

THE NEGOTIATION OF POWER IN A MULTI-STAKEHOLDER
PARTICIPATION PROCESS:
A CASE STUDY OF THE INCLUSIVENESS AND EFFECTIVENESS OF AN
INCIPIENT INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD COUNCIL

BY

ADRIENNE LYNN WHITELEY

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for the Degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

Department of City Planning
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University of Manitoba
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ABSTRACT

This study explores the potential of effective and inclusive models of public participation in planning. Qualitative methodology was used to examine a case study of the formative period of an inner city multi-stakeholder neighbourhood council. Methods of inquiry included: participant observation in the field; semi-structured interviews, with participants in the council and other individuals with a stake in the neighbourhood; archival research; and action research. The purpose of the study was first to observe whether participants in the council, with various interests and power in the development process, negotiated among themselves and with other stakeholders to create an inclusive and effective public participation process. Second, if they did attempt to achieve inclusiveness and effectiveness, how was this done? Third, how did the organizational structure affect the inclusiveness and effectiveness of the process?

The results of the study showed that the participants did work towards inclusiveness of various stakeholders in the neighbourhood, especially for wider inclusion of diverse residents in the neighbourhood. Most were sensitive to the power differences between council members and looked for ways to balance power among members. Participants were also concerned with taking effective and direct action that would benefit the neighbourhood. However, development of the council and achievement of these goals was influenced by a broad spectrum of perspectives on the purpose and process of developing the council. A typology of these perspectives was developed including the Social Service Perspective, the Community Mobilization Perspective, and the Balanced Perspective. The study also demonstrated the influence of additional factors that encouraged or hindered the inclusiveness and effectiveness of the participation process. Recommendations are made for the subject council, and for the development of other multi-stakeholder participation processes. Implications for the role of the planner, and other intervention professionals, are then discussed in light of the findings.

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Glossary

Community of interest - A group whose criteria for membership is based on some common interest or characteristic.

Community of place - A group whose criteria for membership is based on relationship to geographical place.

Civic realm - the realm of activities initiated and organized by civic organizations. Civic organizations are non-government, non-profit, groups of citizens (members of the general public).

Develop - to bring out the possibilities of; to bring to a more advanced, effective, or usable state;
- to generate or acquire, as by natural growth or internal processes*

Effective - adequate to accomplish a purpose; producing the intended result.*

Inclusive - including the limit or extremes in consideration*, including all parts of the defined whole.

Modernity or the modernist project - Includes the control of space, separation of time from space, the values of universality, standardization, order, technical rationality.
- "...the implementation of mechanisms that permit the embedding of social systems by 'lifting them out' from their local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space" (Hamel, 1993).

Partnership - the co-operative effort between stakeholders towards a common goal. It is a situation that creates power-with, rather than power-over.

Perceptions of the neighbourhood - ideas or characteristics attributed to the people and places within a geographical area as interpreted by an individual.

Power (power over) - "may be understood not as a possession of an actor working mysteriously on another actor, but rather as a normative relationship binding the two together, a relationship that structures one agency's dependency on the other's information, deference for the others' supposed authority, trust in the other's intentions, or consideration of the other's claims to attention" (Forester, 1989, p. 224).

Power-from-within - is not granted from an external force, but rather emanates from within us. It is the willingness to act and speak out against relations of power-over (Boucher, 1992).

Power-with - the collective exercise of power-from-within. It is possible within the limits of community (Boucher, 1992).

Powerlessness - a) as an individual, when lacking power-from-within or power-over
- b) as a group, when lacking power-with or power-over

Private realm - activities initiated by private, non-government organizations. These may be for-profit business, or non-profit agencies, but are different from civic organizations in that their members have either a business or professional interest in the organization.

Public realm - activities initiated by any level of government and usually supported by government funds.

Public-Private Partnerships - are activities initiated by a combination of private, public, and civic organizations.

Neighbourhood - a geographically defined area, predominantly residential in character. It does not infer the existence of a community of place.

Negotiate - to arrange for or bring about by discussion and settlement of terms*

Negotiation of power - As roles are re-negotiated, the status and power attributed to particular behaviours and attitudes, may be redistributed.

Negotiation of roles - A set of behaviours and values, cumulatively known as a role, are established through discussion and interaction with others in the same or different roles. As interaction and discussion continue, the behaviours and attitudes may be renegotiated.

Sense of Community - created when the following elements of social interaction occur: membership; influence; integration and fulfillment of personal needs including, survival, safety and security, affiliation, esteem, and self-actualization; and shared emotional connection. It is an evolving and fluid existence rather than a final state to be reached by a group (Jon Lang 1994; Chavis & Wandersman, 1990; Cochrun, 1994).

Social construction of reality - the perceived every-day reality of social relations of a social group. This reality is constructed as "truth" (it is true relative to the group) through their shared or related experiences. It is a negotiated social reality, which includes roles and power distribution.

Social learning - maintains that individuals learn most effectively from the experience of changing reality. It is an individual or group process of learning that occurs through: 1) reflecting on an event or practice and relating this experience back to their perception of reality (vision); and 2) this new consciousness then affects their theory of the social situation and thereby affects their strategy for action. This type of individual and group learning creates the opportunity for the re-negotiation of roles and the re-distribution of power in society (Friedmann, 1987, pp. 216 & 302).

Stakeholders - individuals or groups with an interest in the outcome of a particular process. They will have different interests and differing amounts of influence on the process depending on their relation to the issue(s) in question.

Voice - is the legitimate public expression of the opinions, ideas, and concerns of a group.

Wholistic Development - the process of creating healthy individuals, by meeting their varied personal needs, as well as creating a healthy community (see *sense of community*). Actual physical developments in this wholistic model occur as a result of the process of social development of the community, as expressions of their interests and needs.

*definition taken from Random House Webster's College Dictionary, McGraw-Hill edition, 1991.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Planning has acknowledged the political dimension of development issues since the late 1960s. The conservationist and equity movements, which arose in reaction to large urban renewal projects and urban unrest, welcomed the advent of advocacy planning in the 1970s. Soon afterwards public participation became institutionalized as part of the planning decision-making process (Wolfe, 1994). This turning point in planning theory and practice has led to explorations in public participation theory and practice. With planners no longer in control of a scientific process of development planning, they must search to find their, and the public's, appropriate new role.

In the 1990s, a new wave of demands for public involvement in development planning has surfaced. This wave is characterized first by citizen-driven decision-making in the development process, within a wholistic perspective. The context is most commonly situated at the neighbourhood level. It is here that residents and planners are striving to realize the ideal of a sense of community. Planners must also strive to create a system of decision-making that meets the needs of the local stakeholders and at the same time, balances these needs with those of the wider urban and/or regional community. Second, this recent wave of demands for public involvement comes out of the political climate of government cut-backs in social and financial support. Strengthening a sense of community then has not only been encouraged from the grassroots but has also become necessary to attempt to fill the void left by government retrenchment.

This thesis examines the early development of an inner-city neighbourhood council in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Key factors are identified as either encouraging or inhibiting the creation of an effective and inclusive public participation model. Finally, the thesis outlines implications for planning practice.

1.2 Rationale

The challenge of creating an effective and inclusive citizen participation is a common theme in the planning literature. This challenge is part of a movement seeking broader and more direct citizen participation in the economic and political systems associated with modern development. This movement is characterized generally by a critique of modernity, including its values of universality, standardization, order, and technical rationality (Harvey, 1989; Hamel, 1993). It has been the philosophy of modernism that has led to the fragmented and often ineffectual development of urban space under the direction of professionals and experts (Hamel, 1993, p. 21). A specific manifestation has been increased skepticism towards modernist "public" problem-solving, left in the hands of "public" representatives, professional bureaucrats and experts (Goodwyn, 1986; Kemmis, 1990). Such skepticism leaves the planning profession with deep questions in regard to its future function in the public realm (Forester, 1989; Friedmann, 1987). Pierre Hamel (1993) terms it "the crisis of urban planning". Planning has become a "question of rethinking public intervention" (Hamel, 1993, p. 24).

Criticisms of the ineffectiveness of planning stem from its impact on particular groups, by gender, ethnicity, and social class, at the levels of national planning (Mies & Shiva, 1993; Moore, 1988) and local community planning (Jacobs, 1961; Illich, 1977; Kuyek, 1990; Lambert, 1994). Feminist social theorists assert that the voice of marginalized groups must be incorporated into the decision-making processes of development for such development to be suitable (Moore, 1988). Some planning practitioners have also argued that direct citizen involvement is critical for socially and environmentally sustainable development to occur (Turner, 1976; Friedmann, 1987; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1994). Environmentalists argue further that development in harmony with natural systems, in addition to being responsive to social interests and needs, must occur through a decentralization of economic and political power (Bookchin, 1992; Alexander, 1992). *Finding ways in which the planning profession can*

listen to and work with these marginalized constituencies is at present the profession's greatest challenge.

Planning theory and practice are converging in the struggle of this movement towards greater public involvement. Many planning theorists have begun to develop these ideas by attempting a redistribution of decision-making powers, as seen in the emergence of literature on equity planning (Krumholz, 1986; Knack, 1993; Krumholz & Forester, 1990; Klein, 1994). Krumholz and Clavel (1994) define equity planning as "a conscious attempt to devise redistributive policies in favour of the least powerful and to enhance the avenues of participation" (p.1). There are a number of central questions that need to be considered including: *(a) who should participate in the planning process? (b) at what level should they participate? and (c) how should they participate?* Answers to these questions will enable planners to find the appropriate space within which the planning profession will be able to most effectively function in the future.

Friedmann (1987) argues that the crisis of planning goes beyond the question of re-thinking public intervention, to the redistribution of political and economic power in society. The civil realm of society, rather than the bureaucratic (government) or corporate (large for-profit business) realm, must become the centre of such powers through the creation or recovery of local political communities. Friedmann suggests that one possible future role of the planner would be working directly for such communities, rather than working solely for oppressive bureaucracies or large corporations. The profession of planning thus becomes tied to the larger goal of "the emancipation of humanity from social oppression" (Friedmann, 1987, pp. 301-307). This critique forces an examination of the differentiation between public participation, citizen control of development, and broader applications of participatory democracy.

Not only are there strong theoretical arguments for the greater inclusion of civil society in the traditional domain of planning, but there also exists the opportunity to experiment with certain kinds of decentralization and citizen involvement. The opportunity

is presented by the withdrawal of senior government support in areas such as housing and urban revitalization. In Canada, as in some other industrialized nations, the responsibilities and services of the central government, and therefore the costs of these services, are being downloaded to the provinces. The provinces, in many cases, are further dispersing responsibilities to cities and their neighbourhoods. Among these responsibilities are the development of services and facilities for deteriorating areas (Bacher, 1993; Carter, 1991).

It may yet prove to be an empty opportunity. Although the opportunity for decentralization of services and increased community involvement may be present, it exists in the absence of the economic resources and the social infrastructure to provide such services. Mohammed Quadeer notes that the utopian ideal of a cohesive and organized community no longer exists in Canadian society. Effective community-based organizations will inevitably continue to rely on the resources of "a good and caring government" (Quadeer, 1995, p. 46). Otherwise social responsibilities would rest in the hands of those with the least amount of economic and other resources for creating effective programs.

How then are neighbourhoods to gain the power and resources they will need for their own social and physical development? How will the professionals and the bureaucracies react to the threat to their monopoly over problem-solving? What implications will this challenge have on the function of planners? Where, and when, should these functions be carried out? Are these functions to be the responsibility of the government realm, private realm, or civil realm (non-profit/non-government)? Or will these different realms succeed in creating effective working partnerships to maximize the contribution of each?

This thesis begins to explore these questions within the context of a specific case study. The results do not provide definitive answers to questions around the future role of various stakeholders in planning and development. Rather, this thesis examines the dynamics of negotiating power between the various stakeholders in one neighbourhood. The results provide some insights into the factors that either encourage, or raise barriers to,

the creation of an effective and inclusive neighbourhood council. In light of the results, some implications for the role of the planner and other service professionals in aiding the development of communities are discussed.

1.3 Background

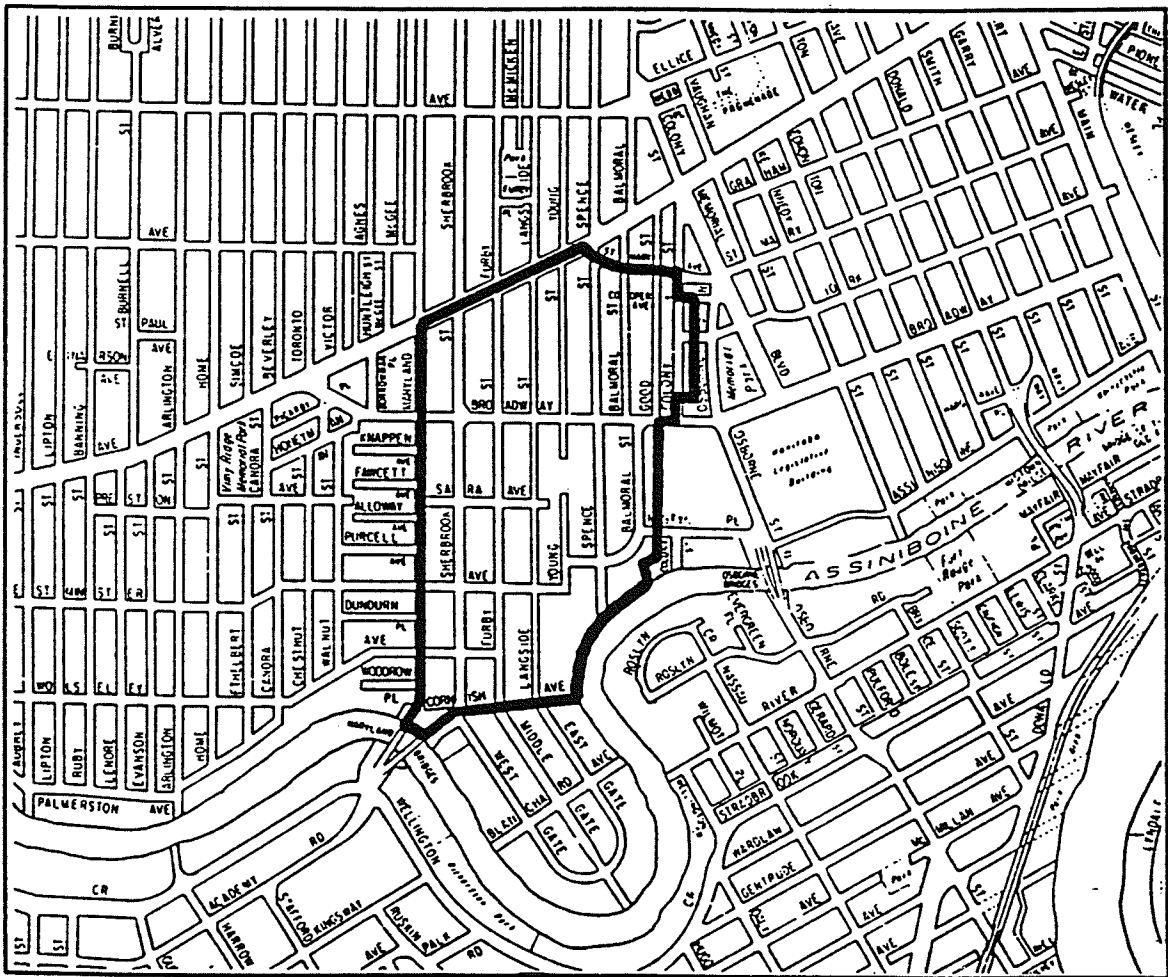
The West Broadway neighbourhood, formerly known as Memorial, is a residential neighbourhood developed prior to 1900 located at the centre of the City of Winnipeg. Its boundaries are defined by the City as Osborne Street to the east, Portage Avenue to the north, Maryland Street to the west and Cornish Avenue to the south. These geographic boundaries are shown on Map 1. Originally, it was a middle-class neighbourhood dominated by single-family homes with some apartment blocks and a few upscale homes. Examples of the latter still exist on Balmoral Street, but many have been converted to multiple-family dwellings or to commercial use.

The City of Winnipeg has classified West Broadway, along with 27 other neighbourhoods at the centre of the City, as "inner-city" neighbourhoods as illustrated on Map 2. These neighbourhoods are characterized as having a higher concentration of children, youth, natives, visible minorities, recent immigrants, and seniors than the non-inner city areas of Winnipeg. Issues of greater concern in the inner-city than the non-inner city neighbourhoods include: low-income; inadequate housing and day care facilities; inadequate recreational facilities and programs; and deteriorating health due to unemployment and overcrowding (Institute of Urban Studies, 1990, p.8). There have been a number of government programs operating in the neighbourhood that attempted to address these issues. These include the programs of the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative during the period 1981 to 1991, and the Manitoba/ Winnipeg Community Revitalization Program during the period 1987 to 1991.

West Broadway residents as well as the business community have been actively involved in neighbourhood issues for over fifteen years. The West Broadway Resident's

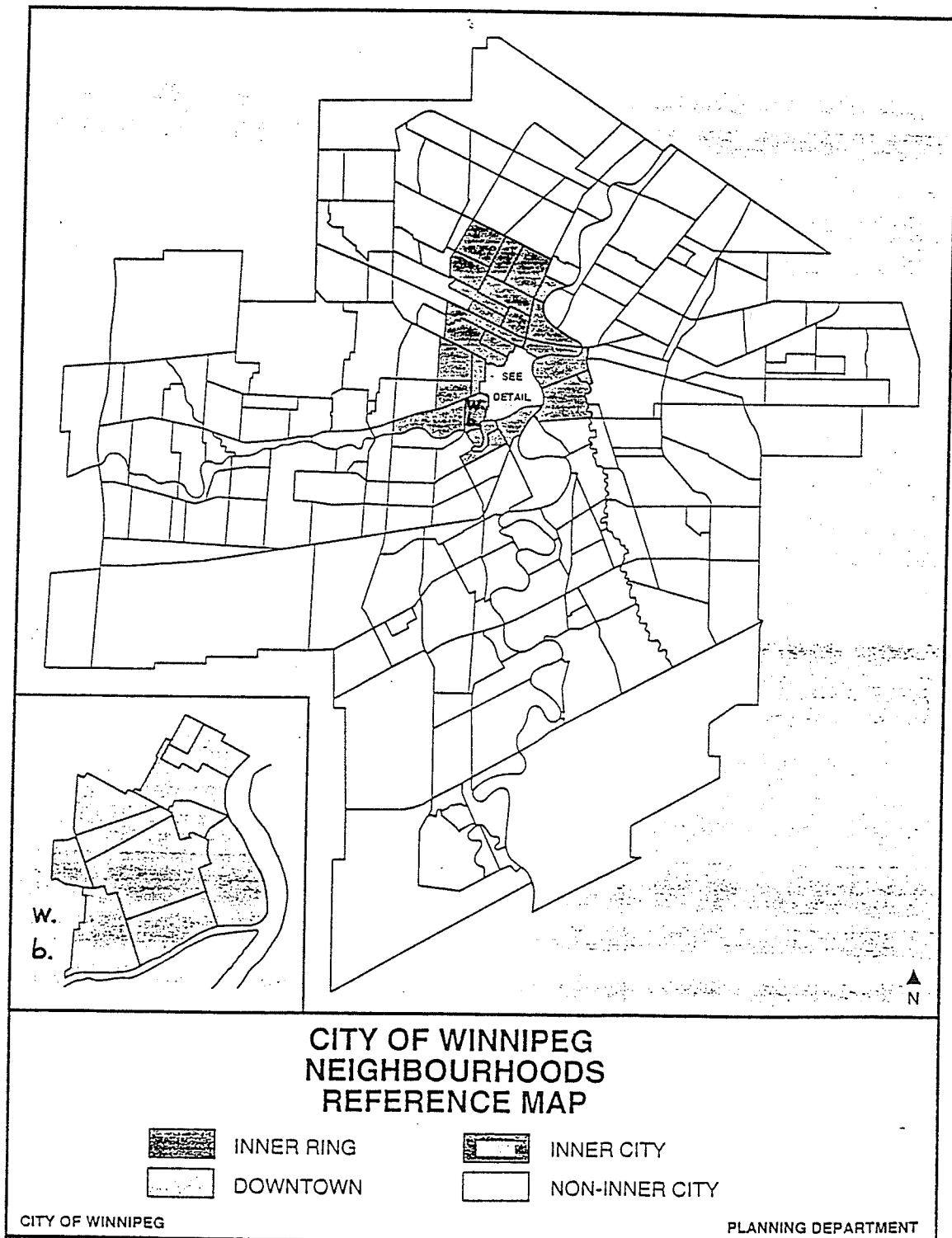
Association worked hard toward maintaining the residential character of the neighbourhood. The Business Association, which later became the West Broadway/South Sherbrook Business Improvement Zone, worked towards greater safety in the area as well as improving the aesthetic look of the main business streets (West Broadway and South Sherbrook). Earth Corps is another organization that has worked on environmental issues in the area, and was responsible for many efforts including a murals and a community gardens project.

Map 1 West Broadway Neighbourhood boundaries as defined by the City of Winnipeg



Source: City of Winnipeg, Planning Department, 1991

Map 2 Inner City Area of the City of Winnipeg



1.4 Method

A qualitative research methodology was used to undertake the case study. This methodology allowed an in-depth examination of the social phenomena underlying the development of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council. The following research questions were used to guide the collection of data:

1. Do the members of the Council negotiate among themselves, and with other members of the neighbourhood, to ensure that the Council is inclusive and therefore representative of the neighbourhood? If so, how?
 - a) Which constituencies in the neighbourhood are included and how are they accommodated?
 - b) Which constituencies are not included? Why?
2. Do the members of the Council negotiate among themselves and with other stakeholders in the neighbourhood, including private and public landowners, private business, and the social service agencies working in the area, in a way that enables them to be effective in meeting the Council's goals? If so, how?
3. How does the organizational structure of the Council encourage or impede the inclusiveness and effectiveness of the Council?

Data were collected using four different methods of investigation: archival research; participant observation; action research; and semi-structured interviews. The method of analysis followed Kirby & McKenna's "methods from the margins" (1989). This method stresses two important aspects: intersubjectivity, which focuses attention on the dialogue between all the participants in the research process; and critical reflection on the social context of the research.

1.5 Analysis

The analysis follows the evolution of the Neighbourhood Council through three stages: the establishment of the Council; the negotiation of power between the stakeholders; and the development of an organizational structure. As a result of the development of a multi-stakeholder membership base, two sets of factors emerged as the main influences affecting the dynamics of the Council. The first set includes the different perspectives of the members on community development and neighbourhood revitalization. These compete with each other during the debates over purpose, function and actions of the Council. The second set of influences arising from the members' different educational, socio-economic or cultural backgrounds. These differences, however, have both positive and negative effects. The influence of power between the participants is mapped at each stage of the development of the Council. A rating of citizen control in the decision-making is also given at each developmental stage.

1.6 Implications and Recommendations

A number of factors were identified from the analysis of the case study which influenced the inclusiveness and effectiveness of the multi-stakeholder participation process: (a) initial design of the participation process; (b) communication; (c) role of the participants; (d) relationships among the participants; (e) organizational structure; (f) decision-making process; and (g) evaluation of the process by all the participants. Specific recommendations are made for the consideration of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council. These findings have wider implications for the role of the professional in neighbourhood intervention, as well as implications for planning practice in particular. Recommendations are then made for future public/private partnerships in the development of housing and urban revitalization.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a rationale for examining the use of a multi-stakeholder participation process in neighbourhood planning and revitalization. The thesis is based on relevant theoretical and empirical literature as well as documented precedents of similar cases. The chapter begins by outlining the literature which argues against the previous planning perspective of objective, value-free, comprehensive planning methods. In response, this critical literature argues for the importance of local participation and control in planning and development processes, as the basis for sustainability in planning.

This literature lends support to a new perspective in planning known as wholistic development. The theory of wholistic planning and development acknowledges values, local knowledge, and historical context as necessary factors to be considered in decision-making. By recognizing the context of all decisions, it must therefore be recognized that all stakeholders in a planning decision need to be consulted. It is from this perspective that the concept of a multi-stakeholder participation process emerges. The wholistic perspective takes the concept of inclusive planning one step beyond the inclusion of the least powerful to bringing together all those involved despite their differences in power. Finding a process which helps create a new and more equitable balance between the stakeholders is the main challenge considered by this thesis.

In order to further assess the need for and the practical implications of the devolution of political power and economic resources to neighbourhoods, this chapter will next explore the concept of developing communities and community-based organizations, considering three main issues: (a) who is to be involved, and how the power differences between stakeholders can be successfully negotiated; (b) the development process of the organizational structure; and (c) the resulting organizational structure. Assuming communities are composed of diverse stakeholders, each with various levels of power (e.g.

resources such as skills, information, and money), the chapter then examines the dynamics of social change and the negotiation of power within community. Some precedents of various forms of local political communities are then explored to find ideas on how political communities might organize in our society to be both inclusive and effective. Finally, the chapter considers the role of the planner within these activities.

2.2 Local Control

The crisis in modern city planning has come to light through the experiences of planners in many contexts. Planning practitioners have begun to see the critical need for citizen participation in development . Only with such participation will planning practitioners be able to meet the goals of equitable and sustainable social and physical development that is responsive to the interests and needs of the targeted user group. John Turner, for example, in his 1976 book Housing by People, set in the context of international development, argued that the end-users of development projects should have greater participation in and responsibility for decision-making at all stages of development. This argument is based on the premise that only locally self-governing systems of development can be responsive to human needs.

He argued that there is a great cost to a society, both economically and socially, resulting from centrally-administered development, due to the psychological alienation it produces. Professional mystification of everyday activities, such as building one's own shelter, is a manifestation of centralized development. Centralized development loses sight of issues such as the feasibility of human scale, variety, and participation or responsibility in housing and human settlement. Locally self-governing development focuses on the use value of the end product and therefore requires substantial involvement of the end-users in the planning, construction and management of the development (Turner, 1976).

"The viability of any housing system depends, in the long run, on the efforts of the users and therefore on their will to invest these efforts, and not just on their capacity to do so. If that will depends in turn on the level of

satisfaction with the services received or expected, then the matching of housing services with their users' priority needs is clearly critical" (Turner, 1976, 39).

Turner thus makes a convincing argument for the involvement of users of development projects in the context of international development.

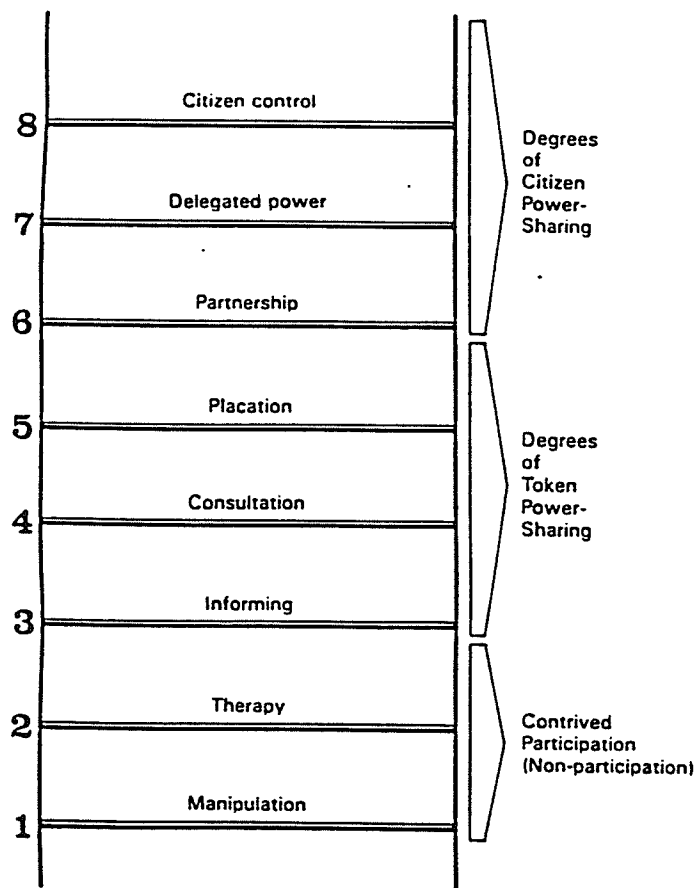
First world planning has similarly been struggling with questions of public involvement due to the dissatisfaction of citizens with large-scale, professional, top-down planning. Activism in protest of bad planning arose in Canada by the late 1960s (Hodge, 1991). Gerald Hodge recalls that widespread public participation in planning began as planning proposals became issues of public debate. Such debate stimulated changes in the practice of community planning (Hodge, 1991, p. 362-3). In the fields of housing and urban revitalization, beginning with the urban renewal projects of the 1960s, the federal government in particular changed its approach as a consequence of public outcry. The public protest against urban renewal brought attention to the significant need for smaller scale social housing, that would be more sensitive to the needs of the users, leading to the creation of the federal non-profit and co-operative housing programs in the early 1970's (Bacher, 1993). As well, the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) and the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) were both created in reaction to the growing understanding that the housing and neighbourhood revitalization efforts needed to be carried out within the context of existing communities primarily using or supplementing existing housing stock and community facilities (Carter, 1991).

User involvement in development is therefore necessary for sustainable and appropriate development. But what kind of involvement is appropriate? How much involvement? Should other citizens with a stake in the development be involved? And if so, how should they be involved?

Degrees of participation are well illustrated by Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation in Figure 2.1 (in Hodge, 1991, p. 364-6). The first two levels are forms of contrived participation. "Manipulation" is used to persuade citizens, through different

means, into supporting pre-determined plans and programs. "Therapy" strategies are used to divert citizens' attention from particular concerns they have about plans or programs. The next three levels improve the degree of effective public participation; however, they are often more tokenistic than truly empowering. "Informing" is the act of communicating the plans and processes to citizen, with some opportunity to respond. "Consultation" uses techniques such as surveys and public meetings to ensure that people are heard, though not necessarily understood. "Placation" offers opportunities for citizens to voice their opinions in their own way, but without necessarily impacting the decision-making processes.

Figure 2.1 Ladder of Citizen Participation



Source: Adapted from Arnstein, 1969, in Hodge, 1991, p. 364.

The Resident Advisory Groups (RAGs) developed in Winnipeg in the 1970s are a good example of placation. The groups were elected at the community level and were responsible for advising and assisting the members of the more formalized and statutory 'community committees'. The community committee is the first level of review for land use proposals in the City of Winnipeg. The advice of these resident groups was not often taken seriously, as many councillors saw no reason to give up their authority as the elected representative of an area. In addition, the community committee decision could be overturned through appeals (Wichern, 1975).

The highest levels on the Ladder of Citizen Participation are said to represent degrees of legitimate citizen power-sharing (Hodge, 1991, 365-6). "Partnerships" share responsibilities between the bureaucracy and citizens through joint policy boards or committees. "Delegated power" makes the citizen groups the dominant decision-maker. An example of delegated power would be having a majority of citizens involved in the body with the delegated authority to prepare a plan. The Neighbourhood Improvement Program is an example of such an attempt at delegated power (Hodge, 1991, p. 366). "Citizen control" is the highest level of citizen participation, for in this situation, "citizens govern a program or project in all its policy and managerial aspects" (Hodge, 1991, p. 366). Klein (1994) suggests tools of legitimate public participation such as visioning, which gathers detailed and rich input at the beginning of the planning process, and interest-based consensus-building, which gathers input on the basis of group interest.

Friedmann's critique of planning (1987) continues one level further along this continuum from citizen control in decision making, to the decentralization of political power. Friedmann argues that the crisis of planning comes from three sources: the crisis of positivistic knowledge; the accelerated pace of historical events; and the unprecedented nature of the events we face. The crisis of planning then is not merely a question of rethinking public intervention. It is a rather fundamental question of the inequitable distribution of power in the decision-making in the economic and political systems

associated with modern development. Local political communities, he proposes, would be the decentralized powers for social and economic development. He argues for a full transformation in the development paradigm, moving us from one that is driven either by the needs of the private market or the political agenda of the state, to one that operates primarily in the service of collective human needs. Many environmentalists and sustainable development theorists would agree that fundamental change is necessary in the form of decentralizing and democratizing systems of government (Alexander, 1992; Bookchin, 1992).

Friedmann suggests that such a paradigm shift would include a transformation of present economic and political systems through the

...re-centering of political power in civil society, mobilizing from below the countervailing actions of citizens, and recovering the energies for a political community that will transform both the state and corporate economy from within (Friedmann, 1987, p. 314, emphasis in the original).

It is thus within civil society that the potential lies to reshape the wider systems that now affect civil society. Friedmann argues that new political communities would form based on territory, historic continuity, composed of citizen members, and as part of an ensemble of communities among which citizenship is shared. Such communities could be built by working slowly within local communities and with their individual households (Friedmann, 1987, pp. 339-341).

Friedmann advocates then that nothing less than legitimate citizen control in the ongoing systems of development would be necessary for equitable and sustainable social and physical development to occur. Yet it is necessary to explore more closely a paradigm of planning that would operate in the service of collective human needs, and to explore the practical challenges in creating an awareness of what those collective human needs might be.

2.2.1 Wholistic Development

If Friedmann's critique is to be taken seriously, it is necessary for planning to find a different paradigm of development upon which to proceed. The concept of wholistic development fundamentally challenges the rational comprehensive paradigm of planning theory. Figure 2.2 compares the principles and practices of rational comprehensive planning and wholistic planning. Rather than a narrow goal of unlimited physical growth managed through objective and scientific planning, the wholistic model begins its focus on the development of the individual citizen calling for "the spiritual, physical, emotional, and mental development of the individual, which collectively constitutes the spiritual, physical, emotional, and mental resources of a community" (Nasewich, 1991, 118-9). Such a paradigm recognizes the inherent need for the mobilization of individuals, households, and communities as the starting point of development that is responsive to the community's interests and needs, and is socially and environmentally sustainable. Healthy individuals, those who have had their basic individual needs met, can then contribute to the creation of a healthy community. This mobilization is wholistic as it includes the cultural, political, economic, and social characteristics that contextualize any kind of development. Accepting this new paradigm requires the planning profession to re-examine its role in the development processes which will evolve out of this paradigm.

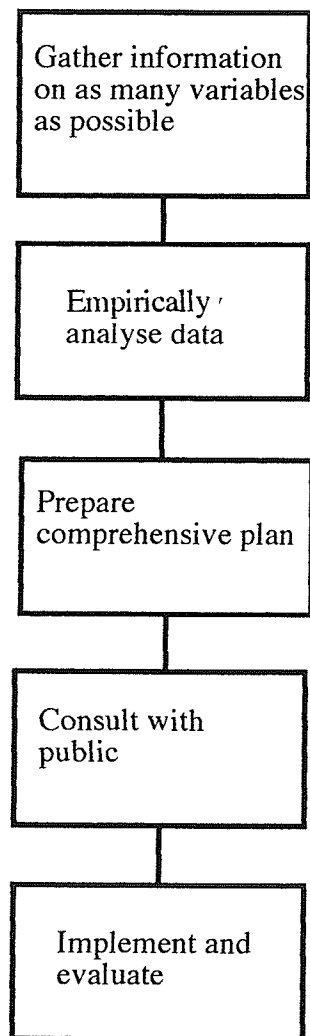
The future revitalization of neighbourhoods and the creation of appropriate and affordable housing thus hinges upon the ability of neighbourhoods to organize the type of political communities envisioned by Friedmann. Not only is their existence critical to ensure responsive and sustainable development, but it is becoming increasingly evident that their existence is critical if any development for those most in need is to occur at all. Driven by this new paradigm and the present historical circumstances, planning must prioritize strategies that enhance the development of whole individuals and communities, and

Figure 2.2 Rational Comprehensive Planning Principles and Practice Compared to Wholistic Planning Principles and Practice

Rational Comprehensive Planning

Premised on Positivistic Knowledge

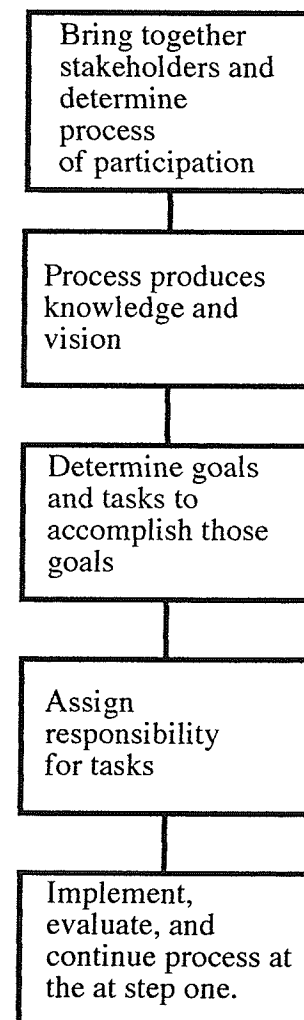
- * rational environment
- * codifiable data
- * scientific analysis
- * planner as objective expert and value-neutral



Wholistic Planning

Premised on Contextualized Knowledge

- * knowledge from specific context
- * diversity of voices
- * social learning process of plan development
- * planner not objective or value-free



Source: The author

strategies that encourage communities to organize, so they are able to influence political power within the context of social, environmental, and physical development.

2.3 Local Political Communities

Friedmann does not give any specifics on what this new kind of political community might look like, nor how it would function. Who is to be included in the community? How is it to be organized so that it encourages inclusion of all stakeholders in addition to being effective in realizing its goals? What is the role of the planner in the creation of these new political communities? Each of these questions will be considered separately, as they each pose deeper theoretical and broader pragmatic questions in themselves.

2.3.1 What is Community?

Who makes up the community? If we assume the definition of a healthy community is the collective strength of healthy individuals, as in the wholistic model described above, the first part of this question is to understand the individual, both as a single entity and what draws him/her to become part of a community. Jon Lang (1994) describes a set of individual needs, which in turn will be shown to be closely related to the concept of having a sense of community. Survival needs are the base set to be fulfilled, including the needs for air, food and shelter. Needs for safety and security are the next set to be fulfilled, divided into physiological and psychological forms. Once these basic needs have been met, there exist needs for affiliation, a need for a feeling of belonging both to a group or set of groups as well as to a place. Related to the need for affiliation are esteem needs. An individual needs to hold himself in high esteem in addition to having a feeling of being held in esteem by others, and to perceive their esteem.

If these needs have been met, people are said to have reached a state of self-actualization. People who have reached such a state aspire to help others, to improve the

world, as they are problem-centred rather than self-centred. Those with cognitive needs, often affiliated with those who are self-actualized, need to gratify their curiosity about how the world works for its own sake, rather than for any instrumental or utilitarian ends. Finally, people have aesthetic needs, desiring to appreciate the elements of the world simply for their beauty. This need for affiliation, esteem, and self-actualization, once met, has been referred to by others as achieving a sense of community (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990; Cochrun, 1994). Meeting these individual needs then, is interrelated with the creation of a healthy community.

Cochrun outlines four components of a sense of community. The first, *membership*, is experienced when an individual has personally invested themselves into the community and feels they belong there. Such experiences, he points out, come from social interactions, opportunities for which are facilitated by public spaces. This experience of membership meets the need for affiliation. The second component, *influence*, can come by means of participating in effective voluntary organizations that act as mediators between the local community and larger institutions. Such participation "gives people a chance to share power and can lead to greater personal responsibility for what happens in the neighbourhood, greater satisfaction with the neighbourhood and increased neighbourhood cohesion" (Cochrun, 1994, 94). This type of experience can also be described as meeting an individual's esteem needs.

The third component of a sense of community, as described by Cochrun, is *integration and the fulfillment of personal needs*. Creating a sense of community can in fact increase the general psychological health and well-being of its residents. Integration and fulfillment of personal needs can be met through the positive reinforcement of members participating in various kinds of informal or formal community associations. The meeting of personal needs is in fact a part of each of the other three elements. *Shared emotional connection* is the fourth component, which comes with both quantity and quality of shared social interaction. In turn, those residents with a sense of community will be involved in

political processes, will have an increased feeling of personal obligation to participate, will believe in the effective power of political participation, will be concerned about the allocation of resources, and will be motivated to undertake political action in the service of the collective human need.

Rich and Wandersman (1983) identify the role of four elements that affected participation in block organizations: demographic characteristics of the residents; events; information; and the organizer. These elements leading to increased participation correspond to the elements leading to a greater sense of community outlined by Cochran. Demographic characteristics described included the "rootedness" of the population (home ownership, length of residence, and anticipation of continued residence in the neighbourhood) being more important than socio-economic status. Also, skills and resources associated with participation in larger organizations were less important at the block level, where issues were more immediate and organizations were more personal. Psychological variables included in demographics were those that reflected "rootedness" such as a sense of community with others on the block, the importance of the block to the individual, and the individual's involvement in other organizations. Participation was greatest when either the individual was dissatisfied with the area and wanted to improve it, or when they were satisfied and wanted to preserve it. Additionally, people who perceived a moderate number of problems were significantly more likely to join than people who saw either very few or a great many problems.

An event, such as being the victim of a crime, increases the likelihood of participation. The amount or distribution of information served a purpose but only to a point at which they found little difference between those who did know of the organization but did not choose to participate, and those who did not know about it. More information at this point then may have made little difference in getting people out. Personal contact with the organizer, however, was found to be the most important variable in predicting participation, "...the precise activities of the organizer are less important than the fact that

someone is performing the role of organizer in the community" (Simpson & Gentile, 1983, 47). The researchers also suggest that neighbourhood organizations can be built around block organizations in order to attack larger issues because of the support the grass-roots networks allow.

Table 2.1 outlines the relationship between individual needs, elements of creating a sense of community, and factors influencing participation in a local organization. The elements found to be of greatest importance for the individual correspond to an element of creating community, while the factors affecting participation also correspond to an action meeting the objectives of both the individual and the creation of a sense of community.

Table 2.1 Relationship between Individual Needs, Elements of a Sense of Community and Factors Affecting Participation

| Individual Needs | Elements of a Sense of Community | Factors Affecting Participation |
|--|--|---|
| Basic Survival Needs * physiological * psychological | Integration and Fulfilment of Personal Needs | Demographic * "rootedness" of the population |
| Need for affiliation | Membership | Information |
| Esteem Needs | Influence | Event |
| Self-actualization * cognitive needs * aesthetic needs | Shared emotional connection | Personal contact with the organizer |

Source: The author, based on comparison of works by: Lang, 1994; Cochrun, 1994; Rich and Wandersman, 1983.

The process of creating a sense of community results in meeting the needs of individuals, the base element of the community in the wholistic model of development. The achievement of some sense of self-actualization motivates the participants to steer their

personal resources and *power within*¹ back into the community, and to the benefit of its members, allowing an organization to be both strong in and of itself, as well as to contribute to build the strength of other individuals in the community. The creation of healthy communities and healthy individuals is thus interdependent.

Two main types of community need to be distinguished. One is a community based on *interests* where members identify the criteria of membership on some common interest or characteristic, such as a profession or a sport. The second type of community is that based on geographical *place*. Both types are important to the creation of a whole political community. It has been argued in fact that the present decline in a sense of community in western societies is rooted in the separation of these two types of communities (Glynn, 1986, in Cochrun, 1994). Friedmann's political community is one that primarily integrates the political interests of a group of people based on the geographical location of their residence. Another interpretation of this gap may be that there are individuals who are part of a community of interest yet not connected by location of residence; communities through employment, for example.

To bridge this gap in our society, a sense of community will need to be developed joining us as individuals based on various aspects of our lives: our place of residence; our place of work; our personal or professional interests. It will also be necessary to learn when and how to join in the discussion around various issues affecting these different parts of our lives.

¹*Power within* is a term used by Boucher (1992) to describe the ability of an individual to act based on an internal notion of integrity. This ability or power is found within, once individual needs, as described above, have been met. The various types of power are discussed further in the next section.

2.4 Opportunities for Social Change and the Negotiation of Power

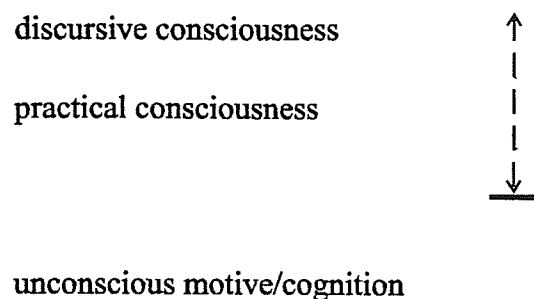
This chapter so far has explored the arguments for increased participation of the diversity of stakeholders in development and planning. It has also examined the close connection between meeting individual needs and community needs in creating a healthy community. This section will outline in detail the dynamics of creating social reality and how that social reality, including its distribution of power, can be re-negotiated.

Alexander (1992) argues that fundamental changes to the present distribution of economic and political power are necessary to achieve a greater understanding and concern for all life forms. Murray Bookchin (1992) emphasizes the link between personal psychological change, resulting from changes in everyday activities, and the creation of locally-governing self-sustaining communities. Friedmann also proposes that the creation of local political communities must come through the re-making of everyday life (Friedmann, 1987, p. 342).

Social theorist Anthony Giddens has developed a comprehensive theory of the dynamics of the making and remaking of everyday life. His theory is further supported by feminist theory and research, as well as anthropological research, which illustrates the concept of the negotiation of roles and the power that is associated with these roles.

Giddens argues that individuals act within historical and geographical context, constitutive of social practices. Through their actions, individuals recreate these existing social practices by acting in a way that is consistent with set rules of behaviour. The awareness of these rules is within our practical consciousness. It is this level of awareness that characterises human interaction (see Figure 2.3). The continuity of social practices makes it possible for the individual to reflect, within their discursive consciousness, upon his/her actions and the actions of others, and this reflection makes it possible for the individual to influence a change in social practices (Giddens, 1984).

Figure 2.3 Levels of Consciousness of the Agent



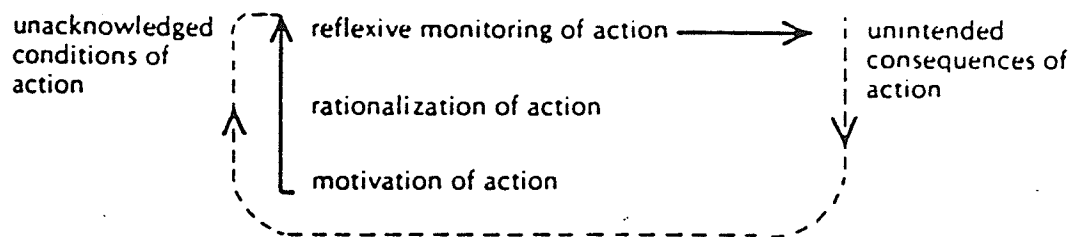
Source: Giddens, 1984, p.7

There exist a number of dimensions involved in individual action: motivation, rationalization, and the reflexive monitoring of action (see Figure 2.4). Motives are explained as those which "provide overall plans or programs... within which a range of conduct is enacted" (Giddens, 1984, p. 6). Motives for particular actions are not always easily articulated by the individual. The rationalization for an act can usually be articulated if the agent so desires, as it is a part of the agent's discursive consciousness, although such articulation is not always truthful. An individual's rationalization for their action is the basis for their reflexive monitoring of that action. An individual or agent reflexively monitors their own actions, expecting others to do the same, as well as monitoring the social and physical elements within which they interact. Individuals thus hold a theoretical understanding of the reasons for their actions.

Giddens continues to explain that most action is dependent on the individual's agency. An individual has agency when they are capable of doing something. Agency also implies the individual has the power to act and the power to have acted otherwise. Action without agency is merely reaction, such as blinking. Importantly, he argues that even those who are in a situation of dependence within a

relation of *power over*² have access to some resources (through which power is exercised) to influence the activities of those with power over them. The individual through their agency is thus the initiator of an event. This event, however, may or may not create the intended consequences. Some aspects of the consequences may have been intended while others were unintended. Regardless, these consequences become a part of the social and physical elements, the context, within which the individual acts. In this way, human action and human cognition both occur as continuous flows as shown in Figure 2.4 (Giddens, 1984, pp. 2-9).

Figure 2.4 The Structuration Model of the Agent



Source: Giddens, 1984, p. 5.

It is also necessary to discuss the concepts of structure, system, and structuration, in structuration theory, in order to better understand the context and its constraints on individual action. Structure is an organized set of social rules and resources separated from space and time, except as they exist in the memory of individuals. These rules and resources are structuring properties which make possible recognizable social practices across time and space, and are reproduced in social interaction. Structure in social interaction is similar to the structure of grammar which orders the words on these pages. This paper is written according to specified rules, using technological resources to put

²*Power over* is defined by Boucher (1992) as situation where one agent or group has power over another.

forward these arguments. Social systems are then the situated activities of individual agents which reproduce social practices over time and space. Deeply embedded structural properties are structural principles and practices with the greatest endurance over time-space. These can be referred to as institutions (Giddens, 1984, pp. 13-24). Just as grammar is the structure of language, which is a system, we might also speak of the structure which regulates the relations between students and educators as manifesting in a system through their actual situations of interaction. The phenomenon of the university would be an example of an institution. Structuration, in contrast, refers to "the modes in which such systems, grounded in the knowledgeable activities of situated actors who draw upon rules and resources in the diversity of action contexts, are produced and reproduced in interaction" (Giddens, 1984, p. 25).

The flow of human action and human cognition according to structuration theory allows for a number of opportunities to influence positive social change: (1) to transform the social and physical historical context of action, which may come about through both intentional and unintentional consequences of actions; (2) to transform the individuals' theories of the historical context of action through their reflexive monitoring of their actions within its context; and (3) ultimately to transform individuals' motives for acting. Structuration theory thus supports the arguments of theorists of social change who propose that change needs to occur at the level of everyday interaction (Alexander, 1992; Bookchin, 1992; Friedmann, 1987).

The concept of the negotiation of power is well illustrated in the feminist literature relating to the differential power residing in gendered roles in society. Gendered roles are the roles women and men have in a society which are related to their being women or men. They are not, however, roles that are a result of their biological sex, as anthropological research has demonstrated the wide variation of gender roles across cultures (Moore, 1988; Cole, 1991). These roles are negotiated through day-to-day behaviour settings, creating expectations of what is acceptable or not, who is responsible for what tasks, as well as

what and who is respected and granted authority related to these tasks. This type of negotiation is called the social construction of gender. Other types of differences based on material, cultural or physical characteristics are similarly socially constructed through negotiation (Liebow, 1967).

Power, as defined by Forester,

"may be understood not as a possession of an actor working mysteriously on another actor, but rather as a normative relationship binding the two together, a relationship that structures one agency's dependency on the other's information, deference for the others' supposed authority, trust in the other's intentions, or consideration of the other's claims to attention" (Forester, 1989, p. 224).

The relationships of power described here are based on the social creation of roles and the negotiation of power between those roles over a certain period of time. This description of power is a situation where one agent has *power over* another through these inequitable relations (Boucher, 1992). Dominant relations of power in our society often exist between individuals or groups defined in terms of socio-economic class, gender, and ethnicity. Different characteristics within these categories have determined people's access to claims for attention, public trust, education and information, and therefore claims to authority.

These relations remain inequitable through a combination of some kind of ideological hegemony or, where this hegemony breaks down, the use of force. Power is successfully redistributed when the oppressed identify ideological justification for their situation and re-negotiate their position in society. I would argue that if attempts at the re-negotiation of roles evoke the repressive use of force, such as violence, by those with *power over*, successful negotiation after the use of such force will be much more difficult (for example, the breakdown of many of the eastern European states). It is thus imperative to have open forums for negotiation between individuals and groups of citizens in a society in order for conflicts of interest to be constructively channeled.

Giddens understands power as being exercised through resources. Resources are "structured properties of social systems, drawn upon and reproduced by knowledgeable

agents in the course of interaction" (Giddens, 1984, p. 15). An example of such resources would be having access to a level of education (possibly the property of a class system or a cultural system of ethnicity), which in turn helps the individual gain access to a particular level of the job market. Giddens, similar to Forester, states that power in social systems assumes relations of autonomy and dependence between individuals or groups. In addition, as stated above, Giddens argues that even in a position of dependence, an agent has some resources to act in a way to influence those with *power over* the agent. He calls this the dialectic of control in social systems (Giddens, 1984, pp. 15-16).

Friedmann speaks of the role of social learning within the context of the community group which is attempting to effect change (1987, p. 304), but this perspective needs to be extended to the relations between the powerful and powerless. It is the affect that social learning, through such initiatives, has on other stakeholders involved, such as governments, business, non-profit agencies, and other citizen groups, that will fundamentally enable the redistribution of power in society. Kemmis (1990) argues that various constituencies do have at least some fundamental common interests and should be encouraged to collaborate. Corporations, the most common opponent to community interests, must become capable citizens on a local level, wherever it is they conduct some portion of their business. To create real citizenship of this kind, corporations and other stakeholders must be drawn into the local activities of citizenship: "The lesson can hardly be overstated: proponents of the public interest must find ways to break the stalemate, even if it means (as it does) that they have to begin opening up arenas of cooperation with 'the enemy'" (Kemmis, 1990, p. 132). Such citizenship needs to be both nurtured by the community of a particular location, as well as clearly defined by a particular jurisdiction. Critics of this argument may suggest that it is not possible to obtain legislation relating to increased "good" corporate citizenship, however, Kemmis argues that it is the responsibility of citizens to ensure such accountability from corporations through government.

The research by Berry, Portney, & Thomson (1993) would support some elements of the argument that increased public participation can lead to the successful re-negotiation of power distribution. They show that open, participatory institutions can manage conflict that arises between people in constructive ways (1993, p. 202). They also show that increased participation leads to increased tolerance of different views, whereas those who participate less have less tolerant views (1993, p. 214-231).

The present situation of particular groups and individuals with *power over* others must be re-negotiated to a situation of *power with*. *Power-from-within* is when individuals begin to act according to internal notions of integrity and truth. *Power with* is achieved in the collective action of *power-from-within*. *Power with* enables people to speak out and have the courage to withdraw their consent from the relations of *power over* (Boucher, 1992). *Power-from-within* is found as people meet their individual needs, as described above, with the help of others. *Power with* is the power that comes with collective self-actualization and the creation of a sense of community.

The creation of political communities in neighbourhoods with, at present, the least amount of power due to their socio-economic situation or other characteristics, is a possible starting point for this political and economic transformation. Structuration and the theories of the negotiation of power present the framework from which to analyze the present case study. The study analyzes of the opportunities for and constraints on social learning, as well as the negotiation of a more equitable re-distribution of power .

2.5 Inclusive and Effective Organizational Structure and Function

The organizational structure of a political community needs to be closely considered for two reasons. The first is the structure's ability to allow for the widest participation of diverse individuals in the community. Secondly, the organization must be structured in a way that enables it to carry out strategies to realize its goals effectively.

Randy Stoecker (1990) describes the challenges of achieving inclusive participation in terms of the threat of oligarchy in social movements. An oligarchy develops "as an organization's leaders transform the organizational structure to maintain their own power and pursue their own goals" (Stoecker, 1990). Challenges to inclusive democratic participation that were encountered in his study of the Cedar-Riverside neighbourhood, Minneapolis, USA, included: the pressures of economic constraints, information centralization, the limits to participation created by involvement of competing interest groups, and the centralized-bureaucratic structure of the organization. Several characteristics of the Cedar-Riverside experience which encouraged broad inclusion were: the leadership; institutionalized citizen participation; information dispersal; constructive public conflict leading to the clarification of issues, organizational boundaries, and strategies for avoiding similar problems; and the socialization of new members. Participatory democracy "rests on access to information, involvement in decision-making, political education and organizational structures which maximize participation" (Stoecker, 1990).

The structure of the organization is important for who will feel comfortable joining, who will stay involved, and how effective the organization will be in realizing its goals. Too little structure, the tyranny of structurelessness, can result in ineffective and inefficient organization which also discourages participation (Stoecker, 1990). Jo Freeman makes a distinction between formally structured organizations and those unstructured in a formal way. The unstructured organizations that evolved in the women's movement in the 1970s were a reaction against an over-structured society that inevitably gave control of their lives to an elite (Freeman, 1972). The resulting groups were organized for the purpose of merely exchanging ideas and experiences. However, she argues, there will always exist some form of structure as a result of personalities creating an elite or competing elites within the group. An elite "refers to a small group of people who have power over a larger group of which they are part, usually without direct responsibility to that larger group, and

often without their knowledge or consent" (Freeman, 1972, 153). A formal structure of some sort is therefore necessary for all in the organization to have an equal chance to participate.

The creation of formal structure, in organizations that look to include those traditionally excluded from decision-making, need not fall back on pure rational bureaucratic models of organization. Freeman (1972) suggests seven principles for democratic structuring:

1. Delegation of specific authority to specific individuals for specific tasks by democratic procedures
2. Requiring all those to whom authority has been delegated to be responsible to those who selected them,
3. Distribution of authority among as many people as reasonably possible,
4. Rotation of tasks among individuals,
5. Allocation of tasks according to rational criteria,
6. Diffusion of information to everyone as frequently as possible,
7. Equal access to resources needed by the group.

Such procedures should allow for inclusion as well as accountability and equitability within the group.

Rothschild-Whitt (1979) outlines the essential differences between the collectivist model of organization in contrast to the rational-bureaucratic model of organization (see Figure 2.5). Authority rests in the collective as a whole, rather than in individuals because of their office or expertise. Rules are not written in a systematic code; rather, judgment is based on a substantive ethic. Social control is based on personal and moral appeals rather than on direct supervision with systematic rules, procedures and sanctions. Social relations in a collective organization are the ideal of community, whereas in a rational-bureaucratic organization they are impersonal, as personal emotions are seen as distorting rational judgments. Recruitment and advancement are based on friendships, socio-political values, personality attributes, and informally-assessed knowledge and skills. Advancement is not particularly meaningful as there is no hierarchy of positions in a collectivist organization. In a rational-bureaucratic organization however, employment is based on specialized training, and advancement is based on seniority or achievement.

Normative and solidarity incentives are primary in a collectivist organizations whereas remunerative incentives are primary in the other. All are to be equal in the collectivist organization, whereas there exists a social stratification based on prestige, privilege, and power in the traditional rational bureaucratic organization. The collective has a minimum division of labour between intellectual work and maintenance work, and between administrative tasks and performance tasks, in contrast to a maximum division of labour in the rational-bureaucratic organization (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979).

Figure 2.5 Comparison of Collectivist Organizational Model and Rational-Bureaucratic Organizational Model.

| Characteristic | Collectivist Organization | Rational-Bureaucratic Organization |
|-----------------------------|--|--|
| authority | the whole group | individual by office or expertise |
| rules | substantive ethic | systematic |
| social control | personal and moral appeals | supervision |
| social relations | ideal of community | impersonal |
| recruitment and advancement | informal relations based on shared values | specialized training; seniority or achievement |
| incentives | normative incentives | remunerative incentives |
| social stratification | all are equal | prestige, privilege, and power |
| division of labour | minimum between -intellectual and maintenance work -administrative and performance tasks | maximum between these areas |

Source: Adapted from Rothschild-Whitt, 1979.

Each of the advantages of a collectivist organization has a cost in other terms (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). It takes time to move through the process of decision-making to carrying out tasks. Consensus may require a level of homogeneity of members within the

organization, without which the processes will require time in coming to an understanding of what the common values are. There also exists a level of emotional intensity in familial face-to-face relations which may prove threatening. This intensity may result in physical discomfort or fears of conflict which may lead to avoidance rather than the confrontation that is necessary for the organization to operate constructively. There may also be those individuals, who, because of prior experience or personality, may not be well-suited to direct participatory democracy. External constraints may also exist which affect the success of such an organization, such as from the legal, political, and cultural realms. Individual difference may emerge in the exercise of influence of some over others simply because of personality attributes (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979).

Each of these concerns of conflict, alienation, and delay are addressed by Berry, Portney, and Thomson (1993) in their research for the Bookings Institution. In the neighbourhood associations they studied, conflict was properly managed to the point that these associations were seen as places to resolve conflict. Because conflict was handled productively, it did not discourage participation. Delay did occur as a result of more participatory system. However, most bureaucrats and participants felt that the benefits outweighed the cost, as the process dealt with citizen concerns at an early stage in development proposals, created greater understanding between different interests, and improved the political stability of the final decision (Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993, pp. 195-213). As was discussed in the previous section on the negotiation of power, the open and inclusive discussion in more collectivist type organizations creates the opportunity to negotiate new relationships of power.

The principles outlined by Freeman (1972) and the model of collective organization described by Rothschild-Whitt (1979) demonstrate the importance of the structural organization for both its ability to include as broad a population as possible within a traditionally powerless population, and its ability to be effective in realizing its goals. Their observations and suggestions should be considered in terms of choices that can be made by

particular organizations along a continuum of organizational characteristics, from purely collective to purely rational-bureaucratic. Organizational structure that is both inclusive and effective will emerge depending on the needs of the community the organization is to serve, and the goals the community wishes to achieve. Such dimensions of organizational structure, aimed at participatory democracy or a collectivist model, may be well-suited, with variations, to meeting the needs of lower-income neighbourhood political organizations.

Berry, Portney, and Thomson (1993) focus less on the internal organizational structure of the group and more closely on the purpose and function of the organization as being key to its inclusiveness and effectiveness. They propose the elements in Figure 2.6 as being critical for an organization attempting to create strong participatory democracy. The breadth of a participation effort corresponds to the inclusiveness of participation and is defined as "the extent to which an opportunity is offered to every community member to participate at every stage of the policy making process" (Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993, pp. 54-55). The depth of a participation effort corresponds to the effectiveness of the participation, and is defined as "the extent to which the citizens who choose to participate have the opportunity to determine the final outcome by means of the participation process" (Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993, p. 55).

Figure 2.6 Critical Elements of Strong Participation

| Structure | Desired Outcome |
|--|---|
| Breadth Outreach effort -open and easy access -full information flow -realistic opportunities to participate | Increased numbers of people who participate Improved representativeness of participants Inclusion of all citizen concerns on decision making agenda |
| Depth Decision Making Process -equal consideration of ideas -direct translation of citizen preferences into policy decisions Effective implementation of participatory decisions | Improved match between policy outcomes and participants' final choices Improved match between policy outcomes and needs of all population segments |

Source: Adapted from Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993, p. 55.

These elements are tested in their research and are shown to be important in creating inclusive and effective participatory democratic organizations (Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993).

2.6 Precedents for Local Political Communities

The main questions concerning public participation in neighbourhood planning are who to involve, how to involve them, and the extent to which the participants should have control over the decision-making process. Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation, discussed in section 2.2, describes a continuum of citizen control over decision-making in organized public participation (see Figure 2.1). It does not deal specifically with the questions of whom to involve and how to involve them.

There have been a number of different types of local involvement in community development and urban revitalization efforts. These types of involvement have varied as to who initiated them, their purpose and process, their relationship to other stakeholders in the

neighbourhood and various levels of government, and their legislative powers. Names of such citizen organizations, however, vary from place to place. For example, people may use the terms *neighbourhood association* and *neighbourhood council* interchangeably. The following are definitions which describe these various forms of local public participation. The definitions have been developed by categorizing the cases described in the remainder of this section.

Organized public participation refers to those types of citizen organizations that have been created by development agencies and are intended to last only for the duration of a particular project or the creation of a plan. Such participation varies according to three variables: the form of participation, from committees to one-day vision workshops; the degree to which the citizens have true control over the decision-making process; and who is involved, whether residents or interest groups (Hodge, 1991; Klein, 1994). A second type of citizen organization, most often created by the residents of a particular neighbourhood, is the *neighbourhood residents' association*. This type of organization is often formed at a time of crisis and represents the residents, both homeowner and tenant, in a geographically defined area (Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990). *Tenant associations* have also formed with the goal of educating tenants as to their rights and responsibilities, and advocating for their interests as issues arise. The *neighbourhood council* is a more inclusive form of neighbourhood organization with a broader mandate of improving both the everyday life of the residents in a geographically defined area and all those with a stake in the area. More of the stakeholders of a neighbourhood, such as businesses and their employees, or agencies working in that area, are usually involved in the processes of decision-making (Roussopoulos, 1982). *Neighbourhood self-management* is a less formal co-operation of citizen groups finding strategies for increasing their control over the development of the neighbourhood (Fish, 1982). These types of citizen organizations have existed in Canada and abroad with varying degrees of success in terms of their ability to be both inclusive and

effective. Table 2.2 summaries these various types of local involvement in community development and urban revitalization efforts.

The neighbourhood association is often created to protect the interests of residents, predominantly homeowners, against a particular development plan of private or public developers (Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990). In one study of the formation of neighbourhood associations and their issues, it was found that "after the initial issue is resolved, neighbourhood associations deal with quite a broad range of issues" (Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990, p. 90), the intent of all such efforts being to protect the residential environment. Although the associations in the suburbs concentrated on land use issues, central city neighbourhood associations worked on issues such as safety, public amenities, and various types of services. The latter were described as "use values" of the residential environment in contrast to the "exchange values" involved in the suburban settings (Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990, p.90). A provocative finding was the alliance between developers and businesses, and depressed neighbourhoods. The authors theorize that this alliance existed because the "political system is closed to them, and their only apparent hope for change is through private investment" (Logan & Rabrenovic, 1990, p. 91). This alliance is one created within the particular context of the neighbourhood associations studied.

Examples of these various types of local involvement will now be considered in terms of their relevance to the main research questions. How can residents, the least powerful in low-income highly mobile neighbourhoods, negotiate a working relationship with the other stakeholders involved in development of their neighbourhood? How are the power differences balanced? What difference does it make to the inclusiveness and effectiveness of a neighbourhood organization with varying degrees of co-operation or coalition-building with the other stakeholders in the neighbourhood or various levels of government?

One concern raised by researchers is the metamorphosis which a neighbourhood association undergoes when it collaborates with professionals and bureaucrats during

Table 2.2 **Types of Local Involvement in Community Development and Urban Revitalization**

| Type of Local Involvement | Purpose | Who Initiated Process | The Process | Relationship to Stakeholder | Citizens Control |
|---|---|---|--|---|--|
| Organized Public Participation | Input for a specific project | Planner or other professional | Various forms and lengths of time, e.g. workshops, surveys | Varies (Levels such as Arnstein's Ladder of Participation) | Varies (Levels such as Arnstein's Ladder of Participation) |
| Neighbourhood Residents' Association | Deal with an immediate crisis, sometimes remain organized after crisis has passed | Residents of a Neighbourhood | Traditional democratic organization with parliamentary decision-making | May work with other organized groups of stakeholders on specific issues | Full control, though these associations may vary in their ability to be representative of population |
| Tenant Association | Advocacy and education of tenants' rights and responsibilities | Tenants or a professional community organizer | Varies from workshops to traditional democratic organization | May work with other organized stakeholder groups on specific issues | Full control, unless dominated by community organizer |
| Neighbourhood Council | Broad mandate of improving neighbourhood | Any stakeholder in the neighbourhood | Traditional democratic organization with parliamentary decision-making | All stakeholders are included in the process | Depends on balance between the stakeholder groups involved |
| Neighbourhood Self-Management | Determine strategies to monitor and influence development in a neighbourhood | Planner | Varies | Varies | Varies |

Source: The author

development projects. Terry Cooper (1980), in his study of a residents' association in a low-income Los Angeles neighbourhood, found the neighbourhood association had to choose between broad participation (community needs) and professionalization (development needs) for the purposes of a development project. The core members took on the perspectives of the bureaucrats and the professionals. This metamorphosis was seen to be a result of the scale of the task, the technical nature of re-development planning, and the outside agency's official control of the process (Cooper, 1980, p. 435). The broader membership was slowly screened out of participation.

Curtis Ventriss and Robert Pecorella (Ventriss & Pecorella, 1984; Ventriss, 1987) describes this process as the problem of co-optation. They argue that what happened in the case studied by Cooper (1980) can be avoided. The difference must come in the approach taken by the residents' association. Ventriss & Pecorella advocate the learning approach, which emphasises the process, as opposed to the blueprint approach, which emphasises the project. The learning approach was found to be used successfully by one neighbourhood organization in Los Angeles that refused to work with established bureaucracies. Without the constraints of particular development projects, the organization could spend their energy and time linking "individual and group learning to community learning, providing a forum for experimentation" (Ventriss & Pecorella, 1984, p.226).

Another example of successful grassroots citizen organization is the Downtown Eastside Residents' Association (DERA) in Vancouver. This association was formed in 1973 by a group of tenants living in deteriorated housing, including many single-room-only hotels, to combat the neglect of their area (Gerecke, 1991). Among their successes has been rehabilitation of housing through previous federal government programs. Unlike the case in Los Angeles described by Cooper (1980), DERA has continued to have a strong grassroots base, with 100-200 members coming to the monthly meetings. Contrary to the implications suggested by Ventriss and Pecorella (1984), that this can only be done by keeping the organization autonomous, DERA has managed to balance the conflicting

demands of community needs with development needs of the larger urban area. The key to DERA's success seems to be a combination of several factors: strong personal leadership; wide political support; varied funding sources; hiring development or community workers as the need arises; the use of participatory action research methods; and easy access for the residents to the DERA office, located in the area, and its employees. This combination shows the organization's dedication to the learning process of development, by developing the capacities of the members at the same time as they develop needed infrastructure and services (Gerecke, 1991).

Dimitrios Roussopoulos (1982) described the evolution of the neighbourhood movement and neighbourhood councils in Montreal. Labour and trade unions in the 1960s began to connect the struggle for wage increases with community needs. Wage gains, they criticized, were offset through rent increases and inflation. The Quebec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions wanted "strategies which locate community struggles within the total context of exploitation and domination" (Roussopoulos, 1982, p. 211).

What is crucial for this movement is the link between economic and personal life and the recognition that people's daily lives and experience at the workplace and at home is what determines their political consciousness and action. (Roussopoulos, p. 212).

In 1970, the Front d'Action Politique (FRAP) was formed with the similar mandate of dealing with the problem of political and class power. Their aim was also to decentralize political power to the neighbourhoods. Their efforts were cut short with the FLQ crisis in 1972. The movement continued soon after with the creation of the Progressive Urban Movement in 1973 and the Montreal Citizen Movement (MCM) in 1974. By 1976, the MCM's proposal for neighbourhood councils included: a decentralized organization with representatives from each street or block; formal responsibilities over land use through the control over development permits; an autonomous economic base; and the planning and co-ordination of alternative economic development (Roussopoulos, 1982, pp. 215-6).

Unfortunately, the proposed neighbourhood councils were never realized in Montreal due to the limited amount of broad political support.

Neighbourhood self-management policies focus on the issues of importance for citizen involvement and the strategies necessary to create citizen control in these various aspects of life. These issues include housing, consumption, social and health services, community services and cultural activities. "Participation remains...an indispensable condition for self-management, implying a change of mentality, a different vision of our involvement in daily life" (Fish, 1982, p. 222). It is argued that by focusing on the strategies and citizen movements presently being initiated, consciousness will be raised. The article proposes this action approach in contrast to the political approach of the MCM, which proposed to gain political power and then support such initiatives (Fish, 1982, p. 221).

Simpson and Gentile (1986) found a number of issues to be of importance in their research on effective neighbourhood governance, a form of participatory democracy. The organizations need to guarantee a citizen's right to services and a voice in the decision-making process within the community. Connections with the city government were essential in order to balance power with developers. Importantly, they noted that legal power vested in the neighbourhood organization made for viable government-connected citizen participation. Experiments with neighbourhood advisory councils, neighbourhood governments and community participation linked to city departments suggest that these mechanisms allow for meaningful citizen participation and important government services to be delivered and supervised at the neighbourhood level (Simpson & Gentile, 1986).

More recent and comprehensive research on neighbourhood governance, which echo the findings of Simpson & Gentile (1986), is reported in The Rebirth of Urban Democracy (Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993). These authors provide impressive evidence of the success of neighbourhood associations that have been given certain powers and responsibilities over their geographical area. The structured participation of

neighbourhood organizations in four cities is analyzed along with one case of a city-wide network of neighbourhoods not connected to the city structure in any way. The mere existence of these systems of participation, as well as their success, are attributed to four factors present in each case: the strong motivation by citizens and governments to make participation work; the characteristics of their initial design; political balance (i.e. political parties); and each having the opportunity to become established before facing significant financial or political challenges. These cases of participatory democracy are then compared to those in similar cities, without such structured, city-wide participation, in terms of three issues: participation of the population; responsiveness of the city government; and empowerment.

The findings of this research are many and varied. Those most relevant to the present research of citizen involvement in the development of low-income inner city neighbourhoods will be examined. On the question of co-optation discussed in the research of Cooper (1980) and Ventriss & Percorella (1984), the authors found that these neighbourhood organizations were not manipulated into supporting the agenda of the bureaucracy, but presented the foremost opposition to proposals put forth by business, even more so than the other independent citizen associations or organizations. In such cases of opposition, the neighbourhood may come to a compromise and co-operate with the resulting decision through the participatory process. If they felt no compromise could be reached, they were just as likely to keep on record that they opposed the development (Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993, p.147-150).

The authors found that structured participation did not increase the level or amount of participation, but rather changed the *form* of participation. Citizens who were active in the neighbourhood organizations were more likely to be involved in more activities which required face-to-face interaction and higher levels of commitment, such as working with others in the community, likely through a community group, in dealing with a neighbourhood-related issue. This finding held for all socio-economic status (SES) groups

(Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993, p.91). The overall level of participation seemed to peak at around 50% of the neighbourhood participation. From that active 50%, the existence of these structures, and the strength of the individual neighbourhood association, made a significant difference, in particular to the level of participation for the lower-income SES population (Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993, p.96-7).

The effects of participatory democracy on enhancing citizen capacity were also explored. Capacity means,

" the overall ability of an individual to take part in the political process...incorporates a practical dimension (the knowledge necessary to know how to participate), a psychological dimension (the belief that one can influence the system), and an experiential dimension (the drawing of lessons from activity in politics that makes one believe it is worth participating again)" (Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993, p.256).

The authors measured capacity first in terms of internal and external political efficacy. Internal efficacy related to the practical and psychological dimensions of capacity, while external efficacy related to the experiential dimension. They found that people who participated, from each level of SES, had higher levels of political efficacy than those who did not participate. In addition, they found a higher level of political efficacy among the lower SES people participating in cities where there is a broad-based access, than lower SES people in cities where such participation is less common. This pattern of efficacy with relation to the context was less clear for middle- and high-SES people (Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993, p.265-6). These effects are greater for external efficacy than internal political efficacy (Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993, p.270). Participation was also shown to contribute to people's political knowledge (Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993, p.279).

The increase of capacity then, contributes to the empowerment of citizens, which is enhanced by the strong sense of community felt by those who are active in these successful neighbourhood associations. These neighbourhood associations produce such an effect "by offering a source of unified political advocacy on behalf of the neighbourhood" (Berry,

Portney, & Thomson, 1993, p.279). They are places for the resolution of conflict, and sources of information. They are open to and recognized by the community, and as such are true community centres (Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993, p.279).

Despite the encouraging conclusion that can be drawn from such precedents, it is still sobering to consider the significant hurdles facing most low-income neighbourhoods in developing access to such high levels of participation, or effective and inclusive community organizations. These cases are the exception rather than the rule, but they prove that local political communities can exist and be inclusive and effective, by negotiating power with the other stakeholders in better developing their neighbourhoods.

To summarize, there are a number of issues of importance that affected the successes and failures of these cases in terms of their ability to be broadly inclusive and effective:

1. the development perspective of the neighbourhood organization, focusing on the learning process of development and the development of members' capacities, rather than simply the product or the project;
2. legitimate control over decision-making, either through legal powers and official connections with government or decision-making powers specific to a project;
3. political support, from the grassroots in the community as well as from outside the community;
4. strong resident leadership;
5. the independence of the role of the planner and/or community organizer from other stakeholders in development, such as government or business, and the funder of any project;
6. access to suitable levels of funding for organizing the neighbourhood and carrying out needed projects;
7. organizational structure and function that is accessible, accountable and effective, for example, in terms of outreach, information dispersal, and constructively dealing with conflict;
8. creating working relationships with the other stakeholders in the neighbourhood;
9. dealing with broad issues;
10. external constraints or opportunities: economic, political, or social.

Changes toward a more equitable society must not only come from the initiative of the community. Previous approaches to radical social change have most often been confrontational in nature (Alinsky, 1969; Roussopoulos, 1982). The lessons that can be

learned from the cases above demonstrate that changes in theoretical and practical approaches must come in part from within the institutions of planning, government and business. Coalitions, partnerships, and various kinds of working relationships between the different interests of residents in a neighbourhood, the businesses and agencies that work there, and the bureaucracies administering public services, do not necessarily co-opt and manipulate the residents of lower-income neighbourhoods. However, in forming such working relationships, the initial balance of power, weighted heavily in favour of business and bureaucracies, who have both knowledge and financial resources, must be renegotiated.

The most effective way of balancing power seems to be with the introduction of a political community which represents the interests of the least powerful and a process that enables social learning and consensus-building with various other stakeholders. This political community, however, must be given access to resources. Such resources might include an independent planner, access to other professionals working in the community, the resources to hire and train residents in the community to do community development work, and the right to make decisions about financial resources. The next step, then, is to consider the literature on the implications for the role of the planner and other professionals working with communities, in supporting the creation of such local political communities and creating a process that balances the powers of stakeholders in neighbourhood development.

2.7 The Role of the Planner

What is the role of the planner in the development of these political communities? The approach taken by the planning profession may be crucial in the re-balancing of power between the stakeholders in a neighbourhood. However, it is important to note that one possible cause for the continued lack of power in lower income communities, along with much dependency and apathy, is the result of previously harmful, though perhaps well-intentioned, interventions of social service professionals, including planners (Illich, 1977; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Kuyek, 1990). Planners and other social service professionals have focused on the needs of communities, making the communities dependent on their professional expertise to meet these needs. This places the professional in a position of *power-over* the citizen of a community (CBC, 1994).

Planners must therefore use strategies that transform the present situations of *power-over* to *power-with*. *Power-with* can be encouraged through building coalitions based on common interests and thus providing safe, inclusive and effective opportunities for all to voice their opinions, interests and concerns (Hancock, 1995; Julian, 1994). Through such coalitions, effective strategies may be carried out that create the opportunity for sustainable and equitable development that is responsive to the intended user group.

Equity planning presents an alternative approach for planners working within the government. In their positions of influence, despite the implicit priority to satisfy bureaucratic needs, it is also possible for equity-minded planners to work on the transformation of the systems of government planning from within (Krumholz, 1986; Knack, 1993; Krumholz & Forester, 1990). Gains can be made towards the goal of greater equity by simultaneously pushing the boundaries of both redistributive policies and increased participation in policy development (Krumholz & Clavel, 1994). Keating and Krumholz (1991), for example, have advised the profession that if social problems in cities are "left unaddressed in downtown plans, they will not go away or somehow be solved separately from the problems of the CBD [Central Business District]" (Keating and

Krumholz, 1991, p. 137). They propose the incorporation of policies to solve these problems, through the involvement of both the general population and those directly responsible for social issues, along with business interests, in creating such a plan.

One example of equity planning is the work done in the Edmonton inner-city neighbourhoods of Boyle Street and McCauley (Bubel, 1993). The area redevelopment plan process for these neighbourhoods was able to create much greater citizen control over decision-making primarily by hiring an independent advocacy planner, rather than working with an employee of the City of Edmonton. Their organizational structure consisted of a Planning Co-ordinating Committee (PPC), a number of sub-committees working on specific issues, and action groups which enabled the participation of a wider variety of people with differing interests and/or skills, and varying amounts of time available to commit to the process (Bubel, 1993, p. 21). The PPC also brought together stakeholders within the community including business, community groups and agencies. "Rather than using traditional confrontational tactics, the PPC has attempted to be inclusive and accepting of the broader community" (Bubel, 1993, p. 22). This approach has resulted in new alliances and working relationships (Bubel, 1993).

Forester (1989) puts forward the argument that planners can take advantage of the influence they have over the distribution of information within an organization of power which tends to distort information. Planners thus have the ethical responsibility to work towards the democratization of communications. They can act as mediating negotiators between the stakeholders in any particular project or program. Mediated negotiation occurs "in cases where both developers and neighbourhood groups want to negotiate" allowing planners to act "both as mediators, assisting the negotiations, and as interested negotiators themselves" (Forester, 1989, p. 88). As an active and interested mediator, the planner can deal with issues of distrust on all sides, building trust by listening and respecting what people say. Using various practical strategies suggested by Forester, the planner "can

address power imbalances of access, information, class, and expertise which perpetually threaten the quality of local planning outcomes" (Forester, 1989, p.103).

The future role of the radical planner for Friedmann (1987), however, is one that works outside the present systems of power (namely, the bureaucratic state and the large corporation) devoting their professional skills and their organizational skills in social mobilization towards the goal of "the emancipation of humanity from social oppression" (Friedmann, 1987, p. 301). The radical planner would work for local political communities, whether households, communities, or social movements, using her or his technical, analytical, and organizational skills.

"If it is legitimate to use the word at all in this connection, the client is the mobilized community or group. Because it is oppositional, radical practice (and the planning associated with it) cannot be organized and sponsored by the state. *The impulse for it must come from within the community itself*" (Friedmann, 1989, p. 301, emphasis in the original).

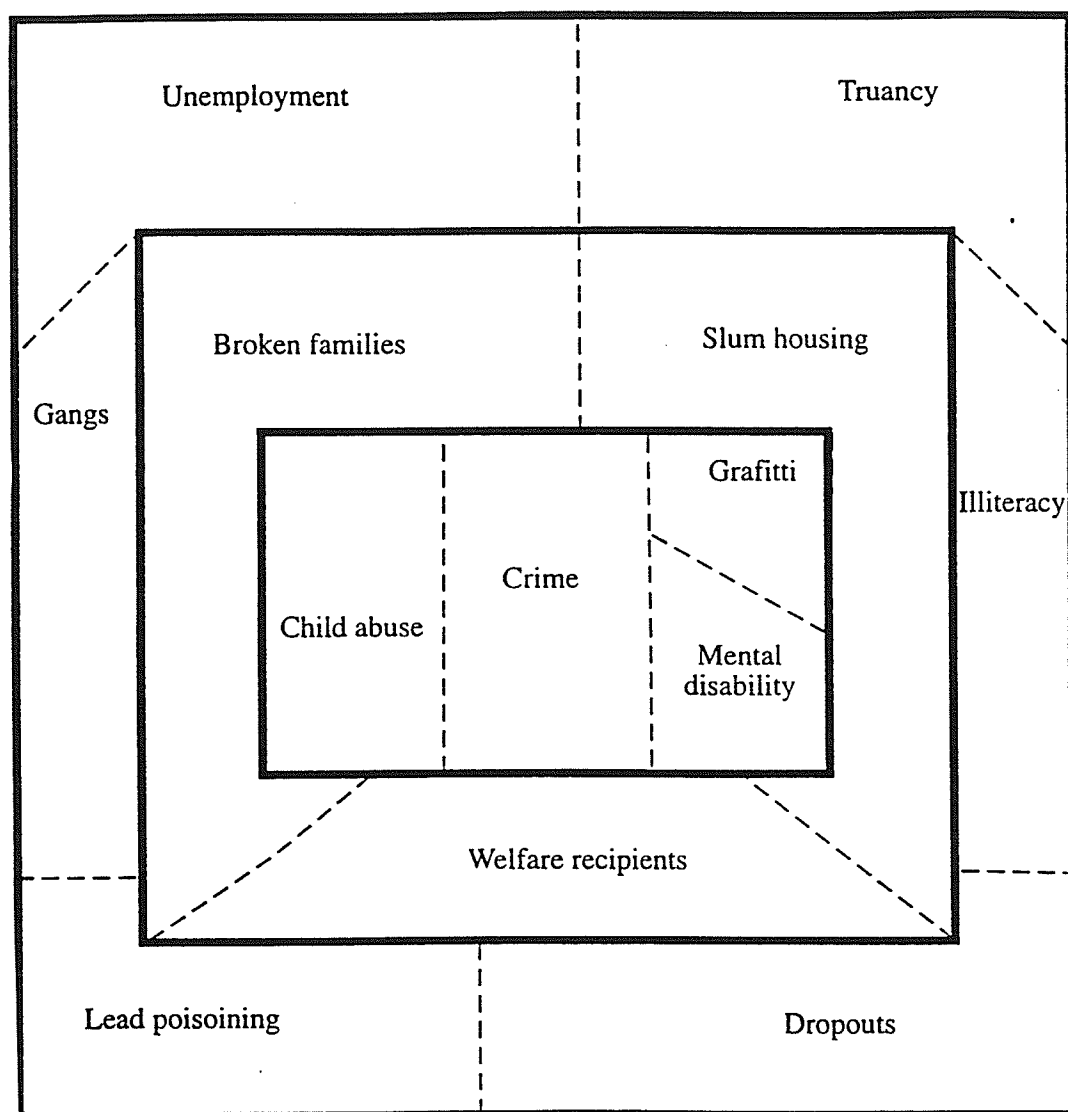
New institutions need to be created through which linkages between critical consciousness (theory) and strategies (action), can be nurtured to ensure democratic control (Friedmann, 1989, p.302). There is, however, room for the planner to play a role raising awareness around the possibilities of change, pointing out the necessary conditions for self-mobilization to occur, and in aiding the formation and maintenance of such institutions.

Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) would agree with Friedmann that civil society should be at the centre of community development and that the planner and other professionals take their direction from community mandates. They propose that a new approach to defining, or mapping, communities can provide a starting point for citizen-driven community development. Rather than a community being defined according to its perceived needs from "outside", the community should map itself according to its capacities, or assets (compare Figures 2.7 and 2.8). It is the recognition of these capacities that is the first step in development of the social, physical, or economic environment of a neighbourhood.

One criticism of these locally-based decision-making models in planning would be their exclusion of the wider interests of the city or region. I would argue that it should be the role of the planner to ensure that these interests are included in the process, just as all other stakeholders are included. It would also be the planner's role to present, when appropriate, ideas both on process and solutions according to their particular knowledge of neighbourhood planning.

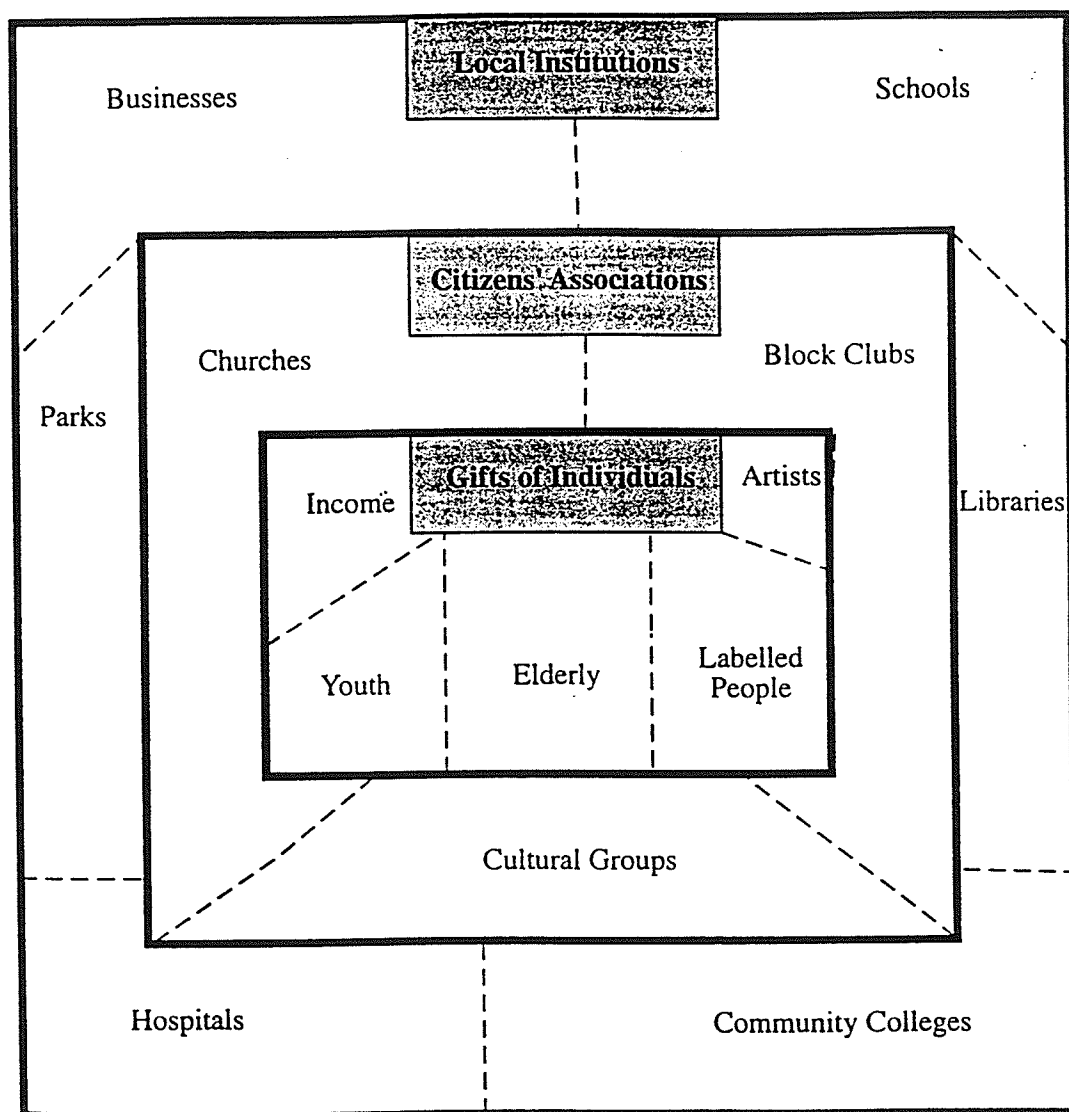
There has been little opportunity to check the effectiveness of these different roles against each other. This is largely because all of them have only recently come into contemporary planning debate. The purpose of this research is to explore the dynamic between different stakeholders in a community as they attempt to redevelop the area. This presents the opportunity to suggest implications for the effectiveness of these different professional roles.

Figure 2.7 Neighbourhood Needs Map



Source: Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993, p.3

Figure 2.8 Community Assets Map



Source: Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993, p. 7

2.8 Summary

The review of the literature presented here has explored a number of issues: the rise of citizen participation in planning, specifically for neighbourhood planning and revitalization; the implications of this theorizing for the form and extent of an increased participatory democratic practice in society; and what implications increased participation would have for professional planners and other social service professionals. The crucial question to be explored is how the stakeholders in a neighbourhood could re-negotiate the present inequitable distribution of power, a situation of *power over*, towards a more equitable situation of *power with* in the re-development of an inner city neighbourhood. The focus of this case study is the possibility for the re-learning of roles through every-day experience.

Chapter 3

Background to the Case Study

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the West Broadway neighbourhood (earlier known as Memorial)³ in Winnipeg, Canada. The neighbourhood is described as it is today. Then, a history of both local activism and government programs is presented. This chapter provides a basis for understanding the development of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council.

3.2 The West Broadway Neighbourhood

The West Broadway neighbourhood was developed prior to 1900 as a low-density residential neighbourhood, with some upper-middle-class houses. Throughout approximately the last 25 years, the area has had much multiple-family apartment block development and conversion of single-family dwellings to multiple-family. It has also been subjected to the deteriorating affects of high traffic on the boundaries of Osborne Street to the east, Portage Avenue to the north and Maryland Street to the west, and right through the centre of the neighbourhood on Broadway Avenue, which is part of the Trans-Canada Highway (Department of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, 1989). There are services in the neighbourhood including: a variety of bus routes; Misericordia General Hospital, a full service hospital located on Cornish Avenue (illustration 3.1); and a community police office (illustration 3.2). The neighbourhood is close to the centre of the city, making it accessible to many more services and facilities (Higgitt, 1994). Map 3 shows the geographical boundaries of the West Broadway neighbourhood as defined by the City of Winnipeg and some of the important landmarks in the neighbourhood.

³The name was changed to "better reflect local references to it" (Higgitt, 1994, p. 2)

Illustration 3.1 Misericordia General Hospital



Illustration 3.2 Community Police Office



The area is characterized as an inner-city neighbourhood along with 27 other neighbourhoods in the centre of the City of Winnipeg, as shown on Map 2 (see Section 1.3). The concentration of children, youth, natives, visible minorities, recent immigrants, and seniors in inner city neighbourhoods is higher than in other areas of Winnipeg (Institute of Urban Studies, 1990, p. 8). The 1990 Institute of Urban Studies investigation established that the issues of greatest urgency in the inner city were: low income; inadequate housing and day care; high unemployment; inadequate education/training; inadequate recreational facilities and programs; deteriorating health due to unemployment and over-crowding; inadequacy of the health care system (i.e., discrimination against clients and lack of care-givers trained to deal with the special needs of seniors, immigrants, and natives); lack of personal and neighbourhood safety; and the high incidence of use of the social assistance system (Institute of Urban Studies, 1990).

These issues were evident in West Broadway from the statistical portrait of the neighbourhood collected by Statistics Canada (1991). The neighbourhood had an extremely high rental rate of 94%, compared to 39.4% for the City of Winnipeg overall. The neighbourhood also had a high percentage of single person households, 61.1% as compared to 37.3% for the City of Winnipeg (see Table 3.1). There was a high unemployment rate accompanied by a low labour force participation rate (see Table 3.2). Most families in West Broadway had considerably less income than families in Winnipeg overall as illustrated in Table 3.3.

Table 3.1 Household Size in West Broadway as compared to the City of Winnipeg Overall

| Number of people in household | % of total households in West Broadway | % of total households in City of Winnipeg |
|-------------------------------|--|---|
| 1 person | 61.1% | 27.1% |
| 2 persons | 24.2% | 31.3% |
| 3 or more persons | 14.8% | 41.5% |

Statistics Canada, 1991

Table 3.2 Employment and Participation Rates in West Broadway as compared to the City of Winnipeg Overall

| | West Broadway | City of Winnipeg |
|--------------------|---------------|------------------|
| Unemployment Rate | 22.0% | 8.8% |
| Participation Rate | 56.5% | 68.1% |

Statistics Canada, 1991

Table 3.3 Low Income Status in West Broadway as compared to the City of Winnipeg Overall

| | West Broadway | City Wide |
|------------------------|---------------|-----------|
| All economic families | 59.9% | 17.4% |
| Unattached individuals | 64.5% | 43.3% |
| Households | 63.2% | 21.2% |

Statistics Canada, 1991

According to recent research, residents had mixed perceptions of living in the neighbourhood. In Higgitt's (1994) study, Factors Influencing Residential Mobility Among Families with Children Living in a Low-Income area of Winnipeg, Manitoba, participants were asked about their main reasons for their mobility patterns. Various factors were identified which influenced the residents to move to or remain in the area, as well as factors that caused them to move away. One reason for choosing to reside in the neighbourhood was its location. As it was close to the centre of the city, it was close to many services, saving on transportation costs. This proximity was important as many residents did not have access to vehicles. Residents also value the good range of services provided in the neighbourhood itself, including a walk-in clinic, grocery store, pharmacy, bingo at the community centre, and restaurants (Higgitt, 1994, pp. 39-40).

The study participants' major concerns about the neighbourhood included the general safety of the area, and in particular, they commented on the impact of security and management of their buildings on their feeling of safety.

Buildings with security systems that worked and were used, helped tenants feel more secure. Additionally, some caretakers were perceived to be more concerned with the security of their buildings than others were and this was

reflected in the comments of informants who indicated they felt safe in particular buildings. When informants felt they lived in a safe building, they also tended to interact with their neighbours. (Higgitt, 1994, p. 42)

When the study asked what or who was responsible for the lack of safety in the neighbourhood, some suggested people coming from outside of the area because of the "presence of a city welfare office and a beer vendor in a nearby hotel" (Higgitt, 1994, p. 43). Whether or not these "troublemakers" were from outside the area, "most identified alcohol and other forms of substance abuse as the major threats to safety" (Higgitt, 1994, p. 43).

Higgitt concluded that social factors were very important in families' decisions to move. Specifically, participants "commented about 'people problems' that encompassed personal relationships, caretakers and people in the street" (Higgitt, 1994, p. 99). A number of practical recommendations were suggested, including training for caretakers, increased community policing, life skills training, education on residents' rights and responsibilities, and household maintenance training (Higgitt, 1994, pp. 99-102). In addition, the creation of co-operative programs was recommended because they would "encourage residents to participate in looking after each other and their neighbourhood. Not only would the area be safer but people would develop a sense of ownership and belonging" (Higgitt, 1994, p. 100). These findings support the need for the development of communities with the power to accomplish practical goals and increase understanding between residents and between the residents and other stakeholders in the neighbourhood.

3.3 Government Intervention and Public Participation

Over the past few decades, a number of programs have been undertaken in the West Broadway area, including the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative (CAI) and the Manitoba/Winnipeg Community Revitalization Program (M/WCRP), and other non-profit and co-operative housing developments which built new structures and renovated old

housing stock. These have included projects with the intention of addressing the challenges facing the neighbourhood by improving the housing stock and stimulating urban revitalization. A number of community organizations have also been active in the neighbourhood. The activity of these various programs and groups is illustrated on the time line in Figure 3.1.

The Winnipeg Core Area Initiative was a project funded by three levels of government to improve the economic, social and physical conditions in Winnipeg's core area" (Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, 1991). The program was initially run as a 5-year program between 1981 and 1986 with \$96 million in program funding. CAI was extended for a second term from 1986-1991 with \$100 million in program funding. There was some investment in the West Broadway neighbourhood under the first agreement. Renovations were carried out on non-profit housing units owned by the Winnipeg Housing Rehabilitation Corporation, an example of which is shown in illustration 3.3 (Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, 1987, p. 27). In addition, the Community Services program funded community development services, through the Broadway Action Steering Committee which were aimed at involving residents in community organization and development (Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, 1987, p. 46).

The Core Area Residential Upgrading and Maintenance Program (CARUMP) operated in the neighbourhood throughout the duration of both agreements (City of Winnipeg, CARUMP, 1988; Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, 1991). This unique program addressed both the needs of the tenants and the maintenance of the buildings and individual living units.

"Teams composed of a Property Standards Inspector and a Social Worker [conducted] door-to-door inspections and tenant interviews at rental properties.... Inspectors [were] authorized to enforce the City of Winnipeg Maintenance and Occupancy By-Law... the Social Worker [explained] the program to the tenant(s), [provided] basic information on tenant and landlord rights and responsibilities, and [gathered] basic demographic data" (City of Winnipeg, CARUMP, 1988 p. 2).

Ten programs were included under the second agreement:

1. Industrial and Entrepreneurial Support
2. The Exchange District Redevelopment
3. East Yards Redevelopment (The Forks)
4. Riverbank Enhancement
5. Strategic Capital
6. Neighbourhood and Community Development
7. Inner City Foundation
8. Housing, with six sub-programs
9. Employment and Training
10. Neighbourhood Main Streets and Small Business Support Services

Under the second CAI agreement, three of these programs invested directly in the West Broadway Neighbourhood. The Riverbank Enhancement program funded improvements to Mostyn Place Park and the design and construction of a trail connecting the park to the Osborne Street Bridge (see illustration 3.4). The Neighbourhood Main Streets and Small Business Support Services program invested in the development of a Master Plan for the 1988-89 period aimed at improving the economic vitality of the West Broadway area, streetscaping West Broadway Avenue, and business support to eleven of the businesses in the West Broadway Neighbourhood. The housing programs of CAI invested funding in renovation of housing stock and their conversion to social housing units owned and operated by the non-profit Winnipeg Housing Rehabilitation Corporation (Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, 1991).

The Manitoba/Winnipeg Community Revitalization Program which ran in the Spence and Memorial (previous name for West Broadway) neighbourhoods focused comprehensively on the life and needs of these neighbourhoods. Resident involvement was solicited from the beginning of this program by holding three public meetings to introduce the program and to elect a committee of area residents. The role of this committee was to

"identify and prioritize the needs within the neighbourhood, develop in partnership with civic staff a strategic plan for the revitalization of Spence/Memorial, review requests for funding, assist in the development of

those projects it considered most important to revitalization of the neighbourhood, and ultimately to make recommendations for project funding allocations" (Manitoba/Winnipeg Community Revitalization Program, 1991,p.5).

This program's use of public participation can be described, using Arnstein's (1969, in Hodge,1991) terms, as a partnership (see Figure 2.1, Section 2.2). A partnership of shared responsibilities between the bureaucracy and citizens can be seen in M/WCRP's immediate and continual involvement of residents in the neighbourhood, and the Resident Committee's power to make decisions with respect to neighbourhood needs and the allocation of funding to proposed projects (M/WCRP, 1991).

Illustration 3.3 Winnipeg Rehabilitation Corporation Non-Profit Housing



This program accomplished major developments and renovations of facilities in the West Broadway and Spence neighbourhoods. In West Broadway the developments included: additions to and renovations of Broadway Community Centre; landscaping and additional site improvements to Mostyn Place Park; improvements to Mulvey School's

Playground and the creation of a Parent Resource Centre at the school⁴; the development of sports facilities and landscaping at Gordon Bell School Grounds⁵; and the creation of the Cornish Child Care Centre and the West Broadway Day Care Centre. In terms of housing, M/WCRP assisted in the development and funding of the Westminster Housing Co-op, aimed at families, and Artimis Housing Co-op, the first Aids Hospice in Canada.

Crossways in Common, a multi-use complex developed on the site where Young United Church burned down in 1988, also received funding and development assistance from the CAI. The Crossways in Common complex houses: The Day Nursery Centre; The West Broadway Community Services Craft Co-op; West Broadway Youth Outreach Inc.; Hope Mennonite Church; Young United Church; and the eleven apartment units for Artimis Housing Co-op (M/WCRP, 1991).

Illustration 3.4 Mostyn Place



⁴Mulvey School is the local elementary school which provides instruction from kindergarten to grade six.

⁵Gordon Bell School provides programs for grades seven to twelve.

Illustration 3.5 Broadway Community Centre



Illustration 3.6 Crossways in Common



Each of the CAI's programs would have to be assessed separately in terms of their level of citizen control in public participation. It is unclear from the final Status Reports of Programs and Projects how inner-city residents were involved in the initial design of the programs. The scope of the CAI included all of the inner-city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg and focused its programs where the administrators saw immediate need. Once in place, many of the programs directly involved the residents who were impacted by the program. CARUMP worked with the tenants of each unit to meet their individual needs. The Neighbourhood Main Streets and Small Business Support Services programs worked with the existing Business Associations in a community as well as with individual businesses. The CAI and its programs therefore seem to range on Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation from *informing* inner-city residents about programs to a *partnership* in implementing some of the programs. Figure 3.1 illustrates a time line of government programs and community activism in the West Broadway Neighbourhood. Map 3 shows the landmarks in the neighbourhood.

3.4 Community Action in West Broadway

In the early 1980s, a group of residents began the West Broadway Residents' Association. This association, composed of homeowners and tenants, worked to protect the residential character of the area. Notably, it managed to have the neighbourhood "down zoned" in 1989, with help from the M/WCRP, from R3 and R4 (multiple unit residential) to R2T, (maximum of two-unit dwellings). They also succeeded in winning some concessions related to the expansion of a large parking lot. The Great West Life Insurance Company (GWL), a large corporation operating at the edge of the neighbourhood, tore down a row of older large homes it had acquired on the east side of Balmoral Avenue in order to expand its already vast parking lot to meet the needs of employees (see Illustration 3.7). Through negotiations with the West Broadway Residents' Association, a buffer zone of public park space was created between the parking lot and Balmoral Avenue

Map 3 Landmarks in the West Broadway Neighbourhood

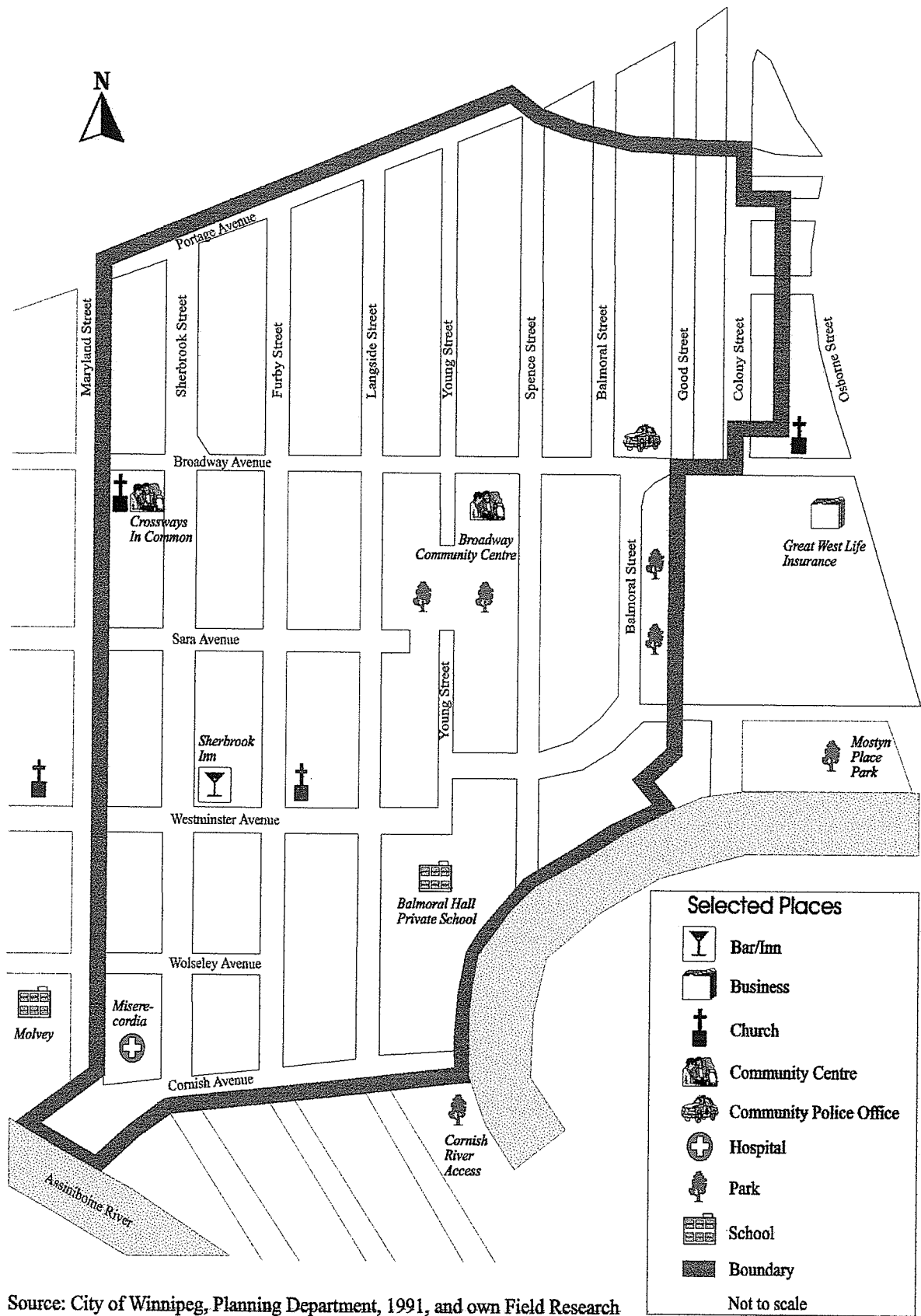
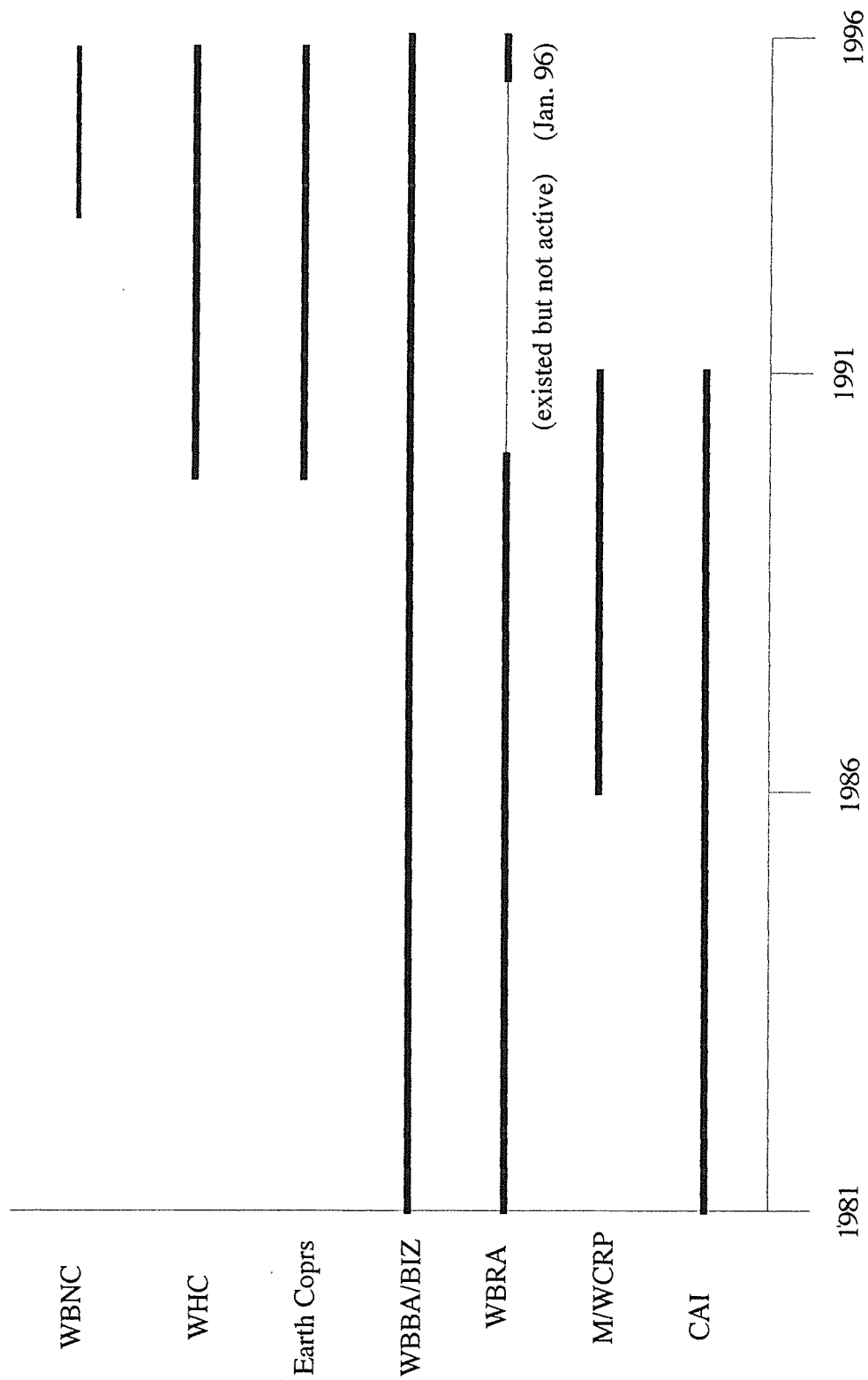


Figure 3.1 Time Line of Government Programs and Community Activism in West Broadway



(see Illustration 3.8). It is maintained by GWL. This association slowly disbanded because of burnout and lack of time on the part of its members.

Many of the active members of the West Broadway Residents' Association were involved in the Residents' Committee component of the Spence/Memorial M/WCRP. The Residents' Committee was effective in making sure that funds were appropriately allocated to benefit the residents of both neighbourhoods. The residents involved in M/WCRP's Residents' Committee believed they had power to make decisions that directly affected their neighbourhood (Interviews 15 & 17).

Illustration 3.7 Great West Life's Parking



Illustration 3.8 Public Park on east side of Balmoral Avenue



The West Broadway Business Association became active in the mid 1980s due to concerns of certain businesses for the security of their establishments and their own personal safety. This association successfully gained funding from the CAI for streetscaping along the west section of Broadway Avenue. Noticing the Association's achievements, the businesses along Sherbrook Street soon wanted to join. The increased participation of businesses in the neighbourhood led to the creation of the West Broadway/South Sherbrook Business Improvement Zone (BIZ). South Sherbrook was later streetscaped as shown in illustration 3.9. M/WCRP helped create this BIZ during the period of its work in the neighbourhood (Interview #9; M/WCRP, 1991).

Illustration 3.9 South Sherbrook Street



Earth Corps was an active group in the neighbourhood with a focus on environmental issues. Since 1991, Earth Corps has operated several projects in the inner-city, and in the West Broadway neighbourhood specifically. It started with the Sports Equipment Recycling Project which collected used sports equipment from different parts of the city, and redistributed it to inner-city agencies and some reserves. The Bike Project was Earth Corps' next endeavor. This project consisted of taking used bikes, refurbishing them, and giving them, along with helmets, to neighbourhood children and youth. Earth Corps has also worked on a mural project and a White Bike project. The mural project involved residents painting images on the sides of buildings in the area. For the latter project white bikes were located in the neighbourhood for anyone to use and return to a designated spot. Residents of West Broadway recognize Earth Corps best for the community gardens (see Illustration 3.10). Agreements were reached with property

owners of vacant lots around the neighbourhood (Interview #3) to allow groups of residents to either work portions of the land on their own or to work larger areas in groups. One garden on Maryland Street was planted by Mulvey School children and another had a community composter. The gardens were a visible improvement in the area and became community meeting places in the summer months (Field Notes).

Illustration 3.10 Community Garden on Sherbrook Street



The Winnipeg Housing Coalition (WHC) became active in the West Broadway area in 1991. The WHC is a group of citizens and professionals working to identify and find solutions for housing problems in Winnipeg. The Coalition's mandate was

to promote and assist communities to provide decent, affordable housing in Winnipeg; to keep housing an issue; to influence government policies, programs, and the development of more affordable housing in Winnipeg; to monitor existing housing legislation; and to develop housing policies for recommendation to decision-makers in all levels of government (Williams & Lugtig, 1993).

The WHC proposed a neighbourhood stabilization model. This model would stabilize the mobile population in the West Broadway area through community development efforts. The main philosophy behind this model was community involvement and resident empowerment. Their proposal entailed the creation of a Community-Based Housing Resource Centre. To encourage involvement in the Community-Based Housing Resource Centre, the WHC proposed bringing together all stakeholders, including residents, business owners, landlords, and agency personnel working in the neighbourhood (Williams & Lugtig, 1993). This multi-stakeholder group called itself the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council. It is this Council that is the subject of the present case study.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has described the conditions of the West Broadway neighbourhood in the 1990s and the challenges it is presently facing. West Broadway is characterized as an inner-city neighbourhood, and as such, the area is challenged by issues such as unemployment, low-income, and inadequate housing and recreation. Various government programs that have operated in the neighbourhood were discussed, including programs of the Core Area Initiative and the Manitoba/Winnipeg Community Revitalization Program. Finally, the chapter reviewed West Broadway's history of community action by both residents and the business sector. It is in this context that the Winnipeg Housing Coalition (WHC) proposed a neighbourhood stabilization model in the form of a Community-Based Housing Resource Centre. As a part of developing the Resource Centre, the WHC established the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council, the subject of the present case study.

Chapter 4

Method

4.1 Introduction

The purposes of this chapter are threefold. First, it explains why a qualitative field research methodology was chosen to explore a case study of the nature of a multi-stakeholder public participation process. Second, it outlines the particular methods used to carry out the case study and the scope and limitations of these methods. Third, it discusses the method of analysis.

4.2 Qualitative Methodology

A qualitative field research methodology was chosen as the most appropriate way to conduct a case study of the negotiation of power in a multi-stakeholder participation process in a low-income neighbourhood. Quantitative methodology's deductive logic in problem solving was deemed unsuitable for this study, as it requires the articulation of a testable hypothesis which defines the relationship between specific operationalized variables (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). First, the complex nature of social interaction to be investigated in this study, as discussed in detail in Chapter 2 (Giddens, 1984; Moore, 1988; Cochrun, 1994), cannot be conceptualized in such predetermined terms. Second, the sensitive topic of power relations can be more completely explored by observing the context of interaction in field research.

The process of analytical induction used in qualitative methodology, in contrast to quantitative methodology, draws generalizations out of empirical case studies by refining and abstracting the object of study. Such an approach allows the researcher to develop an understanding of his/her object of study "not necessarily or merely as 'true' or 'untrue' rather... according to its usefulness in furthering ideas about this class of object and according to whether the understanding is grounded in data" (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 7). Qualitative field research thus enabled the case study of the complex interpersonal

interactions that took place as part of the development of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council .

The study of a case, in the context of qualitative research, is understood as a process of exploring just what *it* is a case *of*. The clarification of substantive issues demonstrated in the case emerges through the analysis of the empirical evidence, while reflecting on relevant theoretical ideas (Ragin, 1992). The selection of the case is determined from the interpretive issues generated in similar cases and adds in some way to existing theory (Walton, 1992).

The West Broadway Neighbourhood Council (WBNC) was selected as a case for a number of reasons. First, it provided the opportunity to study the reality of bringing together the various stakeholders in development, and how inequalities in power affect their interactions. Such observations led to a better understanding of the negotiation of power in the urban development process. Second, it provided the opportunity to observe how these stakeholders developed an organizational structure to meet their goals. Third, it provided the opportunity to determine what factors encourage or impede the development of an effective community organization. The second and third types of observation helped in assessing the potential for the development of other such local political communities.

It was acknowledged that, through the course of the research, additional issues relevant to this particular case might become evident. However, the following research questions were developed as the starting point for exploring the case:

1. Do the members of the Council negotiate among themselves and with other members of the neighbourhood to ensure that the Council is inclusive and therefore representative of the neighbourhood? If so, how?
 - a) Which constituencies in the neighbourhood are included and how are they accommodated?
 - b) Which constituencies are not included? Why?

2. Do the members of the Council negotiate among themselves and with other stakeholders in the neighbourhood, such as private and public landowners, private business, and the social service agencies working in the area, in a way that enables them to be effective in achieving the Council's goals? If so, how?
3. How does the organizational structure of the Council encourage or impede the inclusiveness and effectiveness of the Council?

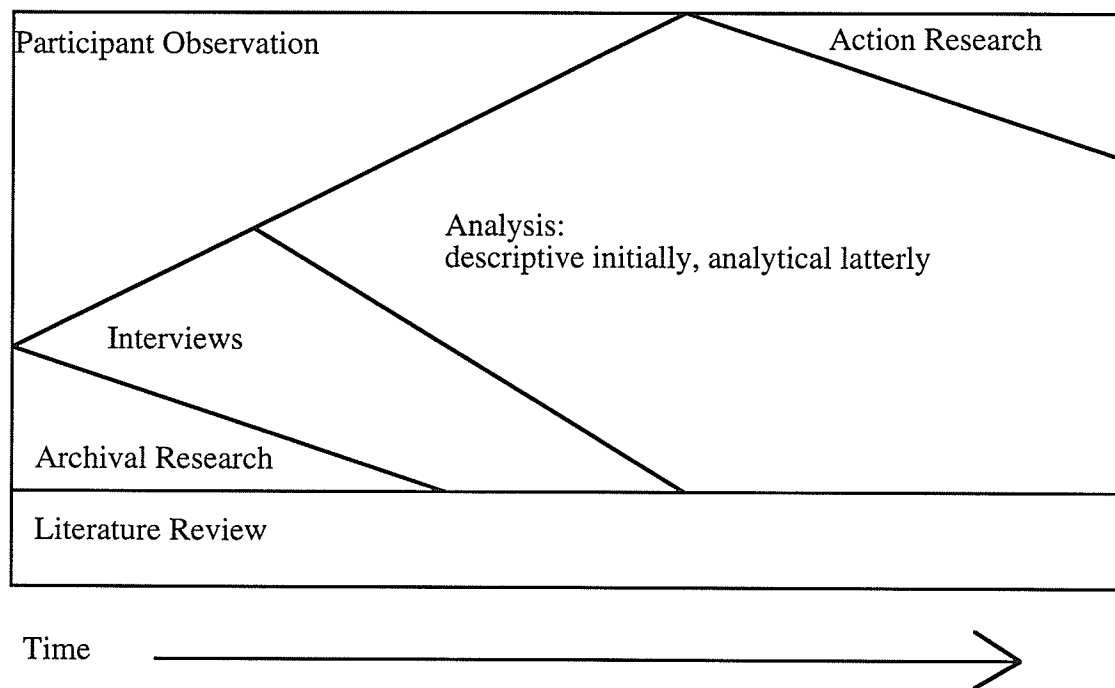
Qualitative methodology challenges the assumptions and general perspectives brought to the phenomena under study. Although I began with perspectives and assumptions about inclusiveness and effectiveness, the openness of the chosen research methods allowed me to be steered towards other relevant factors operating in the dynamics of the Council. The research was thus a process of discovering anew the phenomena under study and continually re-examining my own perspectives and assumptions with regards to the case. The end-result of the research was a conversation between myself, including my culture, and my theoretical and practical questions about planning, and the members of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council, including their perspectives of the neighbourhood and the Neighbourhood Council.

4.3 Method of Investigation

Four methods of investigation were employed to examine the research questions: archival research; participant observation; action research; and semi-structured interviews. Figure 4.1 shows the research methods used in relation to one another over time. Participant observation in the field was the logical starting point for understanding the development of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council. Only through field research can the researcher "listen to the symbolic sounds that characterize this world. A dialogue

with persons in their natural situation will reveal the nuances of meaning from which their perspectives and definitions are continually forged" (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973 p.). After gaining such contextual knowledge, semi-structured interviews were used to focus the research. Archival research was also conducted to provide historical context which could not be obtained solely through field research or interviews. Action research was used near the end of my involvement in the field.

Figure 4.1 Research Methods



Source: Adapted from Sanders 1995, p. 26

To begin my investigation of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council, I attended six Council meetings and eight committee meetings from January 1995 to August 1995. I examined the minutes of the monthly Council meetings from August 1994 to August 1995. I attended four meetings of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition (WHC), the

organization that initiated the Council, and I examined the minutes of these WHC meetings. As a result of attending meetings, I became familiar with the participants. I began interviewing in the spring of 1995. As my data base grew, I started to analyze the data and reflected on relevant theory for ideas to facilitate the analysis (Ragin, 1992).

4.3.1 Archival Research

Archival research was used to examine: (a) statements and proposals by the Winnipeg Housing Coalition for the development of the Community-Based Housing Resource Centre and the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council; (b) minutes of Neighbourhood Council meetings; (c) minutes of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition; (d) proposals produced by the Winnipeg Housing Coalition; and (e) articles in the Winnipeg Free Press on the West Broadway neighbourhood. I was able to obtain minutes for the WHC and the WBNC meetings from the organizers. I was also able to obtain a copy of informally kept minutes from one of the participants in the Council. The data gathered through archival research provided insights into the origin and purposes of the Council.

4.3.2 Participant Observation and Action Research

Participant observation was carried out from January to August 1995 and action research was carried out during January and February of 1996, by: (a) attending six Neighbourhood Council meetings; (b) attending eight committee meetings; and (c) conducting casual conversations with participants in the Council and residents of the neighbourhood. I kept field notes describing these events, and compared them to minutes taken at meetings. In the field notes I recorded which issues were brought up, by whom, and how issues were prioritized. Participant observation gave me insight into how the different stakeholders negotiated power and socially constructed the contextual reality of the Neighbourhood Council.

An important aspect of qualitative research is the researcher's acknowledged personal influence on the way the material is initially approached and the way in which the data are explored. The theoretical perspective and the world view held by the researcher can have important implications for others in understanding the end result of the research analysis (Patton, 1980, pp. 276-278). Many issues arose as a consequence of my role as a participant observer in the Neighbourhood Council.

I entered the field as a student volunteer with the Neighbourhood Council, working primarily with the main organizer from the Winnipeg Housing Coalition. The process of developing the Council had been underway for six months. While attending the meetings I kept notes on what was discussed as well as how the participants interacted. Initially, I was considered an outsider because I lived outside the area, and did not become involved in the discussions. However, as a student volunteer helping to organize the meetings, I was soon treated as a participant by a number of the regular members. I became more involved in the meetings, putting forth some suggestions and ideas. This more active role of marginal participation placed me in a role similar to the "outsider" social service agency workers, as these workers also lived outside of the neighbourhood. This role was ascribed because of the combination of my outsider status and my educational background. It facilitated relationships with certain members of the Council, while limiting my access to certain other members, potential members, and critics of the Council.

Becoming more involved in the life of the Council meant creating valued relationships with the participants. These relationships facilitated my being able to interview certain participants, such as residents new to the neighbourhood and supportive agency workers. I was perceived by critics of the Council as a proponent for the Council, and it took much longer for these people to agree to be interviewed. As I became more personally involved in the life of the Council and the neighbourhood, I found it difficult to be objective about the data. These "relationships of the heart" are characteristic of field work and are extremely important in that "the things we learn are deeply influenced by the

nature of the social bonds we maintain with those we study" (Harper, 1992, p. 149). This attachment, however, also led to insights regarding the role and responsibility of the organizers and other professionals involved in community intervention efforts. Becoming attached to the community and developing personal bonds with residents and other stakeholders was a key factor in drawing me back to the field in January 1996.

At a Council meeting in August 1995, I gave a presentation of my research, including: the topic; why it was of interest to me; some preliminary findings; and comments and criticisms of the Council collected from my observations and interviews. An outline of this presentation can be found in Appendix F. The feedback from the Council members that I received at this meeting was helpful in focusing my analysis on particular issues and concerns. Comments by the members included the lack of resident control in the organization. This criticism helped me to re-focus on this problem. In the second phase of my analysis, I focused more closely on this issue by examining the interviews and actions of the critics, the power of the other stakeholders, and the possible motives of those involved in organizing the Council.

Between September and January 1996, I did not participate in the Winnipeg Housing Coalition or the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council. I took this time to reflect more objectively on the data gathered to this point, and began writing my analysis. However, in January 1996 a significant turning point in the life of these organizations drew me back to my participant observations. At this time, the Winnipeg Housing Coalition received funding from Health Canada for their proposed Safety Plan (see Appendix G). The general membership of the Council, and the residents in particular, were not being included in decision-making about the allocation of these funds. Specifically, I became concerned about the behind-the-scenes approach to hiring workers for this project. After spending some time previously with these organizations, and having developed relationships with a number of the members of the Council, I felt that, for ethical reasons, I could no longer play a detached role. I took on the role of an action researcher by

presenting my opinions at a meeting in early February, 1996. I also informed members of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition who had not been informed of the details of receiving the funding of the WHC's lack of accountability to the neighbourhood.

4.3.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews of approximately one hour duration were conducted with thirty-two participants. These interviews included: (a) sixteen residents; (b) twelve service agency workers representing different nonprofit and government service agencies; (c) two representatives from the adjoining neighbourhood residents' associations; (d) two business people; (e) one landlord; (f) the city councillor for the area; (g) and the Member of the Legislative Assembly for the area. Two participants overlapped more than one category. They were selected on the basis of either their involvement in the Council, their knowledge of the neighbourhood, or their participation in some other form of neighbourhood activity. I began by interviewing participants who had been involved for a long time in the Council, and worked my way outwards by snowball sampling, that is, by collecting names from participants, contacting less frequent participants in Council activities, and collecting names that came up in meetings or in other conversations.

Identifying constituencies that were overlooked or excluded from the process was more difficult than identifying who was included and how they participated in the Council. A broader mapping of the neighbourhood and a closer surveying of its population would be necessary for a complete breakdown of the constituencies of the neighbourhood. This was not within the scope of the present research. However, excluded constituencies could be partly identified through comments of participants in meetings about who was not attending, and more detailed information obtained in interviews.

A list of questions were developed as a guideline to ensure that I covered all relevant topics with each participant (see Appendix D). The conversation often broadened beyond this guideline. Most of the interviews were audio tape recorded and transcribed by

myself. If participants did not wish to have the interview recorded on tape, I took notes during the conversation. The interviews took place in a variety of locations from offices to cafes to respondents' homes. I began by asking them to read over a letter describing the purpose of my research, and answering questions they might have about the study. They were then asked to sign the consent form (see Appendix C).

Two main issues affected the data collected in the interviews. The first was the relationship between the respondent and myself, and the second was the language used by the respondent and myself. The relationships between myself and members of the Council determined to some extent who was willing to be interviewed and who was not. As I was seen as a "helper" to the organizer, it was assumed that I agreed with the perspective and process being put forth by the organizer. As a result, it took a much longer time to find critics of the Council who were willing to be interviewed.

The interview itself is a form of interaction which presents certain role expectations on the part of both the interviewer and the participant (Benney & Hughes, 1977). These roles usually place the interviewer in the position of expert and the respondent in a more subordinate role. However, my relationship to the interview respondents was ambiguous. I had some contact with most of the respondents through the activities of the council prior to the interview. The relationships that had developed depended on the role the respondent normally played as a member of the Council: to some I was subordinate because of my role as a student; to others I was an equal or perhaps had a higher status because of my educational background; and still others treated me with suspicion because of my outsider status and association with the Council. These initial role expectations also contributed to the tone of the interview. The tone often became more relaxed as the interview progressed and areas of specific interest to the respondent were explored in more detail.

Language is another important issue in any interviewing situation. An interview is dependent on the wording of the questions asked. This premise leads to what Irwin Deutscher has described as the problem of translation, which arises "whenever our research

requires us to ask the 'same' question of people with different backgrounds" (Deutscher, 1977, p. 246). Language is a symbolic representation of meaning and thus is negotiated through interaction. My own use of language has been determined through my social and educational background, and it was quite different from the use of language by some of the respondents. Even as I attempted to modify my own use of language, the interview created "an exchange in which one or another variety of reality is negotiated or socially constructed by the interviewer and the respondent" (Deutscher, 1977, p. 255). The interviews were therefore a smaller scale interaction of the same kind of negotiation or social construction that was occurring in the larger gatherings of the Neighbourhood Council.

The problem of translation was one important reason why I used only a semi-structured interview. The questions outlined in Appendix D were a guide to ensure that certain areas were discussed in all of the interviews. The questions covered the respondent's perceptions of the neighbourhood, the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council, and the Council's ability to be both inclusive and effective. The format of the interview allowed other issues to be introduced by the participant. The interviews revealed the participants' analyses of the strengths and challenges of the neighbourhood, which gave insight into why they held certain perceptions of the Neighbourhood Council, how the Council should be structured, and where it should focus its energies.

4.4 Method of Analysis

The method of analysis followed Kirby & McKenna's methods "from the margins", an adaptation of Glaser and Strauss's method of analysis for grounded theory (Kirby & McKenna, 1989). They stress two characteristics of research from the margins: *intersubjectivity* and *critical reflection on the social context*. They define intersubjectivity as "an authentic dialogue between all participants in the research process in which all are respected as equally knowing subjects" (p. 129). During analysis it is important to ensure that each piece of data is given an equal opportunity to "speak to the analysis", taking

special care to include voices from the margins. The second characteristic is the critical reflection on the social context of the data, which "involves an examination of the social reality within which people exist and out of which they are functioning" (p. 129).

In my analysis, the use of "methods from the margins" meant paying close attention to the critics and the marginal participants of the Neighbourhood Council, and considering their perspectives. This approach led me to focus more closely on the social context of the core members of the Council and then contrasting these different perspectives. This method of analysis, as outlined below, gave structure to the process of inductive reasoning (Kirby & McKenna, 1989, p. 129):

1. Coding bibbits (sections of data) into category files according to properties
2. Describing the categories analytically
3. Describing the relationships between categories
4. Living with the data
5. Doing the overall analysis
6. Presenting the data

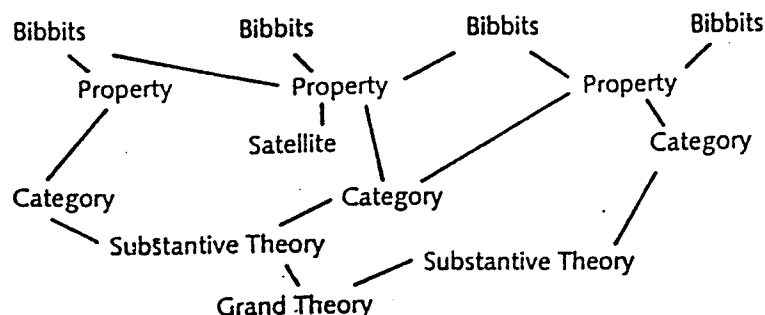
I began my analysis by developing a template or guide consisting of key terms, that is, concepts and ideas related to my research questions (see Appendix E). As I read through the data, pieces of text (bibbits) were coded according to these terms. Other pieces of text would stand out as relevant. These bibbits were coded with a descriptive term. As I identified more pieces of text that related to the new term, it was possible to assess their common properties. I could then hypothesize an issue to which these bibbits were referring. This larger issue became a category. New bibbits relating to this category would, from then on, be coded by the new category term. New terms were thus added to the template. Some original and emerging terms were transformed as the properties of these categories either seemed to point to a different issue, or seemed to consist of more than one issue, and were therefore broken down into different categories.

Analyses of the categories and relationships between categories were conducted by considering their properties in relation to ideas and theories. During this process, I moved from describing *what* seemed to be going on to analyzing *why* these things were

happening. Cross-referencing and "hurricane thinking" are two methods suggested by Kirby & McKenna (1989) for analyzing the patterns that emerge between categories. Cross-referencing is a process of searching for patterns among categories by systematically picking out related properties in categories. Cross-referencing categories in my analysis yielded a close examination of the perspectives brought to the Council by the stakeholders.

Hurricane thinking is a visual method of looking for patterns among the categories. I placed research questions at the centre of the page. I then placed category names on cards around it, with those with stronger links placed closer to the centre. As I carried this out patterns began to emerge that seemed to explain the data. With new insights, I re-arranged the cards on the page until I found a more satisfactory representation. In this way, I identified patterns among categories and developed substantive theory "that helped to describe and explain the research focus" (Kirby & McKenna, 1989, p. 137). The use of this method resulted in diagrams of the influence of different stakeholders at different stages in the development of the Council. Following these methods produced a dynamic process of continually re-assessing the data in relation to other pieces of data. Constant comparison of the data is diagrammed in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2 Overall Schema for Constant Comparison of Data



Source: Kirby & McKenna, 1989, p. 135.

The nature of a category or a theory was not completely understood until no more bibbits seemed to add any new dimension of understanding of a category and no new linkages between categories seem to add any new understanding to the substantive theory. At this point the category was "saturated". The closer to saturation a category or theory became, the more certain I was in making statements about these categories or theories (Kirby & McKenna, 1989, p. 138).

The first analysis that was arrived at was not the final analysis. It was necessary to live with that analysis, to sit back at a distance, for a period of time, to reflect upon it. This was "the time to be objective about your subjectivity" (Carney in Kirby & McKenna, 1989, p. 150). During this period of time, it was helpful to look at the data, review any points that did not fit well and examine more specific concerns. After a time, the analysis was revised.

4.5 Validity and Application

Validity of the data analysis was increased by combining the data collection methods of archival research, field research, and interviews, as described above. This strategy is called triangulation, and it strengthens the analysis by providing various sources for developing the categories and substantive theory. Patterns arose in the analysis of data gathered by one method that can be cross-checked with patterns in data gathered through another method. Saturation of a category or a substantive theory lent confidence to the validity of that category or theory. Saturation occurred "when added information does not reveal new understanding about relations or abstractions" (Kirby & McKenna, 1989, p. 138).

4.6 Summary

This chapter has outlined the purpose of using a qualitative methodology to investigate the negotiation of power in a multi-stakeholder participation process. A case study was conducted using four main methods: archival research; semi-structured interviews; participant observations; and action research. The method of analyzing the data gathered through these methods was then described. The "methods from the margins" approach was useful in examining the intersubjectivity of the data and critically reflecting on the social context. Validation of the analysis is based on triangulating the methods of investigation, and attaining saturation in analyzing the data.

Chapter 5

Analysis

5.1 Introduction

The development of a neighbourhood council needs to be considered as an evolving process over time. Anthony Giddens' structuration theory (Giddens, 1984), as described in Chapter 2, provided an informative sociological framework within which to analyze the dynamics and development of the multi-stakeholder Neighbourhood Council. Using this framework it was possible (a) to determine the factors influencing the dynamics of the Council, (b) to outline the negotiation of power between the members of the Council, and (c) to outline the process of social learning occurring through the interaction of members of the Council. As a result of this analysis a list of the factors which encouraged or hindered the equitable redistribution of power among the participants was developed. These factors were established by tracking the inclusivity and effectiveness of the Council's operations.

Using structuration theory as a theory of society and social change, I analyzed the development of the Neighbourhood Council in three stages. During each stage, I analyzed the proposed development and organization of the Neighbourhood Council considering its ability to be (a) inclusive, including its ability to be both representative of the stakeholders and re-distribute power equitably, and (b) effective, including its ability to meet its internally set goals and goals affecting other organizations. To illustrate the combined inclusiveness and effectiveness of the Council during each stage of its development, I have rated the organization in terms of citizen control in public participation using Arnstien's ladder. The structural organization was plotted at each stage on a continuum with the ideal collectivist organizational model at one end and the rational-bureaucratic organizational model at the other.

Stage 1 describes and analyses the creation of the Neighbourhood Council and its initial structure, including the rationale for its creation and the possible motives behind its creation. As a consequence of how the Council was established, there were two main factors that resulted which influenced the dynamics of the Council. These factors included the mix of stakeholders in the Council's membership, and the three perspectives which came to be perceived as competing in the negotiation of its prominent issues. The three different perspectives identified gave a broad idea of the main concerns of the negotiations around these issues.

Stages 2 and 3 are the periods where the stakeholders negotiate power. Stage 2 covered approximately the first year of the Council. Here I analyzed how the different perspectives of the members influenced a number of significant issues: (a) their perception of the community to become involved in the Council, which involves a debate between ideas of communities of interest and communities of place; (b) their subsequent definition of the issues to be dealt with by the Council; (c) their notions of how the Council should be organized to best meet the needs of the community they have defined; and (d) their ideas on how the Council should act on the issues.

Stage 3 describes how the negotiations between these different perspectives came to a head at the end of the first year of the Council's existence, and how these differences may begin to be resolved. At the time I ended my field research, the structure of the organization had not yet been settled, nor had the exact purpose of the Council been articulated. This chapter ends in a summary presentation of the factors influencing the inclusiveness and effectiveness of this multi-stakeholder neighbourhood revitalization organization. These factors, it is suggested, should be seriously considered and discussed by the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council in determining its future direction. This summary of influencing factors may also serve as a guide to the benefits and challenges for other groups entering into a similar process.

5.2 Stage 1: Establishment of the Neighbourhood Council

The creation of the Neighbourhood Council came at the end of a long series of developments beginning with the intention of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition to address the social aspects of inner city housing issues. The Winnipeg Housing Coalition was a committee of the Inter-Agency Group of Winnipeg, an organization sponsored by the City of Winnipeg composed of about 300 social service agencies and individuals. The Winnipeg Housing Coalition wanted to develop a stabilization model for highly transient inner city neighbourhood populations. The Coalition worked with an advisory group composed of planners, housing workers, and representatives from local agencies, city and provincial governments and the universities. The West Broadway neighbourhood was chosen as a possible area for a demonstration development of a Community-Based Housing Resource Centre. A key informant survey was carried out to determine the level of support in the neighbourhood. Eighteen people in the area were interviewed ranging from residents to business people to housing and community development professionals. The results of the key informant survey indicated that those interviewed were in support of the concept of a Community-Based Housing Resource Centre:

"The proposed objectives of the project were:

- 1) to establish a meeting place for residents, tenant associations, and a site for homeowner, tenant, landlord and caretaker education programs and counseling;
- 2) to develop a community resource and computerized housing information bank developing and utilizing the skills of the local residents;
- 3) to develop community economic development initiatives, like the establishment of a neighbourhood-based housing upkeep program, developing and using the skills of the local residents;
- 4) to promote self-help through joint community action aimed at improving the quality of life in the neighbourhood;..." (Williams & Lugtig, 1993, p. 3).

A housing support worker would be hired to facilitate community participation through activities in three areas:

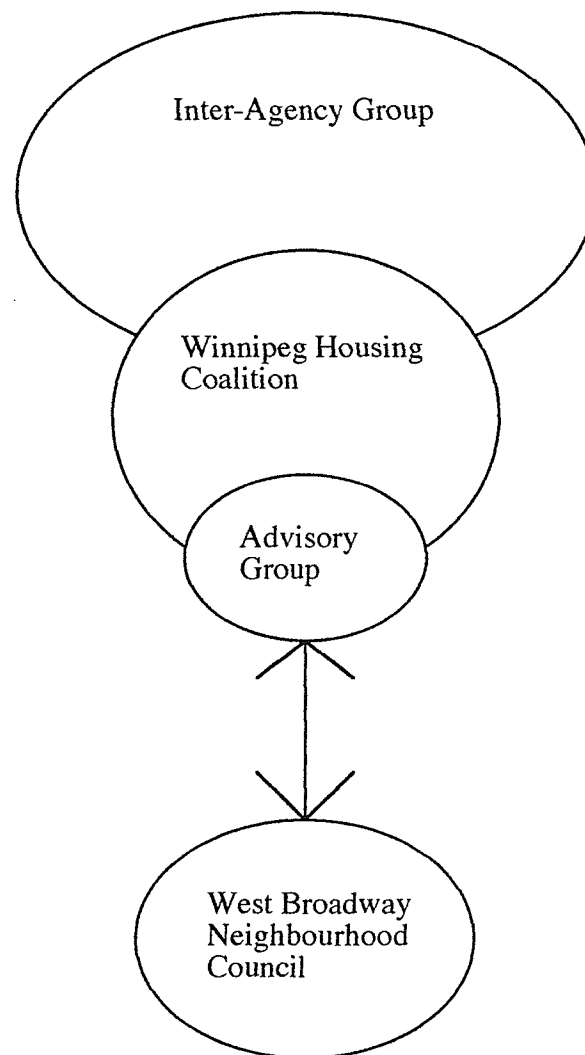
- "1) Outreach/Community Development - development and support of a *neighbourhood council of residents, landlords, business and agencies working in the area to strengthen relationships, promote community participation and improve neighbourhood security;*

- 2) Education- facilitating the development and delivery of workshops and programs for tenants, landlords and property managers as they are requested by the neighbourhood council;
- 3) Mediation - mediating tenant/landlord disputes and supporting residents in other matters where appropriate."

Source: Williams & Lugtig , 1993, p.3, emphasis added.

Public participation, the proposal continues, would be solicited in the form of, (a) door-to-door surveys requesting community input, and serving as a vehicle to begin establishing relationships, and (b) formal and informal neighbourhood meetings to discuss resident concerns. Figure 5.1 illustrates the formal organizational structure as it was presented in the proposal, and in practice until stage 3 in the development of the Neighbourhood Council.

Figure 5.1 Organizational Structure of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition



Source: The Author, this illustration was developed through analysis of data.

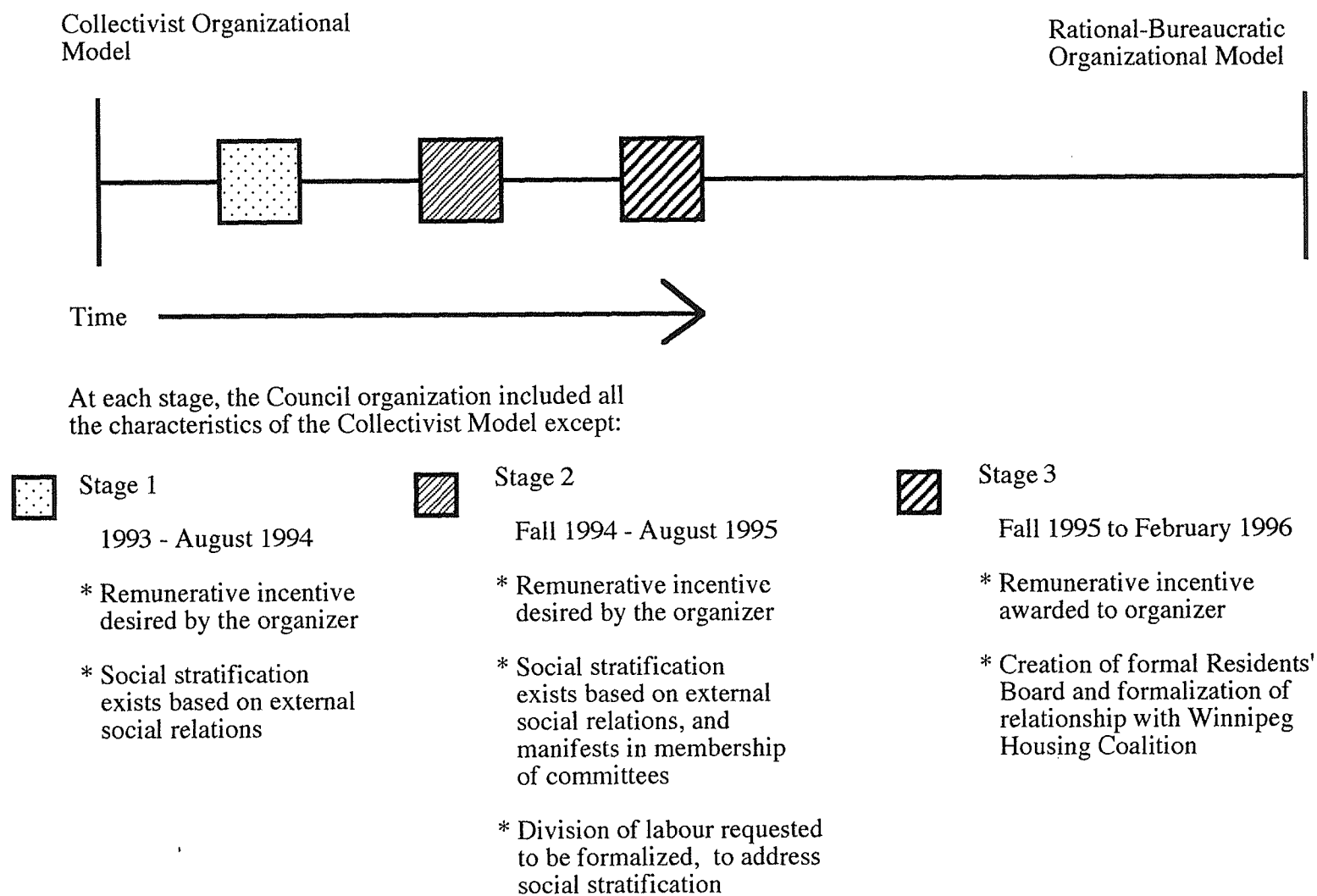
The relationship of these organizations only became clear later in the field research process. The Winnipeg Housing Coalition was a broad organization. The Advisory Group was merely a sub-committee of the WHC created to advise on the development of the Community-Based Housing Resource Centre. The West Broadway Neighbourhood Council was organized as a means for reaching this goal.

5.2.1 Proposal for the Neighbourhood Council

In order to evaluate the inclusiveness and effectiveness of the Council's organizational structure, it has been assessed at the three stages of the Council's development, on a continuum that flows from the formal Rational-Bureaucratic Organizational Model to the Collectivist Organizational Model in Figure 5.2 (please refer back to Figure 2.5 for the complete list of the characteristics for these models). The proposal is unclear about how the Council was to be organized. In the section of the proposal entitled Value and effectiveness of self-help (empowerment) models, the benefits of community involvement are espoused, but there is no indication of what these models entail and how they would be operationalized. The next section in the proposal, however, states that the development process of the Resource Centre would include discussions about various models (Williams & Lugtig, 1993). The initial stages of the Council would therefore be left open and informal to provide for the opportunity for discussion. It is therefore unclear from the proposal how formal or informal the organization would become. However, the proposal does state that the envisaged worker would:

organize the residents to: (1) thoroughly discuss various models of tenant participation; (2) explore how to make connections with the surrounding neighbourhood; (3) decide how to deal with complaints from tenants regarding their housing situation; and (4) develop connections with other public and social services agency personnel (p. 18).

Figure 5.2 Continuum of Organizational Characteristics: Position of Council over Time



This process, assumed to be the result of the key informant survey described above, implies an attempt to have the authority of decision-making rest in the group as a whole. The rules of behaviour would, it seems, be based on a substantive ethic. The substantive ethic to be relied upon would be an open decision-making model working towards the purpose of improving the social and physical environment of the neighbourhood. However, the proposal assumes that the residents will be interested in dealing with housing issues, and will see a need to deal with these issues through a newly created resource centre. Social control in the group would, theoretically, be maintained through moral appeals to the implied substantive ethic.

The proposed process also assumes that the social relations and stratification among the members of this multi-stakeholder group would be that of an equitable community. This can be inferred from the lack of discussion in the proposal with regard to the differences in power among these members, based on such matters as their access to resources, education, income, and social connections. The practical issues of recruitment, advancement, incentives and division of labour also were not made explicit at this point.

The inclusiveness and effectiveness of the proposed process of public participation in the development of the Community-Based Housing Resource Centre can be measured against Berry, Portney, & Thomson's (1993) critical elements of strong participation (see Figure 2.6 in chapter 2). The breadth of the proposed process did include outreach but did not expand on how it would ensure that an opportunity would be "offered to every community member to participate at every stage of the policy making process." (Berry, Portney, & Thomson, 1993, p. 54-55). The depth of the proposed participation process, which refers to the effective translation of an equitable decision-making process into decisions on policy and action, cannot be assessed, as there is no articulation in the written proposal about the type of decision-making to be used in the proposed neighbourhood meeting.

5.2.2 Bringing Together the Stakeholders

Portions of the West Broadway neighbourhood began to be aware of this group around the spring of 1994 through a number of different forums. The Winnipeg Housing Coalition representatives began inviting residents to their advisory meetings for the Resource Centre, and they started to carry out two different surveys. The first was a Safety Audit developed for neighbourhoods by the City of Winnipeg. The Safety Audit was initiated by the City Councillor but eventually it became the responsibility of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition organizer. The second survey explored the state of the neighbourhood and its housing. In the process of conducting the surveys, more residents and other stakeholders became interested in the goals of the WHC. The group then evolved into the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council in August of 1994 as a result of the neighbourhood meetings. Participants debated what the group should be called. Calling it a "coalition" did not seem like a good idea, as expressed by one participant:

I said, I don't care what you call it, but don't put up coalition cause what you're doing is, the people that are not well educated aren't going to understand what that coalition means and they'll think it's bureaucratic and they won't go. And there's lots of them that didn't go. So they changed it, and they started putting flyers out all over the place, and they got a few more people to come in (Interview #7, p. 9).

Thus the Council was born. It was a loosely organized group composed of homeowners, tenants, landlords, businesses, and social agency workers associated with the West Broadway Neighbourhood. Through the two surveys the group had begun to identify some of the issues of concern in the neighbourhood and the Council now began to discuss how to address these concerns. The Council also initiated a lengthy debate over how to organize its group structure. The organizer promoted a consensus decision-making process within an informal organizational structure, while others were more comfortable with a more traditional council structure. This debate also included concerns about the community development process and legitimate representation of stakeholders in the community.

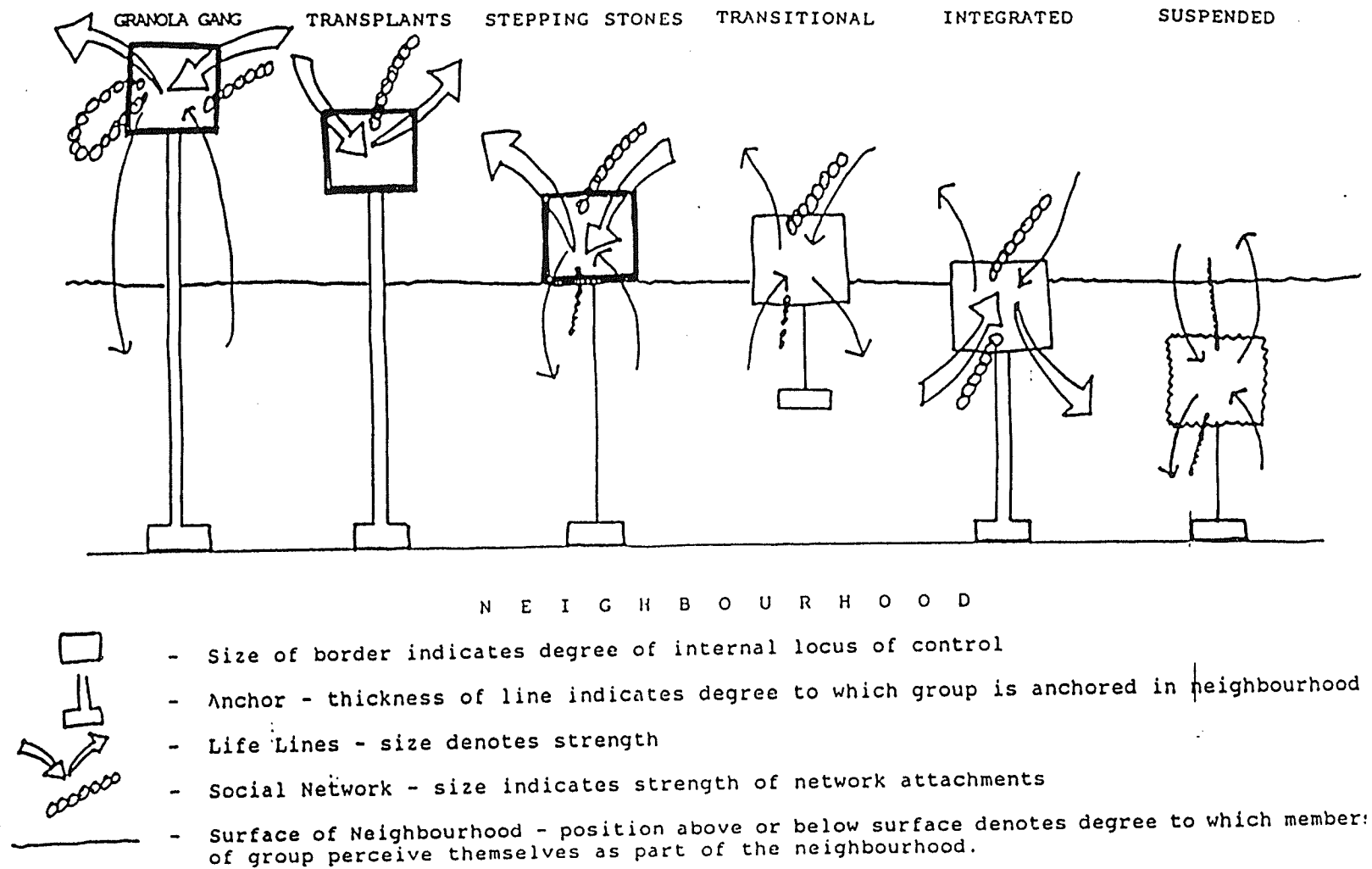
5.2.2.1 The Residents

There were three main factors influencing the participation of residents at this early stage of the development of the Neighbourhood Council. The first factor was the community development approach taken by the organizer. The second factor was an individual resident's own life situation. The third factor was the residents' perceptions of the issues in the neighbourhood which then strongly influenced how they would become involved if they so chose.

The general outreach approach taken by the organizer at this stage was described as the "soft approach." This approach entailed distributing leaflets and inviting people to join the organization through informal contact with others. This approach was contrasted with a "hard sell job", which would include door-to-door recruiting and might bring out 200-500 people. The rationale for this approach was lack of time and resources. There was only one organizer, paid to work a few hours a month by the Inter-Agency Group, taking on the responsibility for developing the Neighbourhood Council and the Resource Centre Proposal at this early stage.

Partly as a result of this "soft approach," the types of residents who were involved at this stage of the Council were those more easily recruited through these softer methods. Others - either those more cynical about such intervention or those more concerned with immediate life issues - were not given the encouragement, convincing arguments, or help needed to become involved. In an earlier study of the neighbourhood, a number of different types of residents were identified in terms of their commitment to the neighbourhood and their personal survival strategies (Higgitt, 1994). These types of residents are illustrated in Figure 5.3. Firstly, *the integrated* are those residents who feel most at home in the neighbourhood, are involved in some way in the area and have a positive and optimistic view of the neighbourhood. *The granola gang* are those residents living in the area because of the location of specialized co-operative and new public housing, and plan to stay for an indefinite period of time. *The transplants* are those

Figure 5.3 Conceptual Model of the Types of Residents in the Neighbourhood and their Characteristics



Source: Higgitt, 1994, p. 89

residents who have found adequate housing in the area but are not integrated into the neighbourhood, seeing themselves more as outsiders looking in. *The stepping stones* are temporary residents in the area with long-range plans for themselves and who are involved in some activities to enhance their prospects. *The transitionals*, a fairly large group in Higgitt's (1994) study, were those residents who were newcomers to the city or the neighbourhood, who lacked social networks and strong social ties. *The suspended* residents were those who had either given up or were not very conscious of their conditions. This group was more easily influenced by their immediate circumstances.

The soft approach to organizing resulted in the inclusion at this stage of the *integrated* and the *transitionals*. These are residents who are adjusted to, committed to, or open to the neighbourhood and the positive aspects it has to offer (Higgitt, 1996). Out of the 16 residents I interviewed, 10 were integrated and 6 were transitional. The transitionals were making the effort to become integrated into neighbourhood life at their own pace, but had not lived very long in the area. Those who became involved tended to be active, experienced in community or neighbourhood organizations of some type, and/or more highly educated. Those residents who were not included in this early stage were the *granola gang*, the *stepping stones*, and the *suspended*. These residents either found supports from outside the area or had few survival skills to deal with the situation of their own lives.

Another factor influencing whether or not a resident became involved was the resident's life situation. This would apply to those residents who had little time to spend discussing issues at meetings because of the excessive demands placed on their lives by poverty, or work and other commitments. This was expressed by one of the interview participants as follows:

you have to try and get them aware and a lot of them just don't care. They have enough on their plate. Same with me, I have this job and its an all-consuming job. I'm running out of time for West Broadway Neighbourhood Council. I don't want to, but right now my heart and my

gut tells me I should stick with this and get this going. Once this is going, then I can go onto other things. (Interview #12, 257-262)

Over the first year there were a number of people who called or signed up expressing their support for the concept of a neighbourhood council but wanted to be included in specific short-term projects (Interviews #22, #15).

The third factor influencing the involvement of the residents in the Council was their perception of the neighbourhood's issues. Residents may perceive similar issues but may define them as a family issue or a larger social issue, rather than a neighbourhood issue. For example, residents who feel the need to address the problems of substance abuse, neglected children, hunger, and other poverty related issues made the commitment to volunteer at the West Broadway Outreach programs. Others with concerns for the environment committed time to work with Earth Corps (Interviews # 22, #3, #25).

There were also residents of the neighbourhood who were noticeably absent at this stage. Firstly, there were no members of the earlier West Broadway Residents' Association. Explanations for their absence ranged from burn-out to being offended at having their leadership and work pushed aside (Interviews #20, #15, #22, #13). Secondly, there were no residents of aboriginal descent (29% of the neighbourhood population) present at the meetings (Social Planning Council, 1994; Interview #9, #12, and field notes).

There is a growing consensus in the planning literature that residents have the most at stake in the development or revitalization of the neighbourhood (Jacobs, 1961; Turner, 1976; Friedmann, 1987; Nasewich 1991; Klein, 1994). I agree with this stand, as I have argued in Chapter 2. However, residents in any neighbourhood, and especially in an older urban neighbourhood such as West Broadway, are quite diverse. As was echoed in some of the interviews, there is a difference between: the financial stake of a homeowner; a tenant with a long history in the area; and a newly arrived tenant who may only stay a few months. There is also a difference among those residents who have the financial capability to choose a residence in another area of the city and those who have chosen the area as the

least negative alternative (Interviews #15, #12). There is, however, no difference in the fact that they are all living in the area and must bear the brunt of the neighbourhood's problems. There is therefore a discrepancy in perception between these different residents as to the amount they have at stake in the revitalization of the neighbourhood.

The principle behind local self-governing development, as discussed in Chapter 2, is that the intended beneficiaries of development projects should have greater participation in and responsibility for decision-making at all levels of development, in order to enhance the "use value" of the end product. The more control the prospective users have in the development, the more likely it is they will feel they have a stake in the development and be more willing to work for its preservation. It would have been crucial then to bring in as many people as possible, and especially those with the feeling that they had little stake in the neighbourhood, at this early stage in creation of the Neighbourhood Council and any of its proposed projects and programs.

5.2.2.2 Partnership with the Business Community

The business community in West Broadway had a formal organization and access to financial resources prior to the creation of the Neighbourhood Council. The organization is called the West Broadway/South Sherbrook Business Improvement Zone (BIZ). Similar BIZs exist in other districts of the City of Winnipeg with commercial concentration. The purpose of the BIZ is to promote the district's commercial area through physical improvements, such as streetscaping and marketing. Primary financial support for these organizations comes from a percentage of the business tax collected by the City of Winnipeg. They can also apply for additional funds from other levels of government for particular projects.

The organization of the businesses in the West Broadway neighbourhood came about through the proactive concern of some privately-owned and operated small businesses. With a seemingly frequent number of break-ins, the proprietors were worried

about the viability of their businesses and concerned for their own safety. Through the initiative of a few business owners and managers, the business community began to try to address these problems, as explained by this participant;

When I first came here, a lot of things happened in the area that I didn't understand. There was a lot of abuse of substances... I got robbed quite a few times. The first couple of years were really tough, and many times I wondered why I had come into the area. As I got to know more and more people in the area, I became more comfortable. Started to understand things a little more. My eyes opened up to a lot of problems and instead of being very apprehensive about a lot of things that were going on in the area, I started looking for possible solutions. I was working with the people, and as I started to get to know them, I started really liking them. I thought, "This is crazy. I could very easily just sell this place and move on. Or I could get down there and start doing some stuff." (Interview #9 16-26).

The West Broadway Business Association was created in the mid 1980s. The members discussed issues such as zoning, housing, and security. Through this formal organization, the business community lobbied for government money and attention. The goal of the Association was to stop any more "dumping"⁶ into the area and start dealing with the problems that already existed. The Business Association was clear, however, that whatever initiative was to be taken with regards to the neighbourhood it must include the residents. The members of the Association started working with the West Broadway Residents' Association which had ties to the Residents' Associations of the neighbouring areas of Wolseley and Armstrong's Point.

The business community of West Broadway was therefore easily and legitimately included in the early stages of creating the Neighbourhood Council. The rationale for them becoming involved was that by improving the general security and the public image of the neighbourhood, a more viable and enjoyable environment in which to conduct their business would be created. The Business Association was open to working with this new

⁶"Dumping" is a term referring to the City becoming lenient in allowing the creation of: high density residential buildings such as rooming houses; alternative uses such as group homes and half-way houses; and uses inconsistent with the maintenance of a residential area, in a residential area. Too many of these uses locating in an area is detrimental to the development of a healthy residential neighbourhood. The West Broadway neighbourhood feels that it is presently saturated with such facilities.

group and supportive of the idea of creating a resource centre. They saw the Council as being an umbrella organization, a central clearing house for neighbourhood issues, and saw the resource centre as a base of information for dealing with those issues. The business community perceived that their role within the Council was to bring their concerns to the table as well as to be supportive of concerns and initiatives brought to the Council by other groups in the neighbourhood. This role presumes that all the other formally organized groups in the neighbourhood are also involved.

5.2.2.3 Partnership with Agency Workers

As in many of the inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg and elsewhere, there were a number of social service agencies with workers in the area. There was a public health nurse, a community development worker with Child and Family Services, a community development worker with the Community Education and Development Agency, two officers working out of the Community Police Office, a community development worker with the local community health care centre, Klinik, and others who worked with the various foodbanks and drop-in centres in the neighbourhood. West Broadway seemed saturated with agency workers whose jobs were to bring residents together in some form and deal with some of their issues.

This concentration of agency workers begs the question of why the Winnipeg Housing Coalition felt the need to establish yet another resource in the neighbourhood. Their rationale was that the approach would be different. The purpose of the Council as an umbrella organization was to bring together all the groups presently meeting to ensure there was no overlap. The focus of their organizing effort was to be primarily around housing and neighbourhood, rather than crisis intervention. As their purpose was to be broad urban revitalization and housing issues, they wanted to include all those presently working in some professional capacity in the area.

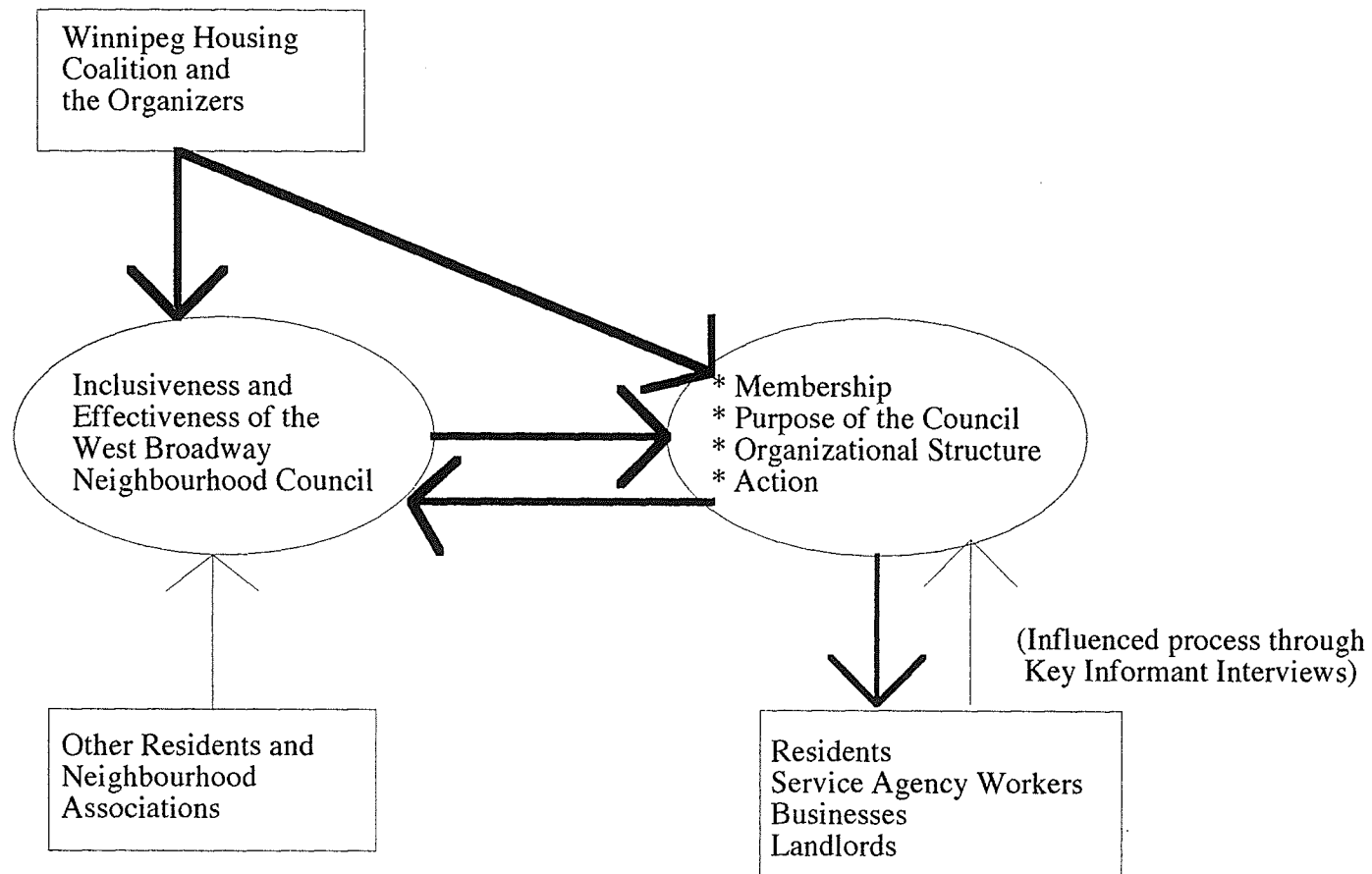
Many of these agency workers did come to the meetings. Most indicated that creating a council in the neighbourhood, as an umbrella organization that included all the stakeholders, had good potential. There were also concerns, as stated by one worker:

I was aware that [the WHC worker] and other folks were trying to get something happening around housing. Then suddenly there was something called a Neighbourhood Council being advertised. Also I was concerned that since there was an existing Residents' Association that there could be some confusion. I've been down this road before with several councils and people trying to sort of work with the neighbourhood, to put it politely, without including the people who live here from the beginning of the process and organizing something that works for them. So I came out of interest but also out of concern that although well-meaning, this could become disastrous. (Interview #13, 64-73).

The agency workers generally saw their role in the Council as one of support for the residents and other stakeholders in initiatives to revitalize the neighbourhood. Most were very interested in seeing the initiative succeed. However, because of their professional work and education, they came to the Council with many ideas as to the process and direction the Council might take.

The initial influence by stakeholders on the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council is illustrated in Figure 5.4. The centre circles represent the Neighbourhood Council: the one to the left represents the main focus of this research, the inclusiveness and effectiveness of the Council; and the one to the right represents the defining characteristics of the Council, its stated purpose, membership, structure, and action. The arrows indicate the direction and strength of influence. At Stage 1, the Winnipeg Housing Coalition had the strongest influence on the defining characteristics of the Council and therefore also on its ability to be both inclusive and effective. Some influence also came from the key informants interviewed prior to the development of the Community-Based Housing Resource Centre Proposal. Other residents and neighbourhood associations were notable for their exclusion or absence from the process at this stage.

Figure 5.4 The Influence of Stakeholders on the Inclusiveness and Effectiveness of the Council at Stage 1



Key

Direction and Strength of Influence →

5.3 Factors Influencing the Dynamics of the Neighbourhood Council

Face-to-face interaction at the neighbourhood level presents unique possibilities for revitalizing participatory democracy and therefore presents the possibility of a legitimate process for revitalizing neighbourhoods. Berry, Portney, and Thomson (1993) put forth both the positive and negative arguments regarding participatory democracy. Personal interaction and discussion can build trust which is a necessary condition for co-operation. In addition, if a valued group identity exists, individuals will be motivated to ensure the best possible group decision rather than simply arguing for their own self-interest (Berry et al., 1993). The difficulty with practicing participatory democracy lies in the potential for conflict and intimidation during personal interaction. Jane Mansbridge argues that a "face-to-face assembly lets those who have no trouble speaking in public defend their interests; it does not give the average citizen comparable protection" (Berry et al. 1993, pp. 72-73). Such interactions may even frighten away those who should theoretically benefit the most (Berry et al., 1993).

This case study offered an opportunity to examine how bringing multiple stakeholders into a process of participatory democracy could help to overcome the existing imbalances of power which would affect the direction of development in the neighbourhood. The key in attempting to equalize the power imbalances is the realization of common interests and goals through the creation of a valued organization. Overcoming imbalances of power through finding common ground should be evident in an inclusive and effective neighbourhood council. What then were the issues that either encouraged co-operative social learning in the members of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council, or created barriers to social learning?

Two significant sets of factors influenced the dynamics of the Council, affecting its ability to be inclusive and effective. These factors were a consequence of the mix of members in terms of their economic status, educational and experiential backgrounds, and their stake in the neighbourhood. The first set of factors included barriers of intimidation

and stratification, as well as opportunities for a shared resource base, increased power for the neighbourhood, and personal and professional development of the members. The second set of factors influencing the dynamics of the Council encompassed the different perspectives held by the members on how to develop the Council. These different perspectives influenced the debate of issues and the negotiation of power among the members.

5.3.1 Barriers Arising from the Multi-Stakeholder Membership Base

The two main barriers arising from the multi-stakeholder membership base were intimidation and stratification. Both of these barriers seemed to be related to differences in background of the participating or potential members.

5.3.1.1 Intimidation

Intimidation resulted from the mixed membership base. There was a perception by the members that potential resident members were intimidated by social service workers, and members with higher incomes or education levels.

And I think sometimes by an unintentional intimidation. The people at the lower economic and education don't come to these meetings because of intimidation. Having come from the area, my father would have never attended. He would have just said, that's for social workers. He would not have seen it as something he should take part in.... Cause another problem you run into with this group of people we are discussing, a lot of them don't want to be associated with the police department. Cause maybe they got busted, maybe they don't like cops, maybe the cops went with CFS and took their kids one day, so they don't really want a Neighbourhood Watch sign in their window that's Winnipeg Police. But they care about the neighbourhood, they don't want their kid getting beat up more than anyone else does... They don't want to be associated with the police, cause there might be repercussion, but they care about the area. (Interview #8, 120-124 & 143-154).

Another source of intimidation came from the language used by some members of the Council:

And some of the professionals will speak so professional like you can see them flabbergasting half the crowd, me included. And you say Wow, talk in layman's terms, let speak in street English here. Cause people don't understand, cause that's what makes it intimidating. (Interview #8, 354-356).

The lack of representation from a wide variety of residents seemed to contribute to the environment of intimidation. The lack of representation was a direct result of the "soft approach" in the early stage of recruiting resident members to the Council.

...think the people coming would be more literate, more intelligent. There's a lot of intimidation that people feel when you start mixing groups up, various professionals with people who may not have a high school degree. A lot of people have experiences that are very worthwhile, and we need their input. They may not feel that it's worthwhile. They see groups come and go, there's a lot of cynicism. "It's not going to make a difference anyways. People don't care about poor people on assistance, and it's not going to change." (Interview #5, 155-162).

This early membership mix then had implications, including the barriers of intimidation and stratification, for both the ongoing dynamics of the Council and the ability of the Council to be fully inclusive of the residents in the area.

5.3.1.2 Stratification

As a consequence of the mixed membership base, stratification developed in the organization of the Council. In the case of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council, those who spoke best tended to speak most often (Field Notes, minutes of WBNC). This was reflected in the issue of intimidation discussed above. In addition to the negative effects of intimidation on the inclusiveness of the Council, the lack of any formal structure compounded this effect by stratifying the members. Members became stratified on the

basis of education rather than organized in a way that neutralized the power imbalance created by these differences in background.

The loose structure envisioned by the organizer was intended to avoid such stratification. However, as Jo Freeman argues in her article, *The Tyranny of Structurelessness*, there will always exist some form of structure as a result of personalities creating an elite or competing elites within a group. An elite is a group within the group that holds power over the rest without their formal consent and therefore without any form of accountability (Freeman, 1973).

Stratification became evident in the membership of the committees and who took responsibility for completing tasks. The committees were dominated by social service agency workers and all of the organizing was done by the organizer from the Winnipeg Housing Coalition. These members often expressed discomfort with the situation but did not sense any obvious or immediate way of shifting power to the other members, especially the residents. These two barriers to the inclusiveness and effectiveness of the Council - intimidation and stratification - were a direct result of the mixed membership base.

5.3.2 Opportunities Created by the Multi-Stakeholder Membership Base

The positive effects arising from the multi-stakeholder membership base reinforce the theories of (a) increased social learning and tolerance between groups resulting in opportunities for co-operative action, and (b) an overall increase in shared power over the decision-making and revitalization of the neighbourhood. This situation was referred to in Chapter 2 as *power-with* as opposed to one group having *power-over* another.

5.3.2.1 Resources and Power-with

Increased opportunities for communication increased the opportunity for sharing resources and increased the power for the neighbourhood as a whole. The Council was one such opportunity for communication. One of the purposes of the Council was to bring together all of the organizations working in the neighbourhood, creating a stronger voice for the area:

...it should be a co-ordinated interest. If we say we've got enough social services in the area, let's everybody say that. *IF* we want better policing, let's go out and fight as a group. You get that much stronger, you have that many more ears listening when you talk in bigger numbers... (Interview #9, 217-220).

Mutually beneficial partnerships were also seen as a positive spin-off of opening lines of communication between the stakeholders in the community. The following is one example of the creative problem-solving that has been going on in the West Broadway Neighbourhood:

We'll go out and do something that somebody else has already been doing, like Earthcorps. They're trying to fix up the area with their gardens, which I think is tremendous. All of a sudden we find out about this so we're getting them to do our planting for us. We have planters on South Sherbrook. So instead of getting somebody out of area, we can help them be a little more self-sufficient. They now have an income, we give them money to do this, money we were going to spend anyways. When we start talking it seems to work out better. (Interview #9, 195-202).

Although this partnership was not a direct result of the Council, it is hoped that the occurrence of such partnerships can be encouraged to happen more often as a result of bringing together the stakeholders on a regular basis.

5.3.2.2 Personal and Professional Development

One important and basic effect of creating such a multi-stakeholder council was the increased opportunity for communication between the stakeholder groups and individuals within the stakeholder groups. For example, an aspect identified by the participants was the opportunity to decrease the current or perceived bureaucratic isolation that seemed to divide those trying to serve the neighbourhood.

Everybody's got to be concerned from the businesses to the services to the community centre to the resource centre to the schools. We've all got to be connected but we have this bureaucratic whatever. "OH no no we're Child and Family Services we're on Broadway, we don't have anything to do with it..." (Interview #12, 382-386).

Through regular communication among agency workers, and by them keeping in touch with the concerns and interests of the community, agency workers and residents hoped that the agencies would be able to better serve the area and would be more responsive to the needs and interests of the area. The agency workers brought their knowledge and expertise to the issues that were of importance to the residents, as well as their perceptions of the issues attained through their positions. There was also the sentiment that by involving the paid workers in the area, there would be more continuity over time and less burn-out among the volunteer members. It is too early to assess whether these hopes will be realized.

Generally, many members felt that the regular meetings of the Council encouraged personal development of all the members, by providing the opportunity for relationships and connections, on the basis of a common interest in the West Broadway neighbourhood that would not otherwise have developed.

There are some things that I think are really positive about the Council. Number one is that it actually brings people involved in the neighbourhood into one place where we can meet each other. Like I find that there are so many people in this neighbourhood that the only thing that I have in common with them is the neighbourhood, and the Neighbourhood Council and they're people who I really want to be

involved in but our lives don't really overlap. I really think that just having these meetings really fosters a community spirit, cause just being able to recognize your neighbour on the street fosters a community spirit. I think that is totally simplistic, but I think that is so important. I also think that it is great that the police come out, that the health board comes out, all of these potential resources come out. All of these people that have information that we don't have, that the average tenant just doesn't know these things. It's really nice to have somebody right there sitting next to you at the table, drinking coffee who you can speak to on a first name basis, who can tell you the red tape aspects of it. I think that's really positive. Those are the things that happens, sort of in spite of the actual meetings though, and in spite of the structure. But I think that those are the best points of the council. (Interview #4, 295-313).

This passage represents the sentiments of many of the members of the Council with respect to the benefits of a mixed membership base.

5.3.3 The Perspectives

Two contrasting perspectives emerged in the negotiation of power in the Council as a result of the mixed membership base. With a number of agency workers and experienced residents participating, these members inevitably came to the process with their own perspective on how to develop the Council and the neighbourhood as a whole. The following are generalizations of these competing perspectives. It was these perspectives that largely influenced the debates to be discussed in section 5.4. A third perspective emerged amid the debates, as members without previous positions on community development listened to and participated in the debates. This third perspective represents those members forming opinions on a possible new way to proceed with the development of the Council.

5.3.3.1 The Social Service Perspective

This perspective emphasized the needs of a constituency and focused on the development of programs to meet those needs. This perspective therefore worked more on the basis of a community of interests rather than a community of place. The focus of this perspective thus contrasted with the focus on community development and community of place in the Community Mobilization perspective to be described in the next section. The Social Service perspective was the perspective from which the Winnipeg Housing Coalition developed its proposal and proceeded to organize the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council.

A key difference between the focus on a community of interests rather than on a community of place was the lack of concern for boundaries, as seen in this commentary from one of the participants:

How I define the boundaries?... Well I'm not a strict boundary person. I think that as far as boundaries are concerned we should go with the smallest boundaries because it helps some people in the neighbourhood feel more a part of the neighbourhood. So having the boundaries from Memorial to Maryland and from Broadway to Cornish is probably good for people who need that feeling of inclusion or need to try to get it. But I think the whole area of Memorial, Spence Memorial is really the area, the way the city defines it. I also think that the surrounding neighbourhoods are very much a part of West Broadway. More so than you find - well maybe not more so than you find in other neighbourhoods.... So they impact on one another (Interview #20, 3-18).

Further evidence of the emphasis on program development over community development in the organization of the proposed Housing Resource Centre and the Neighbourhood Council was the use of The Safety Audit and The Housing Survey to assess the concerns of the residents. The information gathered in this way was used to support the funding proposals to develop a safety plan - a plan whose emphasis was on the development of services and programs (see Appendix G). Another illustration of this focus was the decision to locate the Winnipeg Housing Coalition/Resource Centre in an inaccessible basement room of a social housing building in the neighbourhood. The room

could only be accessed by knocking on the window and having someone open the door. It was here that committee meetings were held. Individuals with this perspective were aware of the need to build a community, but emphasized servicing the needs of the community through the creation of a resource centre.

5.3.3.2 Community Mobilization Perspective

The contrasting perspective held by the members who were most critical of the Neighbourhood Council was the Community Mobilization perspective. This perspective emphasized the mobilization of a community, in this case the community of place based on the geographical area of the West Broadway neighbourhood. The key characteristic of this perspective was the focus on the residents as the most important element, and their basic right to be the main force in initiation of ideas and decision-making affecting their neighbourhood. Other stakeholders such as landlords and business owners were occasional partners in the neighbourhood's struggles.

This perspective emphasized the empowerment of the residents over the development of programs to meet their needs. The mobilization of residents through action was seen as the most important way of empowering residents, by taking back some of the power others held over their lives. This perspective complements the idea of power held by Giddens (1984), being that even the least powerful can find a way to exercise power.

This focus on resident empowerment is reflected in the perspective's opinion on the allocation and use of resources:

I'd say resources that can engage people in the community in ways that they can determine the best use of and that produce employment and other incentives to stay in the neighbourhood. I'm not saying traditional approaches to funding projects is necessarily that useful, but if there are some creative approaches that would involve people in determining how and then that resources be given directly to the people and they could determine how that could best be used. And could insure that the resources stay somehow in the neighbourhood and that they don't just go out in salaries to people who maybe live elsewhere.

This perspective then results in a different understanding of the role of the community development worker. While from the Social Services perspective, the worker may have simply gathered information and developed programs, in the Community Mobilization perspective the focus of the worker is to create an environment in which residents can take action or develop ideas that are of interest to them. Creating such an environment may include helping the community to find the necessary financial resources or skills for their endeavor. The worker would not come to the community as an outsider with a preconceived idea of the solution for development of the neighbourhood.

5.3.3.3 The Balanced Perspective

This perspective was characterized by a general value of tolerance, both of people and methods. This perspective emerged during negotiations on the development of the Council, to be described in the next section. In the early stages of the Council's evolution many residents held back their opinions on issues and possible actions because of a feeling that they really did not have enough knowledge or experience to comment. Many who came to hold this perspective preferred to begin by listening and learning from those offering information and stories, as expressed by one participant:

I've been part of [the] substance abuse group, but I don't see myself as a great planner in any of these meetings but I see myself as a good support person. And when we had this celebration⁷ here, I went around to the various businesses asking for donations. And it was a real eye opener for me, cause I got to know some of the business people. It was like a further step into the community. I'm really happy to be here. I just look forward to a further involvement. But I don't think that I need to do this in a hurry. And I also am not here as a great savior, cause I know I have a lot to learn. But I also know that I have a lot to give. Lots to contribute to the life of the people. (Interview #1, 156-165).

⁷ The "Celebration" on one Saturday in May 1995 organized by the Substance Abuse Committee. This committee was organized by the worker for the "Community Involvement Project on Substance Abuse" funded by the federal government.

The focus is on power resting in the group as a whole, but with an acute awareness of the imbalance of power between the different stakeholders involved in the group. An example of how this perspective played out in the discussions of the Council was presented in the negotiation over the Council's structural organization. Members holding this 'balanced' perspective were open to trying different forms of structural organization, rather than the traditional model, and did not think it necessary to commit to one form. Their view was that structure should be negotiated in the group, inclusive of all who have a stake in the neighbourhood, and be viewed as something that continually evolved. Therefore, they were looking for an open structure to encourage inclusiveness, but also one that defined more clearly the roles of the different stakeholders.

Those participants who came to hold this perspective seemed to be those most benefiting from the opportunity for social learning provided by the mixed membership. These participants were open to hearing the argument of the other two competing perspectives, but slowly became more vocal on issues as the characteristics of each perspective emerged. They expressed either their willingness to accept or reject specific characteristics. The further development of the Balanced Perspective will be discussed later in Stage 3. Three perspectives were revealed and developed through the negotiation of key issues in the creation of the Neighbourhood Council. These issues were negotiated in Stage 2 of the development of the Council.

5.4 Stage 2: The Negotiation of Power

There were a number of issues that became prominent in the discussions and debates at the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council meetings. These issues included: the purpose of the Council; defining the community to be served; defining the issues of concern and interest to the community; developing strategy and action; and defining the organizational structure.

It was through the debates on these issues that participants negotiated with other participants their role in the structure of the Council and its decision-making process. The more control a participant or organizer had in the decision-making process, the more they were empowered. In addition, the more the organization was able to account and correct for the original inequities of power, and thus be truly inclusive, the closer the organization came to a situation of *power-with*. At the conclusion of this section, the Council is again rated with respect to how much control was put in the hands of the residents. A diagram is used to illustrate the amount of influence each of the stakeholders had over the functioning of the Council, and thus the Council's ability to be both inclusive and effective.

5.4.1 Purpose of the Council

There was very little consensus among the participants of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council about the purpose of the Council, according to those participants I interviewed. Many stated that they were not clear about its purpose but would state what they thought was, or should be, its purpose. Some assumed it would be a political entity lobbying outside forces for the benefit of the neighbourhood. Others saw the organization as a place to turn to with issues and complaints related to the neighbourhood. Still others, including the organizers, saw the Council more broadly as an umbrella organization, composed of all the existing organizations in the neighbourhood, and acting as a clearing-house for ideas and actions on neighbourhood issues.

The ambiguously defined purpose of the Council came in part from the lack of planning on the part of the organizers. As was discussed earlier, the proposal did not state the purpose of the Council, but rather indicated that stakeholders would be brought together to discuss the issues and related programs that could be developed and delivered through the Community-Based Housing Resource Centre. There was little direction on how to organize an umbrella group and what actions it might take. It was also evident from the interviews that if the organizers had had the idea of creating an umbrella organization for

the neighbourhood, they were not effective in communicating this message to the residents and organizations in the neighbourhood. This shortcoming may have been a result of the "soft approach" taken by the main organizer. In addition, the differences in perspectives began to clash in the early stage, resulting in much discussion rooted in differences of opinion, not only on the purpose of the Council but also on the philosophy and motive behind its creation. A number of participants commented on the lack of direction in the first meetings of the Council. For example:

We went to the first six meetings, but very little else was accomplished. Mostly arguing about ourselves, about this and about that. What can you do about housing?... Actually all we were doing was throwing verbal insults at this and at that, and actually gaining nothing. But at least something was being said and done. That was about the first 5 meetings. Then after that ... it was just like going to the very first meeting all over again. We went to the next meeting and it was just like starting from scratch again. (Interview #7, 187-194)

This ambiguity in the minds of the participants about the basic reason for the existence of the Council, the weak communication of any clear message from the organizers, and the different perspectives of the participants, led to the constant need for discussion at the meetings about its purpose and, as a result, about how it should be structured, who it was to target, what issues it was supposed to deal with, and how.

5.4.2 Defining the Community

There were two aspects to defining the community: (a)*who* should be included in the process of developing a Neighbourhood Council, and be served by its existence; and (b)*what* constituted the boundaries of the area to be served by the Council. These two aspects relate back to the challenge of interrelating communities of interest and communities of place. The focus on West Broadway as a community, or communities, of place can be attributed to the Community Mobilization perspective. The focus on West Broadway as being one general area in which there was a concentration of individuals with certain needs

and interests to be addressed (e.g. housing), can be attributed to the Social Service perspective. The Balanced perspective attempted to find some common ground between these positions by trying to side-step this debate and re-focus efforts on looking for ways to address the main issues being raised by the members in the Council.

An individual member's impression of who the Council should be serving came from their perception of the residents in the neighbourhood. Participants perceived some broad characteristics of the neighbourhood, both good and bad, that established for them a need for such a council, and motivated them to continue to be involved. First, most participants commented on the "mix" in the neighbourhood. They felt there was a mix in cultural, socio-economic, and educational background. This mix meant that there existed many residents and other stakeholders in the area who had the skills and interest to work on neighbourhood issues - an assets-based perspective. This picture of the neighbourhood created a sense of optimism in many members. However, it was also perceived that there was a segment of residents making up this "mix" that seem to be, at present, contributing to the deterioration of the neighbourhood. These residents were thought of as the transient population, those with alcohol and substance abuse problems, and the "bad tenants" (Interviews #20, #10, Field Notes). These general characteristics provided a vague starting point for the members of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council.

By virtue of the multi-stakeholder base, the community of interest to be served was also the diverse stakeholders in the neighbourhood. It was not made clear by the organizers what the roles of these different stakeholders would be in the Council, nor how they were to be served by the Council. There was much discussion on this issue which was only partially resolved half-way through this second stage of the Council's development.

There was, then, an ambiguity in the definition of the community to be represented and served by the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council. This ambiguity was evident in the fact that officially, at their meetings, the members would state the boundaries, as

illustrated in the Map 1 (see section 1.3), while at the same time maintaining "resident" members from just outside the boundaries in the neighbouring area of Wolseley. The debate over defining the community was somewhat resolved with the design of a preliminary structure and statement of mission, which will be discussed in more detail in section 5.4.5. This structure formally acknowledged the boundaries of West Broadway as the boundaries of the Council. The mission statement, formulated in Stage 2, stated that, while all were invited, residents should be the key decision-makers:

Resident Control:

- Open to all residents who live in the West Broadway area and have concerns.
- Designed to ensure that all residents will be in the majority in all decision-making situations.

Inclusive Involvement:

The Council should be designed to include everyone who wishes to participate, and should especially encourage resident participation:

- Non-voting status for non-residents.
- All groups and organizations in the area are welcome to participate.
- Council should facilitate neighbourhood communication.
- Should be a clearing house for neighbourhood issues.
- Should be a democratic organization. (Minutes of the WBNC, December 1994).

This debate was only partially resolved during Stage 2 because of the obvious inconsistencies between this mission statement, the structure that accompanied it and the organizations ineffectiveness in realizing the organizational ideals.

5.4.3 Defining the Issues

A member's definition of the community influenced how he/she defined the issues to be dealt with by the Council and how the issues should be addressed. There were a number of competing interests in the discussions around identifying and determining the priority of issues facing the neighbourhood. The most commonly discussed issues included: housing, safety, alcohol and substance abuse, and the external perception of the neighbourhood. There were also a number of issues discussed at the meetings with regard to how the Council was functioning, including communication with its members and other

groups in the neighbourhood, and resident participation in the Council and in the affairs of the neighbourhood generally.

As the Neighbourhood Council was established due to initiatives of the WHC, housing issues were discussed at almost every meeting. The discussion covered the problem of "slum" landlords, tenant and landlord disputes, caretakers, building security, and the possibilities of mediation, education, caretaker training, carrying out a housing survey and creating a housing registry. This registry would contain a list of the well-kept available housing stock in the neighbourhood. Its purpose would be to help tenants moving into the neighbourhood, or those already living in the neighbourhood who needed better accommodations. A housing committee was established early on at the August 1994 meeting to examine these issues and to propose possible actions or to carry out actions already suggested at the meetings (WBNC minutes, August 1994).

Housing remained an issue throughout the first and second stages of development of the Neighbourhood Council. Although members, especially resident members, were interested in housing-related issues, the main organizer was instrumental in maintaining the prominence of this issue throughout these stages. A number of guests were invited to make presentations and answer questions, including employees of the Residential Tenancies Branch of the Government of Manitoba, and the Planning and the Health Departments of the City of Winnipeg. These presentations increased the members' awareness of the complexity of the issues related to housing.

Safety in the neighbourhood was of great concern to many of the resident members of the Council. Residents' concern for their safety, the safety of their families, and of everyone generally, was evident in the meetings when residents shared stories about problem situations. Safety was also mentioned as an issue in most of the interviews. The following is an example of a resident's concern for safety in the neighbourhood. In this case it was an important issue that moved her to become involved in the Neighbourhood Council:

...it was really important to me that people would be able to walk around without being afraid. One of the things that I was afraid of when I was walking around was that wild card. Somebody too drunk coming from the bar and I'm standing out front of my apartment building and all of a sudden poof! I don't know if it would ever happen. Probably not, but that fear is what holds people in their apartments. I know a lady who didn't leave her apartment for 2 years. She's visually impaired. She gets tagged by all the kids in the neighbourhood. They throw rocks at her, she had a little puppy dog, they beat the puppy dog. That kind of stuff. She didn't come out of her apartment for 2 years. (Interview #12, 92-106)

The community police in the area were consistent in attending the Council meetings. Informal discussion often arose out of descriptions of problem situations and questions posed to the police officers. A common complaint to the officers was the lack of response from the police when they were called as well as complaints about the inadequate staffing and equipping of the community police office. Over many meetings the officers explained the backlog of emergency calls, how they determined the priority in which they responded to the calls, and the limitations in the current community policing system. Participants gained a much broader understanding of policing and their attitude towards safety in their neighbourhood began to shift. Residents began defending the efforts of the police, citing problems with under-staffing and the increased number of calls, and stating that the neighbourhood also needed to take responsibility for its own safety. The participants' greater awareness of the issues of housing and safety could be taken as evidence of the social learning that is possible with a multi-stakeholder participation process.

An alcohol and substance abuse committee was also established early on (August, 1994 WBHC minutes), primarily because there was a resource person working in the area on alcohol and substance abuse issues. There were some residents interested in helping with this initiative, including a neighbourhood clean-up and a community celebration. The work of this committee was predominantly based on the initiatives of the resource person rather than being rooted in a mandate from the Neighbourhood Council (WBNC minutes and Field Notes).

External perceptions of the neighbourhood were an issue for some participants, especially the business community. The Business Improvement Zone (BIZ) worked to develop the aesthetic value of the two main shopping streets (West Broadway Avenue and South Sherbrook Street) and to promote a positive image of the area. When the results of the Safety Audit were released, there was negative coverage on the front page of the Winnipeg Free Press (see Appendix B). The business community felt that this publicity set back their efforts considerably.

The BIZ is concerned with the perception. This building lost a tenant upstairs... They came in here during the day time and then got that safety audit nightmare that went out a while ago and said "No thanks!" There's very little that happens here. The Agape table, the soup kitchen down here, draws the transient traffic cause it's somewhere they can get a square meal. People from outside the area are concerned about the area, but none of those people are here at night... #8, 57-63.

The way in which the Safety Audit was released to the public, without first being released to the neighbourhood and all of its stakeholders, was an example to the BIZ of poor communication from the inside of the Council to the rest of the neighbourhood. Other participants also discussed the problem with communication. Some participants felt that there was not enough feedback to the neighbourhood regarding what the Council was doing or enough feedback to the members regarding what action was being done to follow up on issues discussed at the meetings. This lack of feedback was evident in the fact that minutes of the previous meeting and committee meetings were not often brought to the Council nor distributed to members that were not able to attend the next meeting. This communication gap had two main results: less participation from members and potential members, and inconsistency in developing strategy and taking action on the issues discussed.

I think the main thing we have to do is get organized. Specifically, we need to have a pamphlet. One of our real big problems is that new people come to every meeting and they say well this is my first meeting, tell me everything that's happened before and we tell them all of that and then the meeting is over. I think it would be really good to have a pamphlet saying

that this is who we are, this is what we're trying to do, this is what we've done. But I haven't written it so what am I to say. (Interview #4, 317-323)

The low number of residents attending the Council meetings was of concern to almost all of the participants. This problem was partly attributed to the apathy and high mobility of certain residents in the neighbourhood and partly to the inaction of the Council. In discussing these barriers, the two opposing perspectives again became evident. On the one hand, the Community Mobilization perspective focused on the need to overcome those barriers by getting these residents involved and showing them that they do have a stake in the neighbourhood. Through their very involvement, this perspective hypothesizes, these residents will be empowered to help create a better neighbourhood. They will want to stay in the neighbourhood and get involved with the Council. In contrast, the Social Service perspective saw little need to try to involve these residents, but would rather identify their needs and issues and provide services to help them better cope with the problems raising the barriers to participation.

The following interview extract illustrates a view of the problem of apathy from the Community Mobilization perspective.

The hardest part is getting everybody to agree to be part of it. I don't know how we're going to do that. I mean, talk, talk, talk can get them interested, but you've got to walk with them into it. You've got to physically take them in and say "You've got to come in and listen to this cause this concerns you."

And the first thing they say is, No it doesn't. Well yeah it does! No it doesn't, Yes it does etc. OK Why does it? Because you're living in this neighbourhood. You work in this neighbourhood, you buy your groceries in this neighbourhood, your kids go to school, don't you think that what goes on in this neighbourhood concerns you? NO. Well I would think so, cause next time you're walking down the street and some drunk beats you up, who are you going to whine to? I'm going to phone the police. No you're not. You won't even bother with it. You'll just go home. Because you know darn well that it will take the police 8 hours to get there and then...Like I had my truck stolen here and they didn't even bother to come and finger-print it. You know? There were all kinds of things. That's just it. (Interview #12, 366-380)

Many participants also commented on the high mobility of residents in the neighbourhood. This high mobility is reflected in statistics produced by Winnipeg School Division #1 on

the turn-over of students in one school year. The following is an illustration of the common perception held by the participants of the problem of high mobility in the neighbourhood:

The other problem is the transiency...a lot of the time if you don't have a vested interest in the area, like if you don't have ownership of the property, you don't care. So you're living here for 4-6 months a year, then you move down to Ross, so why should you get involved with the neighbourhood council and try to make a change...And that's the portion you never see at the council meetings. The people you see are the professionals, the business people, the homeowners... (Interview #8, 113-119)

Although participants acknowledged this issue, some added clarification by differentiating between the transient portion of the population and the stable renters:

The single family houses that have long-term tenants in them, they're a mixed bag. Some of them are caught up in, what I talked about earlier, that it isn't theirs and therefore, what the heck, it's a place to hang the hat. Then there's the ones that take a real pride and plant flowers and do all kinds of things to make it feel like it's their place. But boardinghouses are only cash cows now, they're not going to make money later. (Interview #15, 457-462)

These issues were the main focus of much of the discussion at the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council meetings, the committee meetings and in the interviews. The issues are interconnected. The issue of how others perceive the Council is tied to the issue of communication within the Council and communication strategies with other organizations and the general public. The issue of communication within the Council affected the ability of all the stakeholders to react to the results of the Safety Audit and to participate in the decision of whether or not to let the results go public. The issue of communication with the general public raised the problem of a lack of formal checks and balances in the organization to ensure that all stakeholders are able to participate. This issue of lack of structure will be discussed further in Section 5.4.5. The Council, because of this major weakness, lost effectiveness in internal functioning and in gaining a favourable impression with the general public. Problems with follow-up and communications within the organization decreased its inclusiveness, as the effort was not made to ensure members

took the lead in dealing with issues, nor to inform all potential members of the activities of the Council.

5.4.4 Developing Strategy and Acting

The Council's ability to develop strategies and to act on these was dependent on the Council's ability to define and determine the priority of issues. As described above, the Council as an organization in Stage 2 was still ambiguous in defining its purpose, in establishing the community it was to represent and serve, and in defining the issues it was to address. Consequently, at this stage in the development of the Council, it achieved very little in the way of action. However, action was taken when initiated by the organizer, with help from interested members of the Council. The three main activities carried out by the organizer, with help from members of the Council, were the Housing Survey, the Safety Audit, and the development of the Safety Plan Proposal. One resident member of the Council proposed the development of a Tenant-Landlord Co-operation Project which was further developed by the housing committee of the Council.

The idea for the Housing Survey came from the organizer and was well-received by the members attending the Council. To carry out the Housing Survey, members of the Council walked around the neighbourhood identifying the properties that seemed in the worst physical condition. They assessed the properties from the outside, based on visible deterioration. A list of about 40 houses was brought to the Council and was sent to the Health Department Inspector responsible for the area.

The Safety Audit was initiated by the City Councillor's office and was a project of the Broadway Community Club. It was taken over by the Neighbourhood Council, although it was unclear, through the interviews, why this happened. Members of the Council went door-to-door passing out the audit, encouraging people to fill it out, and on occasion helping them to fill out the forms. Shortly after the safety audit results were calculated by the City Councillor's office, the information was released to the Winnipeg

Free Press, resulting in a front page headline Fear lives on street at sunset: West Broadway residents afraid to step out at night, survey shows (Winnipeg Free Press, April 10, 1995, p. A1). The public release of this information resulted in the attendance of a large number of residents and some business owners in the area at the next Neighbourhood Council meeting. Some members were upset that the information had been made public without first consulting all the stakeholders in the community. Others were pleased that the article had stirred up otherwise indifferent residents and stakeholders to come to the meeting.

The release of the Safety Audit results by the organizer raised questions as to how the Council could be more accountable to the neighbourhood with respect to this information. There was no mechanism to ensure that the Council would contact the stakeholders. The passive approach the organizer and some members took to communicating with the neighbourhood, namely, that interested people should come to all the meetings and therefore would know, did not satisfy the main concerns raised by participants about communication and accountability. Participants stated that if the Council proposed to be the voice of the neighbourhood then it must make the effort to gain consensus from the stakeholders. Otherwise, the neighborhood should have the right to remove this responsibility from the Council (Interviews #9, #6, Minutes of Meetings, Field Notes).

The participants also felt strongly about the issue of safety. Safety was an issue of high priority after the release of the Safety Audit results. The BIZ supported doing something to improve the safety of the area, such as creating a citizen patrol that could be the "eyes" of the neighbourhood, and working with the police (Safety Committee minutes). The BIZ seemed willing to help fund or help find funds to deal with safety in the area. The organizer, with help from the safety committee, developed a Safety Plan Proposal (see Appendix G). The development of the Safety Proposal was rooted in the Social Service perspective because it focused on identifying needs and issues and developing programs for the neighbourhood that would address the issues. The proposal was written as part of

the broader Community-Based Housing Resource Centre Proposal. The organizers felt that if they received some funding, they would be able to achieve progress with the Resource Centre idea. The proposal was sent to the Winnipeg Development Agreement for funding under the name of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition. This agreement was created between the three levels of government - municipal, provincial, and federal - for revitalizing Winnipeg. Funding was eventually granted in late January 1996 for this safety proposal through Health Canada. This funding came as a result of partnering with the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg and two other community organizations. There were a number of important impacts on the dynamics of the Council as a result of receiving this funding. These impacts will be discussed further in section 5.5.

Members of the Council were anxious to do something, rather than simply discuss or debate the purpose and structure of the Council and the issues of the neighbourhood. Most participants wanted to take some action, no matter how small, in order to demonstrate, to themselves and to the rest of the neighbourhood, that they in fact did have some function. They envisioned an activity that would be highly visible or well publicized.

But at the same time we've left it so informal, that it's difficult and it's just now that we're saying that we have to develop sub-committees, cause otherwise every meeting we touch on a little bit of this and a little bit of that, a little bit of everything but we're not actually doing anything. So I think, yes, you have to work on the structure and look at your vision a lot. But we also have to do some doing at the same time, otherwise we're going to lose interest in the community. They're going to stop coming out unless they see that we're [doing something], this is actually a forum to deal with their concerns and issues, instead of just what it looks like, just professionals getting together, or people getting together to bitch. So I'm hoping that it's starting, like with our last big meeting⁸ that we're sort of, that point came across. (Interview #16, 107-113)

This perspective on action, a component of the Community Mobilization perspective, illustrates the connection between action and effectiveness and in turn the connection between effectiveness and inclusiveness. Without being able to demonstrate through action that the Council can act on issues relevant to the neighbourhood, then

⁸ Referring to the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council meeting of June 1995

residents and other stakeholders will simply not bother to attend meetings. Again, there was a problem with follow-up on the issues and strategies discussed at the meetings, as illustrated by this resident:

I could see immediate goals as following up on the forty worst houses that supposedly the health board has copies of which are the forty worst houses and they were going to look into it, but I haven't heard since. Working on the booze can next door. Like figuring out what we decided to do and actually doing it. Then you said there was more walking to look at lighting and bushes and all of that. Well what ever came of that, did anybody show up, I know I didn't. (Interview #4, 482-488)

The main issues around which members seemed eager to act were the conditions of properties, conversions of property to rooming houses or non-residential use, and the continued existence of a Booze Can on one of the main commercial streets (Field Notes). One action was taken in the form of protesting the variance application of a private landlord/developer. As it turned out, the developer was improving a run-down property from multiple rooms to just three units. Taking this action, however, was an empowering experience for a number of members in the Council (Interview #4, Field Notes).

The Tenant-Landlord Co-operation Project was a proactive initiative to deal with the issue of deteriorating housing in the neighbourhood. The idea of this project was to encourage landlords to give tenants a break on their rent if the tenant was willing to improve the physical state of the property in some way. The theory was that tenants will be empowered by taking care of the property and have a greater sense of ownership for their residence and the neighbourhood. The project also proposed to put up plaques on buildings that met certain criteria of physical upkeep. This plaque would be a type of positive reinforcement for good landlords and caretakers, and it would let prospective tenants know which were the good buildings in which to live. At the time I completed the field work, the housing committee was still developing the criteria and working on the details of how the co-operation project would work.

The Council's record for developing strategies and taking action is mixed. The only strategies that were discussed were the action against the landlord, the development of

the Safety Plan Proposal, and the development of the Tenant-Landlord Co-operation Project. The only actions that can be analyzed, some without discussion of strategy behind them, were the development of the safety proposal, the release of the safety audit results to the paper, and the action against the landlord. Under what circumstances these strategies were developed, and the associated actions taken, needs now to be contextualized with how the Council was organized structurally. It will then be possible to illustrate the dynamics of the Council with respect to the influence of the various stakeholders involved, and to rate the Council with respect to how much control was placed in the hands of the residents.

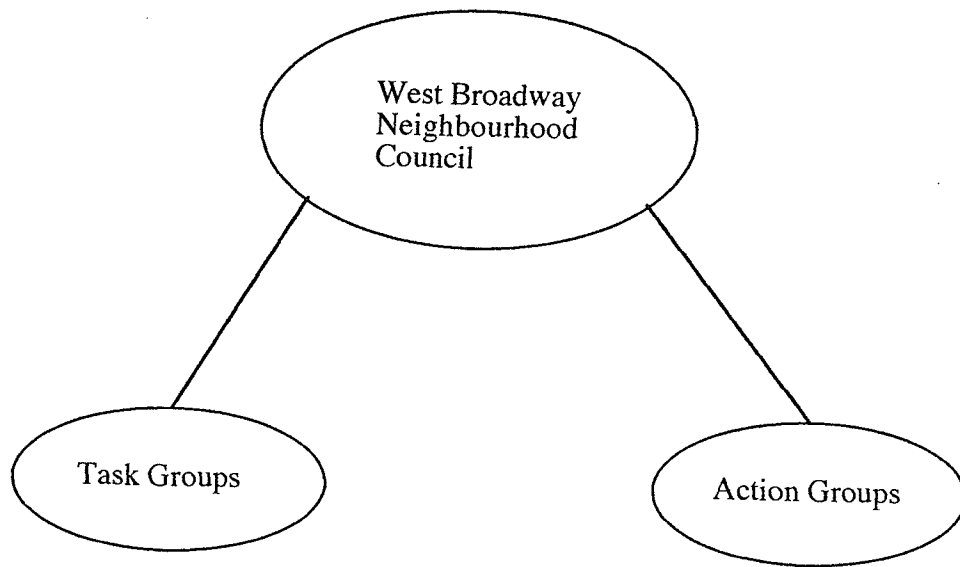
5.4.5 Defining the Organizational Structure

There was little forethought on the part of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition in their original proposal as to how the neighbourhood would be organized. In that proposal, the organization that soon became the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council was seen as an advisory group to the activities that would be carried out under the administration of the proposed Community-Based Housing Resource Centre. For this reason, the organizer saw no need to have any formal organizational structure. There was nothing, in the organizer's mind, that needed checks and balances. Any money that was received would be overseen by the Winnipeg Housing Coalition. In addition, a consensus decision-making model was employed at all of the meetings on the theory that it gave participants the greatest opportunity to be heard (Minutes, Interview #20).

This lack of any formal structure was soon challenged by participants and especially by the agency workers. On October 25, 1994, members formally discussed the purpose of the Council, what issues it should be dealing with, and how it should be organized (WBNC, minutes). The members in attendance were divided into groups and reported back to the whole gathering at the end of the meeting. The information gathered from this meeting was then to go to a committee to integrate the ideas and to come back with a proposal on how to progress. At the November 20, 1994 meeting, a number of models of

neighbourhood organizations were presented and discussed (WBNC minutes). The planning committee then noted suggestions from members at the meeting and returned in December with a proposed structure. The structure that was presented at the December 1994 meeting is shown in Figure 5.5:

Figure 5.5 Organizational Structure of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council



Adapted from the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council Minutes, December, 1994

The two main principles to be reflected in this structure were democratic inclusivity and resident control. There is no hierarchy in this model in order to promote inclusivity. According to this structure, all residents and interested people were included in the core group of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council. The task groups included the planning, housing, safety, and alcohol and substance abuse committees. These task groups were intended to deal with broad issues over a longer period of time, in contrast to the action groups, whose purpose was to organize particular short term events. Anyone was welcomed to participate in either of these types of groups. There was therefore no need for elections to fill positions of any kind. The principle of resident control was

outlined in the Council's mission statement but was not determined through the organizational structure itself.

This informal structure was welcomed by some as a progressive move away from hierarchical decision-making and elitism (Field Notes). The debates about structure created an opportunity to explore new alternatives that might be more inclusive and effective than the traditional residents' association model with a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer. In this case, the Council decided that persons responsible for chairing the meeting and taking minutes would be different individuals at each meeting. These two functions were determined to be the minimum necessary designated roles to enable the Council to function.

However, there were a number of challenges in the practice of this organizational model. Firstly, this kind of a model requires that the organizers and the members take responsibility for tasks when there is a perceived need. Without any defined roles, it was difficult for members to determine where they might fit in. At times members felt that they did not have the skills to take on either of these roles, or were not willing to take them on. Additionally, with the lack of follow-up from one meeting to the next and lack of consistency of members from one meeting to the next, it was difficult to make anyone accountable for doing what they said they would do.

The result was a case of *tyranny of structurelessness* (Freeman, 1972). What occurred in practice was the concentration of power in the main organizer with some involvement of agency workers and some residents. This one person had the responsibility for the activities of the Council. The main organizer called the meetings, set the agenda, distributed minutes, and arranged committee meetings (Field notes). The mission statement and structure may, in theory, have promoted participatory democracy and resident-controlled decision-making. An open, non-hierarchical structure may have promoted inclusion. But it takes personal commitment to the Council by a number of individual

members, and considerable energy and time on the part of the organizer and the members, to realize the full potential of these models in practice.

There were a number of barriers created by this situation that discouraged residents and other members from taking on responsibilities. As of February 1995, most of the committee meetings were held during the day, a decision made by the organizer (Field Notes, WBNC minutes). This excluded a number of prospective resident members who worked during the day, while making it easier for agency workers to attend. The agency workers were able to make the activities of the Council part of their job. This situation increased the stratification that already existed between the residents and the agency workers. In addition, at no time was any of the responsibility for organizing any of the meetings passed to resident members. By holding onto such responsibilities, the organizer missed important opportunities to empower residents (which was precisely the goal stated in the original Resource Centre proposal).

A crippling characteristic of the tyranny of structurelessness is the lack of accountability of the undeclared leadership. Because no one has been formally and explicitly appointed, nominated, or elected to a position of responsibility, there is no one in particular to remove from that position of responsibility. Another consequence of the lack of explicit organizational structure was the resulting lack of any legitimate representation of the Council to the general public. As a result, external organizations contacted the organizer for opinions. It was also difficult for members to raise criticisms of the process without any formal means of changing it. The frustration of these members discouraged their participation and many stopped coming to the meetings altogether (Interviews).

There are a number of ways to overcome these barriers and strengthen the structural organization and process of decision-making of the Council, without undoing the well-intentioned work of the participants. However, for these strategies to work, it takes time, energy, and commitment on the part of the organizers and members. In A Handbook for Consensus Decision Making: Building United Judgment, the authors examine some

"prerequisites" to assess a group's readiness to use consensus, including the following: unity of purpose; equal access to power; autonomy of the group from external hierarchical structures; time to spend on the process; and a willingness in the group to attend to process; a willingness in the group to attend to attitudes; willingness in the group to learn and practice skills (Auvine, Avery, Streibel, & Weiss, pp. 8-9). In the case of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council, the major barriers to using the consensus model of decision making is the lack of consensus on, and poor communication of the purpose of the Council.

The West Broadway Neighbourhood Council has not been able to avoid the difficulties inherent in a collectivist organizational model, as outlined by Rothschild-Whitt (1979) and discussed in section 2.6. It will take time: for the organization to develop a broader consensual base with such a diverse membership; for the members to become more comfortable with the intensity of face-to-face discussions (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979); for the members to learn to deal productively with the conflict that arises; for the members to become familiar with other members to learn how best to encourage equitable participation in discussion; and for them to become more diligent about recording the Council's decisions (Auvine, Avery, Streibel, & Weiss, pp. 8-9). These challenges can be overcome, and I have made a number of suggestions in section 6.3 that may be helpful.

Table 5.1 summarizes the strengths and weaknesses of the Council in the second stage of its development.

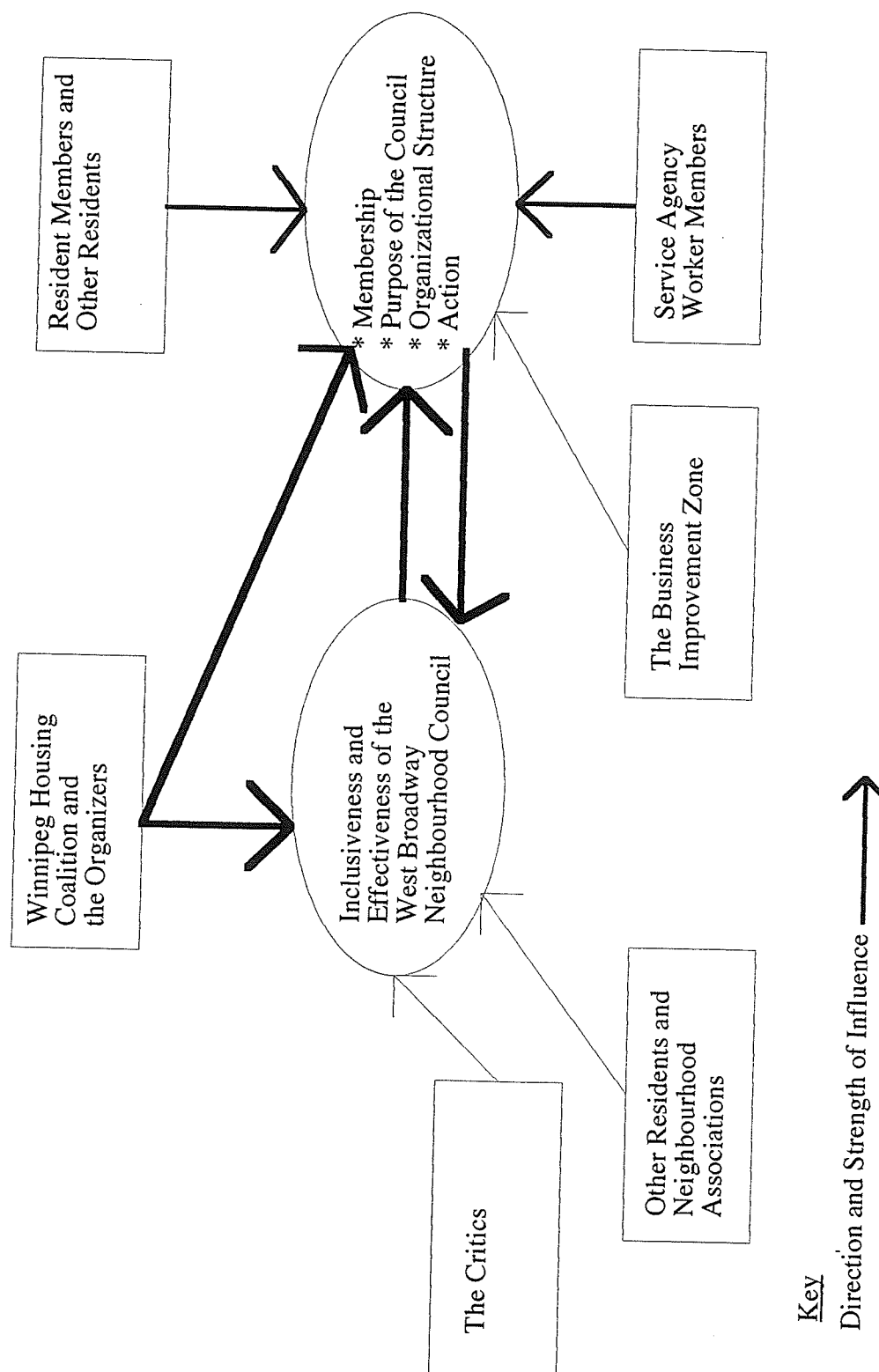
Table 5.1 Strengths and Weaknesses of the Council at the end of Stage 2

| Strengths | Weaknesses |
|--|--|
| Community relationships among and between stakeholder groups | Creating consensus on Council's purpose and organizational structure |
| Development of Council members as a group | Defining tasks, delegation of responsibilities and accountability |
| Community involvement | Communication |
| Resources and Power-with | Intimidation |
| Beginning to identify issues and possible solutions | Stratification |
| Social learning | Legitimate voice |

Figure 5.6 illustrates how the stakeholders influenced the dynamics of the Council and thus its ability to be both inclusive and effective. The Winnipeg Housing Coalition still had the most influence on the Council's functioning. In addition, the BIZ and the agency workers had gained some power in influencing the Council. The BIZ was able to influence the organizer in the development of the Safety Plan proposal and its members generally were comfortable and articulate in the meetings. The agency workers, because of their knowledge of social and/or community development and their comfort level at meetings, were also articulate and therefore effective in influencing the discussion and decisions at the meetings. The agency workers were also available during the day for meetings.

The residents, in contrast, were a mixed group of people who were not organized like the business community. Some were effective in influencing the discussions and decisions at the meetings, but many were not. There was also a growing contingent of agency workers and residents that became critical of the direction or lack of direction of the Council. These people I have called the Critics. Their absence, in addition to the absence of other residents and neighbourhood associations, made noticeable the difficulties the

Figure 5.6 The Influence of Stakeholders on the Inclusiveness and Effectiveness of the Council at Stage 2



Council was having in being inclusive. The effectiveness of the internal function of the Council and its ability to be effective in carrying through with strategies and actions had an important impact on who became involved, and who felt comfortable staying involved.

5.5 Stage 3: Re-negotiation of Power toward Resident Control

The West Broadway Neighbourhood Council meeting of August 31, 1995 marked a turning point in the dynamics of the Council members. Many participants were noticing the consequences of the meetings and the structure for the effective and inclusive participation of residents. Some participants argued from the Community Mobilization perspective for a more formalized structure to ensure that residents were leaders in the Council, and had control over any money that came to the Council through the proposals described at the meetings. Participants expressed concern about who represented them, that is, who was the spokesperson.

There was also discussion on the appropriate role of the agency workers in the Council. Some argued from the Community Mobilization perspective that professionals should only be invited to the Council by the residents when they were needed. Others argued from the Balanced perspective that it was valuable to have the agency workers at the meetings to obtain necessary information on how things worked, such as the Residential Tenancies Branch's role in monitoring properties and landlords, and the Winnipeg Police Service role in policing of the neighbourhood. It was felt by some that a formalized structure would have clarified the relationship between those with various roles and stakes in the neighbourhood. However, the meeting did not proceed to determine what those roles would be, and left the issue unresolved.

At the end of January 1996, the Winnipeg Housing Coalition was successful in obtaining funding from Health Canada for the proposed Safety Plan. WHC had joined the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg and two other neighbourhoods, one in Winnipeg and one in a city in northern Manitoba, in proposing the project An Integrated Community

Approach to Health Action (see Appendix G). The purpose of the overall project was "to educate the general public on the issues and impacts of poverty on the 'health' of a community/neighbourhood, and to demonstrate and promote the values of neighbourhood-based empowerment and local solutions to their own issues to create healthy communities" (Social Planning Council, 1995, p.1). The Safety Plan, as a part of the broader concept of the Community-Based Resource Centre, was to be demonstrated in the West Broadway Neighbourhood.

The arrival of the long-awaited funding caused a chain of reactions from both members of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition and the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council. First, at a meeting of the Advisory Committee of the WHC, held on January 29, 1996, a number of decisions were made regarding to the spending of funds. The organizer and another agency worker employed in the neighbourhood were hired to work on the co-ordination and field work components of the project. There was concern among some of the members at the meeting with regard to the small number of members at the meeting (six) and the rushed hiring process.

It was after this meeting that I began taking a more proactive role in the Winnipeg Housing Coalition and the Neighbourhood Council. I felt that the funding received by the WHC needed to be in the control of the neighbourhood, not just the WHC. Other members of the WHC felt that this was less important. These members felt that it was more important to reward the organizer for the amount of volunteer work done so far. However, I and some other members, felt that if the WHC was in fact to stand by the spirit of community empowerment that it promoted in its proposals, then it was necessary for the Council and the residents in particular to be formally recognized in the decision-making process. Figure 5.1 illustrates the chain of decision-making that existed at the time the WHC received funding.

In the time between the August 31, 1995 meeting and January 1996, some participants in the Council decided to develop a residents' board. At the Neighbourhood

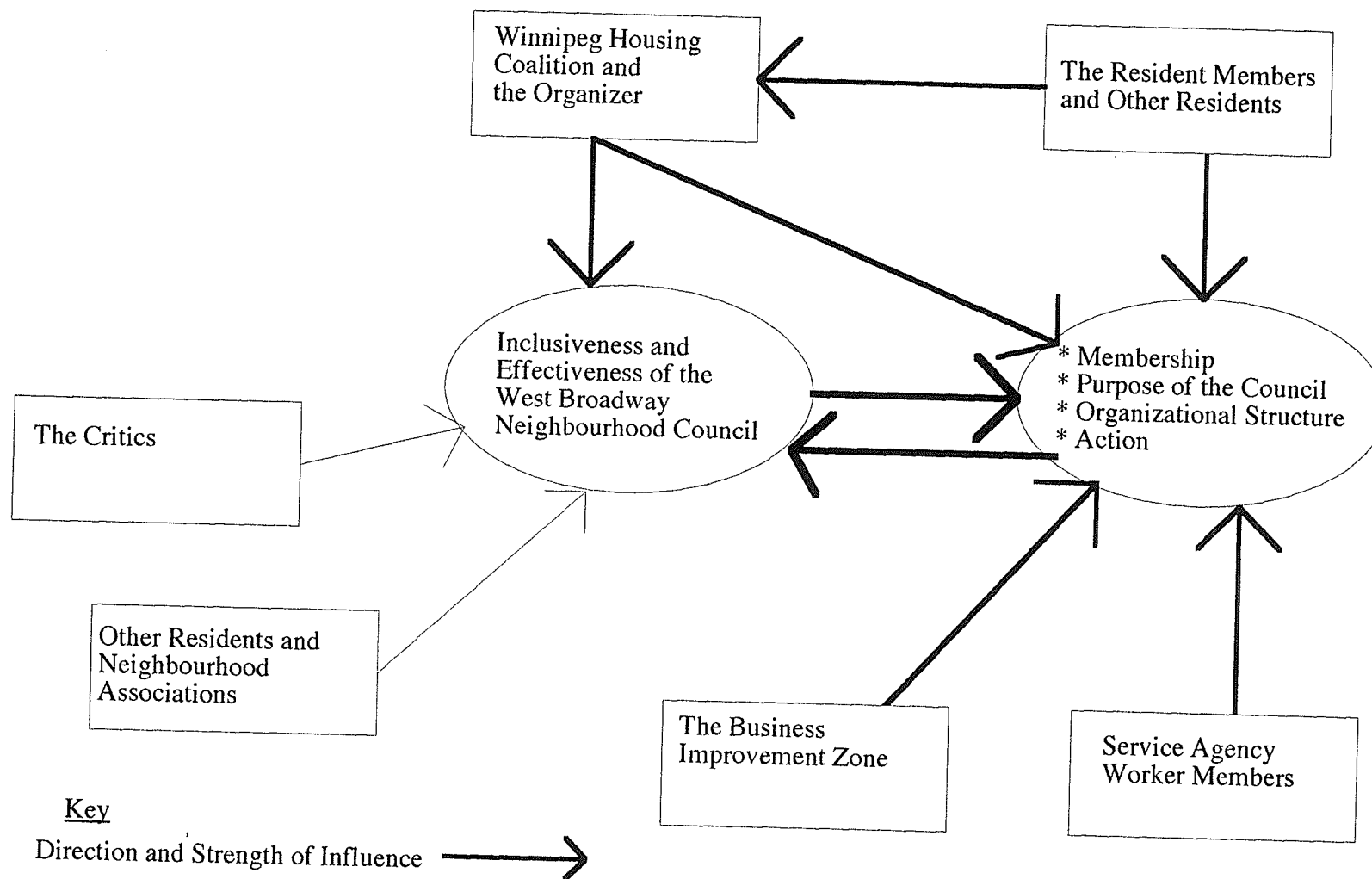
Council meeting on February 7, 1996, they asked for members of the Council who would be interested in serving on the board. A list of names was collected and, at some time in the future, the nominees would have to win an election to represent the residents on the residents' board. At this meeting I described the funding that had been received by the WHC to carry out the safety plan as a part of their Community-Based Housing Resource Centre. I expressed my concern with the lack of resident involvement in the administration of these funds and suggested that some interested residents might want to attend the next advisory meeting. I suggested that it would be possible to formalize resident involvement in the decision-making process that would be used to administer the funds. A number of residents expressed interest and organized themselves to attend the advisory meeting.

After much discussion at the meeting of the WHC's Advisory Committee on February 19, 1996, a new steering committee was proposed to administer the funds received. Specifically, a task committee was formed with the purpose of developing the terms of reference and seeking out members for the steering committee. The steering committee would be composed of five area residents, three agency personnel, and two business owners (Advisory Committee minutes, February 1996). Participants at this meeting argued strongly that residents must be legitimately consulted in the development and implementation of intervention projects. A number of members argued that this steering committee should be accountable to the Neighbourhood Council and that the Council should be led by the new residents' board. However, no formalization of this relationship had been established by the time my field work ended (Field Notes).

Figure 5.7 illustrates the influence of the stakeholders on the Council at the end of Stage 3. The three main stakeholders in the neighbourhood - the residents, the agency workers, and the business organization - now have a more equal influence on the function and organization of the Council, and therefore on its ability to be inclusive and effective. With the creation of the residents' board, members hoped that residents will be able to present a strong voice within the Council, as the BIZ had been able to do. The residents

would also gain greater influence in the WHC through the creation of the Steering Committee to oversee the Health Canada funding. Criticism of the functioning and organization of the Council may then have a better chance of being heard and understood. However, it may take some time before the Council truly manages to balance the power among the stakeholders involved. The members will have to put time and energy into making the new structure work in a truly democratic way. Suggestions for realizing this goal are discussed in section 6.3.

Figure 5.7 The Influence of Stakeholders on the Inclusiveness and Effectiveness of the Council at Stage 3



5.6 Citizen Control in the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council

How does the Council rate at each stage of its development according to Arnstein's Ladder of Public Participation? The ladder demonstrates the degree to which citizens truly share in the decision-making power of a planning process. The scale ranges from manipulation of the citizens to complete citizen power. Figure 5.8 illustrates the rating of each stage.

At Stage 1 of the Neighbourhood Council the level of citizen power-sharing can be described as being "in-between" the levels of placation and partnership. Placation occurs when the body with decision-making power hears the voice of the public presented in their own way but does not necessarily act on it, while partnership is the shared responsibility for planning where citizens have an influence on the outcome of decisions. A partnership relationship was proposed by the Winnipeg Housing Coalition in the role of the Neighbourhood Council in the Resource Centre development. However, as the Resource Centre concept was already established and there was little consideration as to how citizens would influence decisions, the planning process may be rated closer to placation than full partnership.

First, the proposal presupposes, on the basis of the 18 key informant surveys, that it is in fact a funded housing resource centre that the neighbourhood needs and wants. The project did intend, however, to create its programs under the direction of a multi-stakeholder neighbourhood council. There are a number of strengths and weaknesses to this approach. The first weakness is that the "neighbourhood council of residents, landlords, business and agencies working in the area" (Williams and Lugtig, 1993, p. 3) was created with an *a priori* purpose of supporting the Resource Centre concept, and providing it with ideas for needed programming related specifically to housing issues (Williams and Lugtig, 1993, p. 18). Second, there was no articulation of how this Council was to be developed. There was no articulation of how the participation of various stakeholders would ensure representativeness of the stakeholders or how the differences in

background and power would be dealt with in the development of this Council and its internal decision-making process. Concerns about these issues were raised by the participants and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. Third, the proposal did not fully map the existing services in the neighbourhood, their mandates and resources, and possible ways of pulling these together to meet the needs diagnosed by the Winnipeg Housing Coalition with its supporting research. Fourth, despite the proposal's silence on these issues, its major strength was the fact that it did include the various stakeholders in the development of the proposed resource centre project, and later in the decision making process of the resource centre itself.

At the end of the second stage of the Council's development it was functioning between the levels of consultation and placation. Consultation refers to a situation where participants are listened to but not necessarily understood, whereas placation is a situation where participants may be understood but may not impact the decision-making process. At this stage, there were still a number of residents who were not involved or well-informed about the Council and its operations. In addition, there were members who felt silenced in the meetings and uncomfortable criticizing the process. Thus, members were not understood. The residents had less impact than the agency workers on the decision-making process of the Council at this point for a number of reasons. First, they had less access to information on past meetings, as minutes were irregularly kept and distributed. Second, residents also had fewer opportunities to participate in the committee meetings as they were held during the day. Finally, residents were often the least comfortable in the meeting situation in contrast to the business people or the agency workers, and were thus less effective in using the consensus decision-making process to influence decisions.

The creation of the new steering committee, at the end of Stage 3, may be able to ensure the legitimate voice of residents and other stakeholders in the decision-making process of administering the funding received from Health Canada. The rating given to the Neighbourhood Council then lies between partnership and delegated power. A partnership

situation now exists with the creation of the steering committee because the WHC is now sharing responsibility in decision-making with the citizens of the neighbourhood. This organization also has the potential to evolve into a situation of delegated power, if the residents' board of the Neighbourhood Council is given real power over determining the direction of this intervention project and any others that are developed in the future.

Figure 5.8 Degree of Public Participation at all 3 Stages of the Neighbourhood Council:
Based on Arnstein's Ladder

| | | |
|---|-----------------|-----------|
| 8 | Citizen control | |
| 7 | Delegated power | ← Stage 3 |
| 6 | Partnership | ← Stage 1 |
| 5 | Placation | ← Stage 2 |
| 4 | Consultation | |
| 3 | Informing | |
| 2 | Therapy | |
| 1 | Manipulation | |

Source: Adapted from Arnstein, 1969, in Hodge, 1991, p. 364.

5.7 Summary

This chapter began by describing the method and approach to analyzing the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council as a case study in the inclusiveness and effectiveness of a multi-stakeholder public participation process. The initial goals and objectives of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition's Community Based Housing Resource Centre Proposal were then presented. The public participation aspect of the proposal was rated as somewhere between placation and partnership in terms of its potential ability to create legitimate citizen power-sharing. The stakeholders brought into the process in its early stage were then described. The stakeholders included the residents, the business owners, and the agency workers in the neighbourhood. Participation from these groups in the Council was not inclusive due to the limitations of taking a "soft approach" to organizing in this stage of its development.

The factors influencing the dynamics of the Council were discussed. Unintended barriers arising from the multi-stakeholder membership base included intimidation and stratification. Opportunities created by the multi-stakeholder membership base included the potential access to resources and the potential creation of a situation of *power-with* and social learning among the members in terms of personal and professional development. The competing perspectives debating the issues of the Council were the Social Service perspective and the Community Mobilization perspective. The Balanced perspective was also described as a hybrid of the two that emerged as the Council developed.

Stage 2 in the development of the Council was then described. During this stage, negotiation of power occurred among the participants through the debate of a number of issues related to the Council. These issues included: the purpose of the Council; defining the community to be represented and served; defining the issues of importance for that community; developing strategies and acting; and defining the organizational structure. There were a number of difficulties that arose in this stage due to the Council's informal

structure and the continuing influence of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition. Due to these difficulties, the residents had less control over the decision-making process than was intended in the proposal. The Council was rated as between consultation and placation according to Arnstein's Ladder.

Stage 3 of the Council marked a turning point in its development. A residents' board was beginning to be developed as a part of the Council. In addition, a new steering committee was created to administer the funding received by Health Canada to carry out the Safety Plan proposal. This committee was to have 5 residents, 2 business owners, and 3 agency worker. The rating on Arnstein's Ladder thus rose to between partnership and delegated power.

Chapter 6

Implications, Recommendations and Reflections

6.1 Introduction

The issues around power encountered in this case study demonstrate the importance of designing a process and structure for multi-stakeholder participation that results in a situation of *power-with* among the participants. A situation of *power-with* in turn increases the inclusiveness and effectiveness of the participation process. This case study also demonstrates the need for planners and other professionals to re-examine their roles in neighbourhood intervention initiatives. Finally, it demonstrates the need for government and other funding agencies to develop stronger policies that require equitable and accountable processes and structures in proposals for multi-stakeholder participation.

This chapter begins by revisiting the original research questions. It then presents: a summary of the factors influencing the development of an inclusive and effective multi-stakeholder participation process; recommendations for future initiatives of this kind; and specific recommendations for the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council at this point in its development. There is also discussion of the implications of this research for the roles of planners and other professionals in neighbourhood intervention. Finally, there is a consideration of implications for the development of policy for funders of public/private partnerships or third sector initiatives in housing and urban revitalization initiatives.

6.2 Revisiting the Research Questions

The first research questions considered whether or not the members of the Council negotiated among themselves and with other members of the neighbourhood to ensure that the Council was inclusive and therefore representative of the neighbourhood. If the members did, I considered how they accomplished this, who was included, who was not and why. Members of the Council negotiated to ensure its inclusiveness. At least some members, from every stakeholder group, expressed their dissatisfaction and discomfort with the limited number of residents involved. Many noted the lack of involvement of first nations and immigrant groups living in the neighbourhood. A few members expressed these sentiments at the Council meetings. Others felt more comfortable discussing the subject away from the meetings in casual conversations or in the interview. In order to rectify the situation, resident members invited other neighbourhood residents. One member tried to strategically persuade an informally recognized community leader to join, hoping this would encourage others to do the same.

The constituencies represented included the more easily accessible stakeholders, the *transitional* and the *integrated* residents (see Higgitt, 1994), the Business Improvement Zone representatives, and the agency professionals already working in the area. The harder-to-reach residents were not included in the Council; however, there was discussion in Stage 3 about how to encourage their participation. Some residents may nevertheless have chosen not to participate because of their life situation or because they felt it was more important to spend time with other community groups. The members of the former West Broadway Residents' Association did not participate early on because of members' burn out, lack of time, or lack of understanding about the purpose of the Council.

The second research question considered whether the Council members negotiated among themselves and with other stakeholders in the neighbourhood in a way that enabled them to be effective in achieving the Council's goals, and if so, how this was achieved. During the first two stages, the Council was still struggling with defining its purpose,

defining the community it was to serve, determining the priority of issues, developing strategy, and taking action. Despite the Council's struggles, it did accomplish a number of things. It surveyed the neighbourhood for deteriorating houses, passed the information on to the health inspector at the City of Winnipeg, and he in turn investigated the properties. The Council also took action against the conversion of a rooming house to three units. It turned out that the landlord involved was an ally of the Council and was in fact decreasing the number of units in the house. Council members also carried out a safety audit of the neighbourhood. However, the release of these results to the media by the Winnipeg Housing Coalition organizer was quite controversial. Many people were upset with the resulting negative press. Questions and concerns about accountability and representativeness came to the fore as a result of this incident. The movement of the Council members to make the WHC accountable to the neighbourhood began in Stage 3. This movement resulted in the creation of a Residents' Board and the Steering Committee to administer the funds received for programming in West Broadway.

The third research question considered how the organizational structure encouraged or impeded the inclusiveness and effectiveness of the Council

The Council's lack of structure up to Stage 3 seemingly subjected the membership to the *tyranny of structurelessness* (Freeman, 1972). However, the creation of a Residents' Board as part of the Council, and the structure of the Steering Committee to administer the funds received by Health Canada, may lead to greater effectiveness as well as to a more equitable balance of power between the stakeholders.

The factors that seemed to have influenced inclusiveness and effectiveness of the Council include: the initial design of the process, the use and level of communication, the role of the participants, the relationships between the participants, the organizational structure, the decision-making process, and evaluation of the initiative (Table 6.1).

6.3 Factors Influencing the Inclusiveness and Effectiveness of a Multi-stakeholder Participation Process

There is no one particular process or structure that will necessarily lead to an inclusive and effective multi-stakeholder participation process. However, there are a number of factors to be considered. In designing the process, it is important to identify the goals and challenges that may be anticipated. In the case of housing and urban revitalization initiatives, it is imperative to develop a process that encourages the greatest input and control over decision-making by the potential user group (Turner, 1976). This group may include all the various stakeholders in the neighbourhood. As shown in this case study, groups have different stakes in development projects and differing abilities to participate in various forums. In a low-income residential neighbourhood context, it is the residents who have the most at stake in the neighbourhood, followed by those who make their livelihood within the area, and it is the residents that usually have the least amount of resources to enable their effective participation.

In designing the process, time is required to establish an environment of trust within which participants, with different interests and perspectives, will be able to learn from each other (Auvine, Avery, Streibel, & Weiss, 1980, p. 19). Participants can then develop a structure and decision-making process that best fits the characteristics of their particular group. Building a trusting environment enables social learning and encourages the negotiation of power. This leads to situations of *power-with* rather than situations where certain stakeholders have *power-over* other stakeholders involved in the process. The general factors found to have an influence on the inclusiveness and effectiveness of the multi-stakeholder participation process in the case study are outlined in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Factors influencing the inclusiveness and effectiveness of a multi-stakeholder participation process

| Factor | Issues to Consider |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Initial Design of Process | What process to use depends on the goal to be reached. The initial process is crucial in determining who will be involved, how they will be involved, and how decisions will be made initially. It should be open, from the beginning, to allow for the participants' input on the structure and decision-making process to be used. |
| Communication | Effective communication between the organizer and the participants is essential in all stages of the process. The participants in the process must communicate effectively with those they represent and the general public. |
| Role of Participants | The varying degrees of interests of the participants should be investigated, considering what stake they have in the goal of the process and how their stake affects the process. |
| Relationships between Participants | The personal and social relationships participants have with each other, that might influence the social dynamics of the process, should be considered; in particular, differences in power that may exist. |
| Organizational Structure | The structure should reflect the roles and relationships of the participants, the sought goal of the process, and should ensure accountability. |
| Decision-making Process | The decision-making process should reflect the differences in power between the participants, and should ensure accountability for decisions made. |
| Evaluation | Has the process successfully included all the stakeholders that are appropriate for reaching the intended goal? Do the structure and decision-making process reflect the different roles and relationships of the participants, and encourage an equalization of power? Is the process producing effective results toward the intended goal? |

6.4 Recommendations for the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council

The establishment of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council brought together a group of diverse and concerned people involved in the neighbourhood. The Council has provided an opportunity for sharing resources and knowledge, and for personal and professional development. The next step is to overcome the challenges facing the Council at this stage of development. The following are a number of suggestions for dealing with the weaknesses of the Council as identified in this research.

6.4.1 Building Consensus in an Inclusive and Effective Group

The greatest challenge for the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council is building consensus among its diverse members. The key to the effective development of consensus lies in the communication skills of the individual members and the group as a whole. Effective communication skills and strategies will in turn help the group define its purpose and issues, develop strategies, take action, delegate responsibilities and improve accountability.

The Council began to successfully negotiate greater consensus about its purpose in Stage 3. This negotiation must be an ongoing activity for the group to become more inclusive and effective. Other multi-stakeholder groups can learn from the Council's experience by addressing issues of difference early on in their process. Building consensus requires commitment from the members to the following: co-operation, mutual trust, common ownership of ideas, valuing feelings, valuing conflict, valuing the contributions of all members, and making an effort to equalize power (Auvine, Avery, Streibel, & Weiss, pp. 19-21). Acting in this way will also help alleviate many of the other challenges discussed below.

Specifically, members of the Council may want to change the way they planned and conducted meetings. One criticism of the meetings was that they often did not start on time, and at times the discussion became unfocused or off-topic. This may be overcome by

allowing specified time for socializing either before or after discussion of the business of the meeting. Social interaction is an important aspect for creating a cohesive group (Auvine, Avery, Streibel, & Weiss, p. 39). The organization of the social time could be the task of one member.

The agenda for the meeting should be agreed upon and time limits should be determined to ensure that all the necessary items are covered in the time set out for the meeting (Auvine, Avery, Streibel, & Weiss, pp. 40-43). Additionally, the main organizer and the members of the Council should be diligent in ensuring that someone takes the important responsibility of recording the decisions made at meetings and who, if anyone, has said they would take on a task (Auvine, Avery, Streibel, & Weiss, pp. 46-47). This record ensures that all members have access to information regarding the organization, that responsibilities are properly delegated, and that members are accountable.

After clarifying its purpose and issues, the Council may also want to consider Freeman's seven principles for democratic structuring.

1. Delegation of specific authority to specific individuals for specific tasks by democratic procedures,
2. Requiring all those to whom authority has been delegated to be responsible to those who selected them,
3. Distribution of authority among as many people as reasonably possible,
4. Rotation of tasks among individuals,
5. Allocation of tasks according to rational criteria,
6. Diffusion of information to everyone as frequently as possible,
7. Equal access to resources needed by the groups (Freeman, 1972).

These principles, if followed, would increase the inclusiveness and effectiveness of the Council while retaining informal organizational structure.

6.4.2 Intimidation and Stratification

The issue of intimidation arises both from personality and group dynamics. It is crucial that all members adopt attitudes conducive to building consensus. These attitudes will create an environment that will make individuals feel more welcomed, included, and valued. Such an environment will enable members to learn more about others' situations,

values, and interests. In addition, however, it is also the responsibility of the group to encourage these attitudes through well-organized and well-facilitated meetings. The opportunity for socializing would also help break down some of the barriers between members based on their background or their stake in the neighbourhood.

The stratification that arose in the second stage of the development of the Council could be addressed by dealing with the issue of intimidation. Yet there still remains the differences in power among the stakeholders due to differences in their background and their access to knowledge and resources. By building consensus and trust among the members of the group, the situation of *power-over* may evolve into a strong situation of *power-with*. Despite the ideal of members' commitment to values of consensus building, there will be occasions where a member's or stakeholder group's interest takes precedence. In preparation for such an event, it would be advisable to ensure that power between the stakeholders is balanced in the decision-making mechanisms of the Council. In this way, no stakeholder group or individual would be able to over-ride the decision of the Council, which presumably has been made for the betterment of the whole neighbourhood.

In order for the Council to effectively promote the betterment of the neighbourhood, it would need both an organizational structure that equalizes the power between the stakeholders and access to independent resources to be used to implement strategies. Specifically, the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council needs to ensure that residents (who at end of the research period had the least amount of power in the development of the neighbourhood, but had the most at stake), gain a stronger say in decisions that affect the neighbourhood, and especially in those decisions which propose to target the residents themselves. The creation of the Residents' Board in the Council will help build a stronger voice for the residents in the Council.

6.4.3 Legitimate Voice

How much responsibility does an organization, purporting to represent or serve an area, have to make stakeholders aware of its existence and activities? I would argue that a local association has an obligation to make as many people aware of it as possible, especially those who could be impacted by its activities. This obligation is all the stronger if the organization is publicly funded. An organization must then consider whether those that it will affect are within a community of interest, within a community of place, or both.

The West Broadway Neighbourhood Council, purporting to serve the multiple stakeholders groups in the West Broadway area, has the ethical responsibility to reach out to both communities of interest in West Broadway and the community of place defined by the geographical area of the West Broadway neighbourhood. Reaching these communities effectively, in a way that will encourage representative participation, is a daunting challenge.

The Council should begin with a door-to-door campaign to make all residents in the area aware of its existence and activities, and to ask for suggestions. This would be an opportunity for members of the Council to meet more residents, obtain feedback, and evaluate the direction of the Council. Such outreach would be a necessary prerequisite for sustaining the Residents' Board, to ensure that it is both representative and accountable to the residents in the neighbourhood. The Council should then find ways to engage all the stakeholders in activities and discussion that would encourage social learning. These occasions would also provide the opportunity to build consensus on crucial issues that impact the neighbourhood. These might include workshops, social activities, and a phone line that would receive suggestions on current issues and solutions on an ongoing basis.

Consistent and regular lines of communication with other neighbourhood associations and new residents need to be established. This could be accomplished by publishing a quarterly newsletter, perhaps jointly with the BIZ and other interested organizations and associations, to update residents and organizations on the activities and

accomplishments in the neighbourhood. Minutes of Council meetings should be made easily available and they should be sent out to all those who request them. A pamphlet describing the purpose, structure, accomplishments, and current activities of the Council would be extremely helpful for clarifying its purpose and promoting the Council in the neighbourhood. These responsibilities could be organized by a communications task group.

6.4.4 Recommendations for gaining independent power-with

The West Broadway Neighbourhood Council has evolved from being a form of public participation, in the development of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition's Community-Based Housing Resource Centre Proposal, to being an independent organizational means for the West Broadway Neighbourhood to practice multi-stakeholder, participatory democracy. If the Council opts to develop further in this direction, it will need to gain both organizational independence, and independent access to knowledge and resources.

The Council has begun to define its relationship to the Winnipeg Housing Coalition, and the WHC's Community-Based Housing Resource Centre, by creating the Steering Committee. As the Council continues to build consensus as a group and gain a broader base of support from the neighbourhood, it can further distance itself from the guiding role played by the WHC's organizer. The Council has the potential to become a guiding force in the neighbourhood. Ideally, it should be the Council that sets the direction of projects and programs for the neighbourhood. Future development initiatives should evolve out of a strong belief in the capacities of the residents and other stakeholders, and their interests and needs, rather than from an outside organization with a model or concept to demonstrate or test.

The Council would have greater power if it had independent access to financial and knowledge resources. Financial resources would allow the Council to pay for additional knowledge resources, and perhaps its own staff to carry out particular tasks or projects that

Council decides would be of value to the neighbourhood. Access to financial resources would allow the council to implement its own initiatives without external approval, thus giving it true power to plan for the future of the neighbourhood.

One possible way of acquiring predictable and substantial funds would be to create a system similar to that now used by the business community in the form of the Business Improvement Zone. The city could authorize a special neighbourhood improvement zone levy, or re-allocate a portion of property taxes collected from the neighbourhood for the purpose of improving the condition of the residential area, resulting in a Residential or Neighbourhood Improvement Zone. A similar concept is already in effect in some master-planned neighbourhoods in the USA, through Residential Community Associations. These associations are a form of local governance, the primary purpose of which is to provide services and amenities within these neighbourhoods (Grewe, 1993). If the main concerns of the BIZ are neighbourhood safety, security and image, then it only makes sense to improve the whole area on a proactive, long-term basis. Creating a Neighbourhood Improvement Zone could address this wider goal.

6.5 Implications for public/private partnerships in the development of housing and urban revitalization

In the case of private/public partnerships, governments and other funders need to initiate rules by which they can ensure the process is both inclusive and effective. This implies investigating the process of development in terms of the factors listed in Table 6.1. It is up to the various levels of government in their role as a funding or regulatory body to ensure that the end product or program is truly suitable to, and wanted by, the intended user group. Policies could be developed that require reporting from the organizing committee, with respect to plans for the process to be initiated, and evaluation of that process both during and after its completion. The government should also ensure that staff working on the project do not have other allegiances that would conflict with carrying out the process for the betterment of the intended user group.

6.6 The Role of the Professional in Neighbourhood Intervention and Implications for Planning Practice

The literature review explored a number of aspects of the role of planners and professionals in local development. The literature questions whether or not planners should work from within government, what role they should have if they work within government, and what role they should have if they work from outside government. Another question that arose from the case study was the appropriate role of an "outsider" organizer, as opposed to one who lives in the neighbourhood. Whether working from inside government, the private sector, the non-profit sector, or independently, for a particular community, the primary goal in neighbourhood planning must be the goal of encouraging a situation of *power-with* in the relationships between stakeholders. Whether the organizer is from "outside" or "inside" is not as important as the means of organizing, and the legitimacy of the organizational outcome (Cruikshank, 1994).

There were indications of the agency workers' alliances to their employer and the constraining mandate of their employment. One question to explore further would be what different impacts might result if the Council had had an independently hired worker as opposed to one working for the WHC and relying the combined efforts of agency workers restricted in terms of employment⁹. An independent worker, or a radical planner in Friedmann's terms, hired by the Council as a whole, would increase the ability of the Council to be effective in implementing its decisions, as was the case in the Boyle/McCauley neighbourhood in Edmonton (Bubel, 1993). Radical planning practice as described by Friedmann (1987) must therefore be considered, along with the ability of the community group to compensate the radical planner. The WHC's organizer was not at liberty to work directly for the community, as the position was tied to the creation of the Community-Based Housing Resource Centre. It is questionable whether the WBNC

⁹An example of an independent advocacy planner is described in Chapter 2 (Bubel, 1993).

would have pursued housing as a first priority, and safety as a second priority, if they had not been set by the WHC.

There would be a number of benefits if neighbourhood organizations were consistently given the opportunity to legitimately voice their opinions in the urban planning process. First, a consistent dialogue with the broader interests of the City or region, assuming all are given ample time to voice their own interests and concerns, could result in the negotiation of a mutually agreeable solution to development problems, ensuring a balance between these constituencies' needs and interests. The success of such a proactive approach was demonstrated in the research of Berry, Portney, and Thomson (1993). Second, with a growing number of housing and urban revitalization initiatives being carried out through partnerships between government and non-profit, non-government organizations, there is a legitimate forum within which such programs would be accountable. Such initiatives have enormous potential for creating innovative and effective solutions to local problems, but only when all the stakeholders are adequately represented in the process. Local political communities of the kind envisioned by Friedmann (1987), would enable neighbourhood residents to have continuous input into their own development and prepare them to develop and implement solutions to local challenges as they arise.

Without such continuity of local political communities, such as the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council, initiatives may be reactive rather than proactive, and the participants may not be aware of the history and context of initiatives. Having an ongoing organization also creates the opportunity for social learning between the stakeholders that make up a neighbourhood. This continuous social learning creates the foundation for building consensus for future initiatives.

6.7 Reflections

My own experience with the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council has increased my conviction that such organizations need to create a structure that challenges the imbalances of power between the stakeholders and ensures accountability to the neighbourhood. They also need independent resources and the political support to (a) hire professional planners and other consultants; (b) have funds to implement projects and programs that meet their specific needs, and (c) be able to sustain their existence in the long term.

The dilemma I experienced in January 1996 illustrates the dangers of having predetermined solutions for an *a priori* defined problem, and the important responsibility of the planning professional to monitor the legitimacy of public participation. The WHC was willing to overlook resident participation in the administration of funds and the selection of staff because of time constraints on the grant expenditure, despite their statements of support for resident control in decision-making in the Council and the neighbourhood. This contradiction between their rhetoric and action needed to be challenged. Arnstein's Ladder was a good tool to measure the legitimacy of the participation process, and to identify when external intervention was needed to ensure citizen control rather than a professional's control. I could no longer stay distant from the process which was unfolding because I had come to experience the value of a legitimate process over a predetermined solution (such as the implementation of the Community-Based Housing Resource Centre).

The concept of the *Tyranny of Structurelessness* also helped me to both name and explain the way in which the Council was manipulated to serve the purpose of the WHC rather than being empowered to evolve into its own entity. This lack of structure during most of Stage 2 demonstrated the need for the group to develop its organizational structure and use enforceable principles of organization, rather than relying on the good will of the members. Partly because of the power of social learning, and partly because of the

members, the Council was able to evolve into its own creation despite earlier manipulation. My switch from a participant observer to an action researcher was inspired by this movement in the group in the latter part of Stage 2. It is critical for a planner to gain some experience of these issues in community development first hand, in order to appreciate the importance of social learning and the value of educating others in how to better participate in the process.

My experience in the West Broadway neighbourhood was an opportunity for personal growth, in addition to professional growth. Through observing and conversing with the people involved in the WBNC and the West Broadway Neighbourhood, I learned much about the problems resulting from poverty. Additionally, I learned of the inevitable personal nature of relationships that grow out of professional interaction, the challenges of working as a professional in the inner-city, the process of developing a community, and the challenges of empowering a community. I witnessed the personal struggles between participants and the tensions underlying much of the interaction described in the analysis. In writing the analysis for this case study, however, I found it difficult to elaborate on these subjects because it would have meant risking identifying individuals to whom I had promised anonymity.

The uncertainty of an unscientific approach is, as Bubel writes, "a threatening and humbling experience" (1993, p. 23). It means planners are left with a box of tools that holds their interpersonal and communication skills, participation options, ideas and knowledge from past cases, knowledge of the systems of development, and their own initiative and imagination. It takes much faith to leave the fate of the "product" in the hands of the process, but it is only through the process that planning can truly reach its potential for improving the quality of life in society.

6.8 Summary

This final chapter has discussed the recommendations and implications of this case study. The factors influencing inclusiveness and effectiveness of a multi-stakeholder participation process were discussed, including: the initial design of the process; communication; the role of the participants; the relationship between the participants; the organizational structure developed; the decision-making process developed; and the evaluation of the process. Specific implications and recommendations for the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council were presented. The main challenges to be addressed by the Council at present include: building consensus in the group in an inclusive and effective way; dissolving the issues of intimidation and stratification in the multi-stakeholder membership; and creation of a legitimate voice for the neighbourhood. The chapter then discussed the implications of this research for the role of planners in neighbourhood intervention. Planners are responsible for ensuring the legitimacy of the process, facilitating the creation of equitable organizational structures, and encouraging an environment in which social learning can occur and situations of *power-over* can be transformed into situations of *power-with*. Recommendations for developing an independent organization based on *power-with* were given.

Implications of this research for future public/private or third sector initiatives in the development of housing and urban revitalization included the regulatory role of public funders in checking the legitimacy of the planning process and the representativeness and accountability of the organizations involved. Finally, I discussed some personal reflections on my experience of conducting this research, and the lessons I learned as a trainee city planner. I concluded that neighbourhood organizations need independent resources, and the political support, to (a) hire professional planners and other consultants; (b) have funds to implement projects and programs that meet their specific needs, and (c) be able to sustain their existence in the long term.

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Appendix A West Broadway Characteristics

West Broadway Characteristics

Table 1: Household Type

| Household Type | Percentage of Household Type in West Broadway | Percentage of Household Type in City Wide |
|----------------|---|---|
| One-Family | 29.0 | 67.3 |
| Multi-Family | 0.4 | 0.8 |
| Non-Family | 70.7 | 31.9 |

Statistics Canada, 1991

Table 2: Household Size

| Number of People in Household | Percentage of total Households in West Broadway | Percentage of total Households City Wide |
|-------------------------------|---|--|
| 1 person | 61.1 | 27.1 |
| 2 persons | 24.2 | 31.3 |
| 3 or more persons | 14.8 | 41.5 |

Statistics Canada, 1991

Table 3: Tenure

| Tenure Type | West Broadway | City Wide |
|-------------|---------------|-----------|
| Rental | 94.0% | 39.4% |
| Ownership | 5.9% | 60.6% |

Statistics Canada, 1991

Table 4: Education

| Level of Education | Percentage of people in West Broadway | Percentage of people City Wide |
|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Less than grade 9 | 19.6% | 10.8% |
| Grade 9 to High School Diploma | 17.0% | 40.1% |
| Some University to University Degree | 37.7% | 25.7% |
| Trade Certificate or Other Non-University education | 2.2% | 23.3% |

Statistics Canada, 1991

Table 5: Employment

The residents of West Broadway had a higher unemployment rate and a lower participation rate for both sexes compared to the rates for the entire city.

| | Total for 15 years of age & up | | Males | | Females | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|---------|-------|
| | W.B. | City | W.B. | City | W.B. | City |
| Unemployment Rate | 22.0% | 8.8% | 25.8% | 9.4% | 16.0% | 8.2% |
| Participation Rate | 56.5% | 68.1% | 68.6% | 75.6% | 44.2% | 61.1% |

Statistics Canada, 1991

Table 6: Income Status

In 1991, 55.9% of all West Broadway households were at or below the low income cut-offs*, compared to 23.9% of households city wide. Incidence of Low Income in West Broadway compared to City Wide figures by household type.

| | West Broadway | City Wide |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------|
| All economic families** | 59.9% | 17.4% |
| Unattached individuals | 64.5% | 43.3% |
| Households | 63.2% | 21.2% |

Statistics Canada, 1991

*Statistics Canada's low income cut-offs designated each year.

**Economic Family refers to a group of two or more persons who live in the same dwelling and are related by blood, marriage or adoption (Statistics Canada, 1991).

Appendix B Newspaper Clippings

Winnipeg Free Press, April 10, 1995, A1

Fear lives on street at sunset

West Broadway residents afraid to step out at night, survey shows

By Nick Martin
City Hall Reporter

WEST BROADWAY residents are afraid to step out at night and many remain wary even behind their own locked doors, a neighborhood survey suggests.

Respondents cited 147 rapes in the neighborhood last year, as well as 376 assaults, 86 gay bashings and 123 sexual assaults other than rape.

In fact, more than 80 per cent of the 1,473 respondents to the community safety audit said they felt unsafe in their neighborhood at night. Twenty-five per cent indicated they didn't feel safe in their own homes.

But residents are fighting back, according to the co-ordinator of the West Broadway Housing Resource Centre, which sponsored the survey.

There's now talk of neighborhood safety patrols at night and demands that community-based police start working overnight shifts, said co-ordinator Linda Williams.

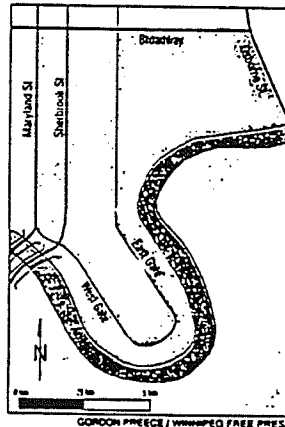
Even the survey itself, conducted by young offenders sentenced to perform community service, has sparked enthusiasm. Williams said the kids stayed on after they'd done their time, eager to be active and part of something meaningful.

"Giving employment, giving something to do of any kind, seems the logical way to go," she said.

There's more evidence that the entire community is eager to become involved.

For example, gardens developed on vacant lots on Sherbrook and Maryland streets last summer generated enormous community participation, she said.

The extensive safety audit of the community was completed by 42 per cent of the 3,500 homes contacted,



■ Hotel gets dumped on / B2

which organizers consider an extremely high response.

And most respondents said they're comfortable during the day, with 79 per cent feeling safe outside before the sun sets.

"It's just amazing," said area city councillor Glen Murray (Fort Rouge). "At the loss of sunlight, it switches."

Murray said there are many ways to improve the neighborhood, including decentralizing the Broadway welfare office and introducing more community resource centres. He also thinks cracking down on sium landlords and booze cans would help.

The results of the safety audit will be officially released on Wednesday at Crossways in Common, beside Young United Church at Broadway and Furby Street at 7 p.m.

Watering hole dumped on

Sherbrook Inn gets low marks in survey

By Nick Martin
City Hall Reporter

MANY BELIEVE it's the bogeyman of West Broadway.

But police say they have no major concerns and business neighbors think the owner is working hard to keep the place clean.

Whatever the case, the Sherbrook Inn has become a focus of neighborhood controversy.

More than half the respondents (52 per cent) to a West Broadway neighborhood survey cited the hotel at Sherbrook Street and Westminster Avenue as one of the area's most unsafe places.

And the hotel, with its licensed beverage room, was singled out for additional written concerns by 39 per cent of the 1,473 respondents.

"We're pulling together the health and liquor inspectors and watching them like a hawk," said Coun. Glen Murray (Fort Rouge).

He pointed to a special problem with the attached pawn shop, which he said allows people to liquidate their assets, buy a beer and pump money into video lottery machines all in one stop.

"What a stupid combination if you're trying to develop a community," he said.

Michelle Forrest, organizer of the Wolseley-West Broadway Take Back the Night march, agreed the hotel creates insecurity.

"Women are afraid to walk by the Sherbrook Inn," she said.

But community-based police Sgt. Paul Ingram said neighborhood fears of danger at the Sherbrook are more perception than reality.

"(The owner) has gone to great lengths to work with us," he said. "We don't have any major concerns. I don't think there's any reason in the world to single it out."

Liquor inspector John Derek said the hotel has had no violations in the last 15 months that he's handled the district. Despite late-night stakeouts,



Elsie Priemski, Madden, Hoekstra, Colin Muir and Carr (clockwise) at centre.

■ Nightmares on Broadway / A1

Derek said he has seen no sales to intoxicated persons or to minors.

Sherbrook Inn owner Terry Bailey said Murray is off base.

"Glen Murray hates me," he said. "It's a fact of life. I'm not losing any sleep over it."

"When the neighborhood improves, my clientele will improve. I'm dealing with the same people the residents are dealing with."

Bailey said there's a booze can on Sherbrook Street that causes far greater problems than his customers. The survey of residents backs that up. Some 53 per cent were concerned about after-hours liquor dens.

Inner-city centre links community

By Nick Martin
City Hall Reporter

THE BROADWAY Community Centre isn't your typical bingo-and-basketball hangout.

It's become the focal point for the inner-city community, a place where seniors, single mothers, aboriginal families and new Canadians congregate.

"It used to be a place where they played bingo. We tried to open it up to the community," explained Fokke Hoekstra, president of the Broadway Community Centre board.

Powwows each Tuesday and Thursday evening now draw more than 100 people, director Terry Madden pointed out.

"It's a very spiritual setting," said Cheryl-Anne Carr, a director and community worker with Child and Family Services. "They offer sweet-grass and say prayers when they begin."

Carr said programming emphasizes family stabilization, linking seniors with young single mothers, and examining kids' behavior patterns.

BCC would like to tap into Mayor Susan Thompson's CentrePlan for money to operate 24 hours a day. "We could use decent respite care" to give parents a break, Carr said.

She suggested government funding is needed for trained caregivers to give parents a break.

"They can't continually take from their food money to pay a babysitter. We'd like to see a decent day care. People shouldn't have to be chained to their house for 24 hours."

Appendix C Letter to Interview Participants and Consent Form

Department of City Planning
Faculty of Architecture
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3T 2N2

August, 1995

Dear Participant,

The purpose of interviewing yourself and others involved in the West Broadway neighbourhood is to gain a better understanding of inclusiveness and effectiveness with respect to the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council. Is everyone that has a stake in the neighbourhood involved? Is the council meeting its goals? The research will result in helpful information on the workings of the Council, on successful accomplishments, and on how the Council can improve the various aspects of the organization, i.e. structural organization, strategies, communications, relations with outside individuals and organizations.

The research will also result in my thesis which is a requirement for completing my Masters in City Planning degree at the University of Manitoba. The research builds on earlier studies done recently in the neighbourhood. One considered the reasons for high levels of mobility in the area, the other looked at the housing needs of single mothers. This research on the Neighbourhood Council will help the residents and those working in the neighbourhood better determine if the Council is an appropriate, inclusive, and effective way of dealing with the issues raised in these earlier studies

With your permission, the interview will be audiotaped so I can later make more detailed notes. All information gathered in the course of the interview will be kept completely confidential. None of the specific information you disclose to me will be communicated to anyone, except in an analytical form consistent with standards for academic research and with due regard for your anonymity wishes. If you wish to remain anonymous, your identity will not be revealed in my thesis or any other reports based on my work. Thank you for your time and co-operation.

Adrienne Lynn Whiteley

Department of City Planning
 Faculty of Architecture
 University of Manitoba
 Winnipeg, Manitoba
 R3T 2N2

The Negotiation of Power in Community Development: A Case Study of the Inclusiveness
 and Effectiveness of the Workings of an Inner City Neighbourhood Council.

Consent Form

I, _____ agree to participate in the present study of the West
 Broadway Neighbourhood Council, by granting this interview.

I have read the attached cover letter on this study. I understand that if I agree to
 participate in the study, any information provided by me in the interview will be kept
 completely confidential. I understand that the information gathered in the course of this
 research will be used for the purpose of a Master's Thesis and for the general information
 of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council without identifying me personally if I so
 request.

I am free to refuse to answer any questions I consider too personal or objectionable.
 I understand that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary. I also understand that
 I may withdraw my participation at any time during the interview.

a) Do you agree to have the interview audio taped?

☐ yes. ☐ no.

a) Do you wish to receive a copy of the summary of findings of this study?

☐ yes. ☐ no.

b) Do you request complete anonymity?

☐ yes. ☐ no.

 Date

 Signature in ink

 Date

 Witness

Appendix D Interview Questions

Interview Questions

I. Perceptions of the neighbourhood

1. What are your perceptions of the West Broadway neighbourhood?
 - a) people
 - b) landmarks
 - c) boundaries
2. What is your role in/relationship to the neighbourhood?
 - a) how long?
 - b) are you involved in any other organizations in the neighbourhood?
3. What do you see in the future for the neighbourhood?

II. Perceptions of the Council

4. How did you first hear about the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council?
5. When did you first become involved in the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council?

III. Effectiveness

6. What do you think the purpose of the Council is?
7. a) Do you see any differences between this Council and the former West Broadway Residents' Association, or any other Residents' Association?
 b) Do you think the name is appropriate?
8. What do you think of the structural organization of the Council?
 - how should it be changed?
9. What do you think the Council does well/ effectively?
 - strategies
 - communication
10. What do you think the Council doesn't do well but could improve on?
11. a) What do you think of a Neighbourhood Plan for the area?
 b) Do you think the Council is the right organization to carry it out?
12. Have the activities of the Council made any difference in the physical quality of or general livability of the neighbourhood?
13. Has your participation in the Council changed your perception of the neighbourhood?

IV. Inclusiveness

14. How would you describe the people involved in the Council?
15. a) Do you feel comfortable participating/speaking up at
 - i) the Council meetings
 - ii) the task group meetings? Why, or Why not?
- b) Do you think other people do?
16. a) Do you think the Council represents the people in the neighbourhood?
 - b) If not, how can the Council encourage broader involvement?
 - c) Do you think everyone knows about it?
17. How well do you think the Council works with/relates to other groups in the neighbourhood?

V. Supplementary question for stakeholders

18. Has your own or your organization's role in/relationship to the neighbourhood changed as a consequence of the activities of the Neighbourhood Council? If so, in what ways?

Appendix E Template of Conceptual Categories

Template¹⁰

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| action | - a suggestion of a participant for a specific action |
| analysis | - an individual's analysis of the fundamental issues beginning in the individual, individual motivation, or the system |
| communication | - between the stakeholders or within a stakeholder category, comments on adequacy or accuracy, may relate to social learning. |
| community of interests | - membership by common interest, such as a group of professionals, businesses, ethnic group, or religious group |
| community of place | - membership by relation to a place, such as the neighbourhood of West Broadway |
| divisions | - conflicts between individuals or organizations, some may be festering and could later cause conflict - based on personalities, philosophies, competing alliances and mandates |
| effectiveness | - of inner workings of the Neighbourhood Council (NC) - of accomplishing goals |
| empowerment | - to give official or legal power or authority to, - to endow with an ability, - encouragement of either power-from-within or power-with |
| inclusiveness | - of people in the NC, representativeness of the neighbourhood stakeholders - personal motivation, feeling of ownership of NC - outreach efforts of NC and its organizers. |
| neighbourhood issues | - suggested by the participants a) safety b) housing c) lighting etc. |
| organizational structure | - comments on the organizational structure |
| ownership | - of idea, process, philosophy etc. - residents' feelings of ownership of the neighbourhood or the NC. |

¹⁰This template is a collection of terms or categories each describing a concept in the data being analyzed. These terms were then used as a map to further investigate the data. As analysis progressed, terms may be added with the need to describe another phenomena, or terms may be divided or eliminated from the template. See section 4.4 for a more detailed description of the use of the template in analysis.

- partnership** - planned, in process, or action carried out by different stakeholder groups pursuing a common goal.
- powerlessness** - lack of individual or group power
- power-over** - situations of or actions expressing the power of one person or group over another.
- power-with** - the philosophy or action of shared power in community context, even for a limited period of time. The act or philosophy may or may not result in effective change.
- power-from-within** - the expression of an individual exercising their personal power not to co-operate with the forces of power-over, taking control over their situation despite the existence of forces of power-over their life, in some or many respects.

process and perceptions of the Neighbourhood Council

Comments on the process of developing the Neighbourhood Council

- a) original plan and intent (motive?)
- b) finding the people (inclusiveness)
- c) defining the issues (democratic decision-making)
- d) defining the area (geographical boundary vs. social issue/need)
- e) defining the structure of the organization (decision-making process)
- f) developing strategy and acting

- perceptions of the neighbourhood** - ideas or characteristics attributed to the people or places in the neighbourhood as interpreted by an individual.
- internal vs. external perceptions
- public participation** - existing or proposed ideas for public participation in the agencies, e.g. resident patrol
- social learning** - increased consciousness, awareness of issues and concerns
- includes the development of power-from-within, power-with, empowerment (professionals and business passing on power)
- types of involvement** - in neighbourhood related organizations or groups,
- areas of awareness

- types of residents**
 - a) granola gang
 - b) transplants
 - c) stepping stones
 - d) transitional
 - e) integrated
 - f) suspended

vision - visions of the future of the neighbourhood, and the Council

voice - issues of legitimate voice of the stakeholders

Appendix F Presentation to WBNC August 1995

**Presentation of Thesis-in-Progress on the West Broadway
Neighbourhood Council.**

By Adrienne Whiteley
Student of City Planning at the University of Manitoba
August 31, 1995
Broadway Community Centre

Presentation of Thesis in progress.

1. Introduction

2. The Purpose of a thesis is to explore in more detail some aspect of planning. I am interested in the future role or purpose of planners working in communities and the community's role in decision making about their neighbourhood. So I have come to West Broadway to learn from the community and your efforts to try and make this a good neighbourhood.

First I will talk about what planning is and how it is changing. Then I will talk about how the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council fits into the picture. I have been attending these Council meetings as well as the smaller committee meetings, and talking to as many people involved in the Council as I can. So this is a work in progress. I do not have any of the answers and can not give you my conclusions until I have a chance to read over all of the information I have collected.

The issue I am interested in is like a poem my Prof. read to me the other day, by William Blake:

"Does the eagle know what is in the pit
or wilt thou go ask the mole?
can wisdom be put in a silver rod,
or love in a golden bowl?"
(from Thel's motto, in the book of Thel).

City Planning began in Canada, about 100 years ago, as an effort to find the right scientific answers to problems in growing cities. People were worried about the amount of disease, noise, and other unpleasantnesses that were caused by crowding in the inner city and the pollution from the industry. They believed that if they did the right studies they could find the truth and solve the problem.

These are what we now call "Top Down" planners. They thought of themselves as the eagle who could see all that was going on and therefore felt that he could find the answer. They surveyed the buildings, the environment, and the people, went back to their offices and came up with a plan. These planners were planning *for* the city. For example, one solution was to build the suburbs around the outside of the city so that those who could afford to would be able to leave the problems behind and find comfort and security there.

There were many, however, that could not afford to leave. So the planners still had a problem. They came up with the idea that if they could rebuild the inner city areas, people would have more and better places to live. So in the 50's and 60's, the planners wanted to tear down the buildings and houses and build big new ones. When they did this, many neighbourhoods were destroyed. Even though some of the planners wanted there to be affordable places to live, many developers wanted to make money. So the compromise was that only a few affordable places replaced the many that had been there before, and lots of people had to move far away from their neighbourhood to find a place to live.

Some developments in Winnipeg, such as Lord Selkirk Park are a result of this kind of thinking.

In many Canadian cities, residents began to get fight against these projects. In Montreal, for example, a developer wanted to bulldoze an entire neighbourhood, similar to this one,

but the residents organized and managed to stop the development. As a result, the neighbourhood was saved and many of the houses became co-operatives to ensure that no speculator could buy up the property and threaten the area again. There are many stories such as this one from Canada and the US. The communities gained control because they organized against a threat to the neighbourhood.

So planners started to wonder whether they really knew as much as they thought. Maybe the Eagle didn't know best, even though it could see the most. It was time for the eagle to find out from the mole, (that being ordinary people like you and me), what was really going on.

So the process of planning began to include citizen participation. This was supposed to be a way of planning *with* the citizens of the city. There is however a lot of criticism of these consultations. In Winnipeg, we have had Resident Advisory Groups.

If someone, like McDonald's down on Portage, wants to take down a house to build a bigger parking lot, they have to get permission from the city of Winnipeg. The way the city decides is through a hearing of the Community committee. The Resident Advisory Group is supposed to know how this would effect the people in that neighbourhood and make recommendations to the Community Committee. But there is only one group for a very large section of the city centre of Winnipeg. The other problem with this is that the groups can only react; they can't plan.

So for my thesis, I wanted to look at some alternative ways that neighbourhoods could work to revitalize their areas and what would be the role of planner, which is what I am training to be, would be then.

So some of the questions that have come up are

If the community is going to take responsibility for the upkeep and development of the neighbourhood, who is a part of that community?

In my reading, I have come across two kinds of communities, one is a community based on similar interests, and the other is based on a geographical place, such as the West Broadway Neighbourhood.

1) So there are the people that live in the area, some are very committed to the neighbourhood and have friends and relatives here, and others have ties to people outside the area. Living in a big city, in this day and age, means that most people will have friends or other connections outside their immediate area.

2) Then there are those who work in the area, like some of the people at the schools or the Community Club, and the people who own businesses, but who leave at the end of the day for their home somewhere else in the city.

So who of all these people should be involved? How should they all be involved?

In many neighbourhoods there is Residents' Association, such as in Wolseley or Armstrong's Point. There has been one in West Broadway for about 10 years, until recently. These are groups of residents that come together to solve the problems of the area. They are usually all volunteers. Other people are allowed to come to the meetings, but don't have a vote. The organizations usually have a President, Vice-president, and secretary treasure.

Here in West Broadway there have been two government programs recently that helped renovate some of the buildings. The community revitalization program had a very active group of residents involved. There was also the West Broadway Residents Association that helped change the zoning of the area to R2T. R2T means that if someone in the neighbourhood buys a rooming house with 6 rooms in it, they would have to convert it to two apartments, maybe three.

Over the past year the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council has formed. The Council was created by the Winnipeg Housing Coalition for the purpose of getting involvement of residents in the neighbourhood and input for a Community-Based Housing Resource Centre.

This organization is different from a residents' Association because it actively promotes the involvement of the other interests in the community; the BIZ, the agency workers, the Schools, and other organizations that are here. It is an umbrella group that brings people together to come up with ideas and actions to improve the neighbourhood.

So this Council includes both the community that lives here and the community that has an interest in the neighbourhood. So my next question is how is this working out? I don't have an answer for you because, as I said, it is a work in progress, but I wanted to share some of the insights I have had so far, and some of the questions I am still working on.

Major themes:

1. Communication and participation

- it has gotten people talking about these issues.
- want more communication, to get more participation, to have more communication
- relationship to other organizations is ambiguous
- * talk to your neighbour campaign
- * Table at Free Fall Festival.
- * Neighbourhood Newsletter (simple)
- * minutes of meetings sent to other organizations

2. Organization and Decision Making

- describe present organization (Council, Planning committee, other committees.
- consensus decision making
- follow up
- * some people are uncomfortable and don't understand the process, expect the hierarchy, it might be good to alert people to the process at the beginning of every meeting (as there are always new people)
- * some people are "meeting people", others at the meeting may have a hard time breaking in. Having a time to break into small groups at some point in the discussion may help.
- * minutes, general organization stuff - either volunteer time, staff person, or time out of the existing workers in the neighbourhood.

3. Action vs planning

- the division between committee and action/tasks groups is good.
This seems to be developing.
- always have action groups being created so there is always something for people to do.
- doing any long range planning may be a ways away (Neighbourhood Management Plan/Strategy)

* In order to do long range planning, I think the Council will have to better establish it's relationship to other organizations in the Neighbourhood. If the Resource Centre is eventually funded for specific projects, it should work closely the Community Centre, the school , etc.

What is the appropriate role of the planner?

So the last issue that I am thinking about is, what is the role of the planner? What can we do to help communities plan for their neighbourhood?

I think that it is important not only to plan with a community but to work for it. We are the resource, the reference, like a dictionary. We can also possibly, help to bring people together, and help them work together, just like this Council here. But we no longer are the eagle coming up with the answers based on our view from above. We are I picture planers at the moment as eagles trying to walk around on the ground with the moles as their guide. Planners are still looking at how they will be in the future. Being here and learning from your neighbourhood has given me an opportunity to think about the future of the profession.

I want to end by thanking all of you for letting me be a part of this process and for sharing your time and thought with me.

Questions and Discussion

Appendix G **An Integrated Community Approach for**
Health Action

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An Integrated Community Approach to Health Action

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**AN INTEGRATED COMMUNITY APPROACH
TO
*HEALTH ACTION***

**A Proposal to Health Canada
The Health Promotion Contribution Program**

**Submitted by: The Winnipeg Housing Coalition
West Broadway Neighbourhood
Housing Resource Centre**

September, 1995

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Winnipeg Housing Coalition which is a circle/branch of the inner city's Inter Agency Group of approximately 300 social service agencies, community groups and individuals, is composed of representatives of the non-profit, public and private sectors working in housing. The coalition's mandate is to promote and assist communities to provide decent affordable housing in Winnipeg; to keep housing an issues; and to monitor existing housing legislation to ensure we have affordable, safe and stable neighbourhoods in Winnipeg. The Housing Coalition formed in 1990. Prior to this it was the Winnipeg Housing Concerns Group, Inc. which incorporated in 1982. We have maintained this incorporation status.

In 1991, the Winnipeg Housing Coalition joined with the Neighbourhood Parenting Support project, which was a federally funded demonstration project sponsored by Child and Family Services of Central Winnipeg and the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Manitoba. The Neighbourhood Parenting Support Project had been operating in the West Broadway area for four years in which time they acquired extensive knowledge and research of the area and its residents.

Together, members of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition and the Neighbourhood Parenting Support project developed a Community-Based Housing Resource Project proposal to establish a community-based housing resource centre in the West Broadway Neighbourhood. The goal of the project is to develop a stabilization model for use in highly transient inner city neighbourhoods. The stabilization model promotes community involvement of tenants, landlords, neighbourhood businesses, and agencies working together to address improving the care and management of neighbourhood housing stock; strengthening personal and property safety; and, integration of both tenants and landlords in the community life of the neighbourhood. Building a solid community base would also lead to the establishment of a neighbourhood council, which could begin to pursue community economic development projects at the neighbourhood level. Recent Canadian research (Lewis & Perry, 1993), suggests that bringing all the players together is an important first step toward building stronger neighbourhoods.

In 1991-1992, after meeting with inner city residents, and reviewing relevant research, we learned that residents in low-income neighbourhoods were concerned about violence and the high crime rate, alcohol and substance abuse, neglected children, and the poor quality of housing. These factors contribute to the frequent mobility of neighbourhood residents of particular concern was the high mobility rate of some of our inner city schools which is as high as 80% in one year. Children are changing schools two, three, or more times during the school year with the result that many become frustrated and discouraged with school. Unstable families and neighbourhoods contribute to inadequate education, making it difficult for these children to become productive members of society.

Increased mobility also extracts a cost from the neighbourhood as a whole. Transience results in residents who are less involved with their neighbourhood and has negative consequences for safety and security. A public perception of a lack of safety in the area makes it less attractive to more stable tenants, and to responsible property owners.

The high crime rate, in particular, is a concern for neighbourhood residents. Rick Winden, a sociology professor at the University of Manitoba, has demonstrated that social factors like poverty, unemployment, poor child rearing and supervision, low family income, school failure, and isolation are all associated with the high crime rate. Linden noted that community involvement is crucial to preventing crime.

In 1993, the Community-Based Housing Resource Centre project took the form of a Neighbourhood Housing Resource Centre at 661 Sara Avenue in West Broadway. An Advisory Committee of urban and social housing specialists was established for the Resource Centre by the Chair of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition. In addition, a Neighbourhood Council of West Broadway residents, businesses, agencies and landlords has been formed by the coordinator and volunteer residents of West Broadway. The Neighbourhood Council now meets regularly around issues concerning residents in the West Broadway area, such as the high mobility rate of area residents, housing conditions, safety, and alcohol and substance abuse.

The West Broadway area was chosen to develop the neighbourhood stabilization model because of the extensive research of the Neighbourhood Parenting Support project in the area. Specifically, their research revealed a high mobility rate of approximately 80% in the area schools in one year; a 94% rental rate and high transience rate in the area which undoubtedly contributes to the lack of cohesion and neighbourhood spirit in the area.

As an adjunct to the Community-Based Housing Resource Centre Project, and the request of Saul Shubert, the former Deputy Minister of Housing and Roy Nichol, Regional Director of CMHC, the Winnipeg Housing Coalition's chairperson undertook a survey of key informants in the West Broadway neighbourhood. The purpose of the survey was to ascertain the perceived level of need for a community housing resource centre in the neighbourhood, to raise awareness of the Coalitions' Community-Based Housing Resource Project and to determine the level of support for the project. This report took the form of an appendix to our proposal and indicates a high level of support for the project within the community.

Over a period of six months, in 1993, 18 people were personally interviewed by members of the coalition. Seven informants lived in the neighbourhood for periods of time ranging from less than a year (one individual) to more than five years (four individuals). Fifteen informants worked in the neighbourhood in community organizations, social agencies, housing agencies, public health, or church-based activities. The interviews ranged from one to just over two hours in length and provided an opportunity for informants to identify existing resources in the neighbourhood and detail their perceptions of the social characteristics and housing conditions

of tenants, and the community as a whole. The interview also explored the perceived relationship between landlords and tenants and the problems faced by both tenants and landlords.

Informants were unanimous in their support for the Community-Based Housing Resource Project. They viewed it as a core resource to begin developing neighbourhood pride, interest and involvement. Specifically, they saw it as a vehicle for neighbourhood networking, cooperation, and coordination among area residents, property owners and businesses. In the words of one informant, "you need a community-based office with paid staff who have enough support financial, and a good core of trained volunteers, preferably from the community". Most importantly, informants viewed it as a way to begin to stabilize the community. (Community-based Housing Proposal, 1992).

In the fall of 1994, the Winnipeg Housing Coalition (West Broadway Neighbourhood Housing Resource Centre and Neighbourhood Council) completed a safety audit and housing survey in the area (see attached appendices b,d, & c for details).

To complete this work, operating expenses have been provided by the Inter Agency Group, with a part-time co-ordinator acting as the contact person. The coordinator conducted the Safety Audit and Housing Survey with volunteer residents. The coordinator has also been coordinating and scheduling meetings of the Neighbourhood Council and its committees, and the resulting follow-up work. The Winnipeg Housing Coalition has received minimal funding from the City of Winnipeg, P.L.U.R.A., and Inter Agency to provide honorariums to the coordinator. Currently, the coordinator, advisory and neighbourhood council are all working on a volunteer basis.

As a result of the Safety Audit and Housing Survey, a Housing Committee and Safety Committee have been established to follow-up on the surveys.

The Safety Committee, and the coordinator have developed the Neighbourhood Safety Plan for Crime Prevention outlined in section 3 of this proposal which is our current funding request.

The Neighbourhood Safety Plan for Crime Prevention was developed because our Safety Audit revealed that residents were particularly concerned about theft, car theft and vandalism, and sexual harassment. They also expressed a fear about being in the area after dark and sometimes during the day.

Respondents of the Safety Audit cited 147 rapes in the neighbourhood last year, as well as 376 assaults, 86 gay bashing, and 123 sexual assaults other than rapes. More than 80% of the 1,473 respondents of the Safety Audit said they felt unsafe in their neighbourhood at night. Twenty-five percent said they did not feel safe in their own homes (summary in Winnipeg Free Press, April 10, 1995, page 1).

Therefore, we are now proposing to hire a neighbourhood networker to promote co-operation, non-violence, mediation, and peaceful resolution of conflict throughout the neighbourhood. In addition, a neighbourhood safety network will be established in the area. Conflict resolution assistance and training will be provided to area residents who will be the ongoing members of the safety network (see job descriptions in section 4 for details).

The main goal of the Neighbourhood Safety Plan is to increase community involvement and awareness of residents in the area. This is in conjunction with our overall long-term goal of neighbourhood stabilization, and objectives, set out in our original Community Based Housing proposal (see History section 3).

To summarize, the West Broadway Neighbourhood Housing Resource Centre, Neighbourhood Council and this proposed Neighbourhood Safety Plan grew out of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition's Community-based Housing Resource Centre Proposal to develop a stabilization model for use in highly transient neighbourhoods. In essence, this model takes the form of a Neighbourhood Council and Resource Centre which promotes community involvement of residents, neighbourhood businesses and agencies working together to address such issues as housing and safety, as well as supporting events such as the spring clean-up, community gardens and fall festival. The long term goal of this project is to develop a model for neighbourhood stability by increasing neighbourhood participants and cooperation by promoting pride and interest in the neighbourhood via outreach/community development, education, and mediation/conflict resolution training. WE STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT WITHOUT THIS FIRM FOUNDATION, OUR SAFETY PREVENTION PLAN WILL BE AS SHORT LIVED AS MANY OTHER SAFETY/SECURITY PROGRAMS IN WINNIPEG.

The effect of the high crime rate on urban safety is what our neighbourhood safety plan for crime prevention will address. With the ongoing work of the Neighbourhood Council working toward neighbourhood stability set out in our original Community Based Housing Proposal, we expect to achieve a sustainable Neighbourhood Safety Plan for Crime Prevention! (Winnipeg Weave, Fall/Winter '95 - see appendix e of this proposal).

LITERATURE REVIEW AND RATIONALE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOUSING RESOURCE CENTRE AND NEIGHBOURHOOD COUNCIL

Our work in West Broadway is similar to other projects people have undertaken to save their neighbourhoods. Examples include the Cedar Riverside project in Minneapolis, the Boyle Street McCaulay Project in Edmonton, Milton Park in Montreal, and the United Hands Community Land Trust in Philadelphia, to name a few.

Each of these neighbourhoods are in very poor areas of their cities, with many unemployed people living in them. Drug and alcohol dependency is blatantly evident, as well as slum housing and high crime rates. The problems are so severe in the United Hands neighbourhood project in Philadelphia, murals are painted every few blocks in memory of people who have died as victims of violence and drugs.

Active community groups in each of these areas joined together in an attempt to rebuild the physical and social structures of their community. Each effort included "legitimate citizen participation, as it was believed residents of the area should be actively involved as they are viewed as the real long term stabilizers of neighbourhoods. Empowering residents to become involved in their neighbourhoods reduces isolation and enhances self-esteem and self-worth. It also broadens any discussion involving pressing issues in the neighbourhood and means for resolving these issues.

The West Broadway Neighbourhood Housing Resource Centre and Neighbourhood Council are structurally designed in conjunction with the Boyle Street McCaulay project in Edmonton, which is an award winning neighbourhood planning design.

After several meetings, the Boyle Street McCaulay Structure was chosen by the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council as being the most inclusive and egalitarian approach to working in neighbourhoods. The structure includes a general planning committee, with task committees and action groups formed in response to current neighbourhood issues. Residents, agencies, businesses, etc. work as partners, and decisions are reached via the consensus process wherein the neighbourhood partners work together to develop strategies and solutions for the neighbourhood.

All of these neighbourhood efforts in both the United States and Canada had strikingly similar neighbourhood issues. Specifically, residents targeted slum housing, crime and unemployment as important concerns which required immediate attention before residents could feel comfortable enough to remain living in these areas. In the Boyle Street McCaulay area in Edmonton, many of their people felt that crime would not be such a major factor if people were employed, "as people would then have a job and no one would have to steal". (Boyle McCaulay news, 1995). The ways each of these neighbourhoods developed strategies to resolve problems in their areas differ, but they all centre around housing, safety, community economic development such as the development of small neighbourhood businesses and barter exchange community gardens, and community kitchens. Wherever possible residents are hired to work in these neighbourhood endeavours, or they have complete access to them such as parenting skills training, violence and mediation workshops, etc.

The Cedar Riverside Project in Minneapolis was formed in the 1960s when a land developer wanted to destroy the neighbourhood and build hundreds of upscale condominiums in its place. Angry residents formed the Cedar Riverside Corporation and fought to save their

neighbourhood. After many legal battles, the residents were eventually successful in gaining control of the neighbourhood and began revitalizing the area for the poorer residents who were living in the area prior to the developer's plans to upscale the area. This united neighbourhood effort led to the development of family and co-op housing, a Peoples' Centre and eventually, co-op business ventures, including community gardens.

The Boyle Street McCauley Project in Edmonton, Milton Park in Montreal, and the numerous community land trust in the United States are all community involvement projects working toward empowering people to take pride and interest in their neighbourhood to build a strong and healthy community for themselves and their families to live in. In all instances, these communities commenced their projects in response to the deterioration and decay of their respective neighbourhood, which reflected the severe social problems being experienced by the residents.

In addition to reviewing literature on each of these projects, we have also met and consulted with people who have been involved with these projects on a long term basis.

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HISTORY, RECENT ACTIVITIES AND RATIONALE FOR OUR CURRENT PROPOSAL

In 1991, the Winnipeg Housing Coalition joined with the Neighbourhood Parenting Support project, which was a federally funded demonstration project sponsored by Child and Family Services of Central Winnipeg and the Faculty of Social Work of the University of Manitoba which operated out of the West Broadway area for approximately four years.

The Winnipeg Housing Coalition's mandate is to provide and assist communities to provide decent, affordable housing in Winnipeg; to keep housing an issue; to influence government policies, programs and the development of more affordable housing in Winnipeg; to monitor existing legislation and to develop housing policies for recommendation to decision-makers in all levels of government.

The neighbourhood Parenting Support Project's goal was to develop a set of operational bases for delivering child protection by means of strengthening the "natural support system" of parents by building and in some cases re-establishing the informal helping mechanisms to establish family wellness and parent effectiveness by supporting the institutions of the family and neighbourhood.

In May 1991, the Winnipeg Housing Coalition held a meeting with public housing tenants from across the city. The majority of those in attendance were single-parents and they expressed concerns in the following areas:

- internal social problems, such as excessive noise, violence, neglected children, vandalism, and destruction of units - all of which led to frequent evictions;
- alcohol and substance abuse;
- high tenant turnover in some projects;
- tenants aware of community resources;
- tenants excluded from the larger community;
- the high cost of public housing unit repairs, leading to rent increases;
- neighbourhood safety.

In July 1991, the Neighbourhood Parenting Support Project conducted a massive university-sponsored research survey on community life and the needs and concerns of parents in the West Broadway area (Warren, 1991). This survey revealed residents' concerns about the West Broadway area as follows:

- lots of alcoholism in the area and street fighting;
- people speeding down the street;
- too much violence in the neighbourhood;
- crime (neighbourhood safety);
- the violent way some people treat their children;

- noisy kids that run wild at night on the street. The facilities (e.g. community centre) should be in operation;
- unsupervised children.

These responses are remarkably similar to the concerns expressed by tenants in public housing at the May 1991, meeting of the Winnipeg Housing Coalition. Obviously, tenants in both public and private housing share similar concerns. From this, we concluded that a joint public and private response was necessary.

Housing problems and social problems are intertwined at the most basic level. Therefore, it was decided that the logical place to deal with housing problems was at the community or neighbourhood level. Developing a sense of pride in one's immediate surroundings must also include the larger community. A sense of community, or belonging in society, is a prerequisite to developing a sense of self-worth and pride in one's own home. This suggested that a community-based housing project was needed.

Research indicates that adequate housing can play a significant role in strengthening the family unit. For example, overcrowding and lack of privacy can be linked to physical and sexual abuse of women and children. The Department of Income Assistance in the Report of the Minister's Task Force on Housing in New Brunswick 1988, summed up the effect of poor housing conditions on children as follows:

A child's health and development are often hindered by having too many people in too few rooms. Children in these situations demonstrate more than their share of academic and behavioral problems at school. A lack of adequate study areas for school age children and privacy for all family members not only promotes a chronic level of stress but has other consequences...children in crowded conditions are more likely to be physically punished by their parents. Overcrowding can be attributed to poor children being more vulnerable to colds and sickness...which interrupts their schooling...the emotional stability of entire family units are at risk. How can one expect these children to function in their competitive environment to the degree necessary to succeed?

While there is often a relationship between housing and many other problems, the basic problem of housing and shelter needs to be addressed first in order for an individual to focus their attention on employment, literacy, family and so on. In effect, the delivery of social services would be more effective if people had their housing problems addressed. (New Brunswick Task Force on Housing, 1988).

The extensive work of the New Brunswick Task Force on Housing revealed that every department of the government is implicated in the "housing problem". It indicated that "a person is not likely to benefit from a job training program if he/she lives a marginal existence

in a shack, unable to stay warm, clean, rested or properly nourished". In addition, the Task Force concluded that meeting housing needs is not simply a matter of building units. It is also a matter of meeting all the other needs that are co-equal.

The New Brunswick Task Force recommended that a community-based outreach worker - "someone who has emerged from similar conditions" - act as a consumer advocate, contact point, and coordinator of services. Moreover, the Task Force indicated that it was unreasonable to assume that one department (housing) could deal with all the problems of a client.

At one time or another, all three levels of government have echoed the need for improved federal, provincial and municipal cooperation, and greater participation of the community in finding cost effective solutions to housing problem. Over the years they learned that urban renewal of slums did not take away the problems. The problems just found new neighbourhoods. On the other hand, programs, such as Co-operative Homestart, encouraged the rehabilitation of existing older housing, and the conversion of existing under utilized buildings to residential use. These programs preserved the rich heritage of older neighbourhoods. The emphasis was not only on renovating or "improving" older neighbourhoods, but on preserving, protecting and respecting older neighbourhoods.

ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF TENANT PARTICIPATION

Respecting older neighbourhoods and public housing projects involves encouraging community/neighbourhood pride in residents. Engaging residents in their community has the effect of reducing isolation, which in turn, lessens the frustration people feel when they are not involved in their community, or in life.

Low-income residents of insulated public housing projects, and private rental units, feel the same sense of isolation. Often, they are not aware of community resources available to them, and they lack the self-confidence to reach out to these resources. Moreover, these groups seldom share their views on the neighbourhoods, leaving neighbourhood or project planning to external forces that often do not have first hand knowledge or experience in formulating appropriate neighbourhood solutions. A valuable resource in older neighbourhood and public housing projects is often ignored - the residents themselves.

Tenant participation in public housing projects has existed in Europe since the early 1900's, and in Canada since the late 1960's and early 1970's. Relatively few examples exist today, either in Winnipeg, or elsewhere in Canada. Participation models such as Tenant Management Boards, co-operatives and community boards flourished when they had strong neighbourhood groups and resource workers.

The Core Area Residential Upgrading and Maintenance Project (CARUMP) of the City of Winnipeg was based on an outreach/tenant participation model. CARUMP workers visited rental units on a daily basis to assess client need, and to connect people with essential services. Staff became aware of housing problems, and identified unmet health care, social and economic needs. These initial voluntary informal visits established trust enabling workers to begin addressing problems in home management, tenant and landlord relations, advocacy, and to make referrals to crisis organizations. CARUMP staff also conducted tenant education workshops, enabling tenants to participate and to learn how to alleviate their problems and gain control of their lives.

VALUE AND EFFECTIVENESS OF SELF-HELP (EMPOWERMENT) MODELS

Having residents participate in the community, or housing project, reduces isolation and enhances self-confidence. Being isolated from the mainstream of our society causes depression, child neglect, alcohol and substance abuse, destruction and/or violence. People who lead more productive lives are less likely to experience these social problems to the same extent.

In the mid-eighties, the Winnipeg Housing Concerns Group assisted tenants in slum housing to organize and hold weekly meetings. After a relatively short period of time, the group workers noticed changes in the physical appearance, including the dress, of the tenants who regularly attended these meetings. Visits to their rental dwellings revealed changes in the upkeep and maintenance of their units. In addition, some tenants were laughing more, smoking and drinking less, and eventually, showing enthusiasm for joining other groups of interest to them. For many, these was the first self-help group they ever attended.

There are many other examples of successful self-help groups, including personal testimonials from participants. Parenting support groups, Alcoholics Anonymous, medical groups, anti-poverty organizations, to name a few, all work towards empowering individuals to gain control of their lives. Initially, these groups were organized and developed by resource workers in conjunction with respective participants.

The self-help, or empowerment model, coupled with a commitment toward developing a healthy community could have the effect of stabilizing neighbourhoods and public housing projects. Dr. Trevor Hancock in *Healthy Cities: The Canadian Project*, in *Health Promotion*, 1987 has described a healthy city, a one that is "...continually creating and improving those physical and social environments and expanding those community resources which enable people to mutually support each other in performing all the functions of life and in developing to their maximum potential". (Plan Winnipeg Toward 2010).

Proponents of healthy communities believe that:

- individual and community capacity can increase to create and sustain healthier surroundings; and
- communities can change their environment so that individuals are more free to make healthy life choices.

Every community should be a fulfilling and rewarding place to live in terms of its physical, social political, cultural and economic conditions. People need to work together to control those things that impact on their health, and their lives.

Cultivating neighbourhood, or project, pride will encourage residents to take more responsibility for their surroundings. This could have a direct impact on their personal lives. Residents will begin to feel responsible for neighbourhood vandalism, neglect, safety, etc. In other words, they would begin to feel that they are a part of the community and develop an interest in its general welfare. Research has shown that people do not damage other people or possessions when they feel (1) good about themselves, and (2) take pride in, and responsibility for, their surroundings. Developing an interest, or a new attitude, among neighbourhood residents toward their neighbourhood or public housing project will help curb the costs of malicious damage.

Another issue which the Community Based Housing proposal originally set out to address was the high crime rate on urban safety in our City.

Urban safety is a major concern for all neighbourhood residents in Winnipeg, and in Canada. Research has demonstrated that social factors such as poverty, unemployment, poor child rearing and supervision, family income, school failure, and isolated families are associated with the high crime rate. In addition, research has indicated that community involvement is crucial in preventing high crime rates (Linden, 1992).

Ultimately, residents will have to work together to curb crime rates by effectively utilizing public spaces, education and awareness, and increased police protection (City of Winnipeg Environmental Planning, 1992).

Many residents have often referred to the high vacancy rates and the operating costs of neighbourhood and public housing projects as a direct result of the high crime rate in public housing. **THE COSTS ARE ESCALATING AND THEY INDIRECTLY CAUSE TAX INCREASES AND RENT INCREASES FOR TENANTS.**

The Winnipeg Housing Coalition then concluded that one way to attack these problems was to develop a private and public community-based housing project to reduce isolation amongst public housing tenants and residents of older neighbourhoods; to connect residents to neighbourhood supports and resources; and, in effect work toward creating a healthier environment for all.

As mentioned, extensive research by health and Welfare Canada has revealed that "Many people in Canada voice a hopelessness about reducing their health risks...because they lack sufficient control over their personal and social surroundings to effect the changes they want. Participation...in the creation or modification of their physical and social surroundings is a feasible and important step in creating healthier environments". (Doyle, 1991). People need to regain that sense of control over their environment for the sake of their health and optimal human development. Becoming involved with others and the community can contribute to that sense of control. Therefore, it was concluded that a Community Based Housing Resource Centre can bring residents and property owners together to address the frustration that leads to the destruction of housing units and neighbourhoods.

THE WEST BROADWAY AREA

A walk down West Broadway can reveal evidence of wasted lives - empty bottles of alcohol, discarded syringes and children - young children unsupervised and hanging out because there is nothing better to do. (Interchange, July 1991).

Of the 3,760 private dwellings in the West Broadway area, only 6% of the housing stock is owner occupied (Statistics Canada, 1986). All other dwellings are rentals of one form or another. Such a small percentage of homeownership in the area undoubtedly contributes to the transiency, lack of cohesion and neighbourhood spirit in the area.

Other socio-economic characteristics indicate that more than one-half of the residents are singles and only about 10% of all residents have obtained a high school diploma. The average family income is approximately \$18,212.00. Approximately three-quarters of the population are considered movers by the census definition (Statistics Canada, 1986).

Surveys conducted by the Neighbourhood Parenting Support Project and the City of Winnipeg's Environmental Planning Department indicated that residents of the West Broadway area like to live there because it is a convenient, central location, close to work and public transportation, near schools, churches, shopping, and the view of the river. The neighbourhood also has affordable housing.

The West Broadway area has a history of good co-ordination among agencies in the area, but not among the residents. This is a direct result of the high turnover rate in the area. In some ways, the agencies themselves control the neighbourhood. Due to the instability of the area in general, there is only minimal input from the residents.

If neighbourhood pride is not encouraged in the residents of the area, housing in the neighbourhood will not be properly maintained and will continue to decline. Moreover, high turnover rates due to poor housing conditions, or social problems, directly affects the sense of responsibility people will have for the area.

In an attempt to fully comprehend neighbourhood dynamics, one American researchers has defined six types of neighbourhoods:

1. Integral neighbourhoods where there is close interaction and cohesiveness in the neighbourhood, and a high degree of organizational life.
2. Parochial neighbourhoods where residents have close interaction, but tend not to have linkages with the outside community, i.e. public housing projects.
3. Diffuse neighbourhoods where residents have positive feelings toward the neighbourhood, but interaction, both formally and informally is minimal.
4. Stepping Stone neighbourhood is one in which residents participate at the neighbourhood level as a stepping stone to a higher level of employment, organizational or political status.
5. Transitory neighbourhoods do not identify closely with the local setting and there is often a high degree of residential mobility.
6. Anomic neighbourhood is characterized by little identification of individuals with their local area. The residents are passive and not involved with the neighbourhood. (Warren, 1976, p.63)

this American study also showed that the greater degree of participation at the neighbourhood level served as a basis of upward mobility for people. Moreover, the findings of this American study are supported by the research carried out by Health and Welfare Canada on the importance of having people participate in the creation of their own healthier environments mentioned at the outset of this paper.

Warren, acting as the evaluator of the Neighbourhood Parenting Support Project, described the West Broadway areas as a "transitory" or an "anomic" neighbourhood as there is a high degree of residential mobility, and residents are not involved with their neighbourhood.

It is our understanding that the Spence-Memorial ward, of which West Broadway is a part, was designated a community improvement area by the City and the Province. considerable funds have been directed into the area via new public housing units, rehabilitation dollars, landlord improvement grants (RRAP), and co-op housing. With this extent of public investment, it is

imperative that housing units and the neighbourhood are not allowed to deteriorate through the neglect of absentee landlords, or the complacency of government.

If older neighbourhoods are not strengthened, and a sense of community engendered among their residents, public housing units, both existing and new construction, as well as incentive for private investment development, are at risk. The potential for vacancies in public housing, and the concomitant waste of public dollars, is high when neighbourhoods decline. STABILIZING NEIGHBOURHOODS AND PROTECTING OUR PUBLIC INVESTMENT - SHOULD BE PARAMOUNT IN WINNIPEG.

RECENT ACTIVITIES

The Winnipeg Housing Coalition, in conjunction with the Neighbourhood Parenting Support Project is operating in the West Broadway area in Winnipeg, encompassing the area from Cornish to Portage Avenue and from Maryland to Memorial Boulevard. Our hope is that it will become a model for citizen participation in housing and social integration at the neighbourhood level.

An Advisory Committee composed largely of urban and social housing specialists has been working on the stabilization model since 1993. Recently, the model has taken the form of a Neighbourhood Housing Resource Centre which is currently being developed at 661 Sara in West Broadway. In addition, a Neighbourhood Council of West Broadway residents, businesses, agencies and property owners has been formed. The Neighbourhood Council now meets regularly around issues in the area, such as the high transience rate in the area, housing conditions, safety an alcohol and substance abuse.

LONG TERM GOAL OF THE COMMUNITY-BASED HOUSING RESOURCE PROJECT

The long term goal of this project is to develop a model for neighbourhood stability by increasing resident, landlord and agency participation and cooperation, and by promoting pride and interest in the neighbourhood.

OBJECTIVES

The immediate objectives of the project are:

- to establish a meeting place for residents, tenant associations, and a site for homeowner, tenant, landlord and caretaker education programs and counselling;
- to develop a community resource and computerized housing information bank developing and utilizing the skill of local residents;
- to develop community economic development initiatives, like the establishment of a neighbourhood based upkeep program, developing and utilizing the skills of local residents;
- to promote self-help through joint community action aimed at improving the quality of life in the neighbourhood.

Housing/support will facilitate community participation through activities in three areas:

- outreach/Community Development - development and support of neighbourhood council of residents, landlord, business and agencies working in the area to strengthen relations, promote community participation and improve neighbourhood security;
- education - facilitating the development and delivery of workshops and programs for tenants, landlords and property managers as they are requested by the neighbourhood council;
- mediation - mediating tenant/landlord disputes and supporting residents in other matters where appropriate.

In addition, the Centre will be a source of information about housing in the neighbourhood, housing regulations and community resources. Finally, and most importantly, the Resource Centre will provide a focal point to monitor neighbourhood conditions with a view to improving the quality of life.

ACTIVITIES AND RATIONALE FOR OUR CURRENT FUNDING PROJECT REQUEST

Over a one year period, the Winnipeg Housing Coalitions' Neighbourhood Housing Resource Centre at 661 Sara Avenue formed a Neighbourhood Council of key residents, agencies, businesses and property owners in West Broadway.

During the months of August to November, 1994, the Neighbourhood Housing Resource Centre in conjunction with members of the Neighbourhood Council conducts a massive Safety Audit and Housing Survey in the West Broadway area.

SAFETY AUDIT

The Safety Audit indicated that poor lighting, poorly kept properties, and "over-service" of alcohol at the local bars and vendors (drunks on the street) made them feel most uneasy about safety in the area. the residents who completed the Safety Audit also stated they had been victims of he following crimes:

- theft (432)
- car theft and vandalism (392)
- sexual harassment (378)

When asked what crime prevention activities/programs residents thought they needed in West Broadway, they replied:

- community police working at night (798)
- community awareness and involvement in the area (643)
- block parents program (582)

Safety Audit responses from the West Broadway residents revealed a surprising insight about the value of community involvement in the area in conjunction with the more formal services such as the police and community agencies. Residents seemed to know what they wanted, but they did not know how to get there. For example, in the written responses, residents often referred to the boredom of the youth in the area as one major reason for car theft and vandalism. Responses ranged from "can't you find something for these kids to do besides stealing our cars?" to "where are their parents?" and "why so much violence?"

HOUSING SURVEY

Our housing survey identified poor to extremely poor housing stock in the area. Approximately 40 houses were targeted by residents as requiring extensive repair and/or health closing. Recently residents also conducted a survey of the street lighting in the area and indicated which streets in West Broadway are in need of better lighting and/or tree pruning.

FOLLOW-UP

The list of poor housing stock identified by residents has been submitted and discussed with the Public Health Department, the Residential Tenancies Branch, and the Zoning Department of the

City of Winnipeg. Ongoing contact and follow-up is being maintained.

Currently, a Tenant/Landlord Cooperation (TLC) project is being developed by the Housing Committee to encourage and promote better relations among tenants, landlord and surrounding neighbours who have been disturbed by the problem tenants in the area (and landlords?). The Council also identified safety as an extremely important issue in the area of the Safety Committee is currently developing a neighbourhood Safety Plan for Crime Prevention.

Neighbourhood safety has been identified as the most important issues which seems to require a multi-faceted approach. Community involvement is necessary in conjunction with the police, social service agencies, education, mediation, etc. Other areas of Winnipeg have had safety programs which have largely been of a short term duration. Therefore, we believe our neighbourhood stabilization model which takes the form of a Neighbourhood Housing Resource Centre and Council is a vital precursor to an "effective Neighbourhood Safety Plan for crime prevention".

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CURRENT FUNDING PROJECT REQUEST, BUDGET NOTES AND JOB DESCRIPTIONS

NEIGHBOURHOOD SAFETY PLAN FOR CRIME

PREVENTION GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

As mentioned, the areas identifies as requireing the most immediate attention by the West Broadway neighbourhood is safety.

The effect of the high crime rate on urban safety is what our proposed Neighbourhood Safety Plan will address.

As previously mentioned, urban safety is a major concern for all neighbourhood residents in Winnipeg, and in Canada. Research has demonstrated that social factors such as poverty, unemployment, poor child rearing and supervision, family income, school failure and isolated families are all associated with the high crime rate. Research has also indicated that community involvement is crucial in preventing high crime rates.

GOAL

The goal of the Neighbourhood Safety Plan for Crime Prevention is in line with our overall goal of neighbourhood stabilization outlined in our original Community Based Housing Proposal mentioned earlier.

Our neighbourhood stabilization model encourages community involvement to promote co-operation, non-violence, mediation and peaceful resolution of conflict.

OBJECTIVES

Objectives of the Neighbourhood Safety Plan for crime prevention would be to continue encouraging community involvement by developing a neighbourhood safety network. Specifically, residents would be trained in the areas of non-violent conflict resolution, mediation, street-proofing, cooperation and peace.

Education and conflict resolution assistance are an integral part of this process. This includes the concepts of recognizing differences and differing points of view, of being aware of how

conflict affects people's lives, and their attitudes toward conflict. Effective talking and listening skills will be taught to both handle conflict and how to work with others to resolve conflict. this education component is extremely important as this project will emphasize educating all those with a stake in the future of the neighbourhood; the residents, businesses and community agencies, including the schools. This pro-active training will also include education of the safeguards of community conflict resolution.

PROJECT OUTCOME MEASUREMENTS

The outcome of the Neighbourhood Safety Plan for Crime Prevention will be measured by the number of people who attend the training workshops and remain involved with the Neighbourhood Housing Resource Centre and Neighbourhood Council after the initial training period. Recently, we have already received requests from residents to attend the proposed workshops, and I expect they will be open to all who want to attend and be a part of the Neighbourhood Safety Network on an ongoing basis.

BUDGET NOTES

Developing the Neighbourhood Resource Centre and Neighbourhood Council in West Broadway over the past year has been mainly a volunteer effort, with some funding for a part-time coordinator.

The Inter Agency Group funds our office and mailing expenses, with the coordinator acting as the contact person. Essentially, the coordinator has been responsible for conducting the Safety Audit and Housing Survey along with volunteer residents. The coordinator has also been organizing and scheduling meetings of the Neighbourhood Council and its committees, and the resulting follow-up work. Through such coordination, views and ideas of the residents, businesses, property owners and agencies have been brought together resulting in a more comprehensive analysis of the issues and challenges facing the West Broadway Neighbourhood. Such liaison is an attempt to empower these stakeholders to achieve our shared goals of strengthening and establishing the neighbourhood.

The proposed activities in developing the Neighbourhood Safety Plan for Crime Prevention will be situated at 661 Sara. We currently utilize the multi-purpose room at 661 Sara, but we would rent an apartment in the building for \$350 per month for this project. the multi-purpose room is not sufficient for our purposes as it is not equipped with bathroom facilities, nor is it large enough to accommodate staff and volunteers on a full-time, daily basis. We would continue to utilize the multi-purpose room for the training of residents, meetings, etc. Wherever possible, area residents would be hired and/or invited to work as volunteers on the project. As well, our Advisory of Urban Specialist,s which includes members of the teaching faculties of Human

Ecology, Social Work, and Mediation; social workers; planners; housing specialist; and, residents; will continue to work with us as a volunteer working advisory.

In order for this work to continue and expand with the growing involvement of residents and interested people in the neighbourhood, it is necessary to hire:

- two neighbourhood networkers for the period January-March 1996 to work specifically under the mandate of the Safety Plan, and to maintain one networker on a full-time basis for 1997 and 1998;
- to continue the part-time coordinator position for the Resource Centre to provide supervision, and to continue organizing the Council and developing programs to meet the issues identified by the Council, including housing.

JOB DESCRIPTIONS

Neighbourhood Networker: A neighbourhood network will be developed on a broad based neighbourhood level by the Neighbourhood Networkers. The Neighbourhood Networker position will be based on the Neighbourhood Parenting Support Project's Prototype Schema for Community-Based Network Construction which will utilize a neighbourhood networker to:

Connect with as wide a number of neighbourhood residents, business persons, agencies and police as possible.

Consult with the neighbourhood members on the problems of safety in the neighbourhood. Solicit their views on the problem and what they think should be done about the problem. This work has begun through the recent Safety Audit and the continuing work of the West Broadway Neighbourhood Council and its Safety Committee. Identify and map the neighbourhood members who have been connected according to street block area. List and analyze their concerns and suggested solutions by street block area.

Convene a neighbourhood meeting which decides upon the overall values and approach of a neighbourhood safety program as given in the neighbourhood consultation step. Then convene small neighbourhoods block clusters of residents and coach them in developing a neighbourhood safety project.

Construct the neighbourhood safety network, reinforce network ties by contact with individual members, assist individuals and clusters achieve their objectives within the overall goals and values of the program. Convene meetings of the network periodically to review progress, solve problems, decide on changes in the program if needed.

The above describes the process which the Neighbourhood Safety Plan will be developed. Education and mediation will be an integral part of this process. conflict resolution skills, mediation, non-violent intervention, and "street proof" type training by the police will be provided to residents to promote safety throughout the area at the grassroots level.

Often this training reaches academic and professional individuals, but the pro-active training rarely directly reaches those struggling with the problems in their neighbourhoods. therefore, we now propose to offer this training on a pro-active, preventative basis to help strengthen neighbourhoods.

RESOURCE CENTRE COORDINATOR

A part-time coordinator will continue at the Resource Centre to work with the Neighbourhood Council Resource Centre and Committees, as well as coordinating appropriate educational and community development functions to complement the Neighbourhood Networker in the area of neighbourhood safety, housing and other issues identified by the Neighbourhood Council.