 34). Halpern states that this view of the neighbourhood as a "complex whole" is an extension of the progressive era, much around the time of Perry (Halpern 1995, 198).

In addition to the perspective of neighbourhood as being 'holistic' in nature, neighbourhood is also often defined as a physical location. Thurz (1978) defines neighbourhood as a "small geographic area", but he is also quick to point out that neighbourhood is the "grouping of families and people with mutual identifications related to where they live" (Thurz 1978, 11). These references to geography are also found in more recent writings, such as in Davis (1991), where he states that neighbourhood, as a locality, has "physical connotations." However, like Thurz, Davis also depicts neighbourhood as more than a geographic location—Davis suggests that neighbourhood is also "spatially defined sites where bonds of sentiment and solidarity may or may not be present" (Davis 1991, 12).

Casey (1997), referring to descriptions on place and neighbourhood made by Heidegger, states that "neighbourhood means: dwelling in nearness", and that "neighbourhood is induced by the nearness of things or people who cohabit a place in common" (Casey 1997, 282). Casey also states that neighbourhood has two special features: the opportunity for reciprocal relationships and face-to-face encounters (Casey 1997, 282).

Each of these statements describes neighbourhood as both a physical space and as a context for social interaction. They suggest that not only is the neighbourhood a geographical location, but that it has broader and deeper connotations related to place and place identity. It is from these perspectives that neighbourhood can be seen as a 'community of place'.

Neighbourhood as a Community of Place

According to Perry (1999), the term 'community' can refer to a community of place or a community of interest. A community of place is a collective 'entity' made up of those living and working together, who share a common territory. A community of interest is a collective entity made up of those who share a similar interest (Perry 1999, 20-21). The following literature will explore this idea of the neighbourhood as a community of place, as both a collective of those who live and work together, but also as a collective with a common interest in place.

According to Wilkinson, the community of place is rooted in three elements—a shared territory, a common life, and collective action (Wilkinson 1989, 339). The element of a shared territory relates to the fact that people will have a common interest in where they live and/or work--in their local setting. The idea of a common life is related to the idea that those sharing a territory will have similar interests and problems because they interact and participate in the same environment, and that those interactions within this shared territory make up the community as a 'whole'. These elements invoke a sense of community solidarity and cohesiveness. They suggest that the community of place is "a network of independent but interrelated families, resources" (Blakely 1989, 324), of people with 'homogeneous' concerns and interests, who will be concerned with one another and the place they live. This idea goes back to Perry's (1929) 'neighbourhood unit' as a complete system of family life- -where the neighbourhood, and those within can provide everything, including a sense of community, through shared interests and a common life.

Wilkinson's third element of a community of place, *collective action*, stems from the idea that "people not only live together and interact in the numerous ways that make up a common life, but they also work together in an attempt to solve problems and to unify and improve the community which they share" (Wilkinson 1989, 339). The neighbourhood then, is a natural focus for collective action as it can promote territorially-based collective action for a variety of interests related to that territory. They key to successful community action, according to Davis (1991), however, is that while "any number of groups may organize, act and interact within a single residential neighbourhood [it is] when these groups manage to pool their resources in a common endeavour, [that] "communities" act" (Davis 1991, 5). It is this feature that Halpern suggests is the strongest advantage of the neighbourhood (or community of place)--its ability to bring "together people and groups who otherwise would not have come together" (Halpern 1995, 11). As will be seen in later sections, 'working together' is an important part of CD practice, and the role of the neighbourhood in bringing people and groups together, based on a shared concern will be examined.

From the above literature review, it can be seen that there are many features of the neighbourhood that apply to CD—as a focus for social organisation, its holistic nature, a common interest for those who share territory, and its ability to stimulate collective action due to this common concern for a shared territory. It is partly because of these features that the neighbourhood has become a common 'tool' or strategy of CD, used by governments in North America for many decades. The next section will present an overview of how the neighbourhood has been used as a CD

strategy, re-emphasising some of the features presented in the previous section, as well as adding to them.

The Neighbourhood As a Community Development Strategy

According to Keating, Krumholz & Star (1996, ix), the neighbourhood is seen as an "important centre for addressing urban problems", and has often been the "locus of activity" for community development initiatives. Keating, Krumholz & Star also suggest "neighbourhood initiatives are both a strategy and a metaphor for how America deals with its most significant urban problems" (Keating, Krumholz & Star 1996, ix). What is the *neighbourhood strategy* of community development?

Simply put, the neighbourhood strategy is 'place-targeting'. Snow (1995) describes 'place-targeting' as "the practice of funding comprehensive development efforts in small, defined, geographic areas of concentrated poverty" (Snow 1995, 186). Snow also suggests that 'place-targeting' is a shift away "from categorical programs" by "focusing resources on a variety of issues within a single area" (Snow 1995, 188). By selecting or 'targeting' areas of concern, government has been able to achieve many things such as: concentrating support to the areas which need the most aid; increasing levels of community participation; providing for more comprehensive and holistic strategies; and coordinating services in a more integrated way. Each of the arguments Snow puts forth as to why government finds the neighbourhood approach attractive can be related to the features that the neighbourhood has. With a geographic context, needs can be more easily targeted, and resources can be easily concentrated; with the

view of the neighbourhood as a holistic unit with multi-faceted needs and issues, services and approaches can be integrated; and with a focus on the neighbourhood as a community of place, community participation can be stimulated through collective action for place. With the understanding of what the neighbourhood strategy of CD entails, the following historical overview can be approached.

The History of the Neighbourhood Strategy

According to Bratt, the neighbourhood as a focus for CD did not fully emerge until the late 1960's or early 70's, when decentralization and community participation emerged as elements of federal concern. When these elements were in place, the neighbourhood became the logical tool for supporting both community participation and community-based decision-making (Bratt 1985, 80). However, Halpern suggests that the federal government used the neighbourhood as a CD strategy prior to the grassroots movement.

Neighbourhood: The Early Years

According to Halpern, "the neighbourhood has long been an important locus for efforts to address the causes and consequences of poverty in American Society" (Halpern 1995, 1). In fact, Halpern places government use of the neighbourhood approach back to the early 1900's with the social reform movement known as the Progressive Agenda (Halpern 1995, 29). This was a movement aimed at improving the coordination of social services to aid poor immigrant families, and the neighbourhood was seen as the ideal way to do this. The proponents of the

35

progressive agenda saw the neighbourhood as a 'unit' that encompassed a variety of needs, and that through this neighbourhood unit, these needs could be met in a more integrated way. In this sense, government supported the neighbourhood strategy because it was seen as the best way to bring government aid to local populations, in an integrated way that would address multifaceted needs. According to Halpern, the progressives viewed the neighbourhood as the "most manageable, and therefore natural vehicle for addressing poverty-related social concerns" (Halpern, 29-30).

However, while this was the 'recognized' or 'advertised' purpose of the neighbourhood strategy to CD during the progressive agenda, the underlying purpose for using the neighbourhood strategy was assimilation. According to Halpern (1995, 31), government viewed poverty as a result of immigration. During these early years, the poorest urban populations tended to be recent immigrants, who due to their circumstances, would have concentrated in various areas of large cities. The conclusion therefore was that immigrants, of various countries, were 'the poor' and that the best way to alleviate the poverty they faced was through assimilation. Halpern states that in the U.S., government was able to facilitate assimilation by using the Settlement Houses of the progressive reformers (Halpern 1995, 31). Settlement Houses were projects started by middle class reformers to act as neighbourhood centres to offer aid to poor citizens--namely immigrants. It was through these neighbourhood centres that the federal government saw it could coordinate public services delivery, but on top of that they saw the centres as a means to assimilate immigrant populations, by reflecting the "values and techniques" of the middle class

and ridding the immigrants of any traditional ways that might keep them out of the mainstream, and therefore in poverty. This early use of the neighbourhood strategy was very 'top-down' and paternalistic, reflecting government practice of CD of the time.

The Neighbourhood Forgotten

During the years between the 1930's and the 1960's, the neighbourhood concept was virtually forgotten in terms of urban community development. During these years, the idea of the neighbourhood was used for suburban development and planning, but in terms of poverty alleviation, the emphasis was now on aiding individuals through categorical programs and less on the holistic and integrated approach of the neighbourhood. As well, in terms of urban policy, these years signified a period of inner city neglect followed by intense redevelopment.

Halpern describes the years of 1920 to 1949 as years of "prosperity and technological progress" (Halpern 1995, 40). Government attention shifted away from neighbourhood-oriented CD and became more concerned with the individual. As seen previously in the examination of the evolution of CD, the Great Depression brought increasing poverty through dramatic unemployment, and Halpern states that because poverty seemed to be directly related to poor housing and lack of employment, government became more interested in fragmenting and categorizing programs in accordance to those needs, focused on the individual (Halpern 1995, 49). This was an era of centralised services; where 'professional helping agencies'

developed into isolated spheres, all fighting for a share of the resources (Halpern 1995, 44). After WWII, government shifted its CD focus to the redevelopment of central cities, using physical redevelopment as a poverty-fighting strategy (Urban Renewal).

Resurgence of the Neighbourhood Strategy

It was not until the 1960's, as Halpern states, that the neighbourhood again became "viewed as a vehicle for assimilating socially and economically marginal people into the larger society" (Halpern 1995, 83). The federal government was once again recognizing the neighbourhood as something to be developed and not cleared (Halpern 1995, 84). However, this recognition also came at a time of reaction to the previous years of Urban Renewal. With advocacy groups emerging to fight for civil rights and inclusion in the renewal process, and demanding a refocus of government resources on urban neighbourhood development instead of downtown renewal and suburbanisation, there came the emergence of 'direct action strategies' (Halpern 1995, 87). These were actions taken to achieve social and political reform, building a movement advocating citizen involvement in urban policy. This era of activism, coinciding with a renewed interest in neighbourhood development, created a new optimism about the neighbourhood strategy and this could be seen in emerging, participatory-style, neighbourhood-focused CD initiatives that would co-exist along side the dominant categorical approach to CD (Halpern 1995, 87).

According to Keating & Smith, the 1960's and early 70's were a time when national urban policy moved from physical improvement back to a focus on poor residents (1996, 51). The federal department of Housing and Urban Development was created (HUD) in 1965 to coordinate neighbourhood-oriented programs, such as those under the 'War on Poverty' initiative (Keating & Smith 1996, 52). Keating & Smith describe the War on Poverty as "primarily a service-based reform initiative", but also suggest that it had an emphasis on community participation at a local level (Keating & Smith 1996, 52).

Two programs, Gray Areas (1961) and Model Cities (1962) focused on the development of comprehensive social services in poor neighbourhoods (like the Settlement Houses idea of the Progressive Agenda), through the use of neighbourhood to inspire community participation (Keating & Smith 1996, 52). Model Cities was in fact an experiment that would concentrate federal assistance in a few neighbourhoods to test the effectiveness of the neighbourhood strategy, and resulted in the selection of 150 sites (Keating & Smith 1996, 52). However, Keating & Smith state that both programs, and the War on Poverty in general, were under funded and full citizen participation was prevented due to resistance of local governments (Keating & Smith 1996, 52). So, while the intention for a neighbourhood-oriented, and more bottom-up process was there, the backing--both political and financial--was not, again resulting in a generally top-down form of CD. However, these programs did plant the seeds for more neighbourhood-focused initiatives.

While the 1970's displayed the beginnings of cutbacks to federal spending for poverty relief, there was one program that created "the official citizen participation process" (Bratt 1985, 82). This was the Community Development Block Grant program of the Nixon administration. This program encouraged citizen participation more than any before, however, a continued lack of commitment to funding was again its failure. Keating & Smith suggest that this lack of financial commitment can be tied to the New Federalism philosophy of the time; a philosophy centred on 'self-help' and privatization (Keating & Smith 1996, 53).

Although this lack of funding was a major barrier to the success of the neighbourhood strategies of this time (and this still rings true today), Bratt suggests the administrations of the 1970's really pushed the concept of the neighbourhood strategy, and that the initiatives of this era were the predecessors of current CD (Bratt 1985, 80). Bratt states that the neighbourhood approach was truly able to take shape in the mid 1970's, when community participation was becoming popularized in U.S. government during the Carter administration and the creation of the "National Neighbourhood Policy Act" of 1977, as well as the "National Commission of Neighbourhoods" (Bratt 1985, 80). Bratt also suggests that this was a time when government gave more responsibility to neighbourhood organizations for the delivery of social services and housing, and for community organizing—establishing the "legitimacy of neighbourhood associations as key actors in community development" (Bratt 1985, 80).

In Canada, similar policy was shaping up, beginning with the tri-level agreement called the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (1973-1978), which focused on inner city neighbourhood re-development, both physical and social. With the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP), the federal government combined resources with those of the Provinces and Municipalities to target areas in desperate need of renewal. Through NIP, the federal government was able to contribute to 50% of the costs of implementing neighbourhood planning and organizing, social services integration, physical renewal and amenities construction, and in general, improving the quality of life in the deteriorated areas of Municipalities. On top of the federal contribution, the Provinces and Municipalities were responsible for contributions of 25% each. According to a CMHC evaluation of the NIP in Winnipeg (1981), the program was created, along with its "supportive arm, the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program" (RRAP) "for the purpose of improving and revitalizing aging, declining neighbourhoods" (CMHC 1981, 1). NIP aimed to promote public participation and a focus on improving the social and amenities aspects of the neighbourhood, while RRAP covered the housing components—the overall aim to integrate both physical and social development within a process that was to involve resident input. And with this drive to increase community participation, the neighbourhood, as in the U.S., was seen as the appropriate scale to do so.

According to a national review of the program (Lyon & Newman 1986) the overall, quest of NIP to increase participation and provide integrated social and physical redevelopment through locally delivered programs had mixed rates of success

nationally. From province to province, levels of community participation varied from non-existent to extensive, and in many cases it was still largely a feat in physical improvements much like the previous Urban Renewal model (Lyon & Newman 1986, 45). From this evaluation, it was found that while neighbourhoods gained in physical improvements, such as community centres, "less evident was the extent to which NIP had reversed the process of decline, helped residents participate, or established a long term commitment to neighbourhood revitalisation and stability" (Lyon & Newman 1986, 50). According to Lyon & Newman, a major factor in NIP not achieving its broader aims was its short term nature, which caused uncertainty for all those involved, producing underdeveloped commitment in regards to staffing and investment (Lyon & Newman 1986, 45).

In 1978, NIP discontinued, and in 1979 the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs was disbanded. By the 1980's, the federal government in both Canada and the U.S. was quickly cutting back support to urban renewal programs. In the U.S., only the 1983 "Urban-Rural Recovery Act" revived what little federal money there was for neighbourhood development, but this was mainly used to assist neighbourhood organizations carry out service delivery (Bratt 1985, 80). In Canada, NIP was replaced with the Community Service Contribution Program (CSCP), which amalgamated remaining NIP services with the Municipal Infrastructure Program and the Municipal Incentive Program. This move could be seen as a response to an increased desire for privatization and removing federal dollars (CMHC) from urban programming. The following years of retrenchment in Canada saw a few new urban

programs, such as homeownership and rehabilitation programs, but in general these had reduced federal support, including RRAP (Lyon & Newman 1986, 63). In Winnipeg, NIP was continued through CSCP and was called the Community Improvement Program (CIP), however, the national focus and strong federal presence was much depleted. After CIP, the Core Area Initiative continued with a neighbourhood approach to CD, followed by the Manitoba/Winnipeg Community Revitalisation Program (M/WCRP) and the Winnipeg Development Agreement (WDA). Each used an inner city, neighbourhood-focused strategy, each attempted some form of community participation, and all established partnerships among various levels of government. However, most did not have the federal support as great as in NIP (and to an extent CIP and Core Area) and most only retained an emphasis on the physical improvement of neighbourhoods without trying to integrate the social and economic aspects.

According to Bratt, this was a period of amalgamation of the neighbourhood strategy with bottom-up community development. *Neighbourhood* was becoming synonymous with CD itself in the sense that the neighbourhood strategy was intimately linked with citizen participation. Throughout the 1980's, the recognition of grassroots successes with neighbourhood-based CD placed the neighbourhood strategy in a heightened position (Bratt 1985, 81). Bratt states that "true community development, almost by definition [has] to be interwoven with a bottom-up effort", and that there is "logic" to a "grassroots, neighbourhood-based approach to CD" (Bratt 1985, 83). It is from this perspective that much of the initiatives of

government, now mainly state/provincial and local government, and communities, approach CD. At the time of this thesis, the Neighbourhoods Alive! Initiative of the Province of Manitoba is the most current of such, and is largely built upon the preceding neighbourhood programs in Winnipeg.

Theories on the Neighbourhood Strategy

According to Halpern, the neighbourhood strategy has often "provided the most holistic, if not always coherent approaches to problem solving" as they have "served to illuminate the interconnectedness of different spheres of community life—the physical, economic, social and educational". Halpern suggests that it is this 'relatedness' of things (holism) that has reinforced the attractiveness of 'neighbourhood-focused' initiatives as a means of alleviating poverty in our current era (Halpern 1995, 146).

> [Today's CD strategies] remind us of the theoretical logic of the neighbourhood initiative—its appropriate scale and governability, its consonance with American ideals, its holistic approach to understanding and addressing problems, its tendency to mediate between the structure of opportunity and people's ability to take advantage of opportunity (Halpern 1995, 220).

Snow describes various "economic and political attractions of place-targeting". He states that place-targeting allows for the full reinvestment of resources in previously disinvested areas, so that communities with the most need of aid will receive it (Snow

1995, 189). Snow also suggests that government is attracted to place-targeting because it supports self-determination rather than fostering dependency on programs, as it funds community organizing rather than individual needs (Snow 1995, 189). Snow also suggests, as Halpern has noted above, that the place-targeting, or neighbourhood strategy, is attractive because it looks at community issues and needs in a more comprehensive and holistic way and not at specific problems (Snow 1995, 189). Snow sums up the goals of place-targeting best with the following statement: "By focusing broad resources in an area of disproportionate poverty, place-targeting hopes to right past wrongs, to even up the score, and in the process, to nurture and support the efforts of a community of poor people to create new opportunities for themselves" (Snow 1995, 190).

Issues Concerning the Neighbourhood Strategy

However, along with all of the arguments made 'for' the neighbourhood strategy in the literature, there have also been arguments made against it. One is the position that Snow takes, where he argues that "place-targeting must be the result of organizing by residents and community agencies—not just policymakers with a map and some demographic information" (Snow 1995, 195). This is definitely a concern for those involved in CD as it affects which communities receive support and 'why'. This argument is true of many government funded CD initiatives that use the neighbourhood approach. The main downfall is that many have often not involved the community at the beginning--during the development of the initiative--in creating the guidelines for how communities are selected. Often the criteria have indeed been

a map and demographic information, but gradually this should change as CD 'comes into its own' as a community-driven process.

It can also be said that we are at a point in time where there are a variety of neighbourhood-focused CD programs which can be referred to and built upon, enabling all involved to learn from past mistakes. In addition, while policymakers may have 'drawn up' neighbourhoods in the past, it is often those same boundaries that communities will refer to for current community organizing and development. So although it is good practice to have communities define their own neighbourhoods, the simple act of putting some physical identity to a community might be enough to initially get the 'ball rolling' for community organization.

A second argument against the neighbourhood approach is stressed by Halpern (1995, 5). Halpern's concern is that the neighbourhood strategy is used because it allows government to turn a blind eye to the real 'causes' of poverty that would require major reform, and instead focus on the 'outcomes' of those causes as they result in concentrated areas. Halpern suggests that this is so because North Americans still believe that poverty is "locality-rooted" rather than an issue of "inadequate wages, a shifting labour market" and capitalism in general (Halpern 1995, 6). This suggests that the neighbourhood strategy is more of a 'band aid' solution than a cure--and this is in many ways true. In no way can the neighbourhood strategy deem itself to be the ultimate solution to the problem of poverty, or an "antidote to the casualties of capitalism", but it can be argued that it is a step in the right direction (Halpern 1995,

5). For while the neighbourhood strategy cannot resolve the deeply entrenched and many-layered causes of poverty, it can address issues of wealth redistribution, inclusion, and according to Halpern, the neighbourhood strategy can provide a voice to the poverty-stricken, more political clout and resources, as well as coping mechanisms, to communities to deal with poverty 'on their own terms' (Halpern 1995, 11).

Finally, the argument put forth by authors like Blakely (1989, 313), states that the *community of place*--as based on Wilkinson's idea of community solidarity due to shared territory--is now obsolete. Blakely argues that people no longer see the neighbourhood as a 'unit' in which they are bound, or feel a shared concern for. He says that because of factors like technology, globalisation, and mobility, there is no longer a need for a neighbourhood 'system' or network which provides resources and mutual aid—that everything now is geared toward the individual who will develop their own network of resources to meet their unique needs (Blakely 1989, 313). He then argues that if people no longer see the neighbourhood as a cohesive unit, with shared concerns for that unit, but rather they are concerned with own interest networks, there is then no basis for or "territorially-based action". What Blakely is suggesting is that the community of place, as a grouping of shared concerns and interests due to shared territory and a common life, is currently obsolete as a way to mobilize community action because individuals are only concerned with their own 'spheres' of interest, and not that of the place where they live, work and interact.

However, what Blakely is arguing for, ultimately, is for categorical programs that serve the individual's needs, not a more holistic and integrated form of CD that directs resources to a community for comprehensive development. Blakely's argument, according to Davis, is also unfounded. Davis argues that place-based communities can and DO act, "sometimes out of a common interest in improving local safety, services, or amenity; sometimes out of a special interest in protecting property values" (Davis 1991, 5). And, according to Bridger & Luloff, "the components essential to community, and therefore community development, such as locality, local society, collective action and mutual identity" are still prevalent in our neighbourhoods today. That although "the trappings of our individualistic society have weakened the bonds of community, that sense of community solidarity has not been eclipsed by the forces of modernization" (Bridger & Luloff). From this perspective than, it can be seen that communities will act collectively for a common place because it is a common or shared concern for all with a connection to the neighbourhood. It is from this point then, that this thesis will address the importance of neighbourhood-focused collective action, or 'working together' in CD, and how this might be achieved. The following section will therefore explore the concept of working together in CD, also known as *collaboration,* in relation to the neighbourhood strategy of CD.

2.5 THE NEIGHBOURHOOD STRATEGY AS A MEANS FOR COLLABORATION

> As in all relationships, the coming together is not without
>
> conflict over differences, but that solution, rather than blame,

is the focus, and parties see in their differences assets they

can contribute for the common endeavour. (Kingsley, McNeely, & Gibson

1997).

Introduction:

According to the preceding explorations of this chapter, it can be seen that many non-

profits have evolved into more formalized and corporate entities, to pick up the

provision of services where the federal government left off; and to do this, these

organisations require more funding support. Added to this, there has also been a

proliferation of community-level interest groups forming to advocate for specific

concerns (Goetz 1993, 49) and unfortunately because of limited funding for the good

community work that these groups are doing, they are often left to compete over what

financial help is available (Goetz, 59). Tsalikis argues that some community-based

organisations have become antagonistic toward one another because of this 'survival

instinct' (Tsalikis 1985, 38).

This sense of 'competition' can be seen at the community level in varying degrees.

While it is a survival instinct, it is also hurting communities in that it is potentially

keeping them from maximizing their local, and public resources, and lessening their

chances for comprehensive and holistic development. This section will explore the

potential for community organizations and agencies to work together in collaboration

to achieve more holistic and comprehensive CD. It will examine how collaboration

can maximize the resources of different interest groups by focusing them on a

common endeavour or goal. For this examination, this section will investigate the potential for collaboration among interest groups (such as non-profit service agencies and community organizations) with the neighbourhood as a common goal. This will be achieved through a review of the literature on collaboration in community development, and the challenges and barriers to collaboration.

Collaboration for Community Development

It can be seen from the literature on collaboration (Sandercock 1998) that collaboration is the bringing together of various parties for the purposes of sharing, cooperating and working together for a common cause. Much of the literature found that collaboration is often used by agencies for the purposes of integrating services for more holistic delivery, through inter-agency cooperation (Bardach 1993, Shoop 1976). However, from this literature, and other sources (see below), it is easily recognisable how collaboration can be a useful tool for bringing together community groups of all types for the purposes of community development (CD).

According to Hogue (1992), community-based collaborations involve citizens, agencies, organisations and businesses making formal, sustained commitments to work together to accomplish a shared vision. As well, by taking a community-based approach these groups recognise that they are key players in the community's future (Hogue 1992, 2). Just as the idea behind inter-agency cooperation is to reduce fragmentation and duplication by developing a more comprehensive approach to serve the multiple needs of *individuals*, Hogue argues that collaboration for

community development creates more comprehensive strategies which will serve the multiple and interrelated needs of the *community* (Hogue 1992, 4).

Bardach (1998), suggests that another benefit of using a collaborative approach to CD is that different groups have different perspectives or 'takes' on a situation, based on their own mandates and objectives; and through working together, each of these groups will be able to search for solutions that will go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible (Bardach 1998, 8). Along with an increase in the 'scope' of what is possible, there is also the benefit of each member of the collaboration being able to 'do what it does best', meaning, while the 'whole' is being considered, each group will be acknowledged as 'specialists' for their own part. As well, Bardach states that through combining skills and expertise, or 'specializations', a "complimentary of production" occurs--in other words, 'social capital' (Bardach 1998, 9).

Currently, according to Edwards and Stern (1996), one of the problems in CD is that some groups have tried to take on a variety of tasks, when in actuality these require specialized skills and knowledge. So while some groups do recognise the need for a holistic approach, they often do not connect with existing groups, who are 'specialists', to be a part of this strategy. This increases the duplication of services in the community (Edwards & Stern 1996).

Finally, the most obvious benefit is that which is described by Kretzmann and

McKnight (1993). This benefit is that which comes from sharing resources, and this

is especially vital in communities that have the fewest financial resources.

Kretzmann and McKnight argue that when groups are able to share time, money,

skills, staff, space and ideas, so much more can be accomplished. By connecting the

resources of the community, the power of those resources is multiplied and scarcity is

then less threatening (Kretzmann & McKnight 1993, 5). However, there are still

many challenges that must be overcome to achieve the benefits of collaboration.

Challenges to Community Collaboration

"Although most agencies [organisations] are meeting a very real need in their

communities, there is usually little coordination...they often operate in complete

isolation from other agencies [organisations] in the community" (Shoop 1976, 10).

Shoop's argument, while dated, is still a very real one today and can be found in

much of the current literature. It is interesting to note that while this was an issue of

such importance then, the fields concerned have still not managed to resolve it today.

Bardach's work provides a variety of reasons why organizations may not work

together. He suggests there are various challenges or barriers to collaboration, but he

emphasizes one in particular as underlying them all—the barrier of 'protectionism'

(Bardach 1998, 122). Bardach suggests that protectionist feelings may be the result

of resource scarcity--mainly those external to the community (such as grants and

program dollars from government and foundations)--and as a result, some

organisations tend to compete rather than share. Bardach suggests that many groups take on a protectionist role because they feel threatened by 'sharing' and/or cooperation, as these actions may leave them vulnerable to losing their resources, their 'clientele' (turf), their function as a service provider, or as a result—their jobs (Bardach 1998, 164, 175).

Bardach also lists other challenges that relate to protectionism—such as issues of 'identity' and 'autonomy'. Bardach states that each group often feels that they have a 'special purpose' or function that is just as, or more important than another groups' purpose, and if these purposes were to be melded with another's, it would trivialize their specialty. He also goes on to add that on top of this perspective, there is a fear of domination by one group over the other, leading to a power struggle that no one wants to lose (Bardach 1998, 122).

Shoop lists the issue of *commitment* as a major barrier to good community collaborations. He states that too often networks are started to discuss the potential for further partnership and sharing resources, but because of the extra workload, the initial enthusiasm fades and the collaboration fails (Shoop 1976, 10).

Other major difficulties in creating meaningful collaborations are due to personal and/or mandate conflicts, misunderstandings, and differing political and/or policy perspectives. While diversity is essential in fostering innovative and creative ideas, it can also be the breeding ground for mistrust. For good collaborations to work, it is

essential that partners are aware of each other's goals and perspectives, and through this, can come to understand and accept how they are different and how they are similar (Bardach 1998, 134). Added to this is the fact that collaborations are formed on the basis of a common or shared goal (Sandercock 1998, 95), and for groups to come together in collaboration, they must be able to set aside these personal or political philosophies in order to achieve something new.

2.6 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PLACE AND COLLABORATION

Introduction:

With all of these challenges to collaboration, how can groups come together for community development? Hogue, McKnight & Kretzmann, and Edwards & Stern all suggest that working together is essential for community development, but how can each of these groups with different interests and agendas come together? What is their common goal? Halpern and Davis both suggested the neighbourhood as an ideal focus or context for bringing different groups together, as seen above, and therefore the neighbourhood or 'community of place' will be explored as the context for community collaboration here.

Community of Place As Integrator

As has been seen in the preceding sections, the neighbourhood strategy of CD is popular because it approaches CD in a holistic and comprehensive way. It does so by viewing the neighbourhood, or community of place, as a holistic entity that

encompasses a variety of interrelated interests, making up the unique physical, political, economic and social ecosystem of that neighbourhood. However, we have also seen in the previous section that while each interest/issue of the neighbourhood is interrelated, interest groups dedicated to their particular interest are often concerned with that interest in isolation from other issues that make up the community of place—and often this is perpetuated by the categorical programs of government. To achieve the comprehensive and holistic strategies the neighbourhood strategy can offer, these different interests must be encouraged to work together in collaboration. Not only will this benefit the community, it benefits the interest groups because they can cooperate and share rather than compete. However, how can these groups be brought together in collaboration? According to Bardach (1998, 8) collaborations are formed around a common or shared objective or goal. Can the neighbourhood act as this shared objective or goal among the different interests groups? It has been suggested by Halpern (1995, 11) that the neighbourhood strategy does have the ability to bring groups together; the question is, will groups come together in collaboration for the neighbourhood? According to Bridger & Luloff (NERCRD), the neighbourhood *can* act as a common focus for community collaboration.

Bridger & Luloff (NERCRD) view the community of place, or neighbourhood as a potential 'integrator', in that it can act as the underlying commonality among all interests to bring them together. According to Bridger & Luloff, the community of place (neighbourhood) is composed of several "more or less distinct social fields [communities of interest] through which actors pursue or express particular

interests—not all of which are place-relevant". However, Bridger & Luloff also state that the community of place can act as a "mechanism for at least partially transcending the particularistic positions and perspectives of [these] different social fields". What Bridger & Luloff (NERCRD) are suggesting here is that the neighbourhood can transcend interests through being a common element in each. While each interest has its own agenda and may have virtually no geographical boundaries, they can be linked to each other through a shared tie to that place/neighbourhood. In this sense, the neighbourhood can act as a common concern for various communities of interest, because the neighbourhood, or community of place, is relevant to each interest.

The idea of 'place' or neighbourhood as the common link for each interest group is based on Bridger and Luloff's concept that each interest has some linkage to that place--whether this is because the interest is locality-based, or because the needs that an interest serves are found in a particular locality. They argue that 'place can act as a common integrator because while communities of interest generally pursue well-defined, singular concerns or issues, the community of place (neighbourhood) has a general interest in the well being of the entire community. In this sense, place is also *neutral territory* for each group, and therefore can act as a mechanism to bring groups together. What the neighbourhood does, in a sense, is re-focus the concerns of interest groups to a locality-based context, creating a shared purpose or goal for each group to relate to. This concept is expressed further by Bridger and Luloff's work where they include a quote by Wilkinson (1991).

The community field [neighbourhood] thus provides linkages that highlight or bring into focus common interests in local aspects of social life. The coordinating actions in the community field '...reinforce the commonality that permeates the differentiated special interest fields in a community' (Wilkinson, 90).

2.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

From the review of various sources of literature, mainly American, it can be seen that Community Development has evolved over the last 100 years. From 'top-down' and centralized to 'bottom-up' and devolved, North American governments--whether federal, state/provincial, or local--have been involved in the activity of poverty alleviation focusing on depressed areas. The use of the neighbourhood has been a favoured 'tool' or 'mechanism' to deliver CD, and variations in the way this tool has been used has evolved with changes in government urban policy. Following the review of the neighbourhood and the neighbourhood approach to CD, the main objective of this study was then put forth--the potential for the neighbourhood to act as a common goal for bringing together a variety of interest groups for community collaboration. Bratt, Bridger & Luloff, Davis, Halpern, and Wilkinson have all suggested the potential or ability of the community of place (neighbourhood) to act as a common 'integrator' or shared concern among groups, and the importance of this collective and comprehensive action for community development. To add credence to this view of the neighbourhood strategy or approach to CD, the following chapters will present empirical data that upholds the arguments made in the literature review.

CHAPTER 3: THE ATTRACTION TO NEIGHBOURHOOD

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It has been seen in the last chapter that the neighbourhood has been a commonly used

community development (CD) tool by North American Governments. Many

arguments have been provided on the logic of the neighbourhood as a CD strategy

and the reasons for why it has been commonly used by government. This chapter will

supplement the previous literature with empirical information gathered through

interviews with employees of both Manitoba and Winnipeg governments. The data

presented are the descriptive experiences of the interviewees as they relate to their

involvement with CD in Winnipeg and their familiarity with the neighbourhood (or

place-targeting) strategy. The purpose of this data is to supplement the literature with

first-hand accounts of government involvement with CD and the neighbourhood

strategy.

3.2 THE INTERVIEW DATA

For the purposes of this study, 4 semi-structured interviews were conducted with

employees of both Provincial and Municipal governments (see Appendix A). These

participants were recruited because all four have had experience with neighbourhood

strategies of community development in Winnipeg, and each has gained this

experience from working for different offices at different times. Each interview

lasted approximately two hours (see Chapter 1 for further description of this method).

Questions

A number of draft questions were developed in relation to the main objective before a final set was decided upon. These questions were reviewed by this researcher's advisor, for the purpose of pre-testing. (see Appendix A)

The interview questions were based on the idea, established from the literature, that a neighbourhood, or place-approach to community development, is a common practice of government because of certain attractive features. The aim of the interviews then, was to find out from those working in the public sector with experience in community development what features a place-approach provided and therefore give some insight into why the place-approach is used.

Analysis

In the course of analyzing the empirical data, a number of themes emerged. This section presents the empirical research around eight dominant themes, each having been developed from a process of categorizing the raw data transcribed from each interview. These themes were developed based on participant's responses to the interview questions, in relation to the dominant themes of the literature.

- Convergence of CD and the neighbourhood strategy
- Perspective of the neighbourhood as a *set* of unique characteristics
- Neighbourhood and the sense of community identity
- Use of neighbourhood in encouraging community participation/involvement
- Benefits of the neighbourhood scale
- Ability to target resources to greatest need

- Promoting linkages through neighbourhood
- Ways to enhance CD and the neighbourhood strategy.

Each theme will be presented with descriptive quotes and interpretation. No names will be used to identify the participants, however, it is noted whether they are from the Province or the City. From the initial analysis, it seems that the distinction between the two levels of government is important as those with the City seem to have more detailed knowledge about the concept of the neighbourhood and its function as a CD strategy.

Interview Interpretation and Analysis

Theme 1: the convergence of CD and the neighbourhood strategy

This theme is related to the participant's familiarity with community development and the neighbourhood strategy of CD. When asked questions about their familiarity with CD in Winnipeg, it was found that there was little distinction between CD (as the bottom-up approach we know today) and the use of the neighbourhood strategy. The two were intertwined.

When asked about experience and familiarity with CD in Winnipeg, one City employee responded immediately with a knowledge about the neighbourhood strategy:

> In planning we've always endorsed a neighbourhood
> management strategy, and actually that's becoming
> ingrained in Plan Winnipeg. But it initially started
> as a philosophy within planning.

Another participant, again an employee from the City, responded to the same question about familiarity with CD in Winnipeg in a similar way, immediately referring to knowledge of the neighbourhood strategy:

> All of my career has been based in a kind of community
> development approach to neighbourhood improvement,
> where we've always engaged the local population within
> a designated community to participate, to be a part of the
> planning and implementation of the improvement project.

An interviewee from the Province also provided a response that associated a familiarity with CD with a familiarity with the neighbourhood approach:

> Community development and community economic
> development is the preferred approach for this government
> [province] to support communities. The government is
> committed to supporting neighbourhood revitalization in
> the inner city using a community-based approach.

Interpretation

What can be gathered from these initial statements about familiarity with CD is that current practice of CD by different levels of government, at least in the case of Winnipeg, is generally seen by study participants to be neighbourhood-based. This analysis can be related back to statements made by Bratt (1985, 83), when she describes government support for grassroots community development as being dependent on the neighbourhood approach to CD. This type of connection between community development and the neighbourhood (or place-targeting) strategy can be attributed to an increased support for community-driven development and the complimentary nature of the neighbourhood as a community organizer. This view also seems to have relevance to the statement made by Halpern about the

attractiveness of the neighbourhood strategy, where he states that in North America

there is a "pre-occupation with community, and its importance as a social organiser"

(Halpern 1995, 9).

Theme 2: the uniqueness of the neighbourhood

This theme is related to various statements made about the importance of

neighbourhoods in making distinctions between the needs and issues of individual

communities. Throughout the different interviews, it was noted that there was a

feeling that the identification of neighbourhoods was important because each

community is made up of unique physical, social and economic factors, contributing

to a unique environment that must be addressed in its own unique way.

A respondent from the City who had a strong knowledge of the neighbourhood or

place-approach to community development discussed this feature at length:

> We, it was our office that developed the neighbourhood
> characterization program, initially, that designated
> neighbourhoods into sort of, neighbourhood types, and
> said we have to recognize that neighbourhood's require
> different levels of support.

> I think there is a sense that, depending on the type of
> neighbourhood, people's needs, what's happening
> in those neighbourhoods, that each approach should be
> very different. We need some way of kind of analyzing
> our thoughts on those things. Each one of those
> neighbourhoods is very different, so our approach for
> each should be unique.

A second participant from the City supplied a similar response that related to the

importance of recognizing the different needs of communities, and therefore the need

to identify individual communities through the use of neighbourhoods:

> [Plan Winnipeg] recognized that each neighbourhood
> was distinct and the collection of neighbourhoods made
> the city as a whole. Plan Winnipeg acknowledged that
> the city was made up of a number of neighbourhoods
> to the extent that the city actually created a characterization
> report.

This statement was elaborated on, when the same participant added:

> We always, in city government, acknowledged
> 'neighbourhood' as sort of the building block of the
> city and advocated funding support to enable activity
> that was neighbourhood-based.

Interpretation

These responses demonstrate respondents' views about the importance of the

neighbourhood as a means to emphasize the uniqueness of individual communities.

These statements are similar in nature to what has been expressed in the previous

literature, such as Perry's statement that "an urban neighbourhood should be regarded

as a unit of a larger whole and as a distinct entity in itself" (Perry 1929, 34). This is

much like the concept used by the City, according to the respondents, which views

the city as being made up of a number of parts—neighbourhoods.

Theme three: neighbourhood and sense of community identity

This theme expands on the previous theme. These statements relate to the unique

nature of neighbourhood, as being composed of its own, unique social, economic and

physical features, and how this perspective contributes to the sense of 'community'

within these individual neighbourhoods.

One participant from the City seemed quite interested in the concept of community

identity and the 'sense of place' that the uniqueness of the neighbourhood provides:

> People relate to their neighbourhood, to the community
> that they live in. They're important to them. And
> certainly Winnipeg has had a real history of people
> identifying with the places where they grew up, lived,
> and worked. There are a lot of neighbourhoods with
> clearly definable characteristics or histories of
> development.

Another respondent from the City was well versed in the concept of 'sense of place'

and community identity. A similar response from this participant was given:

> With the neighbourhood, there is a sense of place, an
> identity that defines the community. There is definitely
> value in being able to help promote the neighbourhood,
> the sense of place. There is a sense of pride in place.
> However, there is always the flip side of that, or the
> downside, in that promoting the sense of neighbourhood
> is not always expected. In many cases, especially from
> the past, sense of place was not a priority. This is something
> we are trying to overcome, but it takes time.

Interpretation

Both of these statements equate sense of place, and sense of community with the

identification of neighbourhood. These types of statements are congruent with the

literature, which states that the neighbourhood is not only a geographic location, but it

is also a "grouping of families and people with mutual identifications related to where

they live" (Thurz, 1978, 11). This also brings credence to the idea of the

neighbourhood, as a community of place, as a social organiser and unit of solidarity
(Perry 1929, Davis 1991, Halpern 1995). It also refers to what Davis and Wilkinson
suggest as 'territoriality' and territory-based action, where those with ties to
neighbourhood and a mutual attachment to place, will act, often in defence of that
place (Davis 1991, Wilkinson 1991).

Theme four: neighbourhood as a tool for community involvement
This theme encompasses statements that establish the neighbourhood strategy as a
means to encourage community participation and involvement. The statements relate
to the belief that resident involvement is best supported by focusing on community
building and organization, and that this can be achieved by using the neighbourhood
strategy.

Although the previous themes related to the neighbourhood were dominated by the
knowledge of City employees, the area of community participation was a concern for
the provincial employees, one in particular. The interpretation of this is that the
concept of the neighbourhood, and the neighbourhood strategy, are more important in
the foundation for planning by the City of Winnipeg, than they are for the Province.

One Provincial employee seemed very concerned with the level of participation in
government funded community development. This participant, while feeling that
they had no 'real' knowledge about CD or the neighbourhood/place approach to CD,

made various statements about the use of the neighbourhood approach as being a tool

for community involvement in the CD process:

> We've obviously not been able to address the decline
> in the inner city over the last 10, 15 or more years. We've
> not been successful in addressing the problem, so this
> [neighbourhood/place approach] is an approach that speaks
> to the residents, the people that live and work in the area.
> It is vital to be able to understand what the community
> situations are, and by involving a really 'street-level'
> knowledge of that situation, we can come up with more
> innovative solutions that work.

The same participant when asked to expand on this statement, as to how the

neighbourhood approach can be used to stimulate community participation,

responded with a more descriptive statement:

> I think it's [the neighbourhood approach] a really honest
> attempt to engage in dialogue with people who live and
> work in these neighbourhoods and to try and find ways to
> support the innovative approaches that they feel can address
> their situation. I think that's the benefit [of the neighbourhood
> approach]. We've tried other approaches and we've not been
> able to address the situation. I think it's a sense of feeling that
> the people who live and work in these neighbourhoods need
> to feel that they have some ownership of what is being done
> in their neighbourhood, as opposed to sitting back and watching
> government do things to their neighbourhood.

A respondent from the City suggests that the neighbourhood approach is beneficial

because participation will be more inclusive at the neighbourhood level:

> The larger the area, the more difficult it is to get legitimate
> participation, where people actually feel connected to a
> participatory model. Feeling connected to the process
> is what is going to strengthen the success of that process,
> and focusing on a neighbourhood scale will bring the
> process to the community.

66

Interpretation

These statements seem to agree with what the literature states about the neighbourhood strategy being congruent with community inclusion. This belief in the ability of the neighbourhood for connecting people to process can be seen again in Bratt's statement, that "true community development, almost by definition [has] to be interwoven with a bottom-up effort" (Bratt 1985, 83) and Halpern's statement of the neighbourhood's "tendency to mediate between the structure of opportunity and people's ability to take advantage of opportunity" (Halpern 1995, 220). It is due to this now common belief that CD is a community-driven process, that neighbourhood is more commonly associated with that process.

Theme 5: the neighbourhood scale

This theme was one that somewhat overlapped the previous two, as it is related to neighbourhood as an identifiable territory in that it can be defined, and it relates to the above theme of local level participation.

When discussing participation at the local level as a benefit of the neighbourhood strategy, a City employee stated:

> The neighbourhood level is a lot more manageable to work
> with as it is usually more homogeneous in character as
> compared with the city as a whole. While there are many
> neighbourhoods that share similar characteristics to one
> another, particularly in the inner city, by breaking it up,
> you are more apt to have a fuller, more inclusionary process.
> It's more manageable include 5,000 people in a process than
> 20,000...it makes more sense.

The same employee from the City, when asked to expand on this statement, suggested

that not only is participation more achievable at the neighbourhood level, but that it is

also beneficial to be able to look at situations as parts and wholes:

> I think there are advantages of being able to break things up
> into smaller pieces and analyse what the issues are, and begin
> to work on those smaller elements. From that standpoint
> you are able to see the changes occurring and develop into a
> bigger picture. I think planning in smaller segments is a lot
> more effective if we are dealing amenities and quality of
> life and social and economic development, that sort of thing.

Another City employee shared this perspective of neighbourhood manageability:

> I think that from a statistical perspective, neighbourhoods are
> nice, manageable blocks to work with. And from the analytical
> standpoint, we can interpret how best to target services in a way
> that really reflects the needs of citizens. So, I think in that way
> the neighbourhood approach really makes sense.

Interpretation

When interpreting these statements, it seems clear that they mesh well with previous

statements by Halpern, where he suggests there is a "the theoretical logic of the

neighborhood initiative" with "its appropriate scale and governability" (Halpern

1995, 220). While the neighbourhood strategy may be 'theoretically logical', it can

also be 'practically logical' in that those involved also see the benefits of the

neighbourhood's small scale.

Theme six: resource targeting

This theme emerged through a variety of statements that expressed the need to

maximize limited public resources, and the benefit of doing this through the

concentration of resources in selected areas of need. Each participant had some

experience or knowledge about this, as they are all coming from the perspective of

government and the reality of decreased funding.

An employee from the City recalled a time when funding was more abundant for

neighbourhood renewal, and noted that it is more vital today, with limited resources,

that public agencies are able to do the most with what they have:

> It was the late 1970's when we created the neighbourhood
> characterizations and our philosophy of the neighbourhood
> management approach. At that time, we were more heavily
> involved in neighbourhood revitalization and housing programs
> then probably we are now. In those days, staffing and resources
> were much more available to target at distressed areas.

The same respondent was asked to elaborate on this comment:

> When resources are diminishing, which in the public sector
> they are--both financial and staff resource have
> been consistently cut back--I think you sort of have to pick
> your spots to make a difference, and I think the neighbourhood
> based approach works really well for that. So, I think that
> it makes sense to carry on in that kind of direction.

A Provincial employee reflected on past experience with a neighbourhood strategy in

Winnipeg and how it could have worked better:

> When we [province] were working with the Core Area
> Initiative we focused on a few specific neighbourhoods
> to achieve some specific results. We focused on a bounded
> area for revitalization, and that had some positive results, but
> I think it could have worked better if there had been more
> support for community involvement. It was pretty top-down.

A City employee's comments seemed to add to the previous statement about needing

more community involvement in a targeted approach to achieve the desired results:

> When the priorities are driven by some kind of community
> decision-making, targeting an area, pulling the stakeholders
> together to identify what the issues are, and identifying
> strategies to address those issues, makes sense. Because we
> can then designate money to that area to carry out those
> community-led strategies.

Another Provincial employee was concerned with concentrating public resources in a

community for the ability to maximize that community's own resources:

> I believe that solutions to neighbourhood decline lie within
> the community. It is essential to identify the capacity within
> the neighbourhood and to build on that capacity with public
> support.

Interpretation

These statements express the validity of the theoretical arguments for why

government is attracted to the neighbourhood or place-targeting strategy. Each

describes the need to concentrate support in small areas where it is needed most, for

the purpose of getting the most out of those resources, and to build on what already

exists. These statements very closely match Snow's interpretation of why place-

targeting is encouraged by government. "By focusing broad resources in an area of

disproportionate poverty, place-targeting hopes to right past wrongs, to even up the

score, and in the process, to nurture and support the efforts of a community of poor

people to create new opportunities for themselves" (Snow 1995, 190).

Theme seven: promoting linkages through neighbourhood

This theme focuses on two ideas of linkage. One is about making linkages between issues of a community, the other is about integrating the different programs and supports that serve the community.

A City employee describes the local community as a complex of factors. From this perspective it is suggested that at the neighbourhood level, the connections between these factors are more easily identified:

> There are many factors involved in what makes up the
> situation of a community. With that perspective, it is
> easy to see how 'small' is better. At the local level of
> a neighbourhood, it is possible to see how these factors
> are interrelated and how one thing so easily affects another.

A Provincial employee describes past experience with a local neighbourhood CD strategy. The respondent suggests that this strategy could have been more successful if it made more effort to connect the various programs and projects in the area:

> The Winnipeg Development Agreement was very much
> focused on projects and programs without a great deal of
> linkage or community involvement. It was not an approach
> that tried to integrate various government programs. There was
> a whole collection of programs, that in most cases operated
> quite independently of each other. It was a scattered approach
> and I think it suffered because of that.

Interpretation

While these statements discuss the idea of holism in different ways, they both suggest a recognition of the holistic leanings of the neighbourhood strategy. They both describe a strategy that has the ability to connect different pieces, due to their

common relation to the neighbourhood. This perspective is definitely supportive to the descriptions given through the literature, such as Halpern's statement of how the neighbourhood has "served to illuminate the interconnectedness of different spheres of community life—the physical, economic, social and educational" (Halpern 1995, 146). So, whether it be the different spheres of concern (the factors) that make up the community, or the different spheres of support provided by the government through programs, the neighbourhood is a means by which they can be integrated in more holistic and comprehensive way.

Theme eight: enhancing the neighbourhood approach

This last theme emerged from the final question of the interview, focusing on what participants thought could improve the neighbourhood strategy. The common threads among all the responses related to the need for more citizen control and empowerment, and the need for more 'experimental' or radical approaches.

One Provincial employee was quite concerned with the need to make CD, especially through the neighbourhood strategy, a more citizen led process:

> First, we need to make more funding available.
> Second, we need to find a way to empower
> community-based, neighbourhood-based organizations
> to an even greater extent and in doing that, there is
> a need to create a balance between empowerment
> and a way to ensure that we're addressing the issues
> of public accountability as well. Three, we need to
> keep bureaucracy out of the way as much as possible.
> It is recognizable that things work best when they
> have the flexibility to respond and not get overwhelmed
> by protocol.

This same participant expanded on this statement about citizen control:

> Being able to stand back and let it work, and be willing
> to allow neighbourhood organizations to take control
> and to have control of what they're doing would be ideal.

A City employee suggested that the neighbourhood approach is one that will continue to exist in local government policy, but that it would only be enhanced when it was radicalized by original thinkers:

> I think we need to support the neighbourhood approach
> if that's where people are coming from. I mean, from
> a planning perspective within the City, yes we'll probably
> continue to do that because it is one of the tenets of
> Plan Winnipeg—to lend support to our neighbourhoods.
> The approach we take though, will have to be fundamentally
> different. The problem we face, however, is that we have one
> foot in the traditional, top-down approach, and the other in
> innovation. Everything has to shift gears. We need a new
> mindset for this to happen, a whole new batch of thinkers.

Interpretation

These statements suggest that there are few problems with the neighbourhood strategy of CD on its own, but also that there is a need for increased community empowerment and control of the process, and more involvement in the creation of the process to begin with. These statements suggest that we are at a pinnacle; where while on one hand, community-driven CD is supported and encouraged through the neighbourhood strategy, the other shows it has not yet reached the level of support needed to make it truly successful. In this sense, the neighbourhood strategy faces the same problems of commitment that it has since the 1960's and 70's, the problems of control and power in the hands of community, and the problem of continued investment in the CD process.

Synopsis

Reflecting on the literature, it can be seen that the data gathered from the interviews reveals a high correlation between the theory and the practice. Most of the arguments made by the literature were in someway referred to through the interviews, showing that the literature does reflect practice. This does not conclude that participants believe that the neighbourhood strategy is the 'only' or 'best' approach to CD in Winnipeg, but that their feelings or beliefs about it do correlate with the statements made in the literature. It is also interesting to note that none of the 'argumentative' theories on the neighbourhood approach to CD, as posed by Blakely and Snow, were mentioned by participants.

In many of the themes, there was an underlying perspective that a positive feature of the neighbourhood strategy was that it provided an appropriate 'scale' for planning and community development, that defining areas through their unique characteristics allowed them to be seen as 'units' that could be addressed individually. The feature was also seen as positive because it allowed for increased community participation. There was no mention of how community was involved in the identification process, nor that community participation was a crucial component. In relation to Snow's argument about communities needing to define their own boundaries, this could be interpreted to mean that these government employees do not see community as important in the identification process, or that they have not been in the past. Or, perhaps it can be interpreted to mean that community participation in neighbourhood characterization is a 'given' component of the characterization process and that they

assumed this was understood. One statement made by a Provincial employee in Theme Six lends itself to the explanation that community has not been involved in the past, when the participant refers to a neighbourhood strategy in Winnipeg that would have been more successful if there had been more community participation. Perhaps this refers to community participation in the identification process.

The argument made by Blakely is also not mentioned. While no statements were made that the neighbourhood strategy was the best approach for CD, there were also no statements made about it being a 'band-aid' approach either. The best interpretation that can be made about this is that these participants relate CD to neighbourhood very closely, as stated in Theme One, and that government—at various levels—is leaning very heavily toward local, neighbourhood-level initiatives where community can lead the way. In this sense, these participants might only be positive toward the neighbourhood strategy of CD because they are associating neighbourhood with community-led and grassroots strategies of CD. All things considered however, the overall sense of the interviews was that the neighbourhood strategy had many positive and beneficial features for delivering public support to communities in need and that this strategy should continue.

3.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has found that much of the literature on CD and the neighbourhood approach to CD is supported by the statements made during the interview sessions. It

has ascertained that many of the features of the neighbourhood strategy, described in the literature, are reasons for why, in the opinions of the participants, government has so often looked to the neighbourhood strategy of CD as a means for delivering public support to communities. From this assertion then, it can be found that this portion of the thesis does address the objective of finding out if and why government uses the neighbourhood strategy of CD. The following chapters of this thesis will then be focused on addressing the main objective of the study, to determine whether collaboration could occur among interest groups due to a shared interest in the neighbourhood--a community of place. These chapters will consist of the presentation of focus group findings, the synthesis of these findings with the preceding literature review, and finally some recommendations.

CHAPTER FOUR: NEIGHBOURHOOD--A PLACE FOR COLLABORATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will present empirical data to supplement the preceding literature. The concepts of place-focused CD and community collaboration have been reviewed in relation to one another. What has come from this review is the question of whether or not collaboration among interest groups can be formed on the basis of a common concern for place or neighbourhood through the place-based strategy of CD. The literature suggests that the relationship between place/neighbourhood and community collaboration is there, however it is important to augment the theory with first hand experience.

Case Background: Spence Neighbourhood

The empirical data in this section is focused on the recent neighbourhood-focused CD processes occurring in an inner city neighbourhood in Winnipeg, Manitoba. This neighbourhood, called Spence, is currently designated as a Neighbourhoods Alive! neighbourhood, and has such been targeted for Provincial and Municipal support (designated boundaries follow those of the Winnipeg Development Agreement – see map below). Therefore, the CD that is occurring in Spence neighbourhood, at the time of this thesis, follows the neighbourhood or 'place-targeting' strategy of CD that has been discussed in the previous literature review and interview data.
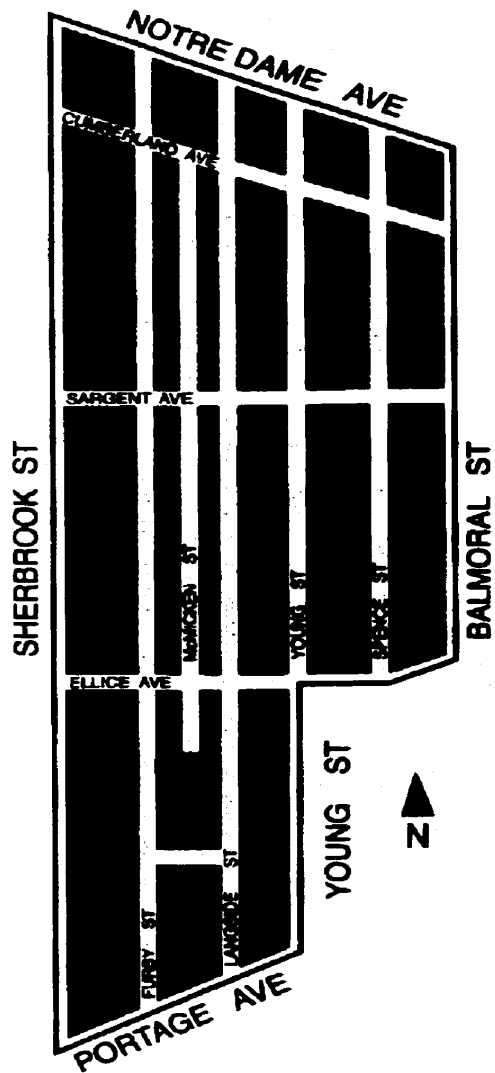
Map of Spence Neighbourhood: City of Winnipeg – WDA

As Spence neighbourhood is, at the time of this thesis, a designated Neighbourhoods

Alive! neighbourhood, this means that community groups, including service

providers can apply for project and program funding support. This support may be

for minor, capital project funding, for projects such as beautification projects,

building play structures or renovating community facilities; for community planning

and organizing, such as developing a neighbourhood plan, or a community needs

assessment; for community economic development projects, such as employment strategies and feasibility plans for local businesses; and for community support projects, such as programs for youth-at-risk, crime and safety projects, and art and recreational programming. In fact, Neighbourhoods Alive! has very flexible guidelines, allowing almost any type of project as long as it is within one of the designated neighbourhoods and does not include long term operational costs.

The most important component of the Neighbourhoods Alive! Initiative, however, is its commitment to building community capacity. This is done through the funding of projects which build the capacity of local organisations, encourage community involvement and encourage partnerships, as well as by providing short term funding to assist community development corporations (CDC) or neighbourhood associations--such as the Spence Neighbourhood Association--develop their own capacity to carry on with CD over the long term. In this sense, an Initiative such as Neighbourhoods Alive! is very applicable to encouraging collaboration among groups for long term community development.

By choosing to examine the role of the neighbourhood strategy and collaboration in the CD activities and processes of Spence neighbourhood, this study will be exploring the potential for place or neighbourhood-focused collaboration in the inner city of Winnipeg. Spence neighbourhood shares a variety of the same characteristics as many inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg, especially those designated by the Neighbourhoods Alive! Initiative. However, while there are many similarities,

Spence was also chosen because, in this researcher's opinion, the activities and processes exhibited through their association with Neighbourhoods Alive! and previous Initiatives (Winnipeg Development Agreement) have been very much geared towards a neighbourhood approach and inclined towards community collaboration.

4.2 FOCUS GROUP DATA

In terms of collecting empirical data about the place-collaboration relationship, a focus group, composed of representatives from both place-based and interest-based organizations, which to some capacity have played a role in the current Spence CD process, was used. Originally, it was hoped that two focus groups could be held for this study, in order to segregate the place and interest-based participants, thus creating a greater sense of homogeneity within the group structure. However, because of time limitations, one focus group was ultimately used.

The focus group was held at Magnus Eliason Recreation Centre in Spence neighbourhood. The reason for choosing this location was because it seemed a central and accessible location for all those participating, as well, it provides a 'home turf' sense where participants are more likely to feel comfortable. It was also hoped that conducting the group interview in the same setting that was the focus for discussion in the focus group, would help stimulate relevant discussion to what was occurring among groups in Spence.

According to Morgan, at least three groups must usually be conducted in order to account for differences in the participant's exposure to the topic of discussion, and differences that reflect other diversity. However, Morgan also states that if a focus group concerns a narrow topic where participants are familiar with the subject, then fewer focus groups are needed (Morgan 1998, 2/73). Due to the limited pool of participants, and due to the type of work they are involved with (many committees and volunteer work), only one group could be formed. However, it is felt that Morgan's statement above validates the data obtained from only one group because the topic discussed was very familiar to the participants and their common experiences with CD in the community lent to a high degree of homogeneity

Group composition:

Because only one group could be developed, place representatives were mixed with interest representatives (5 place-based, 3 interest-based). However, there was enough homogeneity within the group to create a good dynamic, as all are familiar with the CD process occurring in Spence, and all have in some capacity taken part. Because of this familiarity with what was occurring in Spence, the issue of mixing the two types of representatives was not of great concern, as it was felt that any of the participants could provide subjective and objective information about the topics being discussed. While two focus groups may have presented the opportunity for comparison, and the presentation of varying themes between them, having one group presented the potential for creating stronger connections among the different representatives which could lead to further collaboration for Spence CD. Also, issues

of gender and age were not taken into consideration because again, time was a great constraint and those issues were not as relevant to the study. The topics were not gender or age sensitive in the opinion of this researcher.

The focus groups were tape recorded for transcribing purposes, however in no way were statements attached to the individual identities of participants. Furthermore, all tape recordings and notes from the focus group sessions were destroyed upon completion of the study. Participants were informed that they were free to withdraw from the session at anytime without penalty or consequence. The length of the focus group was two hours in duration.

Questions

A number of draft questions were developed in relation to the key research objectives before a final set was decided upon. These questions were reviewed by this researcher's advisor for the purpose of pre-testing. (see Appendix B). As well, a supplementary handout was provided to participants to provide familiarity to the topics being discussed in the focus groups. (Appendix C)

The focus group was designed to test the ideas--gathered from the literature and supported by the round of interviews reported in Chapter 3--that a holistic and comprehensive approach could be seen by the constituencies represented in the groups, as beneficial to community development; and that both the place-based strategy of CD and collaboration could be seen as bringing about a holistic and

comprehensive approach through using place or neighbourhood as the focus for collaboration. The question is whether organisations with differing, and sometimes conflicting interests can be brought together to work for a common 'cause'—that of neighbourhood development— because each shares a common tie to that place. By including both place-focused and interest-focused groups in the discussion, there is the potential to see if the tie to place, as a common element among all groups, could be brought out as a common basis for collaborative action. To address this question, the focus group was used to find out how those involved in community development, those from the community perspective, felt about the place-approach to community development, collaboration and the potential to use place as the common element in collaboration for community development. The focus groups did not seek to gain consensus on the issues, but to gather the perceptions and feelings of the participants.

Analysis

The following qualitative empirical data was obtained through a 2-hour focus group consisting of 8 participants. The findings of the focus group are presented in 9 key themes: Connections and Roles in Spence CD; the Place-based Approach to CD; the Impacts of the Place-based Approach; Collaboration and Community Development; Impacts of Collaboration; Costs and Challenges to Community Collaboration; A Relationship Between Place and Collaboration; Benefits of Place-focused Community Collaboration; Enhancing and Improving Neighbourhood-focused Collaboration. Each theme, having been developed through the process of transcription and analysis,

will begin with an introduction to the theme, followed by descriptive statements given

by participants, and last an interpretation of the findings of each theme.

Focus Group Findings

Theme One: Connections and Roles in Spence CD

For this theme, representatives from the various organizations were asked to describe

their organization's connection to Spence neighbourhood, and what role their

organization played in the Spence CD process. Each representative provided a

response, however, only the most detailed responses are shown here.

One participant from an interest-based organization that has been in the

neighbourhood for over 20 years stated that she felt her organization has increasingly

focused on the needs of the neighbourhood over the years:

> While our organization has not been specifically
> neighbourhood focused, more and more residents
> have come to use our services. And in many cases,
> this has caused us to shape our programming to meet
> the needs of the neighbourhood. More and more I
> feel there is a definite push for more direct involvement
> with the community, to deliberately become a part of
> the community. We also realize that there are a few gaps
> in our programming that we need to fill to increase this
> community connection.

This same participant was asked to expand further on how their organization serves

Spence community:

> We recognize that we serve two distinct populations.
> On one hand, we are very much neighbourhood-
> oriented with very specific community programming
> that is there for the benefit of local people. On the
> other hand, we are involved with a particular issue

that affects a more narrowly defined community.
Programming is aimed at the individual with specific
needs and these people come from different parts of
the City. However, more and more we find that it is
local people who need these services. The key is that
we do serve both populations, and that we can see how
our more specific programming can also be shaped to
meet the needs of the local community.

Another participant from an interest-based organization stated a similar feeling of an

increased connection and role in Spence neighbourhood:

Our building is located in Spence, but largely our
clientele is from outside the neighbourhood
because community people can often not afford
to take part. We have recognized this inaccessibility
for local participation and we are now attempting
to 'get back to the neighbourhood' by trying to
support a local audience. We are attempting to
have a range of programming for community
people, not only to make the arts accessible, but
also to provide services. We are also redeveloping
our building to be used as a music centre and
training centre. The building will be open and
free to community groups for drama productions and
also as a centre for skills development, by training
local people to build props.

Another representative of an interest-based organization reiterated this focus on the

need to connect with the neighbourhood community and to make their services

relevant to neighbourhood needs:

Our centre's mandate began as strictly employment-
focused. However, neighbourhood demand has
shifted us to much broader goals and an increasing
involvement in improving the community.

A place-based representative felt that they were strictly neighbourhood-focused, but

that their role in the community development process needed to be emphasized:

What we focus on is recreation. Ensuring that there is
a wide range of recreation for all age groups, for entire
families and we definitely would like to work with the
community to ensure that this wide range is provided.
To do this, we have to have a high degree of connection
and knowledge of the neighbourhood.

Interpretation:

Responses to this theme ranged from a description of organizational mandates, to

these more clear pictures of the connections organizations have with Spence

neighbourhood. The interesting thing to note is that the responses given by

representatives of interest-based organizations show a clear desire to become more

involved or more attuned to local needs. While each of these interest organizations

has their own 'clientele' that may or may not come from the neighbourhood—as they

are interest and not place-based—it is clear that in the cases of these representatives,

there is a move toward a more direct role in the local neighbourhood and the CD

process. However, it is important to note that these responses are coming from

representatives from organizations who have had some involvement with Spence CD

(to some degree), and therefore, this is not a completely new concept to them. Thus,

the responses are, to a degree, to be expected.

Theme Two: The Place-based Approach to CD

This theme relates to questions representatives were asked about their familiarity with

place-based or neighbourhood-focused CD, as expressed in the handout that was

provided. Participants were asked if they felt this approach had been adopted for

Spence and if so, what were some identifying features/activities of this approach in Spence.

A representative of a newly formed neighbourhood association, a place-based organization, described the neighbourhood focus as a key component for their organisation's activities:

> We specifically focus on certain boundaries for our CD activities. They are generally place-based because we are looking at Spence in particular, but we do have some flexibility, we don't want to limit ourselves or anyone else.

Another representative of the same organization, who is in charge of neighbourhood outreach, agreed and expanded on this statement:

> Most of our projects are place-focused, like housing projects, street festivals, cleanups... And they are all about bringing residents together and to be involved. So generally, these activities tend to be limited to people who care about the neighbourhood--those who live here. But we would never exclude anyone who came around.

A representative from another place-oriented organization commented on the idea of boundaries as a way to define the activities of their organization and as a way to identify their community:

> I think the activities we plan are located generally within the boundaries of what we see as our community which largely overlaps with Spence. We do a lot of outreach within a contained area, and put on BBQ's to bring out the neighbourhood. This is a good way to establish a sense of community.

Another representative from a place-oriented organization added to this statement about boundaries as a feature of the place-based approach:

> There are constant boundaries, but they are fairly flexible. They change with the community. This doesn't always fit with the place-based approach of government funding. The community changes and so do the organizations that serve and identify with them. So while the funding helps with neighbourhood development and activities, it has to be flexible too, or it misses the mark.

Interpretation:

First off, it can be seen that all of the responses were given by neighbourhood-oriented organizations, those who would be more familiar with CD that is place-focused. This is understandable given that interest-based organizations would have less familiarity and involvement with developing communities of place, than communities of interest. It can also be seen that each of these responses relates the place-approach to a sense of identifying the community through boundaries, and that the activities of these organizations are influenced by this identity. This response relates well to the literature, especially that of Snow, on place-targeting or the neighbourhood strategy, where the community is identified in terms of a common place and boundaries, and not by another common interest.

The responses to this theme also suggest that the participants, at least those involved with place-oriented activities, have experience with the place or neighbourhood approach to CD. However, the handout provided did mention that the Neighbourhoods Alive! Initiative, something familiar to all around the table, used a

place approach to CD, and therefore it is inferred that all had some understanding of this concept.

Theme Three: Impacts of the Place-based Approach

This theme presents participant's views on any impacts of using the place approach to CD in Spence, based on their experience.

One participant from a place-oriented organization described a feeling of change recently occurring as a result of the place-based approach to CD, relating this feeling to the implementation of the Neighbourhoods Alive! Initiative in Spence neighbourhood:

> There are a lot of new things happening, there
> seems to be a period of community change
> recently. There is a sense that more people
> are involved now.

Another participant from a place-based organization stated that through their work with a place-approach to CD, they have sensed an increase in community participation:

> By focusing on the neighbourhood, you can put
> together activities that will draw people from the
> community. By focusing on their sense of
> nearness and closeness to the activity they feel they
> are more involved than if it was an activity that was
> not neighbourhood focused. The neighbourhood
> focus attracts everyone, unlike a particular 'cause'
> would.

Other participants described the impacts of the neighbourhood approach as a sense of increasing involvement by their own organizations, as an opportunity to become more

involved with the community. One participant of an interest group described a

feeling of increased connection to the community since the Neighbourhoods Alive

Initiative designated funding for Spence:

> I feel that there is more community connection now.
> I don't think there has ever been a 'forum' as there
> is now, where groups can become more involved in
> the bigger picture of the neighbourhood. I think
> people are much more aware now that things are
> going on.

Another participant described how her interest organization recognized the need for a

more neighbourhood-oriented approach to their own programming and the place-

targeting of Spence provided that opportunity to see how they could fit in:

> The whole purpose of our centre was to be located
> and more directly involved in Spence. We recognized
> that this is where a lot of our clientele comes from, so
> we adapted our services to serve them better—at the same
> time we are now recognizing how we fit into the overall
> renewal and improvement of the neighbourhood.

Interpretation:

When discussing the impacts of using a neighbourhood-focused CD strategy,

participants described a sense of change, a sense of increased community

involvement and an increased desire to focus services on community needs in Spence.

It can be seen that the place-oriented representatives came from the perspective that

the place approach had the impact of creating more community/resident involvement

in the CD process. By targeting support to the neighbourhood through activities,

there is a sense that there are more opportunities to get people involved. From the

perspective of the interest-based organizations, there is a sense of increased

opportunity to become involved with the community, that there is now a 'forum', as one representative put it. Relating back to the literature, this sense of involvement is shown to be one of the key factors for why the place approach of CD is attractive, to both the community and government. As Davis suggested, people mobilize at their place of residence, not at their place of work (Davis, 1991, 5).

Theme Four: Collaboration and Community Development

Participants were asked if they were familiar with collaboration from their own experiences or the handout provided, and to what extent they felt collaboration occurred in Spence. Several examples were given.

One participant of a neighbourhood-focused organization stated that there had always been a sense of collaboration, as far back as the 1970's, in Spence, but that there were two types of collaboration:

> There has always been some sort of neighbourhood
> council or group and, over the years different groups
> have come together to work on projects. But due to
> the transiency of the neighbourhood it has been
> difficult to maintain the neighbourhood councils
> because they are collaborations based on key people,
> and when they leave, the collaboration often ends, it's a
> very up and down existence. The collaborations on more
> specific projects, rather than in the form of a long term
> council, seem to be more successful. They are more
> 'tangible' things that people are more willing to get behind,
> often because they are projects that have a beginning and
> an end and people can see what's involved. A collaboration
> which requires a more long term commitment to overall
> change seems to be more difficult to maintain because
> it requires people who are stable for a while.

91

One participant from a place-oriented group describes a recent example of collaboration in Spence:

> One example of a huge benefit we've experienced from working with other groups on projects is the garden project we are working on now. We are working with another group who has experience with this type of project and has some resources to do it, and if we didn't collaborate, we would have to start from scratch and would not be where we are now with the garden.

Other participants, responding to this statement, mentioned examples of collaborations their organizations have recently been part of. One place-based participant mentioned a interest-oriented collaborative they are now involved with:

> We just entered into collaboration for diabetes prevention with different organizations. It is, however, focused on Spence neighbourhood. Diabetes is an issue here.

Another representative of a neighbourhood-oriented organization mentioned a newly formed committee made up of various representatives interested in Spence CD. She states that this committee is to keep the process going:

> There is also the group of representatives that comes together to keep the Neighbourhoods Alive! initiative going here. It keeps residents and organizations involved with that.

Interpretation:

From the responses it can be found that collaboration has occurred, and continues to occur in Spence, at varying degrees. What is most interesting though, is what was related in the first response about the two forms of collaboration. It is suggested in this first response that while a more long term and overarching community collaborative has at different times occurred in Spence--in the form of a

92

neighbourhood council--that the more successful collaborations have been those geared towards projects. It is also mentioned that this has to do with a lack of stability in the neighbourhood and thus projects, often being short term, will have a better chance of success. The other responses also seem to relate to project-based collaboration, more centred on a particular issue or concern. This is a common form of collaboration, where groups get together to work on particular projects because it requires less commitment. However, this study advocates that project-focused collaborations are developed based on a broader perspective of the situation (the bigger picture) in the neighbourhood, where all the sectors are involved and can see their role in that picture.

Theme Five: Impacts of Collaboration

Participants were asked to address two related topics, one concerning the impacts of collaborative work; the other being, what things that have happened due to collaborative work that otherwise would not have.

Participants, commenting on these topics felt that many of the successful projects in the neighbourhood were the result of collaborative efforts and would not have happened without them. One representative from a neighbourhood-based organization revealed this need for a broader community effort with the following statement:

> This neighbourhood has put on a lot of projects,
> such as the Ellice Street Festival, neighbourhood
> cleanups, and other things, and I think every group
> realizes that when you put something on, some kind

of activity or project, you can't do it by yourself, you
just can't. There is the greatest potential for any group
to feel overwhelmed because things which are
community-focused can grow and take on a life of their
own. The best thing is to have, and be willing to rely
on other groups when starting things up.

A representative from an interest-based organization states a similar need to rely on

other organizations and the resources they can provide:

That's the same for us. There are so many things you
want to do, and there is a willingness to do it, but then
you realize that you can't do it because the resources
aren't there. You need to be able to look outside your
own organization for help and it is good to know that
there are others who would be willing to help out. But
even those organizations are limited in what they can lend.

Another representative of an interest-based organisation concurred:

I know that we are overwhelmed right now. We have
already surpassed our annual budget and we still have
half a year to go. We set out with an expectation, but
so many unexpected things come up and we want to
do everything for everyone. We often find that we cant
always do what we originally set out to do because we
have taken on so much more. We need to be able to take
on all of the issues, but no one group can do that. It needs
to be a collaborative effort.

Some of the participants also brought up that a major result of collaboration has been

the sense of a community network. One participant from a neighbourhood-oriented

organization suggested that through collaboration, trust is developed among

organizations and with the community:

There is a sense of trust that comes from collaboration.
Being a part of a collaboration makes the community
trust that organization more because it shows that they
have a commitment to the neighbourhood and are

willing to work with other groups.

Another representative of a place-based organization agreed with this and described a

similar experience with collaboration:

> I know people whom I have met in our programs could
> benefit from other programs in the community, and I will
> often refer them to those organizations because I have met
> people or worked with people from there before. So, there
> is another sense of a loose or informal network too and people
> are getting helped out this way.

This network idea also came out in responses about resources sharing. One

representative from a neighbourhood-based organization suggested that resource

sharing is a major benefit of collaboration:

> It seems that even for small things that have to get done,
> there is a pretty good network of people from groups
> that you can call on to help out with pretty much anything.
> As far as getting garden tools from one group or having the
> groups involved in the different aspects of the street festival,
> or if there is an initiative coming and we need to get together
> and talk about it, I think collaboration has worked pretty well
> that way.

The same participant elaborated on this with a statement when asked:

> I often wonder if some of it has to do with us feeling that we
> need each other or that we can use each other to get a little
> farther, so we work together.

Interpretation:

The responses show that, at least in terms of this group of representatives, there is a

strong regard for collaborative relationships among organisations because of what

they can provide. What seemed to be emphasized the most, among the interest-

oriented and place-based groups, was that collaboration has led to a network of

mutual aid and a pool of resources to help organizations do their work. Overall, the

sense was that collaboration has led to an increased ability to serve the needs and

interests of the community, and that more collaborative works would be beneficial.

Theme Six: Costs and Challenges to Community Collaboration

The literature suggests that there are costs and challenges that go along with

collaborative work. Participants were asked to reflect on any costs or challenges they

have experienced with collaboration. A representative from a neighbourhood-focused

organization reiterated an earlier statement he had made about his past experiences

with community development in Spence and the limited ability for long term

collaborations in the neighbourhood:

> One of the reasons why collaborations break down
> is that sometimes groups aren't able to make long
> term commitments—whether attending meetings
> or completing tasks. If they aren't there, it is hard
> to carry on, or you always feel like you are starting
> over again. Collaborations aren't just organizations
> committing to work together, it's people, people
> developing relationships. And when people change
> or leave, collaborations end.

Another representative of a neighbourhood-oriented organization agreed with this

sentiment and emphasized the need to move toward increased stability in the

neighbourhood to ensure that community development continues:

> I agree, and on top of that, there isn't an overall
> organization to facilitate that effort, so that people
> who are a part of it, stay a part of it. To keep people
> committed and completing what they've started. As
> well, my sense is that this is a community with a lot

of mobility, and it is hard to maintain a community-
driven process when you have a quickly changing
population that makes up the community. This is
what other neighbourhoods in Winnipeg seem to
have, and we need to graduate to that higher level.

A representative from an interest-based organization also agreed with the need for

more stability in the community development process in Spence:

Yeah, we don't yet seem to have the cohesive force
to take things to the next level. This is what we have
to develop here I think.

Another concern over collaborative work, added to this need for increased

commitment, was a sense of resource scarcity and how that has made long term

collaborations more difficult. A representative from a place-oriented organization

stated this:

I think one of the things that makes it hard for collaboration
is not only the lack of funding support, but also the issue
of staffing. It takes extra work to do collaborative work,
not that we wouldn't want to collaborate, but it does
require extra work. And if you are trying to put together
the basics for your own programming with difficulty, it
makes the ability to extend your resources further that much
more difficult. But there are advantages to collaboration, so
there is a desire to take part. In this way, there is both a
sunshine and a cloud to collaborative work.

A representative of an interest-based organization also suggested that the lack of

human resources was an issue in her organization and that often they could not

always create the kind of partnerships they would like to:

There is a difficulty of not having enough bodies, we
are always doubling up—lots of overtime. The manpower [sic]
is a huge problem for agencies because it means you have
to pick and choose what is reasonable to get involved with.

> Getting involved with one means you don't have the
> resources for the other.

The representative from the interest-based organization who had just earlier

mentioned the lack of human resources in agencies, also suggests that there is another

hidden cost to collaborative work, on top of overtime:

> From my own organization's experience with collaboration,
> I can say it was very difficult to form that partnership because
> all of the groups involved had to put personal or political
> philosophies aside and truly focus on what was needed. So
> that was another cost, to the organizations themselves, that
> was not accounted for because it meant changing the way
> that each organization functioned and in some cases going
> against how they would normally address the situation. While
> this is a benefit of collaborative work, it can also be a cost to
> each organization because they are giving something up to work
> together.

Another concern brought up by some of the participants was a feeling that some

collaborations are unproductive because they do not result in any action or change.

The feeling is that because of a lack of resources and stability, any cooperative work

the organization agrees to should be productive, because it usually takes extra time.

One representative from a place-based organization suggested that some

collaboratives do not work because they are 'forced' partnerships. She felt that

successful collaborative work is the result of naturally occurring partnerships based

on a real commitment to work together:

> I think of times when groups have been forced to
> work together, it didn't feel like a collaboration. We
> didn't really know each other and it didn't feel like it
> was going anywhere because it was thrown together
> rather than naturally occurring over time.

Another representative from a place-oriented organization agreed that in the past, some collaborative work was unproductive. He suggested, however, that in his case it was due to a lack of commitment to action rather than a sense of being forced to work together:

> There is always the chance that you might get involved
> with a collaborative where nothing really happens. There
> is no action and you just spend your time talking about the
> problems rather than finding solutions. The worst scenario
> is a group of people willing to commit their time to working
> together, but who don't take action with their time. You can
> only dwell on problems for so long.

Interpretation:

The first observation was that many of the key costs or challenges to collaborative work described by the participants, where the same as those described in the literature. Challenges of commitment, extra work load, differing philosophies, and lack of resources are related over and over again in these responses and are often seen in the literature as the key challenges. Another interesting observation is that both the place-based and interest-based representatives shared these experiences and could sympathize with each other. In terms of more place-focused collaboration, the issues of commitment and extra work load seemed to dominate, but in terms of collaboration by interest-based groups, the issues of differing philosophies and lack of resources, such as staffing, seemed to stand out most. It is important to relate the point of differing philosophies back to Sandercock (1998) where she has stated that putting agendas and politics, including philosophies and mandates aside is an essential feature of collaboration. Each group must be able to approach collaboration with an

open mind and not try to push their own agendas, they must be willing to accept the differences of each group involved.

The experience of this group of representatives seems to be that maintaining a commitment to collaboration has been a challenge. However, all participants were supportive of working towards this challenge. What can be interpreted from their responses is that perhaps more collaboration would occur if there were ways to maintain ongoing commitment to it. This relates back to a previous statement about short term, project-oriented collaboration being more successful because this form does not require as much commitment, and such commitment was felt by participants to be lacking in a transient neighbourhood such as Spence. Participants felt that to maintain a long term commitment, such as a neighbourhood council, a stable population needs to exist. It can also be interpreted that short-term collaborations have had success because they have led to more concrete actions, as opposed to the planning and strategizing of long term and comprehensive collaboratives.

On a side note, it was interesting to find that the main challenge to collaboration, that of 'protectionist' feelings, suggest Bardach, wasn't discussed by the group. This discrepancy may be due to the increased necessity for community groups to work together and that there were more representatives of place-based groups at the focus group than there were interest-based groups. It could also be a result of the participants being long time actors in Spence's community development process and are very familiar with one another, or perhaps because they were affected by the dual

100

role of this author as both researcher and Neighbourhoods Alive! Project Officer,

making them feel they need to be positive for negativity about collaboration may

'turn me against them'. It would have been interesting if there could have been

representatives from organizations that have not been a part of the Spence CD process

to see how they felt. However, under strict time constraints, this turned out not to be

possible.

Theme Seven: A Relationship Between Place and Collaboration

This theme revolves around the question of whether a neighbourhood or place

approach to community development can stimulate collaborative work among

community organizations and interest groups, for the purposes of comprehensive

community development. Participants were asked to what extent they felt that

collaboration has been an outcome of the place or neighbourhood approach to CD.

One representative from a neighbourhood-based organization suggested that

neighbourhood-focused initiatives, such as Neighbourhoods Alive!, encouraged

collaboration and that they were less competitive than other types of CD programs:

> In the last couple of years there has been a real
> encouragement by funders for groups to work
> together, to learn from one another and be
> collaborative. Through Neighbourhoods Alive!
> there has been a focus on the community and that
> has been really helpful because we've had experience
> with funding that has been really competitive and we
> find that this breaks down relationships rather than
> builds them. By focusing on the community, there is
> potential for groups to work together in a less competitive
> way, for the goals and priorities of the neighbourhood. So
> I think that while we have had some long partnerships over

the years, things like this [Neighbourhoods Alive] have made
a difference, whether it will last beyond the funding or not.

Another representative from that same organization elaborated on this suggestion:

> Well, some of it [collaboration] is definitely because of the
> Funding. Through WDA and now Neighbourhoods Alive!,
> There is more opportunity and more motivation to work
> together because the dollars are there now.
>
> [many nods of agreement]
>
> But I think we also try and look for partnerships with people
> who hold the same kind of values—like we want to be
> community-based and work with the community—so those
> are some of the things that would need to also be there for
> collaboration.

A representative from an interest-oriented organization also sensed that with a focus

on the neighbourhood, there has been an increased sense of organization and action in

the neighbourhood:

> It seems like for a long time all you saw was deterioration,
> but now with the renewal, there is a kind of energy that you
> can feel, that hopefulness that comes with people making a
> commitment to a neighbourhood. I think it kind of rubs off
> on everybody and they get involved. I do think that because
> of this there has been more of working together.

Interpretation:

In general, many of the participants felt that through place-based CD, such as the

Neighbourhoods Alive! Initiative, there has been an increased sense of collaboration,

and action in Spence. What is interesting to note from the first response is the

statement regarding the issue of competitive funding. While not elaborated on

further, it can be interpreted as meaning that neighbourhood-focused funding offers

102

the opportunity for collaboration because it goes towards community development in a holistic and comprehensive sense that encourages groups to work together in a more holistic way, as opposed to competing. What the respondent might be describing as competitive funding could be the categorical programs, which target specific community or citywide issues, and groups all over may have to compete for this. By having support dedicated to the neighbourhood community, it allows groups to be more creative in their approach.

Theme Eight: The Benefits of Place-focused Community Collaboration

This theme relates to the previous theme of the connection between a place or neighbourhood approach to CD and collaboration. The previous theme gauged the level of support for the idea that a neighbourhood approach can stimulate collaboration among groups; this theme will address the extent that participants feel there has been benefit from place-focused collaboration, as related to the literature. Benefits of resource sharing, more holistic approaches to CD, and more creative solutions were listed as some of the potential benefits in the literature. The participant's responses suggest that these benefits are not only found in the literature.

A representative from a place-based organization addresses the benefit of using a neighbourhood approach for collaborative CD in relation to the issue of holism:

> I think you have to use the neighbourhood focus
> because nobody ever has a single issue problem, and
> neither does a community. There are usually a myriad
> of health, employment, education and social problems
> and as a result, we must try and deal with them all
> together. Looking at each individually doesn't work.

103

They have to be treated with a much more holistic
approach, and by defining the neighbourhood, it
provides a focus for dealing with those issues in
a cooperative way.

This same participant was asked to elaborate on this statement:

Well, I think focusing on the neighbourhood is a
much more tangible concept than focusing on a issue
for collaboration. For instance, in terms of youth
recreation, we can get together and talk specifically
about how to coordinate youth programs in this
neighbourhood, rather than just talking about
collaboration for youth programs in general. The
neighbourhood has a variety of elements which do
differentiate it from other areas, maybe just across
a major street. That difference will require a different
approach to coordination and collaboration and the kinds
of projects and programs needed by the community who
lives there. While collaboration on recreation in general
may have some benefits for recreational programming
citywide, the best results seem to come from organizations
who share a concern for a particular neighbourhood and put
their human and material resources together to deliver
recreation specific to that neighbourhood.

Another representative from a place-focused organization suggested that

neighbourhood-focused collaboration has also created a better understanding for

where different parties fit in to the CD process in Spence:

Community collaboration, either as a natural form
or more forced, has provided the opportunity for
people to see their roles in the community process.
This makes them want to take part more and I see
this happening a lot more now than I did before.

Other participants referred to the benefits of resource sharing and the identification of

resources through neighbourhood-focused collaboration. One participant from an

interest-based organization suggested how important it is for her organization to

know where she can look for help and that identifying the resources of the

neighbourhood is a viable way to go:

> The collaborative effort of sharing resources is very
> important. It's important to know who's got what
> and where things can be shared. Being part of a
> neighbourhood collaboration has helped us identify
> where we can go within the community for help.

Responding to this statement, a representative from a neighbourhood-focused

organization stated:

> It looks like we are moving toward the identification of
> neighbourhood resources. The funding is there now and
> so is the ability and technology to map assets. This is
> something that will definitely be useful in identifying
> who can provide what and where they can be involved.

Another representative from the same organization elaborates on this comment:

> We have done this to a degree. We have been able to
> identify a number of neighbourhood groups for
> neighbourhoods Alive to see who would participate
> for the Spence CD process, but those who have remained
> actively involved are now less than before, but we still
> retain a degree of contact with all the groups.

Interpretation:

The participants' experiences suggest a variety of benefits from place-focused

collaboration--such as a more holistic way to deal with community issues; the ability

to identify the unique needs and interests in the neighbourhood, and how this can be

used as a basis for formulating a unique neighbourhood strategy; for seeing each

participant's role and asset to the process; and for resource sharing. It is interesting to

note that these experiences are all congruent with the benefits stated in the literature.

Theme Nine: Enhancing and Improving Neighbourhood-Focused Collaboration

This theme relates to participant's responses to the question of what could enhance

place-based community collaboration; as well as what might need to occur for those

enhancements to happen.

A representative of a place-oriented organization suggests that the collaborative

process current in Spence is missing a key player-business, and that with this player, a

lot more could happen:

> One element that has been missing in our community
> collaboration is the business element. You know,
> other neighbourhood collaboratives have a strong
> business component within their CD process, but we
> have never had a strong business presence. I think those
> other neighbourhood collaborations seem to be more
> organized because they have that component.

A representative from an interest-focused organization agreed with the statement that

certain elements, or players, were missing in Spence's collaborative work:

> We don't have enough players in our current collaboration.
> There is no government presence, no business organisations,
> and in order to achieve a true, holistic approach, we need to
> have all the various players, all in one place, all willing to
> commit to the place and find out what needs to be done to
> fulfill a community vision.

This respondent elaborated on his comment of what is needed for better community

collaboration:

> So while there will always be benefit from collaboration, the
> key is to get all the groups into one so that actually you would
> end up with almost a self-government aspect to this community,
> comprised of people of a variety of interests. That would be the
> ultimate in collaboration.

Some other participants made the suggestion that there needs to be an increased

commitment to collaborative community work by funders and various organizations.

One representative from a place-focused organization stated:

> There is really no long term investment, and CD is a long
> term process. You aren't going to get productive
> collaborations from the get go, or see immediate results
> that can be evaluated. I think we are just beginning to
> see results from past collaborative work. I mean,
> funding the neighbourhood for 5 years [as Neighbourhoods
> Alive! is] can begin a collaborative, but what happens after
> five years? What kind of results are we suppose to be able
> to show? Five years isn't going to produce dramatic change.
> So, while there are advantages to the place approach, the
> drawback is that after five years, or whatever, they [government]
> will move onto another neighbourhood and we are left with
> just a start. We need to have continued investment.

The issue of the need for continued investment in place-focused collaborative process

seemed to be one of great concern for this participant. For this reason, this participant

was asked elaborate further:

> It is difficult to get the critical mass needed for collaborative
> CD because the money is there for such a short time, and while
> it is there, you have a lot of people involved. But as soon as
> the money is gone, or it changes its focus, you loose a whole
> core group of people that might not fit the criteria.

Another representative from a neighbourhood-oriented organization agreed with this

statement:

> Yeah, you loose a lot of wonderful volunteers that way.
> As soon as there is a barrier to the funding, or it disappears,
> many people can no longer participate and any momentum
> you had before seems to drop. What is needed is to have at
> least some continued investment for a longer term.

From these suggestions on what would enhance neighbourhood-focused collaboration

in Spence, participants were then asked to reflect on what would be needed to make

these things happen. One representative from a neighbourhood-oriented organization

suggested that coordination is a key to maintaining the process of collaborative CD

and that this is what was needed for Spence to keep things going:

> Coordination. Someone to be responsible for keeping
> things going. Because each group has enough on their
> plate that trying to keep partnerships alive on top of that
> is hard. It really pays to have someone coordinate the
> process, it really pays off. Especially with so many people
> coming and going, there needs to be some entity that can
> provide some stability to the process—a central focus for
> everyone to look to for direction and accountability.

A representative from an interest-based organization agreed with this statement about

coordination and suggested that coordination would also aid in creating a more

holistic approach:

> I agree. You could end up with a community entity that
> can bring in other people and know who to connect people
> with, who is coming and going and keep people informed,
> updated. You could end up with a much stronger connection
> within the collaboration. They [coordinating body] could find
> all the interests needed to produce a more holistic approach.

The representative who had brought up the need for coordination also suggested that

better collaboration needs to have the involvement of people with the ability to make

decisions and take action:

> There is also the need for those involved in the collaboration to
> be given some authority to make decisions for the organizations
> they represent. I mean, there will always have to be some degree
> of going back to their organizations for approval, but there should
> be a way to minimize the lag that occurs with collaborative efforts,
> especially with large groups. If there could be a recognized

commitment to participation from each organization before hand, in writing, a lot of the lag could be reduced.

Responding to this statement, another representative from a place-oriented organizations suggested that while there is a desire for collaborations to make decisions more quickly, there is also the need to keep the collaboration community-driven:

> But we also don't want a model that is bureaucratic. I would want a model of collaboration that is more representative of the community and not the agencies. I mean, it should be representatives that are familiar with the community, not just those who have authority.

In return, the previous participant responds to this statement by affirming it, but also clarifying that being able to take action doesn't have to be bureaucratic:

> Right, but we also have to make sure that the process doesn't get bogged down with people that can't take action or make a commitment, at what ever level they are at.

In response to both suggestions, another representative from a place-oriented organization states again that for any of this to occur, more long term investment is needed to realize any community goals:

> And that's why this has to be a long term process, because to get the level of commitment needed for collaboration, you have to develop that trust and familiarity with one another and that takes time.

Interpretation:

A variety of responses where given, ranging from a need for increased variety of the 'players' in Spence's collaborative process, to a need for more authority by those representing organizations at collaborations, to more coordination and long term investment in community collaborative work. It was also interesting to note that participant's viewed short-term, project-based collaboration as being more successful in Spence neighbourhood, suggesting that their experience with a form of long term collaboration had failed. From the discussion, it can be seen that no participant actually states that long term collaboration does not work, only that short term collaboration has succeeded. What this perhaps suggests is that again, it is the issue of commitment and long term stability and investment that needs to be addressed. For an increased variety in players or 'sectors' to become involved in a collaborative process, and for a more holistic and comprehensive process to be developed, there is a need for coordination and this will have to be developed over time. Participant's view these things as positive, yet have not seen them succeed in the past, this is perhaps due to lack of long term commitment and investment, by community and government.

Synopsis of Focus Group Findings

Reflecting on the findings of the focus group it can be seen that participants view collaboration as both a beneficial and essential part of their community development experiences. It can also be seen that participants have found that much of the collaboration that has occurred is related to the place-based strategy of community

development. However, participants have also suggested that both a place focus for CD and collaboration do have some inherent challenges related to long-term investment, extra work, and commitment/stability. It can also be seen that there are some potential solutions to these challenges. Overall, the focus group participants seemed to favour a collaborative and holistic approach, and feel that a focus on neighbourhood or place is conducive to this approach.

One of the interesting outcomes of the focus group was the positive dynamic found among the participants. It was noticed that there was a strong consensus about almost every issue during the focus group and this could be the result of many factors. It must be taken into account that each participant had some familiarity with the other participants involved. Some participants had worked together on projects in the past, some were working together at the time of the focus group, and some wanted to work together in the future. This familiarity with one another and a shared involvement in the community development process of Spence neighbourhood would contribute largely to the positive dynamic that occurred. If there had been the opportunity to involve more 'unfamiliar' participants in the focus group, the dynamic of the group would have most definitely changed in some way.

It is also important to note that the focus group involved participants from place-focused and interest-focused groups. As said before, it would have been well-suited to this study to have segregated the two groups for a comparative approach, but this was not possible due to extreme time constraints. In noting that the two groups were

combined, it should also be seen that although the number of place-focused representatives were almost equal with interest-focused representatives, there seemed to be a dominance of participation and/or knowledge by the place-oriented representatives of the focus group topics. Subsequently, this may have had a great bearing on the dynamic and outcome of the focus group in that the focus on place may have overshadowed the concerns or ideas of interest groups. Any interpretations then, must be weighted with the knowledge that interest-focused groups may have been underrepresented for the purpose of addressing the objectives of this study.

However, on the up side, it should also be noted that because of the positive group dynamics resulting from the participants familiarity, the focus group did have some practical use for the participants alongside gathering data for this study. It could be seen from the dynamics that each representatives had a strong commitment to Spence neighbourhood and that there was an excitement about the prospect of doing more collaborative work together and a desire to put together a more holistic and long-term process. It would be interesting to follow-up on with these representatives and see if any new partnerships have been made to work together, with a common focus on Spence.

4.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has aimed to present relevant empirical findings to supplement, compare and contrast with the literature, in the attempt to address the main objective of the study, that of the potential relationship between place/neighbourhood and

collaboration. From this presentation, it can be seen that through a comparison of the literature and this data, that the potential is there, at least in the case of this Winnipeg neighbourhood. The following chapter will deal more closely with the overall comparison and contrast, and how everything links together.

CHAPTER FIVE: PUTTING THE PIECES TOGETHER

5.1 SYNTHESIS

From the interview and focus group findings, it can be seen that both the neighbourhood strategy and community collaboration are practices found in Winnipeg's community development field. It can also be seen that perspectives on these issues match closely to those found in the literature. What both the empirical findings and literature suggest is that the neighbourhood strategy is a common approach to CD in Winnipeg and that through this approach, community collaboration can occur. This section will attempt to more fully relate theses research findings with the main research question of whether place or neighbourhood can be a common focus for community collaboration. In doing so, this section will fully examine the key findings in relation to their applicability in addressing the key objective of this study.

Positive Correlations

Interview findings have shown that government employees, with various experiences in CD in Winnipeg and Manitoba, see CD as synonymous with neighbourhood or community of place. In Theme One of the interview findings, it is seen that government now views community as integral to CD, a bottom-up or grassroots approach, and that the neighbourhood is a mechanism to increase community participation and involvement in this development. The literature (Halpern 1995) also suggests that through the neighbourhood approach to CD, communities gain an

increased sense of power and control over their own lives in that the neighbourhood is something they 'own' and have control over. From this, it can be found that there is support for using the neighbourhood as a means to involve local people and organisations that care about and serve the local community in the development of that community of place.

From Theme One of the focus group findings, it can be seen that out of these organisations that serve or care about the local community, many interest groups are recognizing an increased need for a focus on neighbourhood, or a reshaping of their services to meet locality-based needs. There is a sense that they can play a role in serving the community of place, on top of their role as serving a community of interest. This relates well to Bardach's suggestion that collaboration can bring together 'specialists' to play their 'parts' while seeing their relation to the 'whole' of the neighbourhood community (Bardach 1998, 8). He suggests that community collaboration can consider the whole, and that interest groups can play a role in the bigger picture. Therefore, it can be found that a neighbourhood focus is a concern for interest groups and that they are prepared to take action on it.

Also brought out in the focus group material was the issue of neighbourhood boundaries and the use of boundaries to influence both physical and psychological senses of community identity. As seen in the literature, the geographical sense of place provides a tangible identity to the community (Halpern, Snow, Thurz) that provides focus for action. However, boundaries also provide a sense of psychological

identity in that the characteristics of one neighbourhood are different from the characteristics of another, and also in that those characteristics make up the 'common life' that those living in the neighbourhood share. However, as stated both in the focus group and by Snow, boundaries must also be community-identified and be flexible enough to change with the neighbourhood community.

Related to the idea of the 'tangibility' of the neighbourhood, is that through a focus on the neighbourhood, different groups can see where they fit into the larger picture of the neighbourhood development process. Suggested in the focus group was that through the neighbourhood strategy occurring in Spence, there has been an increased sense of a 'forum' for groups to become more involved and see where they might fit in. This relates to the literature of Bridger & Luloff who view the community of place as a context for planning and action, because it reinforces the commonality among each interest in their relation to place. Each group can see how it relates to the issue in a certain context, the neighbourhood. Thus, it can be found that neighbourhood or place is a common tie among groups and can act as the locus for community collaboration and action.

Participants of the focus group also corroborated the statement made by Halpern that 'the neighbourhood strategy has the ability to bring together groups that otherwise might have not come together', when it was suggested that through the Neighbourhoods Alive! Initiative, there was more opportunity for groups to come together and come up with more holistic solutions and share resources because it wasn't competitive. The initiative, by concentrating support in the Spence

neighbourhood, for a period of time, provided a less competitive atmosphere for groups involved in the area, and also offered the opportunity for groups who in the past may not have been involved with place to become more involved, creating more comprehensive and creative solutions.

After reviewing both the literature and the results of the empirical data gathered in one neighbourhood, there is good evidence from that the neighbourhood can be a focus for collaboration among groups to achieve holistic and comprehensive CD, and that the neighbourhood strategy can encourage this. However, the focus group also brought up issues on collaboration and the neighbourhood strategy that need to be addressed to enable communities and government to improve and enhance the CD work currently being undertaken.

5.2 CONCLUSIONS/RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the assumption that community development processes should be both comprehensive and holistic in nature, this thesis has attempted to address the roles that both the neighbourhood strategy and collaboration should play in achieving such processes. This thesis maintains that the neighbourhood strategy of community development can foster a holistic perspective by identifying and defining the community of place within a set of flexible boundaries, where the community of place encompasses a variety of interrelated issues and interests, needs and assets. It has also maintained that comprehensive and holistic CD must be collaborative in

order to be able to bring together the different issues and interests, needs and assets of the community of place. What has been suggested is that through a focus on place, these different interests can transcend their differing objectives and find common ground from which to work together, and the neighbourhood strategy provides that focus. However, while place or neighbourhood can potentially act as the common focus for community collaboration, it has been found that there are other elements required.

Focus Group Recommendations

Certain important issues were raised in the focus group about what was missing or needed for community collaboration to occur with a place/neighbourhood focus. Two key issues were found to be those of stability and commitment, both needed for collaborative work. Participants found that collaboration, in their experience, largely lacked the stability and commitment needed for long term and comprehensive collaboration and therefore they had mainly worked on project-based partnerships because they were shorter term. According to authors Hogue, the collaborative approach does take more time but it is also more sustainable and thorough going and this is something that communities would like to achieve (Hogue 1992, 5). However, it is viewed by participants that stable and committed collaborations for overall community development are a challenge.

Related to this sentiment is that participants of the focus group found that there was little coordination among groups to maintain collaboration in the long term, and that

what was needed was some kind of 'entity' to act as coordinator. This associates well with Shoop's argument (1976) that while many organizations are doing good work in the community, many of them are doing it in isolation from one another. One participant suggested that comprehensive CD had not yet been achieved because they had not yet developed a cohesive force.

These issues and concerns can be developed into some recommendations as to how to improve collaborative action within the Spence-focused CD process, and perhaps neighbourhood-focused, collaborative CD in general.

Recommendation One: Investment

It was felt by participants of the focus group that much of their collaborations were project-based or short-term. Such short-term collaboratives succeeded where long-term neighbourhood councils and collaborations have failed because they only require short-term commitment and resources—something participants felt were not there due to transience, but also due to government policy. The feeling that more cohesion was needed, to develop a more comprehensive, holistic and longer-term collaboration was also apparent, but that this would only occur if there was continued investment in the process by government.

What this suggests is that government CD programs, especially those which follow the neighbourhood strategy must step back from project-focused policies and funding strategy and move toward process-focused policies and funding strategy. Current initiatives in Winnipeg, such as Neighbourhoods Alive!, are beginning to recognise

the need for this move, but there still seems to be a 'foot on both sides of the fence'. What is needed then is for government to get in the business of 'investing' in communities for the long-term, for the process of CD where collaboration can be developed and nurtured to build the trust and capacity needed to sustain it into the long run. No longer can volunteers be relied upon to solve the problems of poverty. The long term approach is the only way to ensure comprehensive and holistic results.

Recommendation Two: Technical Assistance

Other forms of investment are also required to ensure a sustained collaborative process. Every collaborative venture will face the challenges mentioned by Bardach and Shoop because collaboration requires those involved to focus on a common goal, and to strive for a common solution to multiple concerns. Working together is not easy, especially if individual and group concerns are naturally conflicting. Collaborations require facilitation, mediation, and conflict resolution. People or groups with these abilities may not be found in the community and often only a hired consultant can do the work required. Again, this is a situation where volunteers are not always the solution. What this suggests is that every government CD initiative should have a component of technical assistance, to ensure that the long term collaborative process they desire can actually happen. This is another form of investment and in this case, an initial investment may yield long term returns.

Recommendation Three: Coordination

Halpern stated that with the increasing specialization of groups, with specific mandates and target populations (much a result of decentralist activity), that there are many more 'uncoordinated' efforts at improving community well being, and that some sort of collaboration is needed (Halpern 1995, 183). Participants of the focus group suggested that coordination was very much needed in their CD process to maintain and facilitate community collaboration to produce more holistic and comprehensive results. Some participants suggested that some kind of 'entity' was needed to maintain the collaborative process, to connect the different pieces of the puzzle, and to ensure that all sectors were involved.

For a collaborative process on place, where a variety of interests and players are involved, it is essential that this entity be *neutral*. A Neighbourhood Development Organisation (NDO), a Community Development Corporation (CDC), or a neighbourhood association would be well-suited to take this leadership role, as each should have a *general interest* in the well-being of the community as a whole, and not one particular aspect of it. The coordinator should be 'neutral' so as to provide leadership to the collaborative, and be able to facilitate the relationships that are needed among groups to create the shared vision of community development (Shoop 1976, 11). As well, the coordinating body must also remain a generalist in that while being able to facilitate the different interests, they are always thinking of the 'bigger picture'. Coordination would help keep the interrelationships among different

spheres of activity in mind so that as communities work on one issue, they will be able to quickly recognise strategic opportunities to connect with others.

To be more specific, the coordinating organisation could be responsible for a number of roles. At the beginning, it could be the role of the coordinating body to pursue a neighbourhood community needs assessment, to identify the concerns and issues of the neighbourhood. Additionally at this stage, the coordinating organisation could identify the resources and assets of the neighbourhood, which could be mapped, categorised and stored in a database. With this information available, the coordinating body could then be responsible for connecting the resources and assets with community needs, this is where the beginnings of a collaboration could occur, with the coordinating organisation guiding the way. At the initial stages as well, it would be important for the coordinating body to guide the development of a community vision, goals and objectives. From these, the collaborative grouping of community resources could develop a strategic plan, relating the community resources to specific needs, and creating projects to carry out the goals and objectives. This would be a continually adaptable and ongoing process, one that would require a committed coordinating body to maintain and provide stability to the CD of that neighbourhood.

Recommendation Four: Encouraging Agency Involvement

The involvement of a variety of interest-focused groups, such as government agencies focused on health, employment and education, non-profit agencies focused on

housing, youth and safety, is a vital component of comprehensive and holistic CD. Having interest groups become involved in neighbourhood-focused CD process is key to creating holistic strategies and as seen from this study, it is possible to bring these different groups together in a common focus on neighbourhood. However, what is recommended here is that neighbourhood-focused groups, such as CDC's and neighbourhood associations, need to offer the invitation to such groups and encourage their involvement. They must show the interest group that they are needed and wanted as part of the collaboration, and how it could be a mutually beneficial relationship. On the other hand, interest groups must also take on a new policy of offering to become involved with local communities of place. Many interest groups are located in the very neighbourhoods they serve, yet they remain isolated from the community by only serving the 'client'. It is up to these organisations to break out of their individual silos of interest and reach out to the community. This approach has far reaching benefits for both parties. For the interest group it means increased resources, information sharing, increased profile and trust in the community, a better understanding of their 'clients', and for the neighbourhood it means a more holistic CD approach with increased resources and partnerships. Again, this is where a role where the coordinator can be involved, and this is why long term investment in the process of collaboration is badly needed, because it takes time to develop the relationships and bring in all the needed sectors.

<u>Recommendation Five: Keeping the Process Community-Driven</u>

From both the interviews and focus group findings it can be seen that community

control and participation in the CD process is favoured and supported by both

government and community. However, by recommending increased government

investment and interest-group involvement, there is always the potential for the

community to be pushed out of the process. As stated by Goetz, with increased

government investment, community can become more reliant upon external support

and may end up complying with government policy when it should be changed

(Goetz 1993, 49).

As well, with increased agency or interest-group involvement, there is always the

chance that the collaborative process may become dominated by these agencies and

not by the community, where interest group concerns override the interests of the

neighbourhood. In both cases, as it was stated by participants of the interviews and

focus group, it is vital that the bureaucracy is left out. When processes are bogged-

down by politics and bureaucracy, little is accomplished. To maintain an innovative

and active process, the grassroots mentality must persevere. From this, it is important

to recognise that a collaborative, place-focused, community development process

requires strong community leadership, perhaps through a coordinating organisation,

to carry out neighbourhood objectives and goals and maintain the sense of community

control and decision-making power.

Suggestions For Future Research

The above recommendations are general in nature, they do not provide specific suggestions on 'how to' develop a neighbourhood-focused collaborative. While a type of 'how to' guide to collaborative CD would be a valuable tool, this was not the intent of the study. The intent, as we have seen, was to explore the potential for neighbourhood-focused community collaboration, through both the literature and the 'real world' findings of the empirical research. As this study has found, neighbourhood-focused collaboration does have potential and is seen (at least in the Winnipeg perspective) as a valuable strategy of CD. It can be seen from these conclusions and recommendations then, that there is a need for further research on how to structure such a collaborative process. Such research could be geared toward the development of a neighbourhood-focused collaborative, perhaps in the Winnipeg setting, how it would work, who would be involved, how the coordinating organisation would develop and oversee the process. Another interesting line of research would be how government CD initiatives, using the neighbourhood strategy, could promote collaboration, based on the neighbourhood focus. It would be interesting to see how such an initiative could aid in the development of a coordinating organisation and invest in the long term process of CD.

5.3 CLOSING REMARKS

Throughout this research process, it has become increasingly apparent that the field of community development is as far reaching as it is diverse in nature. During the

course of the literature review, retaining a narrow focus proved difficult, as so much of the information was relevant to this study. It can be seen that literature and practice from all disciplines and professions can be linked with this field and that it is this diversity, which makes it as interesting as it is complex. Community development, in all of its forms, is a perpetually evolving topic of literature and mode of action, and because of this, there can be no 'correct' form to follow. In fact, as the literature and practical data show, it seems that only the most unique practices succeed as they are developed based on there unique situations. There is, and never will be, a 'cookie cutter' approach to community development.

From this, it is important to recognise that while this study advocates a neighbourhood-focused and collaborative approach to community development, it does not suggest that it is the 'only' approach or the 'best'. Because of the continually evolving nature of CD, where learning from mistakes is the key to advancement, there will always be new and different approaches, and some will work better than others, depending on the context they are found. However, this study has shown, in many ways, that the neighbourhood strategy is, at present, nearly synonymous with CD and this is because it advocates the involvement of community in the process and provides a suitable means to do so. Until the focus of CD changes from this, the neighbourhood strategy will continue to be a strong approach, and with this understanding, it will be possible to improve and enhance this approach throughout a process of learning.

APPENDIX A – INTERVIEWS

Recruiting

Initial contact with the participants was made through this researcher's work with a provincial neighbourhood renewal initiative called Neighbourhoods Alive! From this vantage point, participants were already familiar with this researcher (and vice versa) and interview dates could be set up through electronic mail and phone calls. A letter of informed consent was obtained from each participant, as was permission to tape-record their session. Participants were also informed that participation was voluntary and they were free to terminate the interview process at any time without consequence. All tape recordings and notes from these interviews were destroyed after the study was completed.

Participants

Two City employees (policy planning; community planning), Two Provincial employees (community development policy; housing policy/project implementation)

INTERVIEW GUIDE (GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES)

1. How long have you worked in Winnipeg?

2. How long have you worked with your current office?

3. How familiar are you with community development (CD) in Winnipeg?

4. What has been your role in relation to CD in Winnipeg?

5. Is your role related to CD processes occurring in Spence neighbourhood?

6. Why is your office concerned with CD?

7. Are you familiar with the place-approach to CD?

    (If yes)
    • Are you or have you been involved with neighbourhood-related development initiatives such as Neighbourhoods Alive!, Neighbourhood Improvement Program, or the Core Area Initiative?

    (If no)
    • Describe the approach to CD you are familiar with

8. Do you think that a place-based approach has been fostered by public agencies?

    (If yes)
    • Do you think this approach is encouraged?
    • Why?

9. Do you feel that a place-based approach should be incorporated in future CD initiatives in Winnipeg?

    (If yes)
    • Can you identify possibilities for enhancing this approach?

    (If no)
    • Why not?

APPENDIX B: FOCUS GROUP

Recruiting

Choosing participants for the focus group was done with the aid of the Key Informant (see Chapter one) who helped to decide on who the participants could be, how they could be contacted and where the group could be held. However, because the purpose of the focus group was to retrieve information from a specific case (Spence CD), this limited the number of participants available and also brought up the issue of familiarity. According to Morgan (1998, 2/58), focus groups consisting of participants who know one another can limit confidentiality, and can change group dynamics. This relates to the idea of power struggles, where some participants might make it uncomfortable for others to speak (Morgan 198, 2/68). However, because the 'pool' of participants was limited, there was little more that could be done, but these issues were kept in mind.

Participants

There were 8 participants in the focus group. Five were from place or neighbourhood-oriented organisations, three were from interest-oriented organisations. Participants represented neighbourhood associations, community church groups, community recreation groups, employment organisations, arts and culture organisations, and child and family organisations.

Of the 8 participants, only two were male, however, as was stated by participants within the focus group, there has been a lack of a 'business' presence in Spence's CD process, and historically this is where more men are involved with CD. However, participants were also chosen based on this researcher's familiarity with those who are more active with Neighbourhoods Alive!, and as a consequence, this has been for the most part, females. Because this focus group aimed to have adequate representation of those involved in Spence CD, the lack of males present would seem to fit with the high ratio of women to men involved in Spence CD. In general, all participants have lived in Spence or been involved with Spence CD for more than four years.

FOCUS GROUP GUIDE (NEIGHBOURHOOD AND INTEREST-ORIENTED GROUPS)

1. Please introduce who you are and what organisation/group you represent

2. What is your organisation/group's connection to Spence neighbourhood?

2. How would you describe your role in the Spence community development process?

4. From the handout given, is it clear what I mean by a place-based approach to community development?

5. Would you say that a place-based approach to CD has been adopted in Spence?

   (If yes)
   - what would you identify as activities that are place-based?
   - What have been the impacts of adopting a place-based approach?

6. Is it clear what is meant by 'collaboration' in the handout?

7. To what extent do you feel that there is collaboration among groups in Spence?

- Could you give some examples of recent collaboration?

8. What have been the impacts of collaborative work?

   - Have things happened that otherwise would not have?
   - Has there been a cost to collaborative work?

9. To what extent do you feel that collaborations have formed because of common ties that groups have to Spence?

   - Is *place* a common element for collaboration in your opinion?

10. The literature identifies several ways that collaboration, through a place approach, can be advantageous to CD. For example, collaboration can produce more holistic and integrated approaches, it can identify and maximize the resources of a neighbourhood and it can foster more creative approaches to addressing issues/needs.

   - Do you feel that CD in Spence is benefiting from place-based collaboration?
   - Are there ways that this collaboration could be enhanced?
   - What are they?
   - What would have to happen to realise these gains?

APPENDIX C:

Ethics Protocol Supplementry Material

Interview and Focus Group Handout

As outlined in the Informed Consent Form, the purpose of this research study is to explore the relationship between place-based Community Development (CD) and collaboration among interest groups.

To help participants of the study understand more clearly the concepts underlying the research, this handout is provided.

Place Concept

What I refer to as a 'place-based' approach to Community Development (CD) is the concept of community-driven planning and projects focused on improving a defined area, like a neighbourhood. An example of this type of approach is the Neighbourhoods Alive! Initiative, where neighbourhoods are designated as places that will receive support for community-driven planning and projects. This is also known as 'place-targeting'.

The literature behind using this approach states it is used because it concentrates and directs resources to a particular location and those who live and work there. Place, or neighbourhood, is viewed as a *context* for multiple and varied concerns/interests (such as health, housing, economic development, recreation, etc.) which interact with one another and are interrelated. This view is different from an approach that directs resources to specific concerns/interests that have no locational ties.

In this way, the place approach aims to deal with the interrelated and multiple needs/issues/interests of a neighbourhood in a holistic way by defining the neighbourhood, and what the needs and issues are. An interest approach aims to deal with a single or specific issue/need/concern without any specific connection to a location.

Collaboration Concept

When I refer to collaboration, I am referring to the process of bringing people and/or organisations together to share ideas, resources and networks of support. Collaborations form when a number of groups (or individuals) sharing a similar interest or concern—such health organisations teaming up with social work organisations for the shared concern of children's health—work together in collaboration to discuss potential strategies for dealing with this shared concern, and to work on carrying out projects together and sharing the resources to do so.

Collaboration is about understanding and accepting various perspectives on an issue and making a commitment to work together for a common goal. It is about 'horizontal' relationships, where authority and/or control is held equally and not by a powerful few.

So in terms of this focus group, the research aims to explore how collaboration could form among interest groups from the basis of a place approach to community development. Can interest groups work together, with territorially-based groups, for the purposes of holistic community development?

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORMS

Title of Study: <u>In Place of Interest: a study of the relationship between place and collaboration for community development.</u>

Investigator: <u>Kristy LeBaron</u>
  Contact Information: <u>H (204) 895-2464; W (204) 945-3866; inplaceofinterest@hotmail.com</u>

You are being asked to participate in a research study. Please take your time to review this consent form and discuss any questions you may have with the investigator. You may take your time to make your decision about participating in this study and you may discuss it with your friends and family before you make your decision. This consent form may contain wording that is not clear to you. A handout is being attached for more information, however please ask the investigator to explain any words or concepts that you would like clarified.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the potential of using 'place' or neighbourhood as the common interest needed to promote collaborative relationships among various interest groups for the purpose of holistic and integrated community development.

<u>Interviews</u> will be used to obtain information from you and other study participants. The study will consist of a series of interviews with participants who represent either provincial or municipal governments. Each interview will be guided by the same Interview Guide (approved by the Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba), and each session will last no longer than 1 hour. Each session will be audio-taped for the purpose of analysis, after which the tapes will be destroyed.

Consent

No payment or reimbursement will be provided for any expenses related to taking part in this study. Information gathered in this research study will be published as a thesis for the Faculty of Architecture, however your identity will not be revealed. If participants of the study refer to individuals by name or position, or in any way reveal the identity of someone, this information will remain confidential. Your decision to take part in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate or you may withdraw from the study at anytime. You are not waiving any of your legal rights by signing this consent form nor releasing the investigator from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to ask any questions that you may have about your rights as a research participant. For questions about your rights as a participant, you may contact the University of Manitoba, Fort Garry Campus Research Ethics Board Office at (204) 474-7122.

I have read this consent form. I have had the opportunity to discuss this research with Kristy LeBaron. I have had my questions answered in language I understand. The risks and benefits have been explained to me. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form after signing it. I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I may choose to withdraw at any time. I freely agree to participate in this research study. I understand that information regarding my personal identity will be kept confidential, but that confidentiality is not guaranteed. I authorize the inspection of any of my records that relate to this study by the University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board for quality assurance purposes. By signing this consent form, I have not waived any of the legal rights that I have as a participant in a research study.

Participant signature_____Date_____

Participant printed name_____

I, the undersigned, have fully explained the relevant details of his research study to the participant named above and believe that the participant has understood and has knowingly given their consent.

Signature_____Date_____

133

APPENDIX D: FOCUS GROUP CONSENT FORMS

Title of Study: In Place of Interest: a study of the relationship between place and collaboration for community development.

Investigator: Kristy LeBaron
  Contact Information: H (204) 895-2464; W (204) 945-3866; inplaceofinterest@hotmail.com

You are being asked to participate in a research study. Please take your time to review this consent form and discuss any questions you may have with the investigator. You may take your time to make your decision about participating in this study and you may discuss it with your friends and family before you make your decision. This consent form may contain wording that is not clear to you. A handout is being attached for more information, however please ask theinvestigator to explain any words or concepts that you would like clarified.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the potential of using 'place' or neighbourhood as the common interest needed to promote collaborative relationships among various interest groups for the purpose of holistic and integrated community development.

A Focus group will be used to obtain information from you and other study participants. The focus group will include participants who are involved in Spence neighbourhood's community development process in some capacity. The focus group will be guided by an Interview Guide (approved by the Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba), and will last no longer than 2 hours. It will be audio taped for the purpose of analysis, after which the tapes will be destroyed.

Consent

No payment or reimbursement will be provided for any expenses related to taking part in this study. Information gathered in this research study will be published as a thesis for the Faculty ofArchitecture, however your identity will not be revealed. If participants of the study refer to individuals by name or position, or in any way reveal the identity of someone, this information will remain confidential. Your decision to take part in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate or you may withdraw from the study at anytime. You are free to ask any questions that you may have about your rights as a research participant. For questions about your rights as a participant, you may contact the University of Manitoba, Fort Garry Campus Research Ethics Board Office at (204) 474-7122.

I have read this consent form. I have had the opportunity to discuss this research with Kristy LeBaron. I have had my questions answered in language I understand. The risks and benefits have been explained to me. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form after signing it. I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I may choose to withdraw at any time. I freely agree to participate in this research study. I understand that information regarding my personal identity will be kept confidential, but that confidentiality is not guaranteed. I authorize the inspection of any of my records that relate to this sudy by the University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board for quality assurance purposes. By signing this consent form, I have not waived any of the legal rights that I have as a participant in a research study.

Participant signature_____Date_____

Participant printed name_____

I, the undersigned, have fully explained the relevant details of this research study to the participant named above and believe that the participant has understood and has knowingly given their consent.

Signature_____Date_____

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bardach, Eugene
1998   Getting Agencies to Work Together: the practice and theory of managerial craftsmanship. Brookings Institute Press, Washington D.C.

Batten, T. R.
1974   "Community Development". In, Community Development Journal, vol. 9, no. 2.

Bratt, Rachel G
1985   The Neighborhood Movement: a blip on the landscape or a blueprint for action. In, Community Development Journal, vol. 20, no. 2.

Bratt, Rachel G. & Langley, Keyes C.
1997   New Perspectives on Self-Sufficiency: strategies of non-profit housing organizations. The Department of Urban and Environmental Policy, Tufts University, Mass. pp. 80-81.

Blakely, Edward
1989   "Theoretical Approaches for a Global Tomorrow". Chpt. 14 of Community Development in Perspective. Iowa State Press.

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
1981   Neighbourhood Improvement Program: an evaluation of the program in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Ottawa.

Casey, Edward S.
1997   The Fate of Place: a philosophical history. University of California Press. Chapter 11.

Cassell, C. and Symon, G.
1994   "Qualitative Research in Work Contexts", in Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research: a practical guide. (Eds) Catherine Cassell and Gillian Symon. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.

Coady, Nick & Galaway, Burt
    1993   "Partnerships Conducive to Effective Community Economic Development: summary, policy implications and research agenda", in <u>Community Economic Development: perspectives on research & policy</u>. Burt Galaway and Joe Hudson (eds.). Thompson Educational Publications, Toronto.

Davis, John E.
    1991   <u>Contested Ground: collective action and the urban neighborhood</u>. Cornell University Press, Ithaca:NY.

Edwards, Sharon & Stern, Renee
    1996   <u>Community Partnerships for Teen pregnancy Prevention: a working paper</u>. Cornerstore Consulting Group Inc.

Fontain, Sherry J.
    2000   "Maintaining the Mission of Non-profit Organizations Under Government Contracting", in <u>Critical Issues in Cross National Public Administration</u>. Stuart Nagel (ed.), pgs. 75-88.

Goetz, Edward G.
    1993   <u>Shelter Burden: local politics and progressive housing policy</u>. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.

Gillham, Bill
    2000   <u>The Research Interview</u>. Continuum, New York.

Griffiths, Hywel
    1974   "The Aims and Objectives of Community Development". In <u>Community Development Journal</u>, vol. 9, no. 2.

Halpern, Robert
    1995   <u>Rebuilding the Inner City: a history of neighborhood initiatives in the United States</u>. Columbia Uni Press, NY.

Hansen, Susan B.
    1989   "Comparing Enterprise Zones to Other Economic Development Techniques", in <u>Enterprise Zones: new directions in economic development</u>. Roy E. Green (ed.) Sage Publications, London.

Hummon, David M.
    1992   "Community Attachment: local sentiment and sense of place." Chpt. 12 in, <u>Place Attachment</u>. Irwin Altman & Setha Low (eds.). Plenum Press, NY.

Kagan, Sharon L.
    1993   <u>Integrating Services for Children and Families: understanding the past to shape the future</u>. Yale University Press, London.

Keating, D., Krumholz, N. & Star, P.
    1996   <u>Revitalizing Urban Neighbourhoods</u>. University Press of Kansas

Keating and Smith
    1996   "Past Federal Policy for Urban Neighborhoods", in <u>Revitalizing Urban Neighborhoods</u>. (Eds) Dennis Keating, Norman Krumholz, and Philip Star. University Press of Kansas.

King, Nigel
                    "The Qualitative Research Interview", in <u>Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research: a practical guide</u>. (Eds) Catherine Cassell and Gillian Symon. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.

Kretzmann, John & McKnight, John
    1993   <u>Building Communities from the Inside Out: a path toward finding and mobilizing a community's assets</u>. Centre for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Neighbourhood Innovation Network.

Krueger, Richard
    1994   Focus Groups: a practical guide for applied research. Sage
                         Publications: London, UK.

    1998   Developing Questions for Focus Groups. Book 3 in a 6 Book
                         Series entitled, "Focus Group Kit"; Sage Publications: London,
                         UK.

Littrell, Donald W. & Hobbs, Daryl
    1989   "The Self-Help Approach". Chpt. 3 of Community
                         Development in Perspective. Iowa State Press.

Low, Setha & Altman, Irwin
    1992   "Place Attachment: a concept inquiry." Chpt. 1 in, Place
                         Attachment. Plenum Press, NY.

Lyon, Deborah & Newman, Lynda H.
    1986   The Neighbourhood Improvement Program, 1973-1983: a
                         national review of an intergovernmental initiative. Institute of
                         Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg. Winnipeg, MB.

McKenzie, Brad
    1994   "Decentralized Social Services: a critique of models of service
                       delivery." In A.F. Johnson et al. (eds) Continuities and
                       Discontinuities: the political economy of social welfare and
                       labour market policy in Canada. U of T Press, Toronto.

Meeker-Lowry, Susan
    1994   Invested in the Common Good. New Society Publishers.
                       Gabriole Island, B.C.

Mitchell-Weaver, Clyde
    1990   "Community Development in North America: survey and
                       prospect for the 1990's. In, Community Development Journal,
                       vol. 25, no.4.

Morgan, David L.
    1998   Planning Focus Groups. Book 2 in a 6 Book Series, intitled
                       "Focus Group Kit"; Sage Publications: London UK

O'Looney, John
    1996   Redesigning the Work of Human Services. Quorum Books.
                  Westport, Connecticut.

Orlansky, Dora
    2000   "Decentralization Politics and Policies" in Critical Issues in
                  Cross National Public Administration. Stuart Nagel (ed.), pgs.
                  181-204.

Page, Stephen
    2000   "State Human Services as Disciplined Intergovernmental
                  Collaboration", in Critical Issues in Cross National Public
                  Administration. Stuart Nagel (ed.), pgs. 215-245.

Patterson, Jeffrey
    1993   "Housing and Community Development Policies" Chpt 19, in
                  House, Home, and Community: progress in housing Canadians
                  1945-1986. (Ed) John R. Miron. McGill-Queens University
                  Press. CMHC, Ottawa.

Perry, Clarence Arthur
    1929   "Regional Survey of New York and its Environs". In
                  Neighborhood and Community Planning, vol. 7.

Perry, Stewart E.
    1999   "Some Terminology and Definitions in the Field of
                  Community Economic Development". In Making Waves, vol.
                  10, no. 1

Robson, Colin
    1993   Real World Research: a resource for social scientists and
                  practitioner-researchers. Blackwell,Cambridge U.S.A

Rubin, Herbert and Rubin, Irene
    1995   Qualitative Interviewing: the art of hearing data. Sage
                  Publications, Thousand Oaks.

Sandercock, Leonie
    1998   Towards Cosmopolis. John Wiley & Sons, Toronto.

Shoop, Robert J.
    1976   Developing Inter-agency Cooperation. A Pendell Publishing
                    'How-To' Series. Michigan.

Skelton, Ian
    1998   The Shelter Shortage: new directions for low-cost housing
                    policy in Canada. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

    2000   "Cooperative and Non-profit Housing in Winnipeg: toward a
                    re-engagement of the provision infrastructure", in Canadian
                    Journal of Urban Research. (Eds) Dan Chekki, et al. Vol. 9,
                    issue 2. Institute of Urban Studies, Winnipeg:MB.

Snow, Luther K.
    1995   "Economic Development Breaks the Mold: community
                    building, place-targeting and empowerment zones." In,
                    Economic Development Quarterly. May95, vol. 9, issue 2. Pg.
                    185.

Thurz, Daniel & Vigilante, Joseph
    1977   "Neighbourhoods: a worldwide phenomena" Chpt. 1 in
                    Reaching People: the structure of neighbourhood services.
                    Daniel Thurz & Joseph Vigilante (eds). Vol. 3 of, Social
                    Serivces Delivery Systems: An International Annual. Sage
                    Publications

Tsalikis, George
    1985   The Political Economy of Decentralization in Health and
                    Social Services. University of Ottawa, Working Paper #85-23.

Wilkinson, Kenneth P.
    1989   "The Future for Community Development". Chpt. 15 in
                    Community Development in Perspective. Iowa State Press.

Websites:

Hogue, Teresa
  1991   <u>Community-based Collaboration: community wellness</u>
        <u>multiplied</u>. *crs.uvm.edu/nnco/collab/wellness.htm*

Kingsley, G., & Neely, Joseph & Gibson, James
  1997   <u>Community Building Coming of Age</u>.
        www.urban.org/comm/combuild.htm

Luloff, A.E. and Bridger, Jeffrey C. (NERCRD)
  ----   <u>Sustainable Community Development: an interactional</u>
        <u>perspective</u>. The Northeast Regional Center for Rural
        Development, Pennsylvania State University.
        www.cas.nercrd.psu.edu/Community/Legacy/bridger_interacti
        onal.html