A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE USED BY AFFORDABLE HOUSING PROVIDERS IN WINNIPEG

BY

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Degree of

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ABSTRACT

This thesis uses critical discourse analysis to examining the language used by nonprofit housing groups, neighbourhood associations, community development corporations, and government employees; when talking about community economic development (CED) and affordable housing in Winnipeg. The analysis is informed by communicative action theory, which acknowledges the social nature of discourse and the power of. The research focuses on the identities that are constructed, how the interviewees position themselves in relation to the neighbourhoods, concepts of CED, and attitudes towards affordable housing. These four areas are influenced by the CED policy framework that has been adopted by the provincial government. From the analysis it becomes clear that there is space for re-shaping the current policies and for re-structuring the current discourse in order to achieve more empowerment for residents and allow for increased knowledge sharing which will result in more successful CED outcomes.

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CHAPTER 1—THESIS ROADMAP

INTRODUCTION

As Canadian society has experienced various economic periods, there have been corresponding shifts in attitudes towards the provision of social services. Immediately following the World War II there was consensus that government should provide education, health, welfare, and housing (Mishra 1990). Fiscal stress during the 1980s and 1990s led to significant cutbacks in social spending. More recently, as the country has prospered under increasingly globalized conditions, economic attitudes have shifted to being highly individualistic and technology oriented and people have become less inclined to use taxpayer money for services to marginalized groups. A proliferation of nonprofit organizations created to address the gaps that have appeared in the social service system has been a long-standing feature of welfare in Canada, and under current circumstances of restraint the nonprofit sector has become prominent in certain areas, including social housing.

It has been documented by researchers that Winnipeg, like many other metropolitan areas, has experienced neighbourhood decline in its inner city areas (Leo and Shaw 2002, Deane 2004). In an attempt to combat this decline there have been numerous programs implemented. One of the first programs was The Winnipeg Core Area Initiative (CAI), focussed on addressing problems of underdevelopment in the inner city. "CAI levered other program resources, private investment, and innovation in the areas covered by the project"

(Brodhead 1994: 7). After CAI there have been other initiatives aimed at Winnipeg's inner city and these programs are currently delivered through neighbourhood associations or neighbourhood renewal corporations. These corporations are responsible for coordinating development efforts to achieve their goals, and for distributing some of the government funding being directed to that community.

Inner-city neighbourhoods that are trying to revitalize face economic, social and political barriers and therefore, they often adopt what they call a community economic development framework for implementing their bottom-up revitalization efforts. This particular approach is chosen as it is intended to be holistic in nature thus addressing many of the diverse barriers encountered in these neighbourhoods. One manner of understanding community economic development is that it "... refers to a range of activities that integrate economic and social goals, with the objective of supporting lasting community renewal" (Torjman and Battle as quoted by Levine et al. 2002: 202). CED is economic development that takes place within a wider social framework where there is a concern for social outcomes as well as economic goals.

Community economic development has a long history of being employed for regional development purposes but has had relatively little application in urban settings (Levine et al. 2002). One reason for this may be due to the spatial dimension of community economic development and the difficulty of establishing an appropriate community or neighbourhood focus within a fluid city environment.

"The area's actual economic configuration should be carefully determined, irrespective of political boundaries. No economy begins and ends with neighbourhood or city boundaries" (Blakely 1994: 65). Defining the size of a neighbourhood is essential because for community economic development to address both social and economic conditions the proper scale is paramount. Too large a neighbourhood compromises resident participation and decision-making. Too small an area makes it difficult to provide economic advantages because the area lacks enough diversity of skills, industrial space, or business space to facilitate economic development, which is an essential component of any community economic development strategy.

A community that comes together because of cultural similarities can implement CED or a geographically defined group can do so as well, but there must be some cohesive factor that defines them as a community. In this report a geographically based community is referred to as a neighbourhood, which is the most common reference for the interviewees, as the majority of community housing organizations in Winnipeg are in fact neighbourhood based and have specific geographic boundaries within which they operate.

Neighbourhoods where houses are abandoned and the housing stock is run down are considered neighbourhoods in decline. Thus when cities or communities desire to combat decline their primary focus is on rehabilitating or stabilizing the housing stock in the area (Carter & Polevychok 2003). Community development corporations (CDCs) have engaged in housing work because this

revitalizes a neighbourhood by not only improving the physical environment but also by providing people with healthier living options. It has been shown that people with stable housing are better able to participate in economic activities and a lack of adequate housing has the converse effect on people(Zdenek 1987). Additionally, housing impacts resident and non-resident perceptions of the neighbourhood.

> Substandard housing denies people decent living conditions and reduces the financial value of the community, leading to a greater economic deterioration. Housing development provides immediate visible community benefits by creating better living conditions, increasing property value, and offering hope for attracting additional economic activity. (Zdenek 1987: 118)

Thus, for community economic development corporations housing is viewed as a natural starting point for neighbourhood revitalization.

Shlay outlines several economic reasons for linking housing and community economic development.

> First, as a large investment typically requiring outside financing, housing is the object through which capital is reinvested in or disinvested from a community. Second, as a consumption item, housing may operate as a local economic stimulus. Third, as a location, housing provides or limits access to goods, services, and employment. Finally, housing may be used as a vehicle for community control. (Shlay 1995: 706)

These four reasons focus on the direct economic implications of housing and why it fits within a CED framework. However, the above statements on the importance of housing as a revitalization tool fail to articulate the equally important social benefits of housing; such as a stable living

environment, self-respect, opportunities for community development, healthier families, and more effective schooling. Arguments for housing continue to rely heavily on economic indicators as a measurement of its importance to neighbourhoods. If CED is to achieve its holistic goals the social significance of housing must be included in the discussion of the economic importance of housing.

Housing production inevitably enters into any economic discussion as housing has the ability to revitalize an economy. In the past Canada has used housing as an economic tool for stimulating a sluggish economy. Housing is used as an economic stimulant because it creates jobs in various sectors due to such inputs as: lumber, windows, paint, hardware, electrical and plumbing. In 1995, 3.5% of Canada's GDP was generated because of the direct, indirect, and induced impacts of housing (CMHC 2000). The multipliers associated with housing production mean that for every unit of housing constructed there are 2.5 to 5.5 person-years of employment created over a five-year period (CMHC 2000). Housing construction and renovations continue to contribute significantly to economic activity in Canada. In the first quarter of 2005, residential construction expenditures totalled $15.3 billion (Statistics Canada 2005). The first quarter of 2005 saw a 10.8% increase in expenditures on renovations compared to the first quarter of 2004 (Statistics Canada 2005). Due to the fact that housing is considered a major purchase and there are many inputs required in housing construction, the housing industry remains an indicator of economic well being in Canada.

Numerous authors have explored trends in housing policy in Canada and each has categorized the trends in Canadian housing policy based on varied criteria. However, all have pointed to the persistent lack of housing policy in Canada (Carter 1997, Hulchanski 1988, Miron 1993, Rose 1980, Skelton 1998). This gap was exacerbated with the exit of the Federal government from social housing in the 1990s, and has resulted in an affordable housing problem in many cities. One characteristic of social housing is it is often situated in inner-city neighbourhoods that are battling against processes of decline. The viability of providing low-cost or affordable housing in inner-city neighbourhoods is questionable given the rehabilitation and new construction costs associated with housing development. Additionally, community organizations are forced to purchase the lowest cost goods and tender to the lowest bidder, which is often not a local business and therefore often results in little economic benefit for the community. Thus the challenge is to develop housing and increase the direct economic benefit for the community.

COMMUNICATIVE ACTION AND COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

From a planning perspective, neighbourhood revitalization is a key element for insuring the vitality of a city. Within planning theory, there have emerged theories and methods for increasing community engagement and investment in revitalization processes. The theory discussed here is that of communicative action, a theory based on the ideology that relationships and knowledge are socially constructed and can therefore be altered. One motivating factor for this

shift in planning theory has been the recognition that the success of an initiative is directly related the level of community engagement. For planners, recognition of the importance of social capital and empowerment means they cannot focus solely on physical considerations but they "...must now confront head on the fuzzy task of shaping levels of inter-personal trust, feelings of belonging and responsibility, and the quality and efficacy of civic engagement in a community" (Wilson 1997: 745). When planners engage in community processes where the neighbourhood and the residents face multiple barriers to their inclusion it is essential to be cognizant of the predominant discourse which surrounds declining neighbourhoods and how this discourse may influence the manner in which one approaches planning processes with a community.

> In addition to the complicity and resistance of poor people to misrepresentation, a further complexity of their colonization as subjects is multiple stigmatization, whereby an individual may be constructed by exclusionary discourses based not only on poverty but also on racial, ethnic, and/or religious stigma; on physical differences; on gender; and so on. (Rimstead 1997: 252)

Categories of people are constructed through language use and are an expression of biases or labels. Such a process takes place so as to identify who is being targeted, helped, or impacted by a particular program; however, this process can result in reinforcing or creating patterns of stigmatization (Murray 2004).

In order to be able to engage effectively with communities, planners must be well versed in theories of social learning and communicative action, and understand their role as catalyst, facilitator, communicator, and team-player (Wilson 1997).

The premise of social learning, a precursor to communicative action, is learning by doing and constantly re-evaluating what is being done, in what is called a double-loop learning process (Sandercock 1998). "In social learning, an informal task-oriented action group or team learns from its own practice through reflection and dialogue" (Wilson 1997: 748). A successful process will incorporate more than simply addressing the issue at hand but also lead to critical self-reflection on a wide range of issues including one's values and beliefs (Wilson 1997). It is through heightened self-awareness that people are empowered and are capable of altering their circumstances. Only a community-based model of planning is able to facilitate community empowerment while achieving planning goals.

In a departure from the rationalist approach to planning that attempted to be value-free and emotionally detached from the process; social learning theory aimed at community-building necessarily requires that planners must situate themselves within the context of every project and cannot claim to be value free. "…[P]lanners must embed the tools and skills in a set of conducive personal values and virtues" (Lean 1995 cited in Wilson 1997: 754). This forces planners to experience the multi-faceted impacts their decisions can have on people. Bottom-up practices recognize that for sustained and truly transformative community processes the residents have to be actively engaged and the process has to afford them the opportunity to increase their knowledge base. "Dialogue is the route to self-reflection, self-knowledge and liberation from disempowering beliefs. It is also the route to mutual learning, acceptance of diversity, trust and

understanding" (Wilson 1996:625). Dialogue is at the base of social learning theory and the foundation from which planners must build a participatory process (Wilson 1996).

Healey summarizes the key components of communicative action in the following way:

> - a recognition that all forms of knowledge are socially constructed…
> - a recognition that the development and communication of knowledge and reasoning take many forms, from rational systematic analysis, to storytelling, and expressive statements, in words, pictures or sound;
> - …individuals thus do not arrive at their 'preferences' independently, but learn about their views in social contexts and through interaction;
> - …people have diverse interests and expectations, and [these] relations of power have the potential to oppress and dominate…
> - a realisation that public policies which are concerned with managing co-existence in shared spaces and which seek to be efficient, effective and accountable to all those with a 'stake' in a place need to draw upon, and spread ownership of, the above range of knowledge and reasoning;
> - a realisation that this leads away from competitive interest bargaining towards collaborative consensus-building…
> - a realisation that, in this way, planning work is both embedded in its context of social relations through its day to day practices, and has a capacity to challenge and change these relations through the approach to these practices; context and practice are not therefore separated but socially constituted together. (1997: 29-30)

This short outline of Healey's statement clearly demonstrates that communicative action is an interactive process that cannot ignore the interrelatedness of socially constructed identities, power relations and diverse forms of knowledge, and the impact these have on the planning process.

Several considerations in adopting communicative processes are: who is excluded, where is the discourse occurring, what are the cultural barriers, and is the dialogue accessible to everyone? "It involves moving beyond learning about the ways of understanding, and the agenda of ideas already available among community members, to developing new ideas about what to think, what to care about and what to do" (Healey 1996: 223). For planners to reshape how they approach the planning process it is necessary to learn to listen through asking questions. "In planning practice, fact and feeling, reason and emotion are often tightly intertwined. Planners not only must be able to hear words; they also must be able to listen to others carefully and critically" (Forester 1989: 107). Only through actively listening and engaging in dialogue with people will planners be practicing communicative action.

Examining the current discourse in Winnipeg around the idea of community economic development and housing is especially important because of the inherent power issues associated with the relationships among government, community organizations, and neighbourhood residents. The goals of community economic development initiatives align themselves well with issues that are at the core of communicative action. "Community development is about relationships between people and how they can be made more fruitful and mutually beneficial in a specific place at a specific time" (MacIntyre 2003: 5). Although the author is referring to community development, CED necessarily involves elements of community development. From this statement, it is clear

why CED relates to a communicative action framework: not only because CED is a relationship between people and therefore constructed around language, but furthermore because CED is also concerned with knowledge creation and expansion. While this identifies the important element of human relationships as a part of CED, it fails to incorporate the economic element of CED that must be present in a holistic and effective initiative.

Housing work in Winnipeg is at a crucial crossroads as there is a search for new ideas to address current housing, social and economic needs of the neighbourhoods. Therefore, pausing to analyze the discourse that is circulating among housing providers and government officials can provide some signposts for future nonprofit housing initiatives operating within a CED philosophy. "Placement of the discourse within the social web of power in a situated context for concerned individuals can produce insights and can give people new ways to think and talk about the discourses in which they function" (Powers 2001: 62).

PURPOSE OF THE THESIS

The thesis contributes to the literature on CED but also to the field of planning, discourse analysis, and affordable housing. It does do so at a crucial juncture in the integration of these areas of study, especially in relation to practice in Winnipeg. The goal of the analysis in chapter 5 has been to understand how housing and CED can be better integrated at a community and policy level. In order for this to happen it is essential to understand the role of power within the discourse. Conceptualizing housing as more than bricks and mortar and as part

of a broader process is the first step in re-shaping housing discourse in a positive, more inclusive manner. The study was aimed at answering the following questions:

1) What identity is constructed of the community or neighbourhood residents by the employees or nonprofit housing organizations and by government housing employees?
2) In the discourse, is it clear whether the informants see themselves as part of the community or as working in the community?
3) What meanings do nonprofit housing organizations and public officials in Winnipeg attach to the use of the term 'community economic development'?
4) What does the discourse used by the housing organizations reveal about their ideologies towards housing and neighbourhood revitalization?

The first question is essential because the identity constructed demonstrates the informant's perception of residents and their ideology towards community members who should be central part of any CED activity. The identities that are constructed either aid or hinder the ability or the opportunities for knowledge sharing.

Question two is important as it relates back to the central theme of community participation and engagement in the process of CED. If informants construct their roles as working in the neighbourhood there may not be the same investment and passion as there is for someone who lives in the neighbourhood and

therefore has a financial, personal and social investment in the area. It is also possible that there could be a perception among the community of ideas and decisions being made for the neighbourhood by an outsider who does not fully appreciate the situation of the area. This is directly related to the level of local decision-making that occurs in the neighbourhoods.

The remaining two questions address the issue of power in discourse and how the ideologies being constructed through the discourse are either empowering CED work or taking away its power by co-opting the term and bringing it into mainstream political discourse. "Language offers a way of determining whether people are really being informed and involved in the decisions that affect them, or whether they are being manipulated by a new crop of experts, consultants and others with little personal stake in the lives of those they seek to guide towards a better future" (McIntyre 2001: 13). Thus, an examination of the language being used can reveal what biases or inclusive discourse exists among those involved in overseeing housing work in Winnipeg's inner-city.

The research project adopted the principles of CED as set out by Neechi Foods of Winnipeg. Informants were asked to describe how these principles apply or do not apply to the work they are engaged in. These principles define CED in this research project and are included as Appendix A. Chapter 2 sets these principles within the theoretical literature on CED and also examines the literature on housing and why it fits with a neighbourhood revitalization strategy.

RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS METHODS

The literature review situates this study within the economic context of the new economy and explores the role that community economic development has within the new economy. A review of community economic development and housing literature presents current theories on the production of affordable housing through neighbourhood based delivery systems.

Interviews were chosen as the research method because only through in-depth questioning was it possible to achieve the detail and clarification that are necessary in understanding CED and the processes of social housing provision. Interviews allowed for flexibility in the process so that it was possible to account for the various ways of producing housing in Winnipeg. They also provided an opportunity to learn about the way in which local housing organizations and local government employees are talking and thinking about community economic development. As Zeisel states: "The *interview guide* is a loose conceptual map..." (1981: 137, emphasis original), this map can be adjusted as the interview progresses and the interviewer grapples with the information being presented and the communication style of their informant. The flexibility of an interview guide is its biggest strength.

The interview guide was developed with the intent of understanding what inputs go into housing rehabilitation and development and whether there are opportunities to re-direct where these inputs come from or where the outputs flow to in order to increase the economic benefit to local residents. Informants were asked questions pertaining to the advantages of community-based housing

interventions and the obstacles they encounter. Additionally they were asked to respond to a list of CED principles and whether or not these have application to the housing work they are engaged in. The eighteen interviews each lasted anywhere from forty minutes to an hour and a half. They were then transcribed to produce a written text.

After reviewing literature on styles of analysis, I decided that a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach is most useful or most closely reflects my perspective. Alternatives will be discussed in chapter 3 in order to delineate the differences between them and CDA and to demonstrate why CDA is the chosen method of analysis. From reading the literature, I found that CDA offers the necessary flexibility and scale, as it lends itself to a macro analytical approach. This is not to say that the research findings have widespread macro or global application but that CDA allows the researcher to look at the forces beyond the text and how these provide the context for the findings. "Discourse analysis entails an obligation to examine not just what is apparent at a superficial level but also the hidden and unintended consequences of social action" (Jacobs 1999: 210). While discourse analysis examines consequences of social action CDA focuses the analysis on issues of dominance and power.

CDA analyzes relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control and how language perpetuates these. "CDA states that discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned. Furthermore, discourse is an opaque power object in modern societies and CDA aims to make it more visible and

transparent" (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 448). CDA challenges positivist research which assumes that the relationship between knowledge and reality are unproblematic and that research can be unbiased and objective. CDA challenges this position with its view that the categories used to describe and classify the world are socially, cultural, and historically structured (Hastings 1998). By making the power dynamics visible, power begins to shift and this is essential in order for marginalized groups to achieve new levels of empowerment.

CDA is not only concerned with the power within the discourses but also, who has the power over discourse. Also, because of the nature of CDA it never claims to be the seminal work or the only interpretation, making it dynamic and open to new information (Titscher et al. 1998). Power over discourse is important because; "Language is linked to the possibility of generating greater freedom and wider choices for humans and creating a new social order rooted in both universal values and local realities" (MacIntyre 2001: 8).

Blommaert and Bulcaen state that Fairclough identifies three dimensions to a CDA framework: discourse-as-text, discourse-as-discursive, discourse-as-social-practice (2000). All of these dimensions are part of any CDA, however the dimension, that will be favoured in this study, is that of discourse-as-social-practice. This dimension is concerned with hegemony; "The way in which discourse is being represented, respoken, or rewritten sheds light on the emergence of new orders of discourse, struggles over normativity, attempts at

control, and resistance against regimes of power" (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 449).

> It is not enough to lay bare the social dimensions of language use. These dimensions are the object of moral and political evaluation and analyzing them should have effects in society; empowering the powerless, giving voices to the voiceless, exposing power abuse, and mobilizing people to remedy social wrongs. (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 449)

It is this orientation towards change and shifting of power that makes CDA analysis a particularly good fit with ideas of CED and communicative action.

Critical discourse analysis acknowledges that all discourse incorporates power, ideology, and identity creation; meaning that the use of words, the form in which they are used and how sentences are constructed all contribute to an active process of constructing, reconstructing, enforcing, or challenging an ideology and shifting power relations. CDA is also one of the few textual analysis methods that deals with large amounts of text and looks beyond the grammar, syntax, and actual words to examine what ideology the speaker or writer is putting forth. In CDA, the interpreter reads the text and from this establishes codes that will guide the research. In this project, the researcher conducted and transcribed the interviews and therefore approached the data with some knowledge of its content, which undoubtedly has influenced the researcher's approach to the analysis, and the nature of the questions being asked.

The power of discourse means that incorporating CED at a policy level could: "...render it completely sterile as an alternative subject position available to people" (Powers 2001: 62). It is plausible that the presence of CED within the

discourse of mainstream capitalist society indicates that CED, which was conceived of as an alternative to capitalist economic forces; has been co-opted and its meaning altered to the point that CED no longer challenges the ideology of dominant market forces.

CED has generally been employed in a response to the consequences of global economic forces and as an alternative to dominant economic forces with its concern for people and by incorporating a social perspective in addition to economic concerns. "...CED is not primarily about economic development in the conventional sense of stimulating the growth of private enterprise, but ... it is part of a tradition of community intervention" (Shragge 1997: 1). This form of community intervention focuses on forming alternative community organizations or institutions; mainly this is achieved through having a strong vision and the ability to pursue these apart from funders so as to form linkages within the community. To achieve this there must be opportunities to challenge the political discourse and engage in political activism (Shragge 1997). "The building of alternatives can be self-marginalizing if this process does not include a political component" (Shragge 1997: 14). In CED, alternative practices are developed in terms of employment creation. Even though economics is an essential element, the overall effort is that of empowerment and creating alternatives to the dominant, capitalist, private ownership system (Shragge 1997). By co-opting a discourse, dominant ideologies are able to frame a concept in a manner which means that instead of CED being an alternative economic approach it can be conceptualized as an accepted and normal economic strategy. When CED is

thus conceptualized it can no longer challenge the private ownership system instead it is subsumed and incorporated into the dominant economic paradigm.

By imposing CED from a policy level it is possible that it is no longer bottom-up, but another form of top-down development. Haughton suggests that politicians use the term as a means for identifying with ordinary people and he comments on the pitfalls of using it for this purpose.

> In practice there are important concerns around community economic development which policy makers ignore at their peril. Firstly, whilst the very word 'community' has a 'feel good' factor to it, there is danger always of investing too much hope and too high a set of expectations into the whole area of greater community engagement. Communities generally do want to be more empowered, but alternatively they do not necessarily want these processes of empowerment to be the cover for reduced state engagement and funding in community level activity. (Haughton 1998: 875)

Taking the term and employing it constantly and in inappropriate circumstances takes the power away from what CED intends to do. This analysis aims to understand whether there is a co-opting of the CED discourse as it relates to affordable housing provision in Winnipeg. If the power has been taken from CED due to inappropriate application of the ideology, there are policy implications that must be explored in order to effect change and to allow for the appropriate policy shifts that would have to occur.

If in the CED discourse, inequality is not being talked about, then it is clear that the power of the ideology has been co-opted and no matter how hard an organization works on housing, the economic status of the residents is not likely

to improve. "CED's uniqueness is [in] its emphasis on the meaningful involvement of marginalized or disadvantaged community members" (Brodhead 1994: 11). If in fact, CED practitioners have dropped inequality from their discourse, the ability to strengthen the power of the CED discourse that has been adopted by government lies in communities influencing future policy formation and implementation. "In fact, the main issue seems to [be the need to] bring back to the urban scene a policy agenda that is preoccupied with social justice" (Fontan et al. 2003: 61). Achieving this at a policy level requires political action by community groups as well as by public officials who are both sympathetic to and well versed in CED ideologies.

Despite the possible cooptation of the CED discourse once it is used in public policy, there are also positive opportunities that can come from a government adopting such a policy. One advantage of a provincial or federal government implementing a CED framework is that it may result in a more integrated perspective in terms of program delivery, which is useful in increasing departmental integration and their interaction with local service providers (Lawless 2001). While CED policies can result in increased integration of program delivery, it may also unintentionally result in a redefinition of poverty which can undermine CED objectives.

> There is an underlying convergence between the provincial government and the community sector that redefines poverty as social exclusion, with the solution being to find a place in society through paid work. The emphasis on local job creation and employability programs is the outcome of this shift in policy. It views poverty and inequality in individualistic terms, as problems that can be solved by investing in human

> capital and the creation of work, regardless of working conditions and wage levels. (Fontan et al. 2003: 70)

Although the authors are referring to the situation in Montreal, this statement is true for Manitoba as well. Individualizing poverty and focusing on finding people employment ignores the possibility that even if they are employed they are not earning enough to support themselves. Additionally, this shift in policy forces community organizations to change their goals in order to qualify for government funding and therefore, it affects how communities address poverty (Fontan et al. 2003). It is the power of policies and community reliance on government funding that could weaken the CED discourse and lead to the institutionalization of community organizations.

In a study on citizen participation in the United States, Marilyn Gittell determined that there are two effects when community groups incorporated and became co-producers of government services:

> - organizational maintenance takes an increasingly large proportion of time and effort, thus reducing the time and effort devoted to community-based organizing and political mobilization, and
> - the receipt of government funds necessarily compromises a group and makes it less willing to speak out against government policies—a matter of not wishing to bite the hand that feeds. (Goetz 1993: 14)

These two effects are quite plausible given the power relationship between government funders and nonprofits in search of funding. However, Goetz believes that there is also the potential for the opposite to occur. He believes that "...because of their technical expertise and neighbourhood-based constituency [CDCs] provide local officials with both technical and political resources" (Goetz

1993: 15). While these are his observations of what has happened in the United States it is equally conceivable that this could occur in Canadian cities.

ETHICS

Ethics approval for this thesis was obtained as the research was conducted for a project on community economic development, social housing and the new economy as part of a larger research initiative: the Manitoba Research Alliance on community economic development and the new economy. The data is being used with the permission of the lead investigators, Ian Skelton and Lawrence Deane. The interview guides for housing providers and public officials are attached, as Appendix B. The interview guides were adapted slightly from the ones initially developed for the research project.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Chapter 1 discusses the rationale for this thesis, the research questions and ethics, and provides an introduction to the research and analysis methods.

Chapter 2 examines the CED and housing literature to understand what CED is and how it fits with a neighbourhood revitalization strategy that involves the provision of quality, low-cost housing.

Chapter 3 sets the discussion of CED within the context of the new economy and explores areas where CED intersects with new economy ideas. It also reviews aspects of CED that either challenge new economy thinking or address the challenges that arise from our current economic ideology.

Chapter 4 is an examination of methods of analysis and clarifies why critical discourse analysis was decided on as the most appropriate method in this thesis. This chapter also presents the analysis process used to reach the ideas presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 is a presentation of the analysis and answers the research questions set out in Chapter 1.

Chapter 6 discusses the recommendations and areas for future research that have arisen from the analysis presented in the previous chapter.

CHAPTER 2—COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING

This chapter looks at community economic development and how it fits with the provision of affordable housing as a neighbourhood revitalization strategy. Chapter 3 will then place these ideas within current economic concerns and ideologies.

COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

How community economic development is defined varies depending on the goals and objectives of the group or organization. Often groups will emphasize either the economic or the community aspect of development; therefore, there are many diverse projects that have become encompassed under the term 'community economic development' (Boothroyd & Davis 1993). Boothroyd and Davis define economy, as "a system of human activity directed to meeting human wants that is determined by deliberate allocations of scarce resources, including human time" (1993: 230).

Economic development in its contemporary form has become a refined growth promotion strategy. "The emphasis is on comprehensive planning for growth by involving all relevant private and public actors in setting targets, surveying opportunities and developing a wide range of strategies" (Boothroyd & Davis 1993: 232). While some communities do need industry based economic development because of a mine closure in a community, for example, and the need to re-establish an economic base for neighbourhoods in a larger city this type of economic development is neither feasible nor desirable. The major

limitation of economic growth as the driving force behind community economic development is found in the fact that it is not a holistic approach and does not consider long-term implications such as stability and equality. Another weakness is: "The production of nonmarketed goods and services is not counted as contributing to growth, nor, therefore, to economic development" (Boothroyd & Davis 1993: 232). Despite its problems as a method of CED, this approach is still quite common in communities, towns and cities across the country as is evidenced by cities competing to attract industries through such enticements as tax incentives and zoning by-law changes.

In a situation where community is valued above the other aspects of CED, community is not only a locale as it is for the other approach but also a feeling of connectedness with others. "The emphasis is on developing an economy in such a way that **community** is strengthened" (Boothroyd & Davis 1993: 235, emphasis original). This approach can incorporate some of what the other approach desires to achieve but with a more human face to it and often on a smaller scale. This leads to one of the limitations to this approach: that it may be hard to achieve success if one is measuring outcomes or viability from a purely economic standpoint. There is also the potential that the community will go from desiring self-reliance to self-sufficiency, which results in the community being inward looking and not making the necessary contacts or connections with people or businesses outside the community. This can create exclusivity, alienate potential allies and can lead to a stagnation of ideas and innovations.

Fontan has found it useful to divide the CED literature into two schools of thought: the liberal local development and progressive approaches. Brodhead explains the difference between the two in the following manner: "... the "liberal" approach emphasizes business and employment development, and the "progressive" approach stresses community empowerment and institution building" (1994: 3). The reason for trying to divide the literature into schools of thought is the diversity of CED activities and the need to account for the diversity while still maintaining some distinct sense of what CED encompasses.

Another viewpoint on the differences between the liberal and progressive approaches is as follows:

> [A] progressive view sees CED as a strategy that can enable communities to address issues of poverty and inequality. It is a viewpoint that sees CED as part of a strategy of basic social change. In contrast, the liberal perspective wants to improve local conditions, but without challenging the underlying power relations or the unequal distribution of resources. (Shragge 1997: 11)

This statement places CED practice within the context of power relations and supports the idea that CED terminology can be co-opted when a liberal approach is pursued. This explains why liberal governments have been able to embrace a CED philosophy, which in its progressive form should be challenging the very ideas and policies of conventional government. Whether a liberal approach or a progressive approach to CED is implemented there has to be an underlying economic ideology and one such ideology is import-substitution.

Community economic development groups advocate import substitution, because: "Once the multiplier leaves the community, the benefits of subsequent transactions are lost. A community in which money flows out quickly and never returns slowly bleeds to death" (Shuman 1998: 50). The multiplier refers to the fact that a dollar spent on local goods and services has a greater impact as it circulates in the local economy instead of going outside the area. Local companies tend to buy their supplies locally, hire local people, and the owners may live in the community, this means that more money is going into the hands of neighbourhood residents.

The concept of community economic development being proposed here can be articulated in the following manner: "...the aim is only to minimize imports of the basics and create a local economy where much more can be done in the backyard" (Shuman 1998: 78). Focusing on the local economy does not mean that the community has to become a fortress but instead advocates becoming more self-reliant and putting control into the hands of the community. Self-reliance is often associated with individualism; however, the term 'community self-reliance' has come to signify a process of enabling and empowering communities while decreasing dependence on outside markets, thus support is pursued from a position of strength and not dependence (Shuman 1998).

Fairbairn et al. (1991) have proposed useful imagery to articulate the import-substitution approach of community economic development. In this analogy, the community in need of CED initiatives is conceptualized as a rusty bucket where

much of the income leaks out through holes in the bucket. Income is represented by water and the water level in the bucket reflects how much of the income is staying in the community. The holes represent expenditures or leakages such as rent, groceries, and utilities. After these expenses are paid to outside businesses each month, there is little income left to circulate within the community and increase its economic opportunities. Therefore, communities who desire greater economic opportunities need to look at ways of keeping income circulating in the community and plugging the holes in the bucket (Fairbairn et al. 1991). Greater linkages help to improve the flow of financial resources in the community, this can lead to more jobs as local businesses develop, and create a positive image of the community both for the residents and outsiders.

Import-substitution is valuable for community economic development because of the focus on creating internal linkages within a community. However, as with any approach, it is essential to be cognizant of some of the pitfalls so as to develop a CED strategy that addresses these possible problems. One of the drawbacks of import-substitution is that it can become exclusionary and inward focused. Establishing linkages internally is important but in today's economic context, it is essential to also create linkages or networks nationally and globally as this allows communities to overcome barriers such as size and location. "A small community is not limited by its size in the skill it can develop, knowledge it can retain, or technology it can acquire" (Shuman 1998: 80). In resource dependent economies communities were limited by their access to resources; however, this is no longer the case in today's economy, which is more knowledge oriented. Therefore, a

company or group will make decisions based on what is best for their community cognizant of economic, social, and ecological concerns while striving to be a globally competitive entity.

Talking about four functions of community economic development helps to establish a framework and articulates the roles different players can fulfill in promoting the practice.

- The *information* function involves providing and developing an adequate information base for decision-making rather than trying to provide all possible types of information about a community.
- The *integration* function involves three aspects: (a) integrating the community into the specific organization or group under consideration (through representation or the development of appropriate and effective channels of communication); (b) integrating the group or organization into the community by ensuring that it is credible and respected; and (c) integrating segments of the community which have not previously been significantly involved into the CED process.
- The *planning* function involves collaborative and cooperative decision-making (making choices). Different groups, organizations and institutions will share ideas on objectives and ensure consistency in their respective decision-making processes.
- The *action* function involves undertaking and being involved in projects and initiatives necessary to achieve the goals and objectives. Action can include initiatives in the information, integration and planning functions, as well as initiatives that have as objectives the achievement of tangible results (in conventional terms). This means that potential partners can be involved in initiatives in all four of these functions as well. (Bryant 1994: 189-90)

These four functions are not only fulfilled by community development corporations but by their partners as well and incorporating them into CED projects is a means of ensuring a knowledge sharing process.

The CED principles used in this study and attached as Appendix B address both economic and social considerations. There is a concern for creating linkages and increasing local profit for local re-investment. Numerically, the principles are heavily weighted in favour of economic considerations and while there are fewer principles aimed at social outcomes, together these are equally important. Social development must be addressed on an equal basis because economic development without concurrent social development and empowerment can lead to marginalization of people. The principles are a guideline for thinking about how to create linkages within a community in order to keep income circulating within a neighbourhood; while also establishing socially oriented outcomes for CED initiatives.

Community economic development with its intention of doing more than purely economic based development but to also incorporating issues of community-building, empowerment, and self-reliance is based on the premise that: "...mobilization without the underlying individual transformation is empty" (Wilson 1996: 618). Therefore, social capital and empowerment necessarily enter into a discussion concerning CED.

Rocha has proposed a ladder of empowerment loosely modeled after Arnstein's ladder of participation. Rocha suggests that there are five types of empowerment and they move on a spectrum from individual empowerment to community empowerment. The five types of empowerment are: Atomistic Individual Empowerment, Embedded Individual Empowerment, Mediated Empowerment, Socio-Political Empowerment, and Political Empowerment (Rocha 1997).

Atomistic individual empowerment is the most common where the change or the ability to change rests with the individual person. "…[T]he goal is increased individual efficacy; and the process consists of altering the emotional or physical state of the individual" (Rocha 1997: 34). The power in this case comes from a sense of being supported by a service organization (Rocha 1997). In the second type, embedded individual empowerment, the focus is on the person's immediate context. "Although the *locus* of empowerment is individual, the *process* clearly includes recognition of the importance of the surrounding environment" (Rocha 1997: 35, italics original). It sees people in relation to their context and that these cannot be separated from one another. Empowerment comes from understanding the structures and environment in which one is situated and learning to manoeuvre within this context. Participation is fundamental to this type of empowerment and within an organization; takes the form of participation as a member or volunteer or as a decision-maker (Rocha 1997).

One manner CDCs can empower individuals is through the provision of programs that prepare residents for homeownership. "Enabling individuals to grow through

property ownership, skill development or continued education, and encouraging them to participate in decisions to physically and socially repair the community, increases the assets of both individuals and the neighborhood" (Rubin 1994: 410). Incorporating this type of programming into housing initiatives not only assists in achieving community building objectives but it also increases the likelihood that residents will succeed as homeowners or tenants.

Type three of Rocha's classification is mediated empowerment in which a professional guides the process. "Its goals are to provide knowledge and information necessary for individual or community decision-making and action" (Rocha 1997: 36). The fourth type of empowerment is socio-political empowerment. In this type, community development is developing the community members as the first priority and the physical environment as the second priority. "Socio-political empowerment focuses on the process of change within a community locus in the context of collaborative struggle to alter social, political, or economic relations. It is developmental in nature in that it places theoretical importance on stages of growth through knowledge acquisition and collaborative social action" (Rocha 1997: 37). This form of empowerment describes the ideals of community economic development initiatives pursued by community organizations. "Socio-political community empowerment consists of two core elements: (1) critical reflection by the community and members-of-community (individuals) rethinking their relationship to structures of power and (2) collective action upon those structures" (Rocha 1997: 38). Most often, it is a form of mediated empowerment that takes place in communities. Empowerment

is an essential element of community economic development but personal empowerment without economic advantages or changes does not bring about successful CED results. Therefore, it is essential to establish a balance between social and economic development. As communities begin to revitalize there is a tendency to focus more heavily on one or the other aspect, and at times it may be essential to engage people in a community building or social process before it is possible to achieve economic development at a community or neighbourhood scale.

The final type of empowerment is political empowerment and is the only type in which the locus does not involve the individual, only the community. "Insofar as the individual is affected, it is only through changes enacted for the subsequent benefit of community members; individual participation is not theorized nor practiced as part of this type of empowerment" (Rocha 1997: 39). This political empowerment is concerned with legal reform and one of the critiques is that it does not build community capacity (Rocha 1997).

Empowerment is closely related to the concept of social capital, as it is a necessary element in the process of empowerment. Putnam describes social capital as the: "...features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (1995:67). Once trust has been established, people are able to overcome their isolation and look for opportunities to interact and network. It is the basis of

alliances among individuals, community groups and partners (Ferguson & Stoutland 1999).

Social capital sees poverty not as a lack of resources but redefines it in such a way that looks at the potential or assets that communities have and can pool to facilitate community economic development processes. "The most important [assets] are the community's collective interpersonal or relational skills such as trust, cooperation and consensus-building. Since the production or renewal of these assets is not limited by material factors, the door is opened for the principle of abundance" (Wilson 1996: 621). This principle of abundance sees that everyone has the ability and assets to transform themselves and their communities.

One negative aspect of social capital is that the networks among people can be exclusive and resistant to allowing others to participate or interact in these networks; leading to a powerful core group of people who act or make decisions on behalf of others (Green & Haines 2002). Communicative action recognizes that at the root of this is language and power and that "...people have diverse interests and expectations, and that relations of power have the potential to oppress and dominate..." (Healey 1997: 30). CDA identifies the power of discourse and language and therefore the capacity for language to construct groups, identities and relationships between people. Due to the problematic nature of language and its ability to reinforce the marginalization of people, the challenge for community organizations is to overcome this by understanding the

power and laying bare the structures; thus creating an environment where everyone can be listened too.

For CED projects to be successful there has to be a supportive environment because, while groups strive to be self-reliant this does not imply that there is no need for support from other agencies or from the government. "Social capital is highest when the organizational integrity of the local government is high and there is a high level of synergy between citizens and public officials" (Green & Haines 2002: 108). Community economic development initiatives rely on government funding and even technical assistance; therefore, one cannot overlook the importance of a positive partnership with local politicians or municipal government departments.

The progressive policy paradigm, according to Goetz: "is base[d] on an analysis of urban development that stresses the social and class-based distribution of benefits and costs in urban development" (1993: 80). This emphasis arose out of a recognition that as downtowns revitalize, inner-city neighbourhoods tend to gentrify, meaning that low-income households are displaced resulting in a disruption of their social relationships (Goetz 1993). With the current emphasis in Winnipeg on the revitalization of their downtown it is essential to recognize this possible course of events and put in place policies and strategies, that will combat or prevent this effect.

A tenet of progressive policy is that the market might not be distributing the benefits of development in an equitable manner; therefore, under this paradigm

there is a focus on nonmarket techniques. Following is Cavel's description of progressive municipal policy as presented by Goetz: "the expanded public regulation of private property; the promotion of alternatives to regulation to the private market; and the increased participation of citizens and community-based interests" (1993: 82). Goetz goes on to propose a fourth element that should be added to the list: "the identification of specific community-based or other defined interest groups toward which to channel the benefits of development" (1993:82). While housing is an important element of neighbourhood revitalization there must be concurrent programs and efforts aimed at addressing other needs or concerns such as safety, access to employment, educational opportunities, and access to other resources.

HOUSING AND NEIGHBOURHOOD REVITALIZATION

Focusing on community and economic aspects of development can be a viable solution to counter gentrification processes that often begin to occur in neighbourhoods that are undertaking revitalization processes. CED is capable of hedging gentrification effects due to its ability to increase the economic well-being of the residents through increasing the availability of well paying, long-term jobs; opportunities for residents to acquire marketable skills; stable housing; an improved physical environment; and the promotion of local goods and businesses. The creation of social and economic linkages as a strategy for neighbourhood revitalization has been expressed by Temkin and Rohe using a cheesecloth analogy; where a tight weave prevents unwanted change and a loose weave leaves a neighbourhood vulnerable to outside forces (Anderson et

al. forthcoming). A well-integrated neighbourhood where residents are engaged is better able to resist possible effects of gentrification that may result from housing rehabilitation efforts.

Non-profit housing is frequently becoming a part of many low-income neighbourhoods' development objectives as the quality of their housing stock declines and residents move away, leaving behind abandoned homes. These homes not only become eyesores but also are potentially dangerous and adversely affect other property values. Non-profits can intervene at various levels to meet the housing needs of their community. CDCs can address housing needs either by developing new units, rehabilitating existing housing stock or establishing of co-operatives or community land trusts. CDCs also become involved in managing, repairing and maintaining the housing. The strategy chosen depends in part on the dynamics of the community, their organizational capacity, and ability to access resources. CDCs address housing issues primarily because market forces do not appear to be capable of meeting the needs of society's most excluded populations particularly the homeless and low-income (Bratt & Keyes 1997, Bratt et al. 1998, Rubin 1994, Vidal 1997). "[CDCs] have stepped in as developers to provide affordable housing in many neighborhoods where the private sector either has assumed that the process of filtering is taking care of the low-cost portion of the market or is simply ignoring that part of the market" (Green& Haines 2002:123). Market based developers are not a consideration in these neighbourhoods because for developers the risk is too high and they can achieve higher profits by providing housing that middle to

upper-income people will purchase (Green & Haines 2002). Therefore, organizations such as non-profits are required to address housing issues. One advantage of CDCs is that they incorporate more than market considerations:

> to integrate physical development efforts within broader programs to bring about social repair. Developmental activists argue that their purpose is to promote economic equality and social justice, not simply bring about capitalist efficiency to poor neighbourhoods. (Rubin 2000: 2)

When profits are not the motivating factor, community development or social objectives become the reason for corporations to become involved in providing housing.

Leaving it to market forces is not a viable solution because markets are what caused the neighbourhood decline, and it is matters of supply and demand and profitability that continue to marginalize these neighbourhoods. However, it is strategies such as CED and its rejection of profit driven ideologies, combined with an awareness of communicative action theory that have the ability to change the patterns of marginalization that can be found in neighbourhoods experiencing decline.

The conditions under which CDCs operate are typically high risk because of the age and condition of the buildings, their location in declining neighbourhoods, and restricted funds because of the preceding factors (Walker 1993). On the back of these high risks and high costs is the fact that the overall immediate and tangible impact on the neighbourhood is relatively small. Cost is also a prohibitive

factor in the capacity of CDCs to undertake ambitious housing programs in their communities.

Although the obstacles are significant, there are good reasons to combine housing and community economic development initiatives, and it is expected that by analyzing the nature of the current discourse in Winnipeg, it will be feasible to increase the integration of CED principles into the provision of affordable housing. "Local initiatives can be important tools for those seeking to develop cross-cutting policy innovations to deal with the realities of poverty and exclusion on the ground. One instance where this is already happening is in the area of job generation through housing improvement..." (Lawless 2001: 149). This provides hope for the future of housing and CED in Winnipeg. However, it is essential at this juncture in the practice of community based delivery of housing that the discourse is clarified both for nonprofit and government employees. This will be undertaken in Chapter 5 but first the thesis sets the context by elaborating the nature of these tasks in the new economy.

CHAPTER 3—IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW ECONOMY

This chapter reviews the literature on the new economy and then examines the possibility for community economic development within the current economic context. The new economy focuses on economic and social ideals that seem to contradict the ideology of community economic development. This chapter will demonstrate that there are several unifying characteristics and that community economic development has the potential to counteract the challenges presented by the new economy.

THE NEW ECONOMY?

Globalization has deteriorated communities and their control over their economic well-being. "Global economic forces and the internationalization of the economy [have] had devastating consequences for local community life. In many areas the industrial base has been wiped out and little has replaced it except a growing service sector that, at best, provides low-wage, unstable employment" (Shragge 1997:7). There is a clear need to develop alternative strategies for communities, as letting them become extinct is not an option. This is evidenced by a pre-occupation authors on the new economy demonstrate for community (Carnoy 2000, Carnevale 1991, Henwood 2003, Hutton 2004, Kanter 1995). The ideology of the new economy has the potential to undermine community. Therefore, neighbourhoods engaged in community economic development must carefully balance their interaction with the global economy with the creation of internal linkages. Building internal linkages is a primary concern but losing

contact with the global economy may result in a limited ability to advance and create economic opportunities for the neighbourhood or region.

Community is significant in the social functions that it fulfills. "Through communities, people validate their worth, interpret experience, disseminate information, organize mutual aid, manage their environment and control themselves" (Boothroyd 1996:79). Community is a strong socializing force that imparts societal norms to its residents and gives them a voice and a forum for expression. The new economy tends to place value on principles that appear to be contradictory to community development ideals.

The new economy consists of "knowledge based companies" that are dependent upon inter-firm networking and they are transforming how employees view their work and the values that are essential in the labour market. Carnoy describes the new economy in the following manner: "It is a way of work and a way of life. Its core values are flexibility, innovation, and risk. ...It requires a workforce that is not only well educated, but also ready to change jobs quickly and to take the risks associated with rapid change" (Carnoy 2000: 1). These shifts in economic trends and labour impact upon the social realm as well.

In a society where people's position and prestige have historically been derived from their profession, there is a shift towards placing more emphasis upon knowledge acquired. The new economy is characterized by decentralization and flexibility; features that tend to favour employers and force employees to re-conceptualize their career expectations.

> The solution arrived at by employers has been to reorganize work around decentralized management, work differentiation, and customized products… This has made subcontracting, part-time employment, and the hiring of temporary labor much easier, because a lot of work can be narrowed down to specific tasks, even as other "core" work is conducted by teams and is organized around multitasking. Socially, workers are gradually being defined less by the particular long-term job they hold than by the knowledge they have acquired by studying and working. (Carnoy 2000: 4)

Carnoy raises some important issues that are central to understanding the new economy. He not only identifies several key qualities that have come to characterize the labour market, he also ties this to the social realm. For people to be competitive they must remain committed to continual learning and constant change.

The new economy has resulted in changes to labour in our society and Carnoy outlines four important elements that are essential to understanding the economic context of today's communities:

- The notion of time: flexible work means less employed time than a thirty-five- to forty-hour per week, full-year job
- The notion of permanency: flexible work is based explicitly on a fixed-term contract with no commitment for future employment
- The notion of location: although the vast majority of workers still work at business sites, increasing numbers of independent contractors work not on-site but in their homes
- The notion of the social contract between employer and employee: the traditional contract is based on reciprocal rights, protections, and obligations… (2000: 74)

These elements outlined by Carnoy are those of the new economy and they appear to have little in common with the principles encompassed by a community economic development approach. The core values of flexibility, innovation and

risk arise because productivity is no longer sufficient in and of itself. "People are demanding high-quality goods and services that are competitively priced, available in a variety of forms, customized to specific needs, and conveniently accessible" (Carnevale 1991: 2). Consumers' demand for customized products fits well with the new economic way of doing business and it is hard to determine whether demand precipitated changes to production or the other way around but manufacturers have moved to an on-time philosophy of production. The main reason for this is that companies do not have to maintain a large inventory of goods and they also do not run the risk of having a surplus on hand when customer demands change or products are discontinued.

The new economy is associated with a creative class of people engaged in such industries as design, architecture, and technology-intensive communication. If there is a concentration of these industries in a region, they tend to be in the inner city or the downtown. These areas are attractive as building spacing is dense, and often the areas are home to old or historical buildings. "These new industry clusters are shaped by the convergence of culture and urban development, by the competitive advantage of the inner city for creative industries" (Hutton 2004: 90). Inner cities offer a competitive advantage if real estate prices in these areas are depressed and there is a high vacancy rate thus making these areas attractive to creative industry companies. However, while this may seem like a positive transition for inner city areas the implications this has on lower-income neighbourhoods are important to note. Firstly, new economy industries are not likely to employ people from the shoulder

communities. As well, "there are of course more problematic features of new economy development within inner city districts, including (direct or indirect) community dislocation, social polarisation tendencies, and the costs associated with high levels of industry volatility" (Hutton 2004: 106). Thus, although these types of industries are attractive to municipal governments there are negative impacts that can occur in the inner city because of them. Therefore, communities must be cognizant of the implications of attracting any particular business to their area.

Community economic development initiated by communities can help to counteract some of these possible drawbacks, or conversely it can feed these effects. Housing development is possibly the most appropriate example of how improvements can enhance the effects of concentrating new economy industries in the inner city, because, as argued above, improved housing stock can result in the neighbourhood gentrifying. At the same time, to not improve housing would leave one of the essential ingredients of neighbourhood revitalization unaddressed.

The new economic context necessarily influences social relationships by forcing a fundamental shift of values. "In this new context, locality begins to have a different meaning. Individuals' networks shift from neighbors and fellow community members to contacts in "destinational" institutions such as work and schools" (Carnoy 2000: 162). The challenge with this is that people are moving through jobs more quickly and so these contacts may not remain permanent.

There is a constant change of networks occurring and people do not establish close and lasting relationships with anyone outside of their families. If people were to establish networks in their communities these would remain constant as everything else shifts, helping people establish roots in their community. With a rise in self-employment, the home becomes more essential as a place of work as well as a place for living.

A DIFFERENT ECONOMIC WAY?

As presented previously, communities in Canada are increasingly being forced into providing social services for their low-income residents. Housing is one of the needs that have become the focus of neighbourhood associations. Several reasons for this are: the increasing polarization between higher and lower-income segments of the population, fewer government resources, and an ideological shift towards empowerment and community control. Some choose a bureaucratic, top-down approach, but more often communities are choosing a community-level participatory approach to revitalization, reflecting contemporary practice in planning and community development.

While there are many aspects of the new economy that are inherently contrary to community economic development ideals, it seems that with careful negotiation community economic development can be used as a tool for addressing the gaps that are evident in our current economic system. The new economy strives to find a balance between several contradictory or opposing factors. One contradictory aspect of the new economy is that of networks. "Networks are an attempt to have it both ways: They are formed for competitive purposes but cannot operate

effectively without cooperation" (Carnevale 1991: 92). This paradox is not only part of the reality of the new economy but is also one of the largest challenges faced by community development organizations. CDCs often rely on one another for innovative ideas or for aid in project implementation but they also are in competition with one another for funding. Therefore, the competitive aspect of securing funding can at times temper their ability to collaborate (Murray 2004).

Due to the reliance of CDCs on government funding, there is at times a difficulty in carrying out the political empowerment aspect of their efforts. There is the need to balance cooperation with government with the need to participate in political activism. A lack of ability to advocate for change and for more responsive policies and programs severely restricts the space or forums available for exposing the social nature of policy, and discussing how it may be contributing to the continued marginalization of people.

Globalization has resulted in a sense of a loss of control and a feeling that local identity and self-esteem are being threatened (Kanter 1995). These feelings produce several responses in people. One is to embrace globalization and pursue personal goals with a disregard for anyone else; and another, on the other end of the spectrum, is a move towards community and community economic development strategies that put people first and show a concern for social, ecological and local economic issues.

Society is putting more and more emphasis on the individual and taking control of one's personal career with little regard for people around them; the simple fact

remains that one cannot do it alone. While the new economy relies on the networking capabilities of its participants, there is also a process of individualization taking place in our society, resulting in serious social issues. "The individualization of work and the shrinkage of the public safety net create additional stress for families and communities as they try to help their members adapt to the new requirements of work life" (Carnoy 2000: 8). Carnoy clearly recognizes that the current trends in the economy are creating unstable social environments for everyone both in the inner-city and in suburban neighbourhoods. The effects of this could potentially lead to quite disastrous results as people experience increased isolation from those around them. "Isolation breeds alienation, and alienation breeds conflict" (Carnoy 2000: 152). This is yet another reason why there exists a need to establish relevant social institutions to meet the needs of people in the new economy.

Community economic development has always been concerned with learning. Programs such as the Antigonish Movement in Cape Breton were initially learning initiatives. Moses Coady believed that community revitalization depended upon learning and education so that participants could be empowered and attain the skills that would allow them to take control of their economic futures (MacIntyre 2003). Learning is a fundamental principle of community economic development and given that knowledge production is a central part of the new economy, this is possibly the strongest point of conversion between the new economy and community economic development. "If learning is what parents and adults care about, social movements cannot hope to be successful if

they ignore knowledge production" (Carnoy 2000: 184). It is for this reason that community economic development is in a position to address the need for relevant social institutions in the new economy.

People need community for social reasons but they are not likely to have the luxury of participating in social initiatives if they do not have safe, decent housing and the economic stability of a decent job. "People unable to find work eventually disappear from the community, drop out of the American political system, and fall into the underground economy" (Carnevale 1991: 128-9). While Carnevale is talking about America in this quote, it could just as easily be about Canada. There is a definite role for CED within the new economic context and there are also points of conversion between the new economy and CED practices; what separates them is the motivation of the actors involved.

This chapter has examined the new economy and ideology and has argued that a progressive CED approach informed by communicative action can function within this economic framework. The following chapter discusses forms of textual analysis in order to understand why critical discourse analysis was chosen as the appropriate form of analysis for this thesis.

CHAPTER 4—RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter will discuss why critical discourse analysis was chosen over other methods of analysis for this research project as a means of interpreting the data and drawing out the rich information and insights that are to be found within the data. Secondly, this chapter will discuss the analysis process that led to the presentation of analysis in chapter 5.

TYPES OF ANALYSIS

Textual analysis can involve quantitative analysis, analysis of grammar, analysis of textual content, drawing conclusions from a text and connecting this to its social context, and examining the discourse to understand the power relations that are being presented in the text. These forms of analysis include; content analysis, conversation analysis, grounded theory, ethnography of speaking, and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2001).

Content analysis is very scientific in its approach and is interested in classification of the content through: sampling, units of analysis, and categories and coding (Titscher et al. 2000). This method of analysis is often used to count the number of occurrences of a word or the expression of an idea within a given category, and assumes that there is a relationship between frequency of occurrence and its significance (Titscher et al. 2000).

Grounded theory (GT) is focused on explaining and generating hypotheses and has its roots in symbolic interactionism, which is a sociological theory that is

based on the idea that people construct their realities through the use of symbols in their social interactions (Fassinger 2005). GT is concerned with code creation and the development of concepts. Instead of being a method of analysis, it is more of a research strategy (Titscher et al. 2000).

One school of thought on text analysis is classified as being ethnomethodologically oriented.

> Ethnomethodology proceeds on the basis that participants in an interaction create social order in any current situation, that is to say "locally". The world of social facts is created through the continuing practice of its members. Ethnomethodology is concerned with the investigation of everyday rationality, colloquial language and everyday events. (Titscher et al. 2000: 104)

This orientation towards analysis, with the concern for how everyday life creates social order, first formed the ideological basis for membership categorization device analysis and then conversation analysis.

Membership categorization device (MCD) analysis attempts "...to understand when and how members of society make descriptions in order subsequently to represent the mechanism used to produce appropriate and suitable descriptions" (Titscher et al. 2000: 107). MCD focuses on small textual units to understand what meanings lie behind the text, through grouping similar categories or identities using: categories, collections, and category bound activities (Titscher 2000). Two drawbacks of MCD for the present study are that this form of analysis is not intended to be applied to large quantities of text such as were required to relate to the constituencies involved here. A second challenge is that other forms

of analysis would have to be used in conjunction with MCD to achieve the necessary level of analysis for this thesis.

Conversation analysis (CA) is a method of linguistic analysis concerned with how people produce orderly social interaction. Often this analysis is carried out on naturally occurring talk and not on produced texts or interviews because of the concern CA has with how talk is structured. Three fundamental assumptions of CA are:

> 1) *The structural organization of talk* Talk exhibits stable, organized patterns, demonstrably oriented to by the participants. These patterns 'stand independently of the psychological or other characteristics of particular speakers'....
> 2) *Sequential organization* 'A speaker's action is *context-shaped* in that its contribution to an on-going sequence of actions cannot adequately be understood except by reference to its context...in which it participates.' However, this context is addressed by CA largely in terms of the preceding sequence of talk: 'in this sense, the context of a nest action is repeatedly renewed with every current action.'
> 3) *The empirical grounding of analysis* The first two properties need to be identified in precise analyses of detailed transcripts. It is therefore necessary to avoid premature theory construction and the 'idealization' of research material which uses only general, non-detailed characterizations. (Heritage as quoted by Silverman 2001: 167; italics original)

CA explores these assumptions through analysis of turn-taking and repair, conversational openings, and how 'institutional' talk changes the structures of everyday conversation (Silverman 2001). CA analysis is not an adequate method of analysis for the present research project because it is concerned with how conversation is structured and not with how this connects to social institutions and societies (Fairclough 2001). In addition, because of the focus on

conversation structures CA is not useful for large amounts of text and is not intended for use on interview transcripts, as these are not naturally occurring texts.

Another type of analysis is the study of ethnography of speaking, which has its roots in anthropological ethnographic studies. Ethnography of speaking tries to explain almost everything about a particular phenomenon. "It shares with traditional ethnographic approaches an interest in complete explanations of meanings and behaviour, which are embedded in a broad structure of values, actions and norms" (Titscher et al. 2000: 91). This method is based on three forms of analysis: ways of speaking, speech communities, and native terms for talk (Fitch 2001).

> 1) ways of speaking: patterns of talk distinctive of a particular group of people, and understood as symbolically meaningful within the broader spectrum of communicative behaviour generally
> 2) speech communities: groups of people who share at least one valued way of speaking, and interpretive resources within which that way of speaking is located; and
> 3) native terms for talk: group-specific labels for communicative practices that index their symbolic importance and meaning. (Fitch 2001: 57)

Ethnography of speaking studies discourse with a focus on ways of seeing and experiencing the world and how this is reflected in language (Fitch 2001). This approach is not useful to this study as it focuses on a group of people who share characteristics in common such as a tribe or ethnic group and is focused on understanding text in relation to culture.

Methods of textual and discourse analysis are varied and differ based on their focus and their concern with syntax, grammar, and linguistics. However, they all share a focus on language in some form or another. The following section will discuss language in more detail, followed by a further discussion of critical discourse analysis.

Understanding the importance of language clarifies why critical discourse analysis and the conclusions that emerge from the analysis, have the potential to influence the effectiveness of community economic development strategies. "The language we speak to ourselves decides whom we will help or hurt, and why. The language we speak to others can enlist their aid or provoke their enmity. The language others speak to us, from childhood shapes the attitudes and beliefs that ground how we use all our powers of action" (Lemke 1995: 1). It is for these reasons that it is essential to acknowledge the power of language, examine how language is being used, and identify the ideologies being put forth through the use of language. Identifying ideologies that are embedded in discourse provides opportunities for thinking and talking in diverse manners, which previously would not have been expressed because of restricted discourse usage.

Discourse can be thought of as the social process of meaning making through language, gestures, images, and other symbols. "For example, a 'familial' discourse will describe relationships as revolving around a nuclear family structure as if it were natural and universal, and as if all other ways we live in the world must be measured against it" (Parker 1999: 3).

Rogers presents Gee's theoretical propositions of discourse, which articulate discourse as not merely a pattern of interactions but as being connected to identity and the distribution of social goods. The five theoretical tenets are:

> 1) Discourses are inherently ideological…They crucially involve a set of values and viewpoints about the relationships between people and the distribution of social goods, at the very least, about who is an insider and who is not, often who is "normal" and who is not, and often, too, many other things as well.
> 2) Discourses are resistant to internal criticism and self-scrutiny because uttering viewpoints that seriously undermine them define one as being outside them. The Discourse defines what counts as acceptable criticism.
> 3) Discourse-defined positions from which to speak and behave are not, however, just defined internally to a Discourse, but also standpoints taken up by the Discourse in its relation to other, ultimately opposing, Discourses.
> 4) Any Discourse concerns itself with certain objects and puts forward certain concepts, viewpoints and values at the expense of others. In doing so, it marginalizes viewpoints and values central to other Discourses. In fact, a Discourse can call for one to accept values in conflict with other Discourses of which one is also a member.
> 5) Discourses are intimately related to the distribution of social power and hierarchical structure in society, which is why they are always and everywhere ideological…. (Rogers 2004: 5-6)

Discourses are always power laden and influenced by cleavages rooted in processes of class, racialization, gendering and so on. One's discourse presents an ideology to others, an ideology that indicates what it is that one holds as valuable and that changes depending on the one's specific context. Use of discourse by people being excluded has the ability to resist current power relations, by changing the manner in which language is employed (Wetherell 2001: 25).

The critical discourse analysis in this project can be situated within an ideology of social constructionism. "Social constructionism insists that we take a critical stance toward our taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world, including ourselves" (Burr 2003:2). This theoretical approach proposes that knowledge is fabricated through daily interactions in our social lives and rejects the essentialism of traditional psychology that labels people and therefore, constrains them within the roles (Burr 2003). Another element of social constructionism is that language is a form of action or 'performative' (Burr 2003). This conceptualization of language and the role it plays in society is a key element of the critical discourse analysis that follows.

Critical discourse analysis is used: to explain the relationship between language and society, to aid in describing, interpreting, and explaining this relationship. It has been proposed that there are foundational principles upon which CDA is based:

- CDA addresses social problems
- Power relations are discursive
- Discourse constitutes society and culture
- Discourse does ideological work
- Discourse is historical
- A sociocognitive approach is needed to understand how relations between texts and society are mediated
- Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory and uses a systematic methodology
- CDA is a socially committed scientific paradigm (Rogers 2004: 2)

These principles provide a useful outline of what critical discourse analysis is based upon and the issues with which CDA is concerned. They clearly delineate

that critical research is a rejection of concepts such as naturalism, rationality, neutrality, and individualism and instead focus on the relationship between individual agency and structural determinism (Rogers 2004).

An important element of critical discourse analysis is the relationship between power and discourse and how power can result in domination based on who has access to the discourse. Van Dijk outlines seven elements of CDA.

1) Power is a property of relations between social groups, institutions or organisations. Hence, only *social power*, and not individual power, is considered here.
2) Social power is defined in terms of the *control* exercised by one group or organisation (or its members) over the *actions* and/or the *minds* of (the members of) another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others, or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies.
3) Power of a specific group or institution may be 'distributed', and may be restricted to a specific *domain* or *scope*, such as that of politics, the media, law and order, education or corporate business, thus resulting in different 'centres' of power and elite groups that control such centres.
4) *Dominance* is here understood as a form of social power *abuse*, that is, as a legally or morally illegitimate exercise of control over others in one's own interests, often resulting in social inequality.
5) Power is *based* on privileged access to valued social resources, such as wealth, jobs, status, or indeed, a preferential access to public discourse and communication.
6) Social power and dominance are often *organised* and *institutionalised*, so as to allow more effective control, and to enable routine forms of power reproduction.
7) Dominance is seldom absolute; it is often *gradual*, and may be met by more or less *resistance* or counter-power by dominated groups. (1996: 84-85; italics original)

The exercise of power does not have to be physical to be dominating or abusive but more harmful is the power people can exercise over the minds of others. Social power is exerted "... through special access to, and control over the

means of public discourse and communication, dominant groups or institutions,,," (van Dijk 1996: 85). It is this power that critical discourse analysis aims to expose and challenge. "If the minds of the dominated can be influenced in such a way that they accept dominance, and act in the interest of the powerful of their own free will, we use the term *hegemony.* One major function of dominant discourse is precisely to manufacture such consensus, acceptance and legitimacy of dominance" (van Dijk 2001: 302). Once a legitimacy of dominance is established, the tendency is to forget that there could be an alternative to the way things are or an alternative manner of offering services to people.

There are several critiques levelled at CDA and its proponents. "First, political and social ideologies are projected onto the data rather than being revealed through the data" (Rogers 2004: 14). This includes researchers knowing what they are going to find before they begin their analysis. "A second critique is that there is an unequal balance between social theory and linguistic method" (Rogers 2004: 14). While one might be favoured over the other, this arises in any situation, and, in fact, one can argue that conversation analysis focuses too intensely on linguistic methods and, therefore, misses the social context of the text being analyzed. This makes it difficult to generalize findings to other situations and does not contribute to challenging the way in which the observed characteristics are created, re-created, and reinforced. "A third critique is that many discourse analyses are extracted from social contexts...A fourth critique is that the methodology is not systematic or rigorous" (Rogers 2004: 14). The fourth critique is a common argument and this is why it is essential to produce more

literature that presents the research methodology; to raise awareness of the process and, relating to Rogers's third point, to demonstrate how the findings are grounded within the research data.

The research process is a part of critical discourse analysis, thus it is important to present how the codes were identified and why they were chosen. This provides more transparency in the process. Critical discourse analysis demands transparency because of the focus on power, knowledge and learning. The following section describes the approach the researcher engaged in for the analysis process.

ANALYSIS PROCESS

The interview data being analyzed comes from a diverse group of people from many organizations. While this can be a limitation, as it may not represent the ideologies of other employees in the sector, it can be a potential strength as well due to the informants' broad representation of the sector. A second possible limitation is that there was not an allowance for other models of CED; rather, the research was done in reference to one specific model. However, this can also be a strength in that every informant was referring primarily to the same model of CED, giving a consistent reference point. The interviews for this research were all with people in decision making roles at neighbourhood housing organizations or with government housing officials. Therefore the data did not come from neighbourhood residents. It is entirely a top-down in the examination of relations. Therefore, this work is interested in the language use of the policy makers and

those in charge of housing work and how they maintain, re-create, or create social relations.

An element to bear in mind is that the analysis and conclusions are influenced by the perspective and interpretations of the researcher, especially as they relate to power and inequality. "Within this framework of "critical," the analyst's intention is to uncover power relationships and demonstrate inequities embedded in society" (Rogers 2004: 3). Where CDA is used it is essential to remember that the intentions and biases of the analyst always influence the theory and method of analysis.

After the interviews were transcribed, they were imported into Atlas Ti, a qualitative analysis program, which is a useful tool for organizing the analysis, coding, retrieving and diagramming the data. The first step was to begin reading the data and marking quotations which were then distilled into codes. Codes were not pre-determined, but generated as the data was read and the relevance of particular quotations emerged. Half way through the first read of the data the codes that had been generated at that point were reviewed and evaluated based on their usefulness or redundancy in relation to the research questions. From that review it became clear that some of the codes were not helpful in answering the research questions. Some codes were related to the bigger ideas but did not need to be identified individually, so they could be included under other codes or ideas. An example of this is the code skill development, which was developed during the first stage of the analysis as an important element of community

economic development. However, upon reflection it became evident that it should be included under the community economic development code. None of the questions deal directly with skill development, therefore, it did not need to be a separate code. The chart below identifies the codes that were selected after the review process, and shows which questions these codes are associated with. The codes are not mutually exclusive due to the integrated nature of the questions being asked and the different ways in which the data can be investigated.

Table 1: Relationship of codes to research questions

	Attitudes towards Housing	Attitudes towards residents	Collaboration	Community building	Community development	Community economic development	Economic development	Homeownership	Policy	Rental
Identity constructed of the community and the residents	X	X		X	X				X	
Part of the community or working in the community		X	X	X	X	X			X	
Meaning of community economic development			X	X	X	X	X		X	
Ideology of housing and neighbourhood revitalization	X	X					X	X	X	X

The code "attitudes towards housing" contains quotations that will be useful in answering the question on the identities of the communities that are constructed

by informants when talking about affordable housing in Winnipeg. The code is relevant to this question because when housing organizations talk about their housing work they often talk about people who are living in those units or who will be living in the houses. Secondly, the code can answer the question related to the ideologies constructed in terms of housing and neighbourhood revitalization because the language employed is indicative of their attitudes and ideological approaches to housing and revitalization.

Attitudes towards residents provide insight into the housing and revitalization approach advocated by the housing group. This code also has the potential of displaying whether the informants frame themselves as being part of the community, working with the community, or working for the community. Finally, it also speaks to the question of the identity constructed of the neighbourhood residents because the language or words used by the informants when speaking of residents reveals the power relations or structures within which community economic development initiatives are operating.

Collaboration is a key element of community economic development if one uses the leaky bucket analogy and CED creating linkages in the local economy. These linkages will be more effective if there is strong collaboration. Community economic development is concerned with creating connections among people. Therefore collaboration addresses both the economic and social goals of development at the neighbourhood level. For these reasons, the collaboration code will aid in answering the question of the community economic development

discourse that is being employed among Winnipeg affordable housing organizations. Collaboration quotations may also provide insight into where these organizations position themselves in relation to the communities they relate to as part of their mandate. The collaboration code will help in answering this because the willingness of the organization to collaborate with other neighbourhood organizations could be indicative of their position in relation to the rest of the community.

Community building and community development are part of community economic development and therefore provide information for the question on the community economic development discourse, as well as the questions dealing with ideas of neighbourhood revitalization and whether the people speaking for the communities identify themselves as part of or separate from the community. If they do not position themselves as part of the community, it is easy to absolve themselves of any responsibility for facilitating or participating in community building processes.

The community economic development code contains quotations that will provide insight into whether or not the informants position themselves as part of or outside of the community and the meanings attached to the term 'community economic development'. The way CED is talked about reveals their understanding of the concept and this may have implications for the underlying intent as well as the success of their initiatives.

Economic development is an identified code as it is an element of community economic development. Community building or community development without economic development is not community economic development. This is identified as a separate code from community economic development because attitudes towards economic development within a CED context can be significant. Financial considerations are key to creating linkages within a neighbourhood. If social aspects are favoured over economics CED, will not achieve its full potential. This clears the path for critics of the CED movement to claim that CED initiatives fail to produce significant economic results. They will then lobby for reducing funding for community based services.

The codes homeownership and rental contain quotations that display informants' ideas about housing and neighbourhood revitalization. These quotes also reveal whether this discourse favours one form of tenure over the other. If there is a bias in favour of one form over another, there are implications for the types of projects pursued and the way the neighbourhood revitalizes.

Policy is included as a code because although there is not an interview question directly related to policy, this is an element that impacts the housing projects implemented, the approaches employed in neighbourhood revitalization, CED ideology, and the attitudes or images of community that are portrayed by the informants.

> As Fairclough suggested, polices define how we are to act and by what rules we must abide. Through public policy we come to be socialized into what is thinkable and unthinkable. As such, policy represents the authoritative allocations of values and

> goals. These cultural models or understandings about the world position people in specific ways. (Woodside-Jiron 2004: 174)

While policy can define or socialize us, we also have the power to contest or change policy. The above statement is meant to illustrate the power associated with policy and why it is essential to examine policy because only once the power structures are recognized are we able to contest them. Policy sets the framework within which affordable housing and community economic development activities operate. The implications of policy in relation to the words that are employed will be discussed in the analysis and conclusion of this thesis.

After reading the data and coding the text the quotations that were associated with a specific code were re-read focusing on three aspects: contradiction, construction, and practice. Contradiction looks at the different meanings that occur in the text. "Instead of trying to uncover an underlying theme which will explain the real meaning of the text, we look for the contradictions between different significations, and the way different pictures of the world are formed" (Parker 1999: 6). Construction examines the meanings of the words or ideas being presented. "Here we refuse to take anything for granted, and we try to trace how texts have been 'socially constructed' so that they make sense to readers" (Parker 1999: 7). Finally, practice tries to understand what the contradictory meanings are doing. "Here we are concerned with issues of power, and we also want to open up a place for *agency*, as people struggle to make sense of texts. This is where people push at the limits of what is socially constructed and actively construct something different" (Parker 1999: 7; italics

original). Keeping these elements in mind while engaging in the analysis process aided in being able to understand the meanings informants were creating, reshaping, and reinforcing through their language usage.

CDA identifies the manner in which informants employ language to construct, challenge, or re-shape a discourse and identifies some of these particular uses as: rhetoric, interpretive repertoires, or members' resources. All three have a common element based on the idea that people use certain explanations for the way things are as a taken for granted element of our social world. Their differences arise in relation to the scale at which these explanations occur, such as at an individual level, a group of diverse people employing the same reasoning or expression, or a positioning of oneself as a member of a group.

Rhetoric can be defined as how people use an explanation, argument, or reasoning to justify their perspective, beliefs, values, and views; using a known representation or meaning. "…[R]hetoric has a trajectory towards its intent and is fulfilled by its outcome. It is directed to an audience (present or absent) and achieves its objective by provoking a response. Rhetoric is *completed* by the other" (Hopfl 1999: 130; italics original). It is presented in a common sense manner based on the assumption that the person hearing or reading the words will know, understand, and accept what is being presented.

Interpretive repertoires have emerged from the field of discursive psychology. "Interpretive repertoires are seen as linguistic resources or tool kits available to speakers in the construction of their accounts" (Burr 2003: 167). The difference

between interpretive repertoires and rhetoric is that interpretive repertoires are only such if different people talking about the same topic or idea are using the same patterns, ideas or words. If one person has a way of talking about an idea, it is not an interpretive repertoire unless that same characteristic can be identified among various sources. "The functions that these repertoires serve for people are seen as generally enabling them to justify particular versions of events, to excuse or validate their own behaviour, to fend off criticism or otherwise allow them to maintain a credible stance in an interaction" (Burr 2003: 60). Repertoires are social resources that people use to create accounts that justify their actions or attitudes. People do not usually employ repertoires with the intention of there being negative social implications resulting from their usage.

Members' resources are defined as: "Social and linguistic resources for signalling and interpreting identities and making meaning of texts" (Rowe 2004: 79). These resources include: "the shapes of words, the grammatical forms of sentences, the typical structure of narrative, the properties of types of object and person, the expected sequence of events in a particular situation type, and so forth" (Fairclough 2001: 9). Members' resources are used by a speaker to position the self as a member of a particular group, and this association is achieved through the usage of specific language which indicates the informant's position or membership.

Chapter 4 has presented an overview of methods of textual analysis, a discussion on how the analysis was carried out, and some definitions of terms

that will appear in the following chapter. This chapter on research methods includes a discussion of why CDA has been employed as the method of analysis as opposed to other methods, and provides the context for the analysis that follows in chapter 5. The following chapter will identify the rhetoric, interpretive repertoires, and members' resources being used in housing discourse in Winnipeg.

CHAPTER 5—ANALYSIS

This chapter focuses on the data as it relates to the four research questions, preceded by a section on policy and its discursive nature, particularly some of the identities of people that have been constructed by government policies. This will set the context for current policies related to affordable housing and inform the analysis, as policy is the framework that guides all the programs.

POLICY AND IDENTITY

At the federal level, there has been a shift in ideology from the idea of elements of shared identity based on citizenship, thus justifying the sharing of wealth through federally funded programs, to an individualized construction of poverty being addressed through community. Community in this instance is discursively defined as a private domain, removed from that of public or political authority so that the federal government can disengage from the provision of social services and place responsibility in the realm of philanthropy or volunteerism (Murray 2004). Thus, the policy response has been to place responsibility with community organizations and groups. Furthermore, populations have been divided into categories based upon what needs group they fit into, for example, children at risk. This ignores that people may also belong to other communities or identify themselves in another manner. Such a policy focus also neglects the idea that people may be where they are due to common structural forces such as cuts to social housing, social assistance, and employment insurance (Murray 2004). What can be concluded is that despite the presentation of a progressive

approach to program delivery, the individualizing discourse continues to be disempowering and therefore undermines the potential of a progressive policy paradigm.

In Manitoba provincial policy promotes the use of community economic development principles in government projects. Along with the CED framework, there has been a focus on working with neighbourhood associations or development corporations. As one government employee stated:

> So, wherever there is a community group active, and involved in the realization of that neighbourhood we are not about to go and undermine the process…I think that you will find that co-operative or non-profit objectives are more aligned with the objectives of our program. (Interview 6)

At a provincial level there is a discursive orientation towards community groups but as proposed by Murray (2004) in her discussion of federal policy processes, these provincial policies still fail to recognize that there are individuals in these communities or neighbourhoods and not everyone is better off simply because a provincial policy is implemented at a community level. This assumption that community delivery of services in unequivocally good results in a lack of critical evaluation of the processes and outcomes. Also, although there is a policy in regards to CED, there is an indication that the province has little capacity to strongly adhere to it.

> It becomes difficult to make that requirement because of certain issues of trade and other biases… (Interview 6, government)

Using CED principles at a provincial policy level is rather difficult. One reason for this is that CED is intended to be a grassroots approach to addressing economic

and social conditions and therefore its potential is limited when used as a top-down policy tool.

Informants also stated that it was difficult to relinquish control to communities. One government employee used the interpretive repertoire of the need for accountability to tax payers as a means of conveying the idea of needing to have control. "You have got to make sure you can stand up and say we provided money to do these things and they were done. You have to be able to do that because it's public money" (Interview 4). The need for accountability is used to justify the reporting requirements and restrictions placed on the funding that goes to the neighbourhoods. One informant was slightly more candid on the issue of control, as well as recognizing that by legitimizing one group, others in the neighbourhood might be excluded. Also the informant indicates that delivering programs at a neighbourhood level does not necessarily result in greater community involvement.

> We try to avoid steering these groups to certain conclusions because we want them to determine within the community what is best for them but if you give a group authority in that area and you give them all the funding then you are relying on them to communicate with the community, to involve the community and if they don't or if you are not quite satisfied or if they are not completely clear with what they are doing, then there is a question of whether this is a power structure that you are setting up to operate and is the community involved, do they have full access to the process. (Interview 7, government)

There are indications of using policy and CED rhetoric for the purposes of more productive neighbourhoods.

> Housing now is being looked at as a social policy tool more than it was previously. So we are not just talking about the building of houses and creation of units. We are talking about how the building of houses and creation of units can have a much broader impact on the neighbourhoods, on the community... (Interview 17, government)

While a CED policy approach is aimed at being much more holistic and therefore more efficient, there is no mention in this quote, from a government employee, of people or individuals despite CED's ideology of empowerment. According to communicative action theory, people's voices must be heard and represented; however, there is little opportunity for this to happen if people or individuals are not part of the language being used at a policy level. The lack of recognition of people and therefore of individuals is disempowering and results in disempowering identity constructions of people who need access to affordable housing.

IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

This section addresses the question of what identity is constructed of the community or neighbourhood residents by employees of non-profit housing organizations and government housing employees. There are many ideologies and types of rhetoric employed throughout the data being analysed. Informants generally demonstrated a genuine concern for people and for the provision of affordable housing. However, upon analysing their conversations it became apparent that there is a tendency to use language in a manner that can unwittingly create or reinforce some dominant power structures. These mediate relations between the people building or supplying housing and the people living in the homes or the residents of the neighbourhood.

The most common interpretive repertoire employed by interviewees was that community based housing organizations are able to provide housing at a more human scale and are more capable of being responsive to individual needs than is government.

> So there are things like that which can be done that can't be done by the government and you can deal with people on an individual basis as well. (Interview 2, nonprofit)

> You bring it down on a little different level. Quite often it's not so intimidating to come here as to go to the government office. I think that the people here are a little more understanding...I think perhaps we understand the needs a bit better. (Interview 9, nonprofit)

Among the interviewees there seems to be an attempt to reinforce or reiterate the ideology of community as being better able to provide services by constructing community groups as caring and responsive and government as being unable to be flexible and make decisions on a case-by-case basis. This may arise out of a perceived need to legitimize to others, the role of community organizations and their importance in helping to provide services. The organizations appear to be employing an interpretive repertoire based on the idea that being responsive to individual cases demonstrates that they are caring and legitimizes the funding they receive. While there are interpretive repertoires in use it is also true that community based groups do have the capacity to provide individualized services to residents.

However, several informants demonstrate a paternalistic attitude towards residents. This is evident through the language that is employed when describing

their programs or in the terminology used when referring to the people who live in their units or purchase their homes.

> We also provide a manual outlining our expectations as well as what we hope they will do as homeowners in their neighbourhood. (Interview 1, nonprofit)

The focus here is very much on the organization and their expectations of the people moving into the housing. Instead of a dialogue with the future homeowners there is a manual provided outlining what is required of the residents. In addition, the informant uses the words "we" and "our" which demonstrates a focus on the organization and their goals and values as opposed to a concern for the homeowners and their needs. At the same time there are in the quotation words such as "homeowners" and "their" which is indicative of a concern for the people who are moving into the homes. Thus this informant demonstrates an ability to balance organizational goals with a respect for prospective homeowners.

The use of the word 'client' by one informant is intended to present a politically correct discourse. However, this term implies a very dependent relationship of the resident upon the organization and the services they are offering. This informant reiterates throughout the interview the organization's commitment to being sensitive to the needs of the population and treating people with respect, making it clear that this is an issue that is part of the organization's rhetoric. However it seems that it may be possible to err too far on this side to the point of setting aside the fact that they are working with living, breathing, and thinking people.

> The staff and the board have this philosophy of being non-judgemental with our clients and it works really well. If you approach an individual and do not make judgements about their lifestyle or their addictions or even how they are treating you at that particular time, you are able to really connect with that person and identify what needs to be provided in the form of housing to that individual. (Interview 11, nonprofit)
>
> We spend a lot of time identifying good trainers and good educators in our community who meet with staff, train them on basic issues related to aging so that all of our staff have basic training about working with the elderly and then we go further in talking about dealing with high-risk, difficult seniors in our training so if you are not sensitive to all of those issues and culturally sensitive as well then you won't last in our agency. (Interview 11, nonprofit)
>
> ...and as a group we have a trusting relationship with the individual clients. We love the fact that we're there for them. If we're having difficulty convincing people to accept services we can work as a team to find the right players to link with that person and communicate with them properly. (Interview 11, nonprofit)

The use of the word "client" as well as the approach of deciding what services each client needs and convincing them that this is what they need is not empowering to the individuals receiving the services. The very idea that people are receiving services is indicative of the relationship between the housing organization and the residents of the units. A more empowering approach would include talking with the residents to allow them the opportunity of expressing their needs and if staff see them differently that might be the basis for understanding what needs there are. The organization is attempting to be respectful and trying to employ a neutral discourse, however, it is difficult to escape their power relationship as providers of a necessity to a vulnerable population.

Their approach of integrated delivery of services that they deem necessary for their clients, is very consistent with CED principles. CED is based on a holistic approach and an integrated delivery process as an essential element of a holistic orientation. The fact that this organization is attempting to employ an integrated approach is an important element of providing housing within a CED framework. A holistic CED approach means not just providing housing, but offering supports and also addressing income, employment, and neighbourhood stability. However, there is a need to reframe the discussion on their integrated delivery approach because talking about providing services implies a dependent relationship between service provider and consumer or client. One way of reframing this would be to talk about residents of units or buildings and not as clients.

Few informants spoke of empowerment. However, one person expressed an inclusive approach that provided residents the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes and expressed the benefits of such an approach as empowering for the participants.

> Having members of the community on the board for example, in our case, ensures that the community has a sense of investment and ownership and empowerment around what is happening in their neighbourhood.... (Interview 12, nonprofit)

Another informant working for the same organization believed the role of residents on the board was also in the function of neighbourhood development but expressed that these board members were perhaps less capable of participating meaningfully in the other responsibilities of being a board member.

> It's pretty overwhelming for a lot of people, even professionals on the board. What we try and do is to have the community development approach which people on the board can more easily participate in... (Interview 8, nonprofit)

This statement provides a slightly different depiction of how residents are expected to participate in this organization's board. It appears that residents are relegated mainly to community development activities such as organizing block parties while leaving the difficult tasks to professionals. However, this role is limited to two or three residents on a board at any one time and their empowerment or sense of ownership might be greater if there were board capacity building workshops for all board members, which would equip everyone to make better decisions and more effectively participate in decision-making processes.

While some organizations reserve positions on their boards for community members, other organizations do not feel that residents need to have a voice on the board of directors.

> No, we did have tenant representation on the board at one point and matter of fact that was the board president but I think that there's not a real need for that. (Interview 14, nonprofit)

This indicates that residents are constructed as passive consumers of a product and not active citizens in a community based housing strategy. From a CED perspective, engaging residents in decision-making, community development, and neighbourhood activities is essential. With community or resident engagement there will be more neighbourhood stability, and individuals will

become empowered, resulting in being able to challenge the dominant power structures.

Only two interviewees, when talking about residents, made reference to the fact that residents have valuable knowledge to contribute to the process of affordable housing provision in inner-city neighbourhoods.

> We work very closely with the community association so they will identify what they think should be rehabbed… (Interview 16, nonprofit)

> I guess I feel that the people that live here really know what needs to be done and why it needs to be done and can push for what the community needs. (Interview 15, nonprofit)

The significance of such a perspective is that it places power and responsibility into the hands of the residents.

One informant provided contradictory statements throughout the interview and while overall it seems as though this person has good intentions in terms of supplying affordable housing, the discourse at times is not always clear.

> A lot of them are irresponsible in terms of spending… (Interview 2, nonprofit)

> …but I do think that on the whole our tenants tend to be a little more responsible than other tenants in the area and they are a little more careful about their property… (Interview 2, nonprofit)

> Some of them are very unstable. Some of them have lived there for up to five or six years which is unusual given the fact that we are dealing with lower income people. (Interview 2, nonprofit)

> I mentioned that a lot of our tenants come from the inner city and they carry around some of the baggage of people who

> live in the inner-city and are poor, so we have people and I'm not talking about the ones being looked after or are supervised by WRHA but we have some people that I would describe as nut cases. (Interview 2, nonprofit)
>
> If they can't cope there is nothing we can do about it or should do about it. We're not social workers and it's very difficult for us to even contemplate getting into that business… (Interview 2, nonprofit)

These quotes demonstrate the conflicting rhetoric that is being presented by this one person, but also provide examples of some of the informant's assumptions or biases that are attached to the population who are residents in the organization's units. This demonstrates that, for some, discussions on affordable housing are convoluted, and contradictory. The result is that the discourse could possibly hinder the effectiveness of housing programs due to a lack of clarity. Thus, it is essential to examine the language being used and raise awareness of the effects of such discourses. Providing housing to low-income people is the organizations' primary objective. If the organization is not equipped to provide the other social services that may be required then they should not attempt to do so. However, if the interest is in meeting the needs of residents in a holistic manner and they need a social worker, or mental health workers, or a homeownership workshop then it would seem that arranging for these would help in addressing the social needs of the residents.

One organization with quite a few rental units has tenants that represent a cross-section of society, and it is their goal to model an integrated community. However, the labels attached to these residents do not offer people many opportunities for breaking free from their past and moving forward.

> "In that one building we have people that are out of prison, people that are in drug treatment programs, kids that have come out of CFS care and now are in independent living, we have an ex-prostitute, an ex-sniffer, we have people that are full-time employed somewhere, we have students, seniors, and people with mental health issues." (Interview 5, nonprofit)

While the informant is listing the backgrounds of the tenants to demonstrate their integrated housing model, the interviewee's word choice is attaching a lot of assumptions about these people's identities by using such value-laden descriptors. This rhetoric is intended to inform the listener's perspective on what people are like, and thereby deduce how unusual a situation it is to house such a cross-section of people in one building. The other downfall of this statement is that seeing people in this manner renders them unable to shed past mistakes or choices and to be known for who or what they are now. However describing tenants as people who have jobs or who are living on social assistance does not have the same effect as stating that there is "an ex-prostitute" living in the building. Organizations may need to use labels such as the ones found here because, this for them, is an indicator that they house people who are seen as being the most in need of quality, affordable housing. They are thereby claiming membership within a group of people who are helping those who need to be taken care of. By claiming membership in this category, the informant is using the linguistic tool of members' resources. This is unconsciously employed to legitimize one's actions, programs, agenda, or policies as their ability to secure funding is determined by their success in helping those in greatest need.

Another attitude expressed about residents of inner-city neighbourhoods was in relation to their work ethic.

> Then mix that with people who are either moving slow because they're just learning [building] trades if they want to be learning anything or they just want to be making some money and resent that they have to work to make the money. (Interview 5, nonprofit)

Such a statement reveals low expectations of the desire of inner-city residents' motivation to work and to learn. Also, just because one needs training does not mean that building trades are the proper choice for everyone; some people do not have the aptitude or ability to work in construction. An attitude of this nature stereotypes and does not allow for the agency of any individual person.

Interviewees at times tended to underestimate the skills residents may be able to contribute to a community economic development effort that includes a focus on housing.

> ...could have local participation of local residents in the maintenance of the buildings. (Interview 3, government)

Maintenance of the buildings is a job, but it will not result in employment for many people and it does not involve residents in decision-making processes, which is where a lot of power can be exercised. Residents tended to be relegated to low paying, low skilled positions instead of encouraged to develop skills that are more advanced. This may be because informants are talking or thinking about CED only as it can be applied to housing instead of seeing CED as a larger approach of which housing is only one element. If CED is the approach instead of thinking

simply about the role residents can play within a housing strategy; then residents will be better positioned to respond to homeownership opportunities.

One informant expressed a very clear vision of the goals of their housing organization and adopted an uncompromising attitude towards people who do not support the work the organization is involved in. While it is essential to have clear goals and a vision, it is also important when working in a community to maintain effective relationships.

> Most of the people we hired are still in the community; some like us and understand what we did, some don't like us. That's just a fact of life. (Interview 5, nonprofit)

A harsh attitude towards the residents and a disregard for the importance of positive community relations can be detrimental to an overall goal of community economic development; it is vital to work collaboratively within and among neighbourhoods in order for there to be effective CED.

Some rhetoric emerged from the data in relation to residents of affordable housing. Residents are presented as lacking knowledge, having a lot of baggage, and being transient. This is one informant's perspective on residents:

> These people have no experience in budgeting… (Interview 14, nonprofit)

> We have a very transient population. They like to move around, it's an unusual population so they will live here for a few months, a couple of years and then move on. (Interview 14, nonprofit)

Referring to the residents of affordable housing units as "these people" classifies them all into one unspecific, generic category of the 'other' and does not

acknowledge that there may be exceptions to the perceived rule. It is a rather large generalization. Also, while the target population may move more than other people, to express the habit or trend as a choice or because people like to move seems to trivialize the transience of the population and not address the core issue of the transient lifestyle that people have adopted or been forced into.

New homeowners or residents are often presented as lacking knowledge and while residents may need to acquire some different knowledge when moving from being renters to being homeowner, some organizations go no further than identifying the problem. Other organizations have begun to address this issue by hiring someone to assist residents with addressing any issues that may arise. Below is a representation of the various perspectives that were presented by the informants.

> They don't have the technical, banking, financial [skills] and even if they are told this jargon or babble, they are confused. (Interview 18, nonprofit)

> We've actually engaged an individual to provide support services to our tenants. Because of the location of our properties we do have a lot of new Canadian families or people who have limited skills in home ownership or rental ownership [sic] so this program provides them with a contact individual to provide them other support services. We can refer them to schools or other government programs that they could contact. (Interview 16, nonprofit)

By representing residents as not being able to understand financial or banking language there is no opportunity or recognition of the resident's abilities to learn the necessary terminology if given sufficient and appropriate opportunity to develop the necessary knowledge. The second quote represents an agency that

has recognized the needs of the residents and has begun to address these needs by employing someone to provide support and information.

In one interview, an informant presented an attitude, which suggests that instead of addressing problems that exist among residents of a neighbourhood, the informant appears to be content with burying the issues and the people inside their homes.

> The chaos used to be on the street...and now it's behind closed doors. There's still a lot of crack here but there's just a lot of people like me and the neighbours that will just go 9-1-1 and 9-1-1 so people that people (sic) that are dysfunctional are just trapped in there, which is good. (Interview 18, nonprofit)

The informant shows unsympathetic interest in people who have barriers such as drug addictions. The drawback of such an approach is that these people are still in the neighbourhood but are never going to be a positive or engaged population within the neighbourhood. There is an attempt further on in the interview to somewhat temper the hard-line approach and present a caring attitude.

> I'm not a social worker. A lot of heartfelt stories here. I never turn anyone away, I ask them what they want...I'm a pretty good person that way. On the street I keep being friendly to them sometimes I'm the only friend to them. (Interview 18, nonprofit)

It seems that all the informants who work for community based housing organizations struggle with providing housing in an appropriate manner and being sensitive to the needs of their residents especially in relation to the social barriers that residents encounter. This struggle results in a very contradictory discourse throughout the interviews and demonstrates the magnitude of the

struggle the informants face daily in their jobs as community based affordable housing providers. The result of this struggle is: residents are stereotyped based on the experiences informants have with a few residents, a construction of residents as lacking motivation, lacking knowledge, being transient, having many problems, and therefore a rationalization that the organizations are best capable of making decisions for or on the behalf of the neighbourhood. Creating such an identity of residents results in the provision of services instead of an engaging dialogue between housing organizations and neighbourhood residents. This reinforces the existing power structures between the community-based organizations and residents of a neighbourhood. There are several organizations that engage residents in some decision-making processes, and who use more inclusive language but it is possible that their discourse has become emptied due to the institutionalization of the CED ideology. The following analysis of the remaining research questions may aid in answering whether or not this is the case.

THE COMMUNITY OR NEIGHBOURHOOD

The following section examines the data which relates to the question of whether it is clear from the language used that the informants position themselves as part of the community or as working for the community. The reason this positioning is important is because it could indicate the ideology and power structures that operate between community based organizations and neighbourhood residents.

Understanding their position may also provide insight into their view of the inner-city.

While some organizations recognize a community wide need they have had to strictly focus on working with the families who move into the housing units they build or rehabilitation.

> It's really gotten to the point where we have to keep it as simple as possible and focus on just the development work and working with the families themselves to make sure they develop ownership and develop stability in their homes. (Interview 8, nonprofit)

There is not a community focus in this person's discourse at the moment so clearly they are not positioning themselves as an organization that is engaged in working with the neighbourhood for change beyond any benefits that may come from the housing work they are involved in. Thus despite their geographical definition of their community that they work in, the community building aspect of their housing work is confined to the community of people living in their units. The focus on their residents is by necessity. However, due to their limited scope it is important to note that any wider benefits that come from their work are external to their efforts and focus.

Some informants presented an inclusive ideology that recognized the importance of local decision-making.

> Having members of the community on the board for example, in our case ensures that the community has a sense of investment and ownership and empowerment around what is happening in their neighbourhood so it is not

> feeling to them like some kind of external body imposing things on the neighbourhood... (Interview 12, nonprofit)

> The board has people from the community, not large numbers but we have one of our tenants on the board and the person who works in the area at the development corporation is also on our board so we have some community contact there. (Interview 2, nonprofit)

These informants position themselves outside the neighbourhood and as simply working in the neighbourhood. However, there is recognition of the need for ownership and empowerment of residents. In the first quote there is no indication of a perspective that would suggest that this informant feels a sense of investment in the neighbourhood despite working in the neighbourhood on a daily basis.

There is use of rhetoric that is based on the assumption that being involved in the board creates a sense of ownership. But this involvement is not very hands-on as demonstrated below. Also, there is an indication that the residents on the whole may not feel very connected to the organization and the projects that happen in their neighbourhood. This is evident in the phrase: "so it is not feeling to them like some kind of external body imposing things on the neighbourhood."

> Local decision making. I have talked about this before, our board is half local, community-based but their participation is limited and I think that generally there is intimidation felt by people. (Interview 8, nonprofit)

Resident participation could actually be more tokenism than meaningful engagement in the decision-making. Contact with the community is sometimes limited to intermediaries and it also indicates that not all groups are community-driven, they are simply community-based.

One informant indicates identifying with the neighbourhood and believing in the knowledge that residents have to offer.

> The housing committee is the one that got this whole thing going and they are just community members that live or work here that meet once a month and have pushed this whole thing forward. I guess I feel that the people that live here really know what needs to be done and why it needs to be done and can push for what the community needs. (Interview 15, nonprofit)

Another one does not appear to identify with the inner city at all:

> I get discouraged, certainly, by what I'm seeing out there in the North End. (Interview 14, nonprofit)

It is as though the North End is an agglomeration beyond this person's realm of knowledge or experience. By employing the phrase "out there", there is a sense of the area being beyond one's reach. This can also create an interpretive repertoire for the reader or listener, creating an image in one's mind of this place being beyond help or out of the ordinary because of its position "out there." This comment also places the informant outside of the group of people of who live in the North End. The speaker is employing a member resource, indicating that he does not want to be identified as a resident of these neighbourhoods. On the other hand one informant clearly is situated within the community.

> I needed skilled people that were willing to work with folks from our community that were coming in with less skills. (Interview 5, nonprofit)

The phrase "our community" stands in stark contrast to some of the other language employed by other informants. This does not mean that they cannot be effective or that they are less dedicated, but if the theory is that a sense of

ownership increases people's investment in their community, then the same should be true of the informants. However, this attitude is not always clearly articulated in the discussion.

> That's kind of an example of the importance of a community based group because there is more of a commitment and a desire to actually see things through and when times get tough, funding gets cut back or whatever could happen in the future the community group is going to fight like hell to try and continue the program. (Interview 8, nonprofit)

The capacity that community groups possess to be tenacious and dedicated in the face of huge obstacles is positive. However, it is also a clear articulation of the organization as being community-based as opposed to community-run. Additionally there is mention of the community group fighting to continue but that is different from the residents fighting for survival if the two are not one in the same.

One result of being community-run is that there is increased local accountability because residents will see the housing organization employees on their streets, in their stores, and at their schools. Organizations that simply work in a neighbourhood do not have this same built-in community accountability.

> Are they able to enforce what's going on in their buildings? It's very tough. They are absentee landlords essentially. Absent by political affiliation, by the funding structure itself and by not living in the neighbourhood. (Interview 5, nonprofit)

This brings up the issue of local decision-making, which can be compromised by having too many employees who are not neighbourhood residents. Local decision-making is one of the key principles of community economic

development and a communicative action process. It is where a great deal of the power lies. A couple of board positions does not, even from a democratic standpoint, put the residents in a powerful decision making position. Some organizations have recognized this, as is indicated in the following quotes:

> Local decision making, yes we're the ones that call the shots and the people who get to have control are people who live in the community. People that live elsewhere don't get control, that's something that's key and one of our principles. (Interview 5, nonprofit)

> Local decision making, well that's what it's all about. All these committees meet and discuss, argue and come to a consensus hopefully on what we are going to be doing in our community. (Interview 15, nonprofit)

Both informants are residents of the neighbourhoods in which they are engaged in housing work and both demonstrate a vested interest in the activities that happen there. Also, there is confidence in the necessity and value of local decision-making. The following quote is from an informant employed by a non-profit housing organization.

> I think the principles are definitely something that affects the neighbourhoods. (Interview 16, nonprofit)

This person does not live in the neighbourhoods where the organization operates and gives no indication of identifying with the inner-city neighbourhoods. There is a barrier that comes from not living in the neighbourhood, thus hindering the informant's ability to speak about the local decision-making process and how residents are affected.

The analysis of the discourse on community demonstrates that the informants who are all either employees of non-profits, or neighbourhood associations, or

development corporations have varying attachments to the communities in which their organizations operate. Several of the informants are neighbourhood residents, and these are the people that generally expressed a greater sense of connection with the neighbourhood. The analysis demonstrates this is significant as it impacts local decision-making and the importance that is placed on significant resident engagement in the revitalization process. Additionally, those who were not residents and who had no specific neighbourhood affiliation talked even more vaguely of the neighbourhoods through the use of terms such as 'the inner-city' and 'out there in the North End.' This lack of identification with the neighbourhoods results in a distance from the people who live there and could mean that there is little sense of the idea of people becoming empowered through the process of community economic development. The informants who employed these terms were also less likely to engage in community economic development and demonstrated less familiarity with the principles and the ideology.

The following section examines the question of what meanings or ideas the informants attached to the 'community economic development'. The reason for examining the discourse to answer this question is that the manner in which the term is employed or how community economic development is referred to impacts the capacity of CED to be progressive and transformative.

COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

The following analysis will explore the diversity of CED approaches expressed in the discourse about Winnipeg's inner city. There is evidence of a continued ambiguity as to what CED is, even while stating that they are engaged in programs that incorporate principles of CED.

The data demonstrates that there is some hiring of local labour, there are training programs targeted at inner city residents and these training programs also provide a social worker to their employees to help them address any social challenges they may encounter. Additionally, residents are getting to know one another through planning processes, there is some focus on increasing human dignity, and more income is circulating in the neighbourhood economies. One program also has regular social events thus creating a sense of camaraderie amongst its employees. However, there are still areas where the organizations could improve their application of CED principles, the biggest of which is the purchase of local goods and services.

One informant expressed their CED efforts as being market driven:

> Well we don't do the first one—rely on local market for goods and services. It is tendered. We tender it to the private sector. We get the best return on the dollar. (Interview 18, nonprofit)

> So local decision making—no—strictly market. Everything's market here. (Interview 18, nonprofit)

The language used by this informant is very much private market and profit oriented. The use of the phrase "best return on the dollar" indicates a financial measurement of what can be achieved with a dollar. A more CED driven

approach would recognize that a dollar spent in the neighbourhood actually results in greater economic benefits for the community and therefore the focus would be on spending as much money as possible on local goods and services.

Continuing with the market driven ideology is the use of CED as an interim solution to neighbourhood decline:

> So, I don't want to commit to doing something long-term that maybe we should be doing short-term as part of economic development. (Interview 5, nonprofit)

> The housing stuff, we figure we're only going to do as long as public sector help is needed. Once it pays for private sector to come in and do it we'll back off. (Interview 5, nonprofit)

Combined with the articulation of CED as an interim strategy for neighbourhood revitalization is that this process should mainly focus on physical improvements. Embracing CED as an intermediary strategy restricts the potential for CED to be transformative and a way of thinking about society and the economy.

> So much of what happens in neighbourhood revitalization is perception, So if people don't see things happening they don't feel better about their neighbourhood. (Interview 4, government)

If this is the orientation towards neighbourhood revitalization, then this indicates that CED is not being engaged in to its fullest. The neighbourhoods are experiencing decline due to the effects of market forces. Therefore, to embrace the market as being the goal of revitalization means that most likely if the neighbourhoods are successful in re-engaging dominant market forces, they will eventually be back where they started. This informant demonstrates an orientation towards physical improvements thereby excluding the part of CED

that focuses on human dignity, improved health, and increasing economic linkages.

A second, general idea that emerged from the discourse is that CED is a less efficient and more costly way of producing affordable housing. Connected with this is an indication that although there is awareness that CED programs must be cognizant of both a financial and social bottom line, the financial one tends to dominate decision making. A reason for this is could be that, as demonstrated above, there is still not a wholehearted engagement in CED as an action plan and an ideology. This is evident in several statements.

> I don't really know. I don't distinguish much between community development and community economic development. They're pretty close. You can't do one without the other. (Interview 5, nonprofit)

> So there are some barriers in terms of financial issues and there is some balance between, what do you spend to do community development balanced with the more you spend the cost is higher using local labour. (Interview 6, government)

The lack of distinction between community economic development and community development hinders the success of strategies due to vague language use. Language is key to constructing an idea or concept. Mixing concepts interchangeably negates the power of the ideology. These statements also indicate that CED has become a form of rhetoric in that by employing the term people are expected to assume what it means and complete the phrase. This is evident is statements like this one as well:

> Neighbourhood stability, dependable housing, long-term residency, long-term community development. I think those speak for themselves again. (Interview 10, nonprofit)

There is much space in the discourse for people to create their own ideas or interpretations thus resulting in ambiguity or vagueness. However, this space also provides an opportunity for action, clarification or re-structuring of the power relations in the discourse.

While there is a demonstration of some confusion about what CED is, others articulated a strong understanding of CED, not only as a policy or ideology but also in terms of what the outcomes should be. One informant articulated a belief in CED as a tool simply for moving people from being marginalized to being active economic units.

> We try to mirror the private sector in a lot of ways because that is the world that our folks are going to move into. They are not always going to be in this alternative economy. They are going to have to find a job somewhere else. If we are serious about really helping them and helping them to make more money they are going to want to go somewhere they can get paid more than we can pay them. (Interview 5, nonprofit)

There are several assumptions in this person's understanding that limit the power of CED. Mainly it implies that CED is simply a strategy to be used by people who are marginalized and not a way of thinking about the economy on a long-term basis. This severely limits the potential of CED. When the main economic objective is constructed as being concerned with moving people into employment and as only being able to provide people with low wages, then the ideology of CED has been lost in the rhetoric.

This section has presented some indication that CED principles are being applied in Winnipeg, but also demonstrates that in the language being employed there is still a tendency to view CED as a temporary strategy and that the market engagement is still the ideal and goal. Also, there appears, among some informants, to be a convoluted discourse around the idea of community economic development. This indicates that there is still work to be done in clarifying the ideology. It seems that CED in Winnipeg has become an interpretive repertoire because it is employed so frequently in discussions. People either feel that it is unnecessary to be precise or they are unable to be precise because the ideology has become very convoluted. At least one person views CED as a strategy for marginalized people and that it can only be a tool for moving residents to real employment.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS HOUSING

The following section will examine what informants' discourse reveals about their attitudes or orientations towards housing. The identities that are constructed of residents and attitudes towards housing are inter-related. If one has a negative perspective of renters then it is unlikely that the housing organization is involved in the provision of rental units. Also, if there are constructed identities that create power structures and erect barriers between residents and housing organizations then the motivation or investment in providing quality units is diminished. The investment or connection a housing organization has with a neighbourhood also impacts their attitudes towards housing. If there is not a sense that what is

transpiring affects their lives in any way then the motivation for being involved in housing work changes significantly.

The analysis of informants' attitudes towards housing revealed the use of several interpretive repertoires. The most dominant one was that homeownership increases human dignity and that homeowners have more of an interest in their community.

> ...dignity [and] self-respect are impacted through homeownership (Interview 1, nonprofit)
>
> affordable home ownership supports stability and human dignity so definitely our project does apply. (Interview 8, nonprofit)
>
> ...do homeownership programs in order to get more homeowners in the neighbourhood and create stability that way. (Interview 13, nonprofit)
>
> And even better there is good chances for homeowners to come in which is the best option because we would like to be able to increase homeownership in these neighbourhoods if possible. (Interview 7, government)

These positive endorsements of homeownership are in sharp contrast to the rhetoric about renters and rental properties.

> One of the biggest problems in a lot of these neighbourhoods is the high incidence of rental property in relation to homeownership. (Interview 7, government)
>
> Renters are not bad people by nature but because they don't own the property they don't have a vested interest in maintaining that property. (Interview 7, government)
>
> The homeowners are bringing their employment income to the neighbourhood and spending it in the neighbourhood. (Interview 16, nonprofit)

The words employed in the final quote imply that renters do not have an income and assumes that because homeowners are earning an income they are necessarily spending it in the local neighbourhood. The interpretive repertoire on homeownership leads to another interpretive repertoire; that expresses the goals of housing rehabilitation as being an increase in property values and the re-engagement of private interests in improving the neighbourhoods.

> So, in the best sense our vision is that we want the values to get back to the point where the private market is able to maintain that neighbourhood…in other words the idea is to get it to where the market takes over. (Interview 7, government)

> In my case in the housing, throw money at the highest end housing to bring the tax base up and bring the real estate speculation and actually bring the private sector in. (Interview 18, nonprofit)

The way to stimulate private investment is to focus on physical, especially exterior, improvements:

> On our homeowner grants we do say the exterior is our priority the reason being that if somebody fixes up the exterior of their house everybody in the community benefits. It raises property values and it gives the person next door the incentive to fix their house up. (Interview 15, nonprofit)

The focus on exterior improvements is an interpretive repertoire that is completed with the thought that as the exteriors look better there will be more pride and more people will want to invest and therefore everyone in the community wins if the exteriors are in better condition. This dynamic may well transpire, but it can cover up the fact that people in the neighbourhood are not necessarily doing better. It ignores that the result of such a strategy is a rise in property values and

the subsequent displacement of lower income earners who are unable to afford the housing in that neighbourhood anymore.

Each non-profit housing provider has a different philosophy in regards to their housing programs. Some prefer a cluster approach while others fix any house they can obtain and rehabilitate within budget and others specifically target the most derelict homes. From analyzing the discourse it is clear that the major orientation is towards fixing housing and community or social development is an added bonus. Also, when talking specifically about the housing work, CED ideology is hard to identify. There is an indication that there is a perception that CED hinders the objectives of the housing agenda

> We build houses but we like to think we look at the social and community development part as well; as an added feature. (Interview 1, nonprofit)
>
> One of the reasons we have taken a more active role is that we do believe that the housing—housing especially in the inner-city—is much more, it is broader than building houses, there is a whole economic development component to that and it fits with our inner-city revitalization view. (Interview 3, government)
>
> That is the struggle I think. CED is focused at fundamental lasting change, it is easier to do housing without that. (Interview 4, government)
>
> If you are going to do training as well as renovations you are going to screw yourself. You are either going to screw up the training for the houses or you are going to mess up the houses because you want to do training. (Interview 5, nonprofit)

There is a perceived trade-off inherent in housing and CED. One possible reason for this is that CED is seen as a lens to be applied to housing but it is not

integrated. This can result from focusing specifically on housing and not on a broader CED strategy of which housing is one component.

Some informants do present a discourse that displays a more balanced perspective. Speakers talk about needing to balance the amount of homeownership and rental. There is also the articulation of a very holistic understanding of housing and CED. However, the above interpretive repertoires dominate the data and these orientations towards physical improvements and homeownership undermine the ideology of lasting social, economic, political, and physical change that is the foundation of the CED principles being discussed by the speakers. Additionally, the lack of connection in the discourse on housing between housing work and CED indicates that there are still gaps in the integration of housing with a CED ideology.

CHAPTER 6--CONCLUSION

The goal of the analysis in chapter 5 has been to understand how housing and CED interrelate, so that they can be better integrated at a community and policy level. In order for this to happen, it is essential to understand the role of power within the discourse. There are indications in the data that neighbourhoods are experiencing positive outcomes as a result of their strategies. The analysis here however, was concerned with the language use of the interviewees because "dialogue is the route to self-reflection, self-knowledge and liberation from disempowering beliefs. It is also the route to mutual learning, acceptance of diversity, trust and understanding" (Wilson 1996:625). Discourse has been the focus of this thesis because of the power it inherently has, to construct identities and policies. Only through engaging in an empowering discourse can the holistic objectives of CED be achieved.

The analysis specifically focused on what the discourse reveals about: what identities are constructed of the residents, whether there is a sense of connection to the neighbourhoods, understandings of CED, and the predominant ideologies towards housing.

The analysis of identities revealed that delivering housing at a neighbourhood level is believed to provide a more human approach to social housing and that there is more opportunity to be responsive to individual needs. However, some of the discourse is disempowering of residents due to the unintentional use of interpretive repertoires, members' resources, and rhetoric. Nevertheless, some interviewees demonstrated an awareness of the power of language usage. This

is a positive sign because being respectful of residents and identifying the power of language are first steps towards a communicative action and critical discourse approach which acknowledges these identity constructions and begins to shift the discourse to be more inclusive and empowering.

Two of the conclusions that arise from the analysis are that there is a limited amount of local –decision-making, and a somewhat imprecise conceptualization of what CED is capable of achieving. At the crux of this problem is the lack of discussion about inequality and the necessity of challenging firstly an unequal economic system in which people are being marginalized, and secondly a social inequality that exists between those running the programs and neighbourhood residents. Identifying and talking about these inequalities are pertinent components of change, knowledge sharing, and empowerment, and rooted in discourse.

There is a great deal of knowledge in regards to community economic development. A concentrated effort to achieve certain CED goals is evident in the data. Those interviewed were often able to identify areas in which CED principles are and can be applied to housing. However, when the interviewees turned to talk of their housing work there was a lack of integration of CED language into the discussion. The reason for this could be that the level of application and knowledge has not yet evolved to the point where the discourse reflects their actions. Additionally, there may not have been a conscious effort to alter the way in which housing is talked about, resulting in an imprecise rhetoric. The use of

language that does not create power imbalances requires deliberate effort in order to create new meanings or restructure existing meanings and ideas.

CED and housing need to be more integrated. One way of achieving this is through altering the discourse so that the integration is reflected in the language. A shift in policy would aid in reflecting the progressive nature of CED. Despite having a provincial CED policy, the discourse currently used by municipal and provincial employees is more indicative of a top-down approach rather than an approach that creates space for empowerment and for community-run initiatives to be grassroots movements. Such a shift can be achieved through adopting Sandercock's double-loop learning process that was presented in chapter 1, involving critical self-evaluation of not only actions but personal biases that are apparent in the dialogue.

Examining the discourse around CED demonstrated that some people have thought a lot about CED as an ideology and specifically how it relates to housing. However, there were also indications that CED has become a form of rhetoric. The term has been employed by so many people, from the provincial government down to community, that there are broad interpretations of its meaning and a certain amount of ambiguity now about what CED is. This co-optation or emptying of the meaning of CED dilutes its power, as an alternative form of development. This is evident in the use of CED as a means of enticing market forces back to neighbourhoods that were experiencing decline initially brought on by dominant economic forces. CED in its progressive form would reject the

notion that CED is viable only as a solution until other economic systems can take over. CED is a way of thinking and acting that acknowledges the importance of economic or financial considerations but believes that social indicators are equally essential to achieving success.

The discourse on housing revealed a strong bias towards homeownership. Renters were at times characterized as being less desirable residents. When residents are grouped into a homogeneous category, it negates a sense of individualism and agency that people possess. Some informants recognized the interpretive repertoires that suggest that renters are not as stabilizing as homeowners. They were aware that the preference for home owners is based on some assumptions and due to constructed identities. Others expressed a regard for the opinions of neighbourhood residents. Respect for residents is key to establishing an empowering discursive process that involves housing organizations, government employees, and neighbourhood residents.

The implications for planners, policy makers and practitioners are that there is still work to be done in achieving participatory processes that do not discriminate and that give a voice to everyone. The ability of a CED ideology to achieve its greatest potential lies in altering the discourse. The biggest gap in current CED processes is the connection with the residents and the development of knowledge and empowerment. According to Healey's (1997) interpretation of communicative action, public policies must spread ownership of knowledge, understanding that knowledge is socially constructed and that individuals have

diverse interests. The creation or sharing of knowledge is based in discourse. Therefore, neighbourhood associations and community development corporations must engage in an open dialogue both with residents and with policy makers.

All of the above conclusions and ideas come from a critical discourse analysis perspective that understands that language is a form of control. Everyone has access to language however, so there are always opportunities for challenging the current power structures of a discourse and altering them so that previously marginalized people are heard.

The analysis has demonstrated that language use around ideas of housing and CED is unwittingly reinforcing stereotypes and identities of residents. Future research opportunities include an examination of residents' discourse to provide insight into the way language is used by residents who are the users of the houses produced by the organizations that are represented in this study.

Additionally, there is a need to incorporate a reflection process into housing practice so that organizations have opportunities to evaluate not only how many units were produced, but to also understand the social impacts of their work and to examine what opportunities that exist for knowledge sharing with residents. Beyond the opportunities for skill development and some board participation there was little mention of knowledge building as a component of their CED initiatives. Ultimately, this thesis has examined the discourse as a means of

beginning a dialogue around the issues of power in language and to provide a new avenue for thinking about CED, housing and neighbourhoods in Winnipeg.

Community based organizations and government employees in Winnipeg have taken a unique approach by implementing CED at a policy level. There are positive outcomes as a result. However, they must continue the process that has begun. It is not simply enough to put a policy in place, the discourse must now shift to reflect the progressive CED ideology that frames the policy. A major component of this shift is altering the discourse to insure that people do not continue to be marginalized and to include more opportunities for knowledge sharing processes.

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APPENDIX A: COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PRINCIPLES

1. **Use of locally produced goods and services**
   - Purchase of goods and services produced locally
   - Circulation of income within the local community
   - Stronger economic links within the local community
   - Less dependency on outside markets
   - Greater community self-reliance
2. **Production of goods and services for local use**
   - Purchase of goods and services produced locally
   - Circulation of income within the local community
   - Stronger economic links within the local community
   - Less dependency on outside markets
   - Greater community self-reliance
   - Restoration of balance in the local community
3. **Local Re-investment of Profits**
   - Employment in areas that have experienced chronic unemployment or underemployment
   - Investment that increases community self-reliance and co-operation
4. **Long-term employment of local residents**
   - Employment in areas that have experienced chronic unemployment or underemployment
   - Reduction of dependency on welfare and food banks
   - Opportunities to live more socially productive lives
   - Personal and community self-esteem
   - More salaries spent in the local community
5. **Local skill development**
   - Training local residents, geared to community development needs
   - Higher labour productivity
   - More employment in communities that have experienced high unemployment
6. **Local decision making**
   - Local, co-operative forms of ownership and control
   - Grassroots involvement
   - Community self-determination
   - Working together to meet community needs
7. **Public Health**
   - Physical and mental health of community residents
   - Healthier families
   - More effective schooling
   - More productive workforce
8. **Physical environment**
   - Healthy, safe and attractive neighbourhoods
   - Ecological sensitivity

9. **Neighbourhood Stability**

- Dependable housing
- Long term residency
- Long term community development

10. **Human dignity**
    - Self-respect and community spirit
    - Gender equality
    - Respect for seniors and children
    - Social dignity regardless of physical, intellectual or psychological differences; regardless of national or ethnic background, colour or creed.
11. **Promote solidarity among self-reliant communities**

Source: Neighbourhoods Alive! 2002: 4

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

Interview Schedule

(Public Official)

1. What would you say are the key objectives of the Winnipeg Housing and Homelessness Initiative (Neighbourhood Housing Assistance, Neighbourhoods Alive! CED Committee of Cabinet)?

2. What would you say are some reasons why governments chosen to deliver affordable housing primarily through non-profit community organizations?

3. The Province of Manitoba has a Community Economic Development lens that is expected to apply to all of its work. In what ways would you see this lens applying to inner city housing renovation?

4. Are there ways that more of the principles of community economic development could apply to the housing work than is currently the case?

5. Do you expect that housing organizations would be involved in complementary activities such as employment creation, community building, crime prevention, or recreation development?

6. What are some opportunities to do more of these social interventions?

7. What are some barriers to doing more of these social interventions?

8. What problems might be associated with combining housing work and community economic development?

9. Do you have other comments you would like to add?

Interview Schedule
(Community-based
Housing Provider)

1. What would you identify as the key objectives of your program

2. What would you say are the positive aspects of delivering affordable housing through non-profit community organizations? (as opposed to directly by government)

3. What would you say are some negative aspects (or drawbacks) of delivering affordable housing through non-profit community organizations? (as opposed to directly by government)

4. Earlier we sent a copy of 10 principles of community economic development. In what ways do you think these principles may apply to inner city housing renovation?

5. In what ways do you think these principles may not apply to inner city housing renovation?

6. To what extent have you been able to apply these principles in your organization?

7. Are there ways that more of the principles could apply to your housing work than currently is the case?.

8. Is your organization involved in parallel community building activities such as recreation development, crime prevention, or employment creation, or building social fabric in the community? If so, could you please describe these activities.

9. Are there any problems associated with combining housing work and social development activities?

10. Are there any problems associated with combining housing work and community economic development?

11. Are there other comments you would like to add to this interview?