Reclaiming the Inner City: An Assessment of Community Organizing Practice in Winnipeg's Core

By

Megan Hopkins

A Practicum
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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University of Manitoba
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To my mom for all of her love, and

support throughout the years.

To Nadine for all her wisdom and help.

To Robert, my kindred spirit.

Abstract

This practicum focuses on a critique of the types of community organizing processes within Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods. This study examines the extent to which organizers involve community members.

Current planning theories - including equity planning, collaborative planning, and radical planning - as well as different models and types of organizing techniques were examined and then used as a knowledge base from which the empirical research findings were analyzed. The empirical data was gathered through a series of twelve interviews with local inner city organizers using an interview guide approach. The overall organizing trend within Winnipeg's inner city appears to be one that is inclusive and democratic. When applied to the organizing literature, the empirical findings indicate that local community organizing can be compared to the technique of community building.

This research has determined that people need control of the process and planners and organizers need to become resources for the community as opposed to leading the process. It is recommended that learning from radical planning theory and its application to community organizing practice can assist planners and organizers to realize the role they must play in order for their work to be empowering for community members.

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Over the past two decades we have seen city dwellers up in arms, mobilizing against planners, politicians, and planning processes, demanding that their voices be heard, their concerns taken seriously. The emergence of this healthy abundance of social movements demanding participation in decision making, demanding that different sets of values be debated in the public domain in relation to both urban/regional life and the natural environments, signifies a very important development in the political landscape of postmodern societies- the rise of civil society. This rise of civil society has radically altered the political and cultural climate in which we work as planners

(Sandercock, 1998:29).

Chapter One

Introduction

This practicum is inspired by a number of important and related issues. The first is the lack of emphasis that is placed on the importance of community organizing within planning education and practice. A study by Heide (1991) calls for more research by planners on community organizing. As has been my experience throughout the past two years as a student in the Department of City Planning, working with disenfranchised communities becomes quite difficult for planners if they do not know how to identify the existing 'unconventional' organized groups of people within communities. Planners are also not familiar with techniques on organizing people so that the majority of residents can be part of the revitalization process within their communities. The forms of existing organization within these communities are not easily identified by those from outside the community.

Another important issue that this research addresses is the small amount of Canadian content on the subject of community organizing. The vast majority of the literature on this area comes from the United States (eg., Fisher, 1981; Garvin and Cox, 1987; Kingsley, McNeely, and Gibson, 1999; Krumholz and Clavel, 1994; Rothman and Tropman, 1987; Rubin and Rubin, 1992). This study attempts to include some of the existing Canadian literature on the subject (Callahan, 1997; Lagassé, 1971; Lee, 1992; Lotz, 1997; Wharf, 1997) while at the same time contribute to the small amount of Canadian content available.

1.1 THE PROBLEM

The author believes that community organizing is an important aspect of the community development process. In order to develop a community it is necessary to involve those who live in the neighbourhood. Building up the social capital within a neighbourhood is an important aspect of creating stable communities (Temkin and Rohe, 1998). Since many planners work at the community level, it is therefore important for them to consider and understand this when working within neighbourhoods. Understanding the processes of community organizing will hopefully allow planners to become more inclusive in community revitalization projects. Hearing the majority of voices that make up a community will ideally contribute to a more just process and product.

Marginalized groups are not always included in the planning process and they too need to be a part of it all - not just a select few. All of the various types of interests within a community need to be given the opportunity to contribute to the rebuilding of their community.

1.2 PURPOSE

The focus of this practicum is the process of community organizing within inner city communities. Within the context of this document community will be defined as a physical locality or a neighbourhood. Different models and types of

organizing techniques will be examined that will then be used as a knowledge base from which the empirical research findings will be analyzed.

The study will attempt to determine the types of organizing techniques used in Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods. These findings will then be used to determine how organizing practice in Winnipeg compares with other techniques and theory across the continent. The focus of the analysis will include the extent to which organizers involve community members. Are residents a crucial part of the decision-making or are they being represented by the organizer? Did the organizer build capacity during the process? Was the process enabling or disabling for community members? Was it an advocacy process or a collaborative one? It is the issue of an inclusionary process or in other words, the true level of involvement that *all* types of residents are a part of in the organizing and empowering process within their community that is key to this practicum.

The major purpose of this research is to critique the types of community development practices within Winnipeg's inner city. This will be achieved through a theoretical analysis of the empirical research based on current planning theory.

The major goal of this report is to help make planning practice as well as other community development professions more inclusive. The point then is that people must be involved in their communities for meaningful social change to occur. Without community involvement, any change that does occur will most

likely be a benefit for the community but it will not be an empowering situation as it would be if residents were involved in the process.

1.3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PLANNING AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

Planners may not understand the relevance of community organizing to their profession. The important link between the two disciplines within the community development process will be explored within this practicum. Recent planning theories focusing on community development and empowerment such as equity planning, collaborative planning, and radical planning will be discussed with a focus on how inclusive they are (Friedmann, 1987; Healey, 1997; Hotchkiss, 1999; Krumholz, 1986; Krumholz and Clavel, 1994; Metzger, 1996; Sandercock, 1998). These theories will then be used to critique various community organizing techniques found in the literature (Dominelli, 1990; Miller, Rein, and Levitt, 1995; Rothman and Tropman, 1987) as well as those discovered in the empirical research.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

This study will use the qualitative research method of interviewing. The research will utilise an interview guide approach along with a brief section at the end containing questions using the standardized open-ended interview approach (Patton, 1990). Within the interview guide approach participants are given a subject area which they are asked to explore within the interview. The interviewer

will have a list of questions that is prepared with the intent to ensure certain areas are covered and to make sure that basically the same themes are covered in each interview. This approach allows for more flexibility but at the same time makes analysis more complex than when using the standardized open-ended interview approach. Within the standardized open-ended interview approach each participant is asked the exact same set of pre-determined questions. This approach on the other hand allows for no flexibility, but ensures that responses are consistent and therefore easier to interpret (Patton, 1990).

Interviews of organizers within Winnipeg's inner city communities will be conducted and audio-taped to determine the types of organizing occurring compared to the literature from Canada and the United States.

As the data is collected, and each interview is completed, it will be transcribed and will go through a process of coding including open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Neuman, 1997). After the data has been coded it will be analyzed by the method of analytic comparison. This method consists of both the method of agreement and the method of difference (Neuman, 1997). Both the differences and similarities between the interviews will be examined in order to come up with a conclusion on the organizing processes used in Winnipeg's inner city. This analysis will occur after each interview is completed in order to catch any ineffective or inadequate questions. This gives the researcher a chance to improve the research technique as the process progresses. Once the analysis is

complete, both the interview tapes and transcripts will be destroyed in order to insure the complete anonymity of the participants.

Empirical data will be gathered from each interview by asking participants to describe in detail two examples of their organizing practice within Winnipeg's inner city. There will be a number of issues that will need to be addressed within each of these examples. As indicated, the researcher will have a list of these issues to ensure that everything required is addressed. The interviewer will only ask questions from the list if the participant omits the relevant points from his or her description. This form of interview attempts to find out specific processes that each participant has been through in hopes of receiving more accurate data than if straightforward questions were asked about each of their organizing techniques. The survey will reflect the unique experiences of inner city Winnipeg as well as community organizing theory and practice. Before the interview process begins, a consent form will be read to and signed by the participant. A copy of this form will be left with the participant.

1.5 LITERATURE

The literature review will consist of two separate chapters. The first part of the review will be an analysis of three planning theories- equity planning, collaborative planning, and radical planning- and how citizen participation and the role of the planner are reflected within each of these in relation to planning practice. This is intended to be a theoretical discussion to set the parameters

within which the data will be analyzed. The importance is to have an understanding of three types of planning that attempt to be inclusionary. Equity planning places the planner in the role of advocate speaking for community members, collaborative planning places the planner on an equal plane with community members where decisions are based on collaborative processes, and radical planning gives more than equal power to the local residents. Both collaborative planning and radical planning are theoretically truly inclusionary while equity planning is not. It is the goal of this study to discover how inclusionary organizing processes are within Winnipeg's inner city.

The second section of literature attempts to cover as many aspects of community organizing as possible. While not all ideas can be encompassed in this practicum, the ideas expressed reflect the wide body of knowledge within the field of community organizing. The focus of the literature includes a history of organizing practice in both Canada and the United States, various organizing models, and current organizing approaches.

1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THE PRACTICUM

This practicum has been arranged into six chapters. This first chapter has served as an introduction to the purpose and aim of the study.

Chapter Two begins the literature review with a focus on planning theory. Equity planning, collaborative planning, and radical planning are explored to examine their potentials within the realm of community involvement.

Chapter Three examines the existing literature on the subject of community organizing. Within this chapter, the development of community organizing techniques is discussed for both Canada and the United States. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of the most influential organizers. Also discussed are various models of organizing as well as new organizing techniques that have been used in the past decade. Finally the current planning theories discussed in Chapter Two will be used as a framework to compare the organizing techniques introduced within this chapter.

Chapter Four is an in-depth description of the methodology used for the empirical research portion of this practicum. The reasons for choosing the particular methodology as well as the design of the survey instrument and the actual interviewing process will be discussed.

Chapter Five discusses the interview results. The data is analyzed and interpreted within this section.

Chapter Six is the concluding chapter. Within this chapter, the conclusions made about community organizing practice in Winnipeg in Chapter Five are then

critiqued according to current planning theory and organizing literature. This is followed by final thoughts and concluding comments.

1.7 BIASES

The major biases that the author brings to this study are based on the beliefs of people having a large amount of potential. This includes the belief that people have the power to change the system. Also, people generally know what they want and need. When they are unsure of how to formulate these wants in terms of demands on broader society, people want to know their choices rather than be told what to do. An additional bias that is brought into this study is the idea that the role of the planner is to be a resource for a community. Planners are not to impose ideas - instead they are to be available for help and suggestions when community members require it.

1.8 LIMITATIONS

The first limitation of this study deals with scale. The empirical research covers only a few organizers from inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg to evaluate the practice within this area. What this means is that not everyone involved in this type of work will be interviewed and therefore some aspects may be missed.

Another very crucial limitation to this study is that the research relies on the organizer's point of view of the process rather than on that of the communities being organized. The research depends on an accurate-as-possible description

of the processes by the organizer. Therefore, the results may indicate interviewee biases. There is a sense of irony within a study that stresses community involvement but on the other hand does not actually involve speaking with the community members themselves. This is an issue that has been discussed and debated considerably during the planning phases of this project. Due to both time constraints and the resulting focus that this practicum has taken, it has been decided that only organizers were to be interviewed for this study. The critical thing to remember here is that this is a study that is focusing on processes and techniques used by organizers rather than an evaluation of the actual effectiveness of these techniques. It is the recommendation of the researcher at this initial stage that further research as a result of this project should focus on the effects of various organizing techniques on community members by involving in-depth discussions with local residents involved in organizing processes.

A further limitation of this research is that, as stated earlier in this chapter (see section 1.1), community organizing is only one aspect of the community revitalization process. This research serves as an evaluation of that particular phase and therefore does not address the various other qualitative and quantitative methodologies that are involved throughout the many phases of an effective community planning process focusing around community revitalization.

Chapter Two

Current Planning Thought: An Analysis of Community Involvement

In order to bring this study into an urban planning context and as a result make it more relevant and comprehensible to planners, community organizing practice and theory will be discussed and compared with current planning thought. Before community organizing literature is explored it is important to first take a closer look at current planning theories.

Planning thought, just as with any other discipline, is always changing. Within different planning theories the role that the planner plays differs. The intent here is to examine three current planning theories based on the extent that each encourages citizen participation and empowerment. This theoretical discussion will be used to set the parameters for which data will be analyzed within this study. The current theories to be explored include equity planning, collaborative planning, and radical/emancipatory planning. These three theories have been selected due to their attempts to differentiate themselves from the modernist planning model in which "the planner is indisputably 'the knower', relying strictly on 'his' professional expertise and objectivity to do what is best for an undifferentiated public" (Sandercock, 1998: 88). Each theory will be introduced and will be followed by a critique from more recent planners. The most important aspect of each theory will be the role that the planner plays within the planning

process. The type of role that the planner plays within each type of theory will be an indicator of how inclusionary the theory actually is.

2.1 EQUITY PLANNING

Equity planning came about as a result of the great influence of advocacy planning. Therefore, before equity planning is discussed, it is important to take a closer look at advocacy planning and how it has influenced equity planning.

The 1960s were filled with turmoil and protest for civil rights within the United States. This period influenced Paul Davidoff and other planners to change the focus of planning to stress advocacy. Checkoway (1994: 140) states that Davidoff saw planning as a "process to promote democratic pluralism in society by representing diverse groups in political debate and public policy". Planning was to be an arena within which societal problems could be addressed (Checkoway, 1994).

The role of the advocacy planner was to be "more than a provider of information, an analyst of current trends, a simulator of future conditions, and a detailer of means. In addition to carrying out these necessary parts of planning, he [sic] would be a proponent of specific substantive solutions" (Davidoff, 1965: 333).

The goal of advocacy planning was to improve conditions for everyone but especially stressing resources and opportunities for those less fortunate. In

addition, advocacy planning should involve disenfranchised people in the decision-making processes that affect their lives (Checkoway, 1994: 139).

During the 1970s advocacy planning was very popular with various planners who worked for social equity and who wanted to implement advocacy planning from within government (Metzger, 1996). These planners became known as equity planners. Equity planners work within the government to influence opinion, mobilize under-represented areas, increase opportunities for increased participation, and to fight for policies and programs that redistribute resources to the poor within cities (Metzger, 1996; Krumholz and Clavel, 1994). Norman Krumholz was the planning director in Cleveland for ten years. Within this time, the major goal was to provide more choices for those residents who had few, if any choices (Krumholz, 1986).

Krumholz and Clavel (1994: 3) have defined the roles that both 'conventional' and equity planners play. Conventional planners:

> basically view themselves as giving their bosses choices - or finding the most efficient means to an end chosen by their bosses, whom they assume represent the people through the democratic process.

Equity planners reject this definition and they:

> maintain that planners who seek a better future for their cities and their people must be concerned with ends as well as means. And the end they should be concerned with first is helping the 'truly disadvantaged' because, equity planners assume, the existing democratic institutions are biased against the interests of those at the bottom of the social system. That is, equity planners seek

> downward redistribution, often out ahead of the initiatives of their bosses, the elected politicians.

As mentioned above, Krumholz worked as an equity planner in Cleveland in the 1970s. His *Cleveland Policy Planning Report* is one of the best examples of equity plans (Metzger, 1996). This report was very different from traditional land-use plans that encourage real estate development in downtowns (Figure 2-1). Metzger (1996: 113) states that the plan:

> ignored downtown physical needs and instead diagnosed the problems of the city as poverty, neighbourhood abandonment and disinvestment, and inequitable service delivery. The concept of 'equity' in planning could be achieved by expanding the realm of choices available to those with limited housing, employment, and transportation options. Faced with a shrinking base of resources, the plan chose to provide direction rather than use a proscriptive or programmatic approach.

Norman Krumholz, in using the example of Cleveland, states that equity planners should serve the needs of the underclass by: "blocking wasteful proposals; encouraging more productive investments; planning for shrinkage, not growth; and helping neighborhoods [sic]" (Krumholz, 1986: 327). Planning for shrinkage needs to occur in large city centres because many of these poor neighbourhoods are in decline while personal poverty and dependence grows. Within Cleveland, the population was on the decline, jobs had disappeared, poverty was on the rise, and housing abandonment was high in poor black neighbourhoods (Krumholz, 1986). Just as black ghettos paid for a social cost for growth of cities, Krumholz warns against making them pay the price of urban decline. The

planning goal in Cleveland was to provide more choices for those who had few, if any, choices (Krumholz, 1986).

Figure 2-1: Cleveland Policy Planning Report, 1975

Goal:

In a context of limited resources and pervasive inequalities, priority attention must be given to the task of promoting a wider range of choices for those who have few, if any.

Objectives:

- To assure all city residents who are willing and able to work an opportunity for employment at wages adequate to rise and remain above the poverty level
- To assure all city residents with household responsibilities annual incomes sufficient to avoid poverty
- To provide all city residents the opportunity to live in housing that meets minimum legal standards of decency without spending an excessive portion of their incomes
- To maintain the quality of those housing units in the city that are now standard and to upgrade substandard units that are not beyond repair
- To enhance the mobility of those residents who cannot drive or cannot afford automobiles and are, therefore, dependent on public transportation
- To improve the mobility of the non-transit-dependent population, but under the condition that no such transportation improvement leave the city or its residents in worse condition than prior to the improvement
- To ensure the improvement to, and maintenance of, minimum legal standards of health safety throughout the city
- To stop the process of neighbourhood deterioration
- To invest in private redevelopment efforts where it can be shown that such investment will provide a return to the city in the form of jobs for city residents, revenues for the city, and/or services for low-income city residents

Source: (Metzger, 1996: 114).

Metzger (1996) notes that despite this stress on an equitable planning process, equity planners need to resolve the dilemma of moving to actual equitable planning outcomes as well.

Within this model, the planner is still the expert and is representing the poor within the bureaucracy. The planner remains the key actor and does not seem to rely on local knowledge. The community is not making decisions within the process (Sandercock, 1998). But instead, the planner is working on behalf of disadvantaged people. Within equity planning the planner is still an advocate for the poor within government.

2.2 COLLABORATIVE PLANNING

Collaborative planning is a model of communicative theory or an institutional approach that can be associated with Patsy Healey (1997). Communicative planning theory has grown since the 1970s. The key aspects of communicative planning theory include the following:

- All forms of knowledge are socially constructed;
- The development and communication of knowledge and reasoning take many forms;
- Individuals learn about their views in social contexts and through interaction;
- In contemporary life people have diverse interests and expectations;
- Public policies which are concerned with managing co-existence in shared spaces which seek to be efficient, effective and accountable to all those with a 'stake' in a place need to draw upon the above range of knowledge and reasoning;
- This leads away from competitive interest bargaining towards collaborative consensus-building;

- Planning work is both embedded in its context of social relations through its day to day practices, and has a capacity to challenge and change these relations through the approach to these practices (Healey, 1997: 29-30).

One of the major purposes of collaboration and building up understanding cross-culturally within an area is to increase the area's intellectual and social capital by creating new links between people of different cultures living in the same neighbourhood. This allows for understanding the issues of change within the local environment that concern everyone. This approach allows all stakeholders in an area to be heard on an equal level and to be part of the decision making process (Healey, 1997). The ways in which issues are discussed are just as important as the issues themselves within collaborative planning. Collaborative planning emphasizes the importance of local knowledge within the planning process.

Collaborative planning looks at more than just a win-win situation. In this way it "seeks to re-frame how people think about winning and losing. It looks for an approach which asks: can we all get on better if we change how we think to accommodate what other people think? If this can be done, then we might think about winning and losing in a different way" (Healey, 1997: 312).

There are a number of principles that must be considered by a planner when following a collaborative framework for strategy making (Healey, 1997). The first things to examine are the initiators, stakeholders, and arenas. Without support

from the major stakeholders such as the people that actually live there, projects will not succeed.

The arena for collaborative processes is also very important. Evidence shows that informal meeting places usually are the most effective for strategy-making of this sort because formal arenas often carry intimidating structures which have traditionally inhibited stakeholders' voices from being heard.

After some initial decisions have been made, what is to be discussed and how it is to be discussed must be decided upon. This involves, "'opening out' issues, to explore what they really mean to different people, and whether they are really about what they seem to be or something else" (Healey, 1997: 272).

The next step is to maintain an inclusionary process (Healey, 1997). The key skill to have and to learn in this process as stressed in collaborative approaches is listening rather than imposing. Healey (1997: 119) notes that listening is important not only to indicate interest but also to understand how people feel about being 'the other' including the rage expressed as a result of prejudice. Understanding where people are 'coming from' is an important part of collaboration. When someone's daily experiences can be communicated in ways that others can comprehend, then the validity of these experiences is enhanced.

The last task is to maintain the consensus (Healey, 1997). Once decisions have been made through these collaborative processes, there will always be some that are disadvantaged as a result of feeling that they were treated unfairly or others have broken the agreement made during the process. There will sometimes be new stakeholders that are needed to be a part of the process as well.

Sandercock (1998: 96) notes that the emphasis here is "less on what planners know and more on how they use and distribute their knowledge; less on their ability to solve problems, more on opening up debate about them".

Within collaborative planning the planner still remains the primary actor and the focus is still on the formally educated planner working primarily within the bureaucracy. Sandercock (1998) goes on to indicate that collaborative planning or communicative theory does not look for system change and does not address empowerment to the extent that radical planning does.

2.3 RADICAL PLANNING

The goal of radical planning or emancipatory planning is to "work for structural transformation of systemic inequalities, and in the process to empower those who have been systematically disempowered" (Sandercock, 1998: 97).

Radical planning theory is derived from the tradition of social mobilization, which in turn came about from the interactions of utopian, anarchist, and Marxist thought. It originated during early social criticisms of industrial capitalism. Within this tradition, radical planners speak directly to working people, women, and oppressed races. Planning from a social mobilization front takes place in the context of social transformation (Friedmann, 1987).

Planners are not the main actors within this model. While planners bring certain skills and knowledge to the process, the community members are the ones in the front line of local action. Planners are not the experts within radical planning and they are open to learning from community members (Sandercock, 1998: 99).

In reference to Friedmann, Hotchkiss (1999: 5) states that "the principal difference between radical planning and participatory planning...is that in radical practice, the elaboration of a realistic vision concerns a future for which the people are themselves responsible. Their vision, then, is more than a wish list; *it is a commitment to its realization through practice*" (italics original).

Sandercock (1998) explains that rather than working through the state, radical planners usually do work related to community organization, urban social movements, and issues of empowerment. Friedmann contributes to this by indicating that radical planners:

> must be able to draw on substantive knowledge. No less than other planners, they must command a ready fund of data, information,

> and theoretical insight pertaining to a given problem such as the environment, housing, or community economic development (1987: 393).

2.4 COMPARING THEORIES

As the role of the planner changes within each of the theories that have been presented here, so does the role of the community change. As the planner becomes less of an expert and leader within the community, the community leadership increases. Within equity planning the planner is the expert working as an advocate for the community within government. As the focus changes to collaborative planning with emphasis placed on cross-cultural discussions the role of the planner shifts to one of distributing knowledge and encouraging debate. The planner is still an expert, and usually works within the bureaucracy. It is not until the theory shifts to radical planning that the community becomes the expert and the planner no longer works within the bureaucracy but works within the community instead. The role of the radical planner is to be a resource.

Brown (1999) has done a comparative analysis of both Healey's collaborative planning and Sandercock's emancipatory or radical planning. He has quoted Sandercock comparing the two approaches (Brown, 1999: 38):

> There are at least two faces to this new planning. One face looks benign enough. It belongs to the folks who wear suits and have higher degrees and are mostly white though not all male, and which are trying to address the crisis of planning institutions by introducing techniques of negotiation and mediation, collaboration and consensus-building. They are grounded in the social and political thought of Jurgen Habermas and, within planning, in the

> writings of John Forester and Larry Susskind, Patsy Healey and Judith Innes. The other face is less benign. It may scowl at you and cuss. It may set you as the enemy. This face doesn't usually dress in suits and it's not interested in institutions because those institutions have traditionally excluded such people.

Brown continues on by stating that despite these differences in the two theories, there are some common principles between them. These themes include:

- The need to create dialogic space;
- The need to develop inclusive, democratic processes aimed at bringing together the interests of geographical communities;
- The need for planning to function at neighbourhood levels;
- The need to validate multiple ways of knowing (Brown, 1999:38-39).

As the role of the planner becomes less of an expert within the community, the more inclusionary the theory becomes. These various levels of community involvement and participation within planning theory are familiar to planners and will serve as a reference point for planners when interpreting the community organizing literature discussed in the next chapter. The increasing levels of community involvement and the subsequent changing role that the planner plays will also be important when determining how Winnipeg's inner city community organizers' techniques fit into planning theory.

Chapter Three

The State of the Art of Community Organizing: A North American Perspective

Community organizing is a crucial part of the community development process. It is about empowering people to obtain resources that they need to make their communities a better place to live. Without the participation of community members, the type of development that occurs may actually be what residents do not want for their communities.

Community organizing can be defined as the process of "bringing people together to combat shared problems and to increase their say about decisions that affect their lives" (Rubin and Rubin, 1992: 3). Rubin and Rubin (1992: 10) point out the following important goals of a community organizer:

1. To improve the quality of life through the resolution of shared problems;
2. To reduce the level of social inequalities caused by poverty, racism, and sexism;
3. To exercise and preserve democratic values as a part of the organizing process and as an outcome of community development;
4. To enable people to achieve their individual potentials;

5. To create a sense of community in which people can feel that they are productive at an individual level and also as contributors to the larger society.

When examining organizing models and approaches it is important to first look at the history of organizing practice in order to understand where it has been, where it is now, and where it can therefore go in the future. While American community organizing has a well-documented history that will be examined, it is also important to look at some Canadian historical examples in order to understand how the history of community organizing has been both different and similar within North America.

3.1 THE HISTORY OF ORGANIZING

3.1.1 Canadian History

Community organizing in Canada since European contact has always existed. The first cooperative opened in Nova Scotia in 1812. There are a couple of notable examples of organizing in the past century discussed by Jim Lotz (1997). One of the most notable is the Antigonish Movement of the first half of this century in Nova Scotia. The goal of this movement was to bring about social change (Delaney, 1985).

The movement began in the early 1900s as Father Jimmy Tompkins encouraged St. Francis Xavier University, where he taught, to offer adult education courses to

those who had recently left farming due to the deteriorating economic situation at the time. In the village of Canso, he organized fishermen and promoted adult education. He believed that if the poor understood the root of their problems, they could more easily address the solutions. After four and a half years, the fishermen organized a meeting that received media and government attention. The government responded with a report illustrating the dismal conditions faced by the fishermen. This began a social movement within the province (Lotz, 1997).

As a result of this, Father Moses Michael Coady was placed as the director of an extension department of the St. Francis Xavier University in 1928. Coady believed that the capitalist system had failed people. He attempted to teach people that through "cooperative principles, community action, and planning they can obtain economic stability and become masters of their own destiny" (Lee, 1992: xv).

To initially get people together for community action, the extension workers would organize mass community meetings in order to reach out to a large number of people in a short amount of time (Coady, 1939). Before the meetings took place, certain men within the community would get the community excited about the upcoming meeting. Coady (1939: 30) stated that these meetings served two important functions. The first was to change current mind-sets while the second function was to help people believe that they wanted to change society.

What made the movement a success was the combination of adult education with the formation of credit unions and cooperatives. In 1932 credit union legislation was enacted in Nova Scotia which coincided with a rapid increase in study clubs for the next ten years (Delaney, 1985: 9). The movement's approach was summarized as "Listen! Study! Discuss!" (Lotz, 1997: 21). Its peak was reached as the Second World War broke out with 19,000 people studying about self-help and 2,265 groups having been formed throughout the Maritimes (Lotz, 1997: 21).

The movement "was designed to show the people that they could help themselves. It could give each individual participant something practical to do in the work of rebuilding the structure of society. It did not depend on government, either on a democracy inept at curing the depression, or on a dictatorship that could relieve unemployment and poverty only by the destruction of human liberty" (Delaney, 1985: 9).

In the late 1940s, the final years of the movement, several events led to its downfall. First, the war took away the leadership. Second, as cooperatives and credit unions grew, they became increasingly businesslike. Third, adult education no longer became an essential component of the activity (Lotz, 1997).

After World War Two, governments were encouraging community development. Lotz (1997) argues that this is so because it costs governments little and it seems like an effective way to get communities to begin solving their own problems.

An example of government attempting to organize communities is the creation of the Community Development Branch in the Department of Welfare by the Province of Manitoba in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The branch was set up as a result of a 1959 report detailing the poverty conditions faced by Natives in the province due to racism. A Métis social worker by the name of Jean Lagassé became the director of the branch. Lotz summarizes Lagassé and the branch's work:

> Lagassé saw community development workers as facilitators, enablers, organizers, animators, first-aid technicians, and mediators who would help residents identify problems, plan ways of solving them, and carry out the solutions. He recognized that many communities were divided, with expatriates and transient Whites holding power and Native peoples living in misery and powerlessness. The community development workers would encourage cooperation between all residents. The program attracted an exceptional group of young, idealistic, and enthusiastic university graduates and people experienced in working with individuals and groups. One who arrived on a reserve was asked what he would do for its residents. He replied, 'I'm here to find out what you can do for yourselves' (1997: 23).

Lagassé (1971: 236) notes that when the workers entered these communities requiring questionnaires to be filled out, they avoided non-Native 'notables' as much as possible in order to truly understand what the Native residents were experiencing. This upset the whites but surprised the Natives that their opinion

was given so much weight. This was to guarantee that their report on the living conditions of Natives as they saw it was not biased by the non-Natives who held more positions of power in the communities.

In 1963, Lagassé left his position as director and the program weakened. There were too few successful individuals remaining to carry the program alone in isolated communities. The workers were also slowly absorbed into the bureaucratic ways of the government as they began reporting to regional directors of welfare. By 1970, the program had disappeared (Lotz, 1997).

These two examples of organizing from Canadian history indicate the importance of charismatic leaders. It also becomes evident that even successful community work is extremely sensitive to societal change, including changes in government, and must somehow learn to adapt successfully. This can also be seen in the detailed history of community organizing in the United States this past century.

3.1.2 American History

A useful way to divide up organizing in America over approximately the past one hundred years is to look at five different eras. These eras coincide with the political atmosphere of the times. The first era is called Social Welfare Neighbourhood Organizing. This occurred during the Progressive Era from 1895-1920. The second era of the 1930s Great Depression is Radical Neighbourhood Organizing. The third is the Conservative Era from the end of World War Two,

the late 1940s, until the end of the Eisenhower Administration, the late 1950s. The fourth era occurred in the 1960s when fights against poverty and racism merged with traditional organizing, during the period of the Civil Rights Movement. The fifth era is based on organizing around issues such as homelessness, unemployment, seniors, and the environment. Organizing around these issues began in the 1970s and continues today (Rubin and Rubin, 1992).

The Era of Social Welfare Community Organizing contained a number of mixed themes. During the beginning of the era, settlement houses were set up for immigrants in working class neighbourhoods. Reformers also set up community-based social service centres (Fisher, 1981). These services included education, legal aid, public baths, and recreation programs (Valocchi, 1998). Initially these community centres served to help with community self-expression (Fisher, 1981). Most of the workers were middle to upper class educated people. The working class immigrants were taught American values. Ethnic pride was discouraged and social class differences were ignored by the middle to upper class workers. Throughout this period, what initially began as a grassroots movement shifted to professionally run social service programs (Fisher, 1981).

The opposite of this occurred with the formation of international institutes during the same era. These institutes encouraged and celebrated different ethnic traditions. The goal was to build mutual respect between groups (Rubin and Rubin, 1992).

The Era of Radical Neighbourhood Organizing occurred during the Great Depression. During this time of stress, organizing efforts became very radical. Rubin and Rubin (1992) note three independent neighbourhood organizing efforts that took place. The first was the Communist Party. The Communists organized neighbourhood workers' councils aimed at changing the Party's demands to fit local needs. Protests were organized that demanded relief from the government. While this approach was neighbourhood-based, it still remained under Party control.

The second effort occurred with radical social workers. They organized the Rank and File Movement in an attempt to promote militant actions by their clients as a result of oppression felt by both their clients and the poorly paid social workers.

The third effort emerged in the second half of the 1930s and is the most important influence from this era on contemporary organizing. This is the work of Saul Alinsky. Alinsky was influenced by both the sociological perspective that social problems have a community basis and the militant labour organizing tactics of John Lewis (Rubin and Rubin, 1992). Alinsky's approach required the organizer to be invited into the community and then to organize the existing community groups around a community defined interest. Conflict strategies such as demonstrations and protests were used against those in power for the community to get the changes they wanted. The victories resulting from the

demonstrations were used to empower community members. Alinsky did not advocate changing the system. Instead, the goal was to alter some power from the 'haves' to the 'have-nots'. This approach worked best in homogeneous neighbourhoods where strong community groups were already in existence (Valocchi, 1998).

The Conservative Era of the 1950s was "a decade hostile to the political activist approach [such as that demonstrated by Alinsky] to community organizing" (Valocchi, 1998: 5). Within this era, areas of poverty and blight were either ignored or bulldozed by urban renewal programs. The major form of organizing during this time was aimed at preserving the existing social status. Suburbanization grew during this time and as a result, neighbourhood improvement associations were formed. These associations' major goals were to protect property values and maintain homogeneity of the suburbs. What this meant was that they wanted to keep working class people and minorities from moving to the suburbs (Rubin and Rubin, 1992).

The era of the 1960s saw unprecedented successes in organizing marginalized groups. Many of these formed as a result of Civil Rights Movement and Student Movement protests (Garvin and Cox, 1987). Although the new activist students meant well, many had little experience in ghettos and their attempts were rarely successful (Rubin and Rubin, 1992). While Alinsky continued to organize during this time, the new protests from groups such as the Black Panther Party differed

from Alinsky's approach in very important ways. The protests of the 1960s "emphasized fundamental social change and were profoundly ambivalent about building stable organizations" (Valocchi, 1998: 5). As a result of this they did not last long.

With the rise of the Vietnam War, federal funds were withdrawn from poverty programs. As a result, organizers of the time questioned whether the funds were present as just a means of social control rather than to help the poor (Rubin and Rubin, 1992).

The fifth era began in the 1970s and continues today. This era has shifted its focus from forming multi-purpose community organizations to issue-based organizing. Many of the issues are now more national in origin and therefore have resulted in the formation of national coalitions (Rubin and Rubin, 1992). Strength is now gained through local neighbourhoods banding together on a national scale. This can be seen in the organizing practices of ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now). Groups like ACORN altered the Alinsky model of organizing somewhat as they now are involved "in electoral politics as a way of gaining power, and [they do] not rely on support from foundations and churches but on door to door solicitation and dues paying members" (Valocchi, 1998: 5). Organizers have focused on forming more stable and permanent relationships with all levels of government in order to become active political players (Rubin and Rubin, 1992).

The focus has also shifted to an emphasis on community-based economic development as can be seen in the formation of community development corporations across the country (Rubin and Rubin, 1992; Fisher, 1994). The emphasis on protest and confrontation has shifted to a proactive developmental model of organizing (Valocchi, 1998). In order to excel in community development, "efforts must be in tune with capitalist economic development and have a working relationship with the powers that be in the public and private sector...The grassroots no longer 'fight the power'. They fight for a share of the power" (Fisher, 1994: 15-16). What this means is that the major focus of community development has shifted from the hostile activist approach of the previous decades to a time where changes to the system are being made through working within the present system. As Rivera stated, "there are two types of organizing...One that is *for*, the other is *against*. Now you have to be *for* something. It's a different style of organizing" (Fisher, 1994: 15).

Since the 1980s there has also been a reemergence of voluntary-sector community work efforts as a way to address social problems. This increase is directly related to the decline in public social services of that time (Fisher, 1994).

Two major changes have occurred since the early to mid 1980s. First of all, organizers are beginning to realize that there is a need for greater structural changes rather than focusing only on decision-making and participation within

the current system. Secondly, during this time, community organizations have also achieved greater political influence (S. Blake, personal communication: July 2000).

This brief analysis of the history of community organizing illustrates a few important points. The first point is that the practice of organizing is always changing and being adapted to suit the needs of the times. The political atmosphere definitely affects the type of organizing that occurs. Changes also occur because organizers are always finding out what works and what does not work. Organizing practice needs to be accommodating and willing to mature with time.

3.2 MODELS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

As organizing practice matures and more types of strategies are created, different models emerge. While those who have divided up the different approaches into models have been criticized that practice is not so simple that everything can be separated and labeled, it is helpful on the other hand for examining the different organizing ideologies that exist. Three different attempts to create models of community organizing practice will be discussed. The first is by Rothman and Tropman (1987), the second is by Miller, Rein, and Levitt (1995), and the third is a feminist perspective.

3.2.1 Rothman and Tropman

Rothman and Tropman (1987) have identified three different models of community organization. These include locality development, social planning, and social action. Locality development assumes that change within the community must come from the participation of as many community members as possible. Residents must be involved in both decision making and action activities. Typically, a locality development-type organization is found within the field of community development. Some areas of focus include "democratic procedures, voluntary cooperation, self-help, development of indigenous leadership, and educational objectives" (Rothman and Tropman, 1987: 5). Under this model, community members are viewed as citizens that are involved in an interactional problem-solving process. The role of the practitioner or organizer is an enabler-catalyst and coordinator. The professional is also to be a teacher of decision-making skills for community members. Power structures are viewed as fellow collaborators in the decision-making process. Generally speaking, this model should be used in situations where communities are homogeneous and there is consensus within the community (Rothman and Tropman, 1987).

The second model is social planning. This approach examines social problems with a technical problem-solving process. Experts are required for this and citizen participation is not always necessary. The focus is on creating social plans and policies in the most efficient and cost-effective way. The major goal therefore, is

for experts to decide what people need and deliver it to them. What is absent from this approach is "building community capacity or fostering radical or fundamental social change" (Rothman and Tropman, 1987: 6). Within this model, community members are viewed as consumers and they are recipients of the products produced by professionals. The role of the practitioner is that of a researcher, program implementer, and facilitator. The power structure is usually the employer of the practitioner and is therefore viewed as a sponsor. This model is used best when solutions to a community's problems are easily solved with research and its implementations (Rothman and Tropman, 1987).

The third model is social action. This approach of organization assumes that a group of disadvantaged people needs to be organized to begin demanding more resources or fair treatment from the larger society. The demands being made are usually calling for a change in the distribution of power. The organizing of Saul Alinsky discussed earlier best typifies this model. While this approach is used less often today, it is still used at times (Rothman and Tropman, 1987). This approach views community members quite differently than the social planning model. Community members are seen as victims. Their role is to become employers, constituents, and members of the community in which they live. Organizers are to be activist advocates, agitators, and negotiators. The power structures within society are viewed as oppressors of the community members that must be coerced or overturned. This model is used most effectively in communities with a lot of conflict and hostility (Rothman and Tropman, 1987).

Rothman and Tropman (1987) warn that these three models are not exclusive nor are they set in stone. The approaches do overlap and portions of one approach may be needed to make another approach work in certain contexts. More than one of these models may also be used by the same organization at different times.

3.2.2 Miller, Rein, and Levitt

Miller, Rein, and Levitt (1995) have identified seven forms of community organizing that are currently important to the profession. These include the organizing of organizations, the organization of residence, the organization around consumption, organizing around identity, self-help and mutual aid organizing, advocacy organizing, and mixed models.

The organization of organizations involves several organizations being brought together to act on one issue. Saul Alinsky inspired most organizing along these lines. The Alinsky method, as discussed earlier, involves a community organization such as a church requesting help from an outside organizer. The organizer brings existing organizations together to form a coalition. The issue that requires change focuses on a villain. Tactics such as embarrassing those in power in order to cause change were employed. These successes are used to build confidence in the organizations. Many current organizing bodies based on

the Alinsky model differ somewhat in that they are involved in electoral politics and are national bodies (Miller, Rein, and Levitt, 1995).

The organization of residence is 'grassroots' organizing that brings together people that live in the same geographical area. It can focus on systemic change but this is not always the case. This method organizes individuals into a collective organization. Fred Ross, who worked with Alinsky, used an approach of house meetings of social circles to build up interest in an area. The house meetings are used to prepare for larger community meetings but begin small-scale in familiar and comfortable surroundings. Door-to-door canvassing for membership such as the type ACORN does is also considered part of the organizing of residence approach. Local groups such as residents groups can also start organizing residences (Miller, Rein, and Levitt, 1995).

Organization around consumption involves unions focusing on organizing around issues such as problems of residents and the spending of income. This has become the focus due to the weakness of unions to organize around production issues. The majority of these efforts are focused on "immediate, small-scale, concrete disturbances, seldom leading to ideological demands for larger changes, let alone transformative shifts" despite the fact that many analysts view much union organizing work as being, " 'the new social movements' " (Miller, Rein, and Levitt, 1995: 115).

Organizing around identity involves organizing people according to principles of justice or equality. It involves organizing around race, ethnicity, and gender, for example. The major focus is on groups that have been left out by traditional class-based organizing. This approach to organizing differs from others above because it does not necessarily focus on a specific geographical area. Organizing around identity means that "'who you are' is the axis for mobilization" (Miller, Rein, and Levitt, 1995: 115). The major goal of this approach is to change the system rather than just making improvements on a local or national level.

Self-help and mutual aid organizing encourages groups facing similar hardships to get together and help each other usually without structurally changing society. The group is organized by those who use the provided service. Types of groups include those "organized around various addictions (drugs, eating), severe health difficulties, or similar traumas (for example, MADD- Mothers Against Drunk Driving)" (Miller, Rein, and Levitt, 1995: 116).

Advocacy organizing involves one group organizing and fighting for change on behalf of another group. An example is the Children's Defense Fund. An advocacy organization "speaks in the name and interest of a population but is not responsible to it" (Miller, Rein, and Levitt, 1995: 117). The group being advocated for is not a member or client of the organization.

The use of mixed models is the final category of organizing methods. This category is not specific but involves the use of more than one of the six approaches described above. Many organizations will use multiple methods and may actually use different forms as the organization grows.

While it is tempting to try and match up the categories from the Rothman and Tropman (1987) and the Miller, Rein, and Levitt (1995) pieces of literature, the results would not be successful. It seems as though the categories do not exactly fit and some overlap while others apply to more than one model from the two approaches. For instance, social action could be included in both organizing of organizations and organizing around identity. On the other hand, organizing around identity does not necessarily fit into the social action model because organizing around identity does not always refer to a specific geographical area and because social action has been criticized for not being sensitive to identities such as gender and race. These two different approaches to labeling organizing models are useful in identifying the types of organizing that occurred in the past and that are occurring today. As the profession matures, new categories will have to be made while old ones will need to be changed and adapted.

3.2.3 A Feminist Model

Community organizing practice has been divided up into various models and classifications by many people. It is important to look at these various models of community organizing to better understand what types of organizing women take

part in. In the past the special contributions that women bring to organizing practice were omitted from these classifications. Feminists began to criticize these models for this exact reason (Wharf, 1997). What they have concluded is that,

> feminist definitions of community work have transcended traditional ones by drawing attention to women's needs for a form of community work which meets their specific needs as women, acknowledges women's contribution to their communities and community action, and demands the elimination of gender oppression (Dominelli, 1990: 2).

Out of this need for women's community work to be validated within the discipline of community development, Dominelli (1990) proposed six models of community work. These models addressed not just the class differences in society but also the gender and racial inequalities. While three of these models are similar to other traditional classifications, the remaining three address the missing acknowledgements of women's community work that were needed (Wharf, 1997). The six models include the following:

1. Community Care;
2. Community Organization;
3. Community Development;
4. Class-based Community Action;
5. Feminist Community Action; and
6. Community Action from a Black Perspective (Dominelli, 1990).

Wharf (1997) compared Dominelli's approach with the more traditional classification of community organizing by Rothman and Tropman that includes

locality development, social planning, and social action as categories. Dominelli's three models that follow traditional classifications can be linked with the three models by Rothman and Tropman. Her community development model is comparable to locality development, community organization is similar to social planning, and class-based community action is tied with social action (Wharf, 1997). It is the remaining three models of community care, feminist community action, and community action from a black perspective that makes Dominelli's categorization more inclusive.

Community care involves the creation of relationships and resources to care for and support community members in need. Feminists require a model such as this to be included in examining community development because women are often the ones doing this type of work. "The 'Good Neighbour Scheme', 'Meals-on-Wheels', and tenants associations concerned primarily with passing information on to landlords of the improvements tenants require, exemplify this type of community work" (Dominelli, 1990: 9). The workers and organizers of paid and most often unpaid voluntary community care are essential within communities that care about the well being of one another. Community care workers usually are so busy with day to day issues that they do not usually have time to address the larger societal issues (Wharf, 1997). They are the ones on the front lines working to keep people's lives together.

Feminist community action focuses on gender as its central organizing theme. Both private troubles and public issues that women face are addressed under this model (Wharf, 1997). Feminist community action "has transcended the boundaries of traditional community work by challenging fundamentally the nature of capitalist patriarchal social relations between men and women, women and the state, and adults and children through action which begins in the routine activities of daily life" (Dominelli, 1990: 12).

Community action from a black perspective was identified to serve the specific needs of blacks living in Britain (Wharf, 1997). This could also be applied to African Americans living in the United States and also to the similar situation faced by First Nations people in Canada. Just as feminists began to form their own agendas within community work so did blacks. With the issue of race not being a central focus of traditional models, blacks began to focus on class, gender, and other inequalities from their own point of view.

As noted above, these models have been criticized for simplifying reality. Callahan (1997) feels that Dominelli's categorization is helpful for identifying the main activities of community work but also offers a critique. She states that Dominelli creates some confusion with her various models. The way that the models are named creates the impression that only the 'action' activity differs on the basis of class, gender, and race and also that class, gender, and race

organizing does not include care, coordination, and development (Callahan, 1997).

It is evident by these models discussed above that traditional organizing and feminist organizing are similar in some respects but are quite different as well. An indepth look at practice also points out many differences.

3.3 CURRENT ORGANIZING PRACTICE AND THOUGHT

In examining current literature on community organizing from within academic journals, there appears to be a period of re-examination of past organizing practices along with a new set of organizing foci and techniques. The times are once again changing, as can be seen in this portion of the literature.

3.3.1 Women and Organizing: A Critique of Social Action

One trend in community organizing literature in the last few years is a discussion on women and organizing. In developing a feminist form of organizing, some have used the social action approach as a comparison or critique (Lee and Weeks, 1991; Stoecker and Stall, 1996). These authors examined how special situations women face in society were left out of the social action type of organizing by organizers such as Saul Alinsky.

Organizers such as Alinsky separate the public and private spheres. It is assumed that organizing takes place in the public sphere despite the fact that

problems begin in the private sphere (Leo and Weeks, 1991). Feminist organizing, on the other hand, brings the private sphere or the home and family, which is traditionally seen as the 'female' sphere, into the realm of community organizing. Issues such as "tenant rights, local daycares, and youth programs define a sphere which is public, yet closer to home and demonstrates the importance of the interconnections between spheres" (Stoecker and Stall, 1996: 7).

Another criticism is that organizers similar to Alinsky usually organize based on class conflict. There is no acknowledgement of the different sexes- either within the organized or the organizers (Lee and Weeks, 1991). Also, "within the women-centered [sic] model, the maintenance and development of social cohesion- personal connections with others that provide a safe environment for people to develop, change and grow- is more immediately important than conflict to gain institutional power"(Stoecker and Stall, 1996: 9).

Feminists also have a problem with the social action approach in that it assumes that there is an existing community to organize. They note that due to limited group participation by females in the socialization process along side their segregated domestic and employment lives, women have not had a chance to form their own communities. Therefore, before any type of social action can begin, feminist community organizers have found that a community of women must first be built (Leo and Weeks, 1991).

When beginning to organize, the first major goal of feminists is to "deal with women's sense of powerlessness and low self-esteem- before they can effectively involve them in sustained organizing efforts" (Stoecker and Stall, 1996: 10). When organizing women, the best way to start is with small groups to discuss difficulties in each of their daily lives. Small groups allow confidence and trust to be built (Stoecker and Stall, 1996).

It appears that the mistakes and omissions made by past social action oriented organizers are being examined and used to create a new form of community organizing that is more sensitive to the needs of women and therefore will be more beneficial to the whole community. It is important when critiquing models of the past to keep in mind that community organizing efforts should be focused on the most vulnerable in society. Women have been the backbone of society for so long without due credit that their needs were even omitted when communities were being rebuilt. It is the work of feminists that have brought back the most vulnerable in society to be a part of the community organizing process. A feminist approach to community organizing would most comfortably fit into both the locality development category of Rothman and Tropman (1987), the organizing around identity category of Miller, Rein, and Levitt (1995), and the community development model from Dominelli (1990).

3.3.2 Eastern Influences in Organizing

An interesting example of an attempt to find more effective forms of community organizing is seen in a model of organizing based on the Samurai warrior from Japanese culture and tradition. This approach stresses that power is the most important aspect of organizing but that the potential for power can be just as powerful. The threat of power keeps the opposition "guessing as to what course of action the organizer will take, thereby making the opposition waste time and energy trying to come up with a matching strategy for an action that has not yet occurred" (Rivera, 1990: 236).

There are four important aspects that are included in this approach including extending, keeping a record, controlling the opposition's expectations, and timing (Rivera, 1990). Extending refers to the exaggeration of the opponent's expectations of what the community is trying to change. What this means is that if the community is asking for more than they really want, the exaggerated demands can usually be talked down to the changes they actually wanted. The opposition will feel that *they* were the ones who succeeded talking the community down from their huge demands (Rivera, 1990).

Keeping a record is an important method used to understand how the opponent reacts to pressure. The organizer should know all aspects of the opponent's strengths and weaknesses. During times of weakness, there is a gap. It is this gap, "however slight, that gives organizers the opportunity to move in and

capitalize on the opposition's mistakes" (Rivera, 1990: 238). Organizers also need to be aware of when they are at their weakest moments as well. The opposition will also try to make the organizer weak during gaps. Organizers need to sense these tactics and begin "counterattacking before the attack" (Rivera, 1990: 239).

Controlling the opposition's expectations is crucial to this approach. This technique involves portraying confidence at all times. This may involve psychological tricks such as introducing the item of discussion by masking it with a controversial issue. Once the opposition is so angry and upset by it, the actual topic is introduced. The opposition is then so exhausted that as a result is more likely to accept the real proposal. Organizers are reminded not to be intimidated or distracted by impressive boardrooms or presentations made by the opposition. Instead, organizers are to appear calm and totally unaffected at all times (Rivera, 1990).

Timing is the final technique of this approach. Organizers need to figure out the appropriate times to act and react. Acting just as an opponent begins their move permits the organizer to move in before the opponent has a chance to build a solid view. Reacting after the opposition has completed their move may also be effective as it may catch them relaxed and off-guard (Rivera, 1990).

The outline of this approach concludes that it is so important to not make the battle a personal one. If this occurs, the opponent may feel desperate and Rivera (1990: 241) warns that "a desperate opponent is unpredictable, and all may be lost".

This technique is one that had not been mentioned in the literature prior to Rivera's article. The strategizing is appropriate in a system such as ours where conditions in inner city neighbourhoods are much like war zones where many people live in poverty and in a state of fear. If confrontation will lead to disaster, strategies such as these may be effective in achieving goals. This approach would most likely form a category of its own. It does not appear to fit into any of the categories listed above. This may become an approach for future model creation.

3.3.3 Focusing on Resources: Community Building

Community building is an organizing approach that is a result of the growth of community development corporations (CDCs) in inner city communities. The idea behind community building is for CDCs to get residents involved in their communities again.

There are a number of themes that are required within the community building process. The Development Training Institute, Inc. states that community building should be (Kingsley, McNeely, and Gibson, 1999: 31):

1. "Focused on specific improvement initiatives in a manner that reinforces values and builds social and human capital;
2. Community driven with broad residential involvement;
3. Comprehensive, strategic, and entrepreneurial;
4. Asset-based;
5. Tailored to neigbourhood scale and conditions;
6. Collaboratively linked to the broader society to strengthen community institutions and enhance outside opportunities for residents; and
7. Consciously changing institutional barriers and racism."

Organizing requires that community members empower themselves. People need to begin to believe that as people they can play an important role in developing their community. They need to know within themselves that they can indeed set goals and achieve them (O'Donnell and Schumer, 1996).

An effective way of building esteem and pride is by focusing on the strengths and resources, both existing and potential, within the community. One way of doing this is by creating an assets map of the community. This requires looking at different layers of community resources and what each has to offer. The centre of the map contains the skills of individuals. The second layer is a set of resources that can be found within community groups and organizations or 'associations' such as churches and recreation centres. The third layer is the power and resources of institutions within the community including libraries, schools, and

parks (Kretzmann, 1995). This compilation will allow the community to use the newly found resources to their advantage. While outside help may still be required, Kretzmann (1995: 5) notes that,

> It is now in a position to control and define help, to focus and direct outside resources to the locally generated agenda and plans. Rather than existing as an object of charity, such a community will say to the outside world: We are mobilized and powerful, we are a sure-fire investment.

As stated above, social capital is also crucial for community building. Social capital refers to the "stocks of social trust, norms, and networks that people can draw upon in order to solve common problems" (Lang and Hornburg, 1998: 4). There are two aspects to social capital including social glue and social bridges. First of all, social glue refers to the extent that people are involved in and feel trust within group activities. Group involvement and the level of trust are dependent upon and effect one another.

Secondly, social bridges are the linkages between groups of people. These bridges not only link these groups together but also link people with groups outside of the community (Lang and Hornburg, 1998).

Further organizing strategies of community building are contradictory to the confrontational tactics of Alinsky-type organizing. The goal is to "build strong organizations, develop local leaders, forge strong partnerships and associations at the local level, and search for common ground among disparate interests"

(Traynor, 1995: 4). Organizers must have a number of important skills, some of which are not easily taught or learned. For instance they must be good listeners, they must be effective strategists, they must have good organizational and planning skills, and they must be able to create trust, hope, and the desire to participate among community residents (Traynor, 1995).

This approach can be best compared with Rothman and Tropman's (1987) locality development, Miller, Rein, and Levitt's (1995) organization of residences, and Dominelli's (1990) community development models.

3.4 APPLYING CURRENT PLANNING THOUGHT TO COMMUNITY ORGANIZING LITERATURE

In the previous chapter, current planning thought was analyzed to form the basis for this study. Since it is the foundation of this practicum it is important that the community organizing literature explored within this chapter is applied to the thoughts presented in chapter two. Table 3-1 illustrates the links between community organizing literature and planning theory. The models that were presented earlier in this chapter are categorized under the three planning theories of equity planning, collaborative planning, and radical planning. It is important to note that this process of categorization is quite generalized and does not imply that other parts of theory could not be used within these models.

Table 3-1: Community Organizing Links to Current Planning Thought

Equity Planning	*Collaborative Planning*	*Radical Planning*
Social Planning/ Community Organization -examines social problems with a technical problem solving process -experts are required for this and citizen participation is not always necessary -experts decide what people need **Advocacy Organizing** -involves one group organizing and fighting for change on behalf of another group **Community Care** -creation of relationships and resources to care for and support community members in need	**Locality Development/ Community Development** -community change occurs when as many community members as possible participate -interactional problem solving process -practitioner is coordinator and teacher of decision-making skills **Self-help/Mutual Aid Organizing** -encourages groups facing similar hardships to get together and help each other usually without structurally changing society	**Social Action/ Class-based Community Action** -calls for change in the distribution of power -Saul Alinsky organizing -community members are victims whose role it is to become employers, constituents, and members of their communities -organizers are activist advocates, agitators, and negotiators **Organizing around Identity** -organizing of people according to principles of justice or equality -this involves organizing around race, ethnicity, and gender, for example -the major goal is to change the system **Feminist Community Action** -challenges the nature of capitalist patriarchal social relations **Community Action from a Black Perspective** -blacks focus on class, gender, race, and other inequalities

By classifying various community organizing models that have been discussed in this chapter under these planning theory headings it can then be used as an analysis tool for the results found within the empirical research portion of this practicum.

3.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has attempted to explore where community organizing in North America has been in the past, where it is at today, and where it may be in the future. It is evident in examining the history of organizing that the methods used to organize communities depend a lot on the political and economic situations of the time. Community organizers need to be aware of and understand the changing political and economic climate in order to see substantial results within their communities. If current conditions persist for some time into the future, community organizers will need to follow the model of community building. As times change and government funding dwindles, community organizers will have to understand how to use the resources available to the community's advantage to both attract further resources and to build the community's economic capacity in order to create further resources of their own. This situation might actually be beneficial in the sense that the grassroots level of the neighbourhood will be increasingly encouraged to take part in the improvement of their community. This factor will be a driving force within the remainder of this practicum. Since community building has increased in these times, it will be necessary to see how Winnipeg's inner city community organizers are responding. It is important to

determine in the context of this study whether or not community organizers within this particular city are turning to community building techniques or relying largely on traditional community organizing processes.

Chapter Four

Methodology

This chapter is intended to introduce and discuss the process being used for the empirical portion of the research. Before the empirical data can be analyzed and discussed it is important to understand the method that was used to acquire the data for this study. The reason for this is to discover the importance of the choice of method and its meaning to the topic of this study. Different methods will result in a different overall meaning to this practicum. For instance, gathering data from community organizers by mail, over the phone, or in person will have different effects on the study. Therefore it is necessary to explore the method chosen and how it will shape the research.

To begin with, the research method being used for this study, interviewing, will be explored. This will include a discussion of both the interview technique being used as well as how the information will be analyzed within the next chapter. After this there will be a closer examination of the participants. This will include an exploration of Winnipeg's inner city- where the participants do their work. Finally, the actual form of the interview will be examined. The issues to be addressed within the interviews will be covered at that point.

Before getting into the specifics of this particular project, it is important to first take a closer look at the research method of interviewing, how it will be utilized within this study, and why it is important here.

4.1 INTERVIEWING METHODOLOGY

There are a number of reasons to choose interviewing as a research method. Interviewing allows both the researcher and the participant to interact and share their ideas based on the questions and answers. This method also allows for researchers to have quick and immediate responses (Brenner, Brown, and Canter, 1985).

On the other hand, there are disadvantages to interviewing as a research method. Some of these disadvantages include the fact that the type of information gathered is not as in-depth as with some methods such as participant observation. It is also difficult for a researcher to learn about factors that affect how participants behave within the context of an interview (Chadwick, Bahr, and Albrecht, 1984). In-depth interviews can also become quite biased due to their face-to-face nature (Brenner, Brown, and Canter, 1985). Despite these disadvantages, this research will rely on interviewing to gather empirical data. In order to better understand the quality of work being done by inner city community organizers, it is important to speak face-to-face with them in order to get an in-person account of their work. Since this practicum focuses on bringing people together to effect change it is felt here that in-person interviews supports the

premise of this practicum rather than mailing out questionnaires or interviewing by telephone.

4.1.1 Qualitative Interviewing

The interviews will use a combination of qualitative formats of the interview guide approach and the standardized open-ended interview approach as described by Patton (1990). The interview guide approach involves the researcher having a list of issues that are required to be addressed during each interview. The researcher then uses this list throughout the interview as a topic guide and can ask questions based on this guide. The researcher can then shape the interview in any way so long as it follows the guide. This allows the researcher the freedom to pursue information by asking further questions without the confines of a predetermined set of questions that cannot be modified (Patton, 1990).

The standardized open-ended interview approach consists of a set of questions written out beforehand that are asked in the exact same words and order to every participant. This seeks to minimize interviewer bias during the interview process since every participant is to be asked the exact same questions. It also allows for easier data analysis since the responses can be easily located. This method, on the other hand, does not allow for the benefits that the interview guide approach offers. These include, not being allowed to pursue topics brought up in the interview that are not included in the set questions and also not being able to ask questions in different ways that allow participants to best articulate

their experiences (Patton, 1990). A combination of the two approaches allows the researcher the benefit of having set questions but also the flexibility to make on the spot decisions to ask further questions during an interview.

The design of the interview instrument used in this study uses both of these methods and will be explored later in this chapter. Using both of these methods has been beneficial to keeping the issues that need to be addressed in focus while at the same time, allowing the researcher and the participants the freedom to explore other issues within the realm of the subject.

4.1.2 Interviewing Numbers

The number of participants needed for a study is not set in stone. Seidman (1991) has come up with two helpful criteria for making this decision. These include sufficiency and saturation of information (Seidman, 1991: 45). Sufficiency refers to how the numbers of participants being selected for the study are representative of the population. Will those inner city community organizers not being interviewed within this study feel that the work they are doing is represented within the study? Will they be able to identify with the results?

Saturation of information will occur when the information that the researcher is receiving from participants has become repetitive and nothing new is being learned (Seidman, 1991; Neuman, 1997).

Because Winnipeg is a relatively small city and the inner city obviously smaller still, it is believed that the participants within this study will be representative of the community organizing profession.

4.1.3 Interview Analysis

As stated in the first chapter, after each audio-taped interview occurs the data will be transcribed and analyzed. This allows for any changes that need to be made to occur as the study progresses. Once most of the data has been collected, in-depth analysis can begin (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992).

The first step in analysis is to organize the data into categories and create themes. This is referred to as the coding of data (Patton, 1990). Neuman (1997) suggests going through a three level process of coding beginning with open coding followed by axial coding, and finally selective coding.

Open coding refers to going through the data for the first time and identifying themes and initial codes in order to condense the data. This allows the themes to emerge.

The next step is to go through the data for a second time and begin the axial coding. Within this process, the themes that were identified during open coding are the focus rather than the raw data itself. The researcher looks for linkages between the various themes.

Finally, selective coding occurs as the researcher goes through the data for the last time. Since the major themes and ideas within the data have been identified by this stage the task here is to look for cases that support the themes and to make comparisons and contrasts.

The purpose of coding is to classify data in order to be able to search for patterns and themes within a specific case or across cases (Patton, 1990). Once the data is coded it can then go through the analysis process of "examining, sorting, categorizing, evaluating, comparing, synthesizing, and contemplating" (Neuman, 1997: 427).

4.2 THE SAMPLE

4.2.1 Participants[1]

The sample used within this research consisted of organizers from within Winnipeg's inner city. Being unfamiliar with specific organizers within Winnipeg, the researcher relied on suggestions from others when selecting participants. Suggestions came from people familiar with the inner city including the practicum committee for this study, particularly the main advisor. As interviews were conducted, participants suggested others that could potentially contribute to this study. Some of these suggestions supported names already on the participant

[1] The term participants is being used within this study rather than respondent or interviewee. Seidman (1991: 8) suggests that 'participant' brings with it a greater feeling of active involvement and equity within an interview relationship.

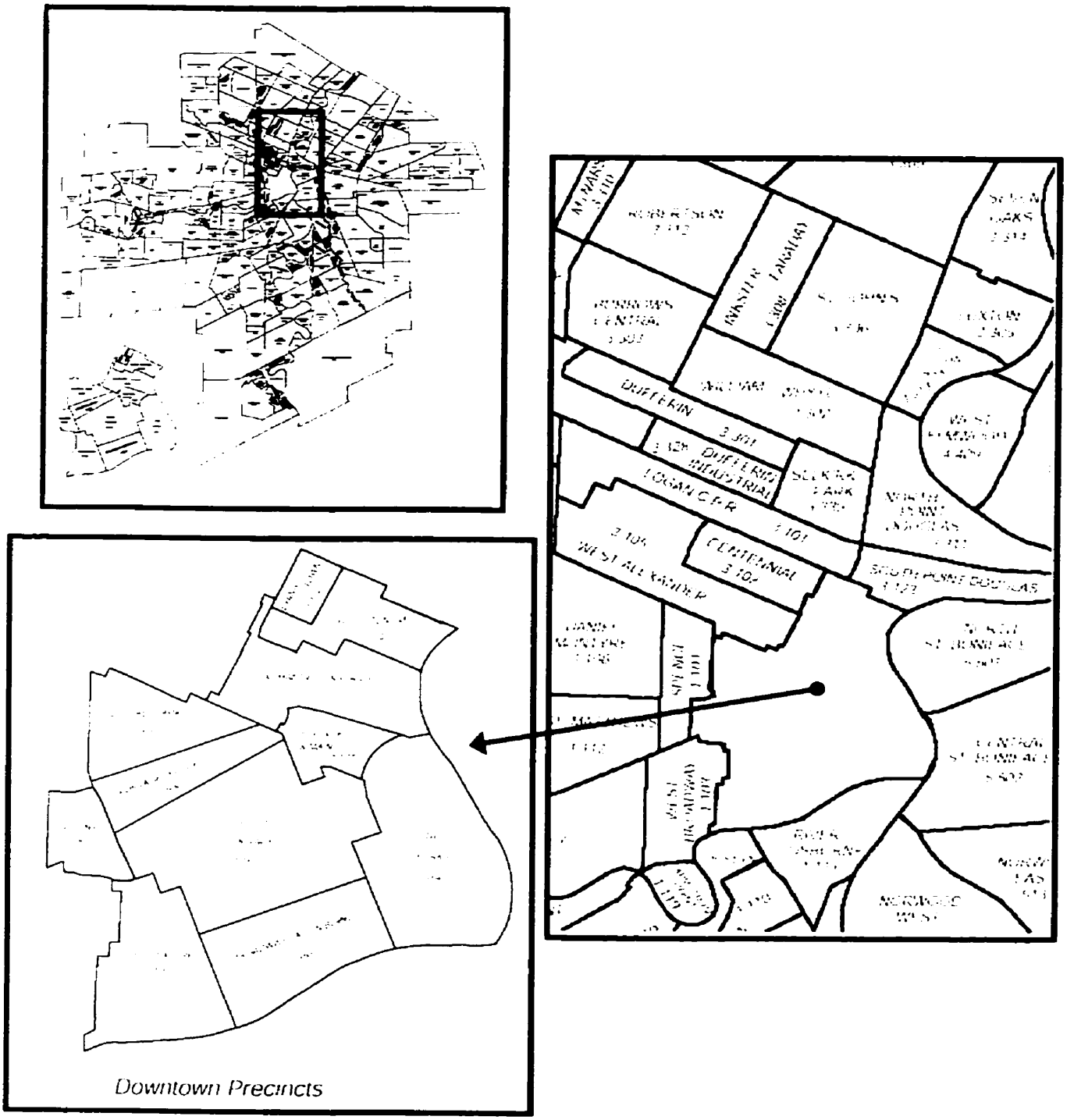
list, while some suggestions were added to the list, and finally other suggestions revealed to be inappropriate once contacted or unavailable to take part in this study.

In the end, twelve interviews were conducted for this research. This group was well represented in terms of gender with half of the participants being women. Race, on the other hand was not representative of the inner city in Winnipeg, as noted below, with only three of the participants being non-white and only two of the three being Aboriginal. The organizers worked both within governmental and non-profit organizations. A large majority of the participants were doing organizing work from within local non-profit community organizations.

4.2.2 The Inner City

In order to understand the type of work that the participants are doing within Winnipeg's inner city it is important here to briefly introduce some statistical data and define the boundaries of the inner city being used within this study. Since it is the inner city that is the focus here, the description of the inner city is an important part of the characteristics of this research sample. For purposes of this discussion, sixteen inner city neighbourhoods have been selected as indicated in Figure 4-1. These sixteen neighbourhoods include Centennial, Dufferin, Dufferin Industrial, Inkster-Faraday,

Figure 4-1: Winnipeg's Inner City Neighbourhoods



Source: (City of Winnipeg Planning Department, 1993).

Logan-C.P.R., Lord Selkirk Park, Luxton, Main Street North (includes the downtown precincts of Chinatown and Civic Centre), North Point Douglas, St. John's, St. John's Park, Spence, South Point Douglas, West Alexander, West Broadway, and William Whyte (City of Winnipeg and Statistics Canada, 1996). This is the area being defined as Winnipeg's inner city within this document.

All of these sixteen neighbourhoods show indications of being 'poorer' than the city as a whole. The factors proving this include the percentage of homes being rented versus being owned, the type of home being occupied, dwelling unit condition, the percentage of lone-parent families, unemployment rates, income, and race.

Within the city as a whole, 62.0% of homes are owned and 38.0% are rented as of 1996. The majority of dwelling units (59.4%) are single-detached houses, whereas apartment buildings constitute 30.7% (City of Winnipeg and Statistics Canada, 1996). Most of the sixteen inner city neighbourhoods appear to be quite different than the make-up of the entire city. Rentals are generally higher than ownership in these areas as seen in Table 4-1.

The most common type of dwelling unit within the inner city is apartment buildings followed by single-detached houses (Table 4-1). Within many areas the proportions are mixed while in some areas, the differences are staggering. For example, in West Broadway 85.5% of dwelling units are apartment buildings

while in Inkster-Faraday 78.2% of dwelling units are single detached houses (City of Winnipeg and Statistics Canada, 1996).

Within the inner city areas being examined here, the dwelling units generally require more major repairs than dwelling units within Winnipeg as a whole. The housing stock within the inner city areas also tends to be older than the city in general (City of Winnipeg and Statistics Canada, 1996).

The percentage of single-parent family structures within the city is quite a bit lower (16.6%) than thirteen of the sixteen inner city neighbourhoods within Table 4-1(City of Winnipeg and Statistics Canada, 1996).

The unemployment rates for all sixteen areas were greater than that for the city of Winnipeg as a whole (8.2%) (Table 4-1). The lowest unemployment rate was 10.1% in Luxton and the highest was 33.3% in both Lord Selkirk Park and South Point Douglas (City of Winnipeg and Statistics Canada, 1996).

The average household income within the city of Winnipeg was $44,937 in 1996. This was almost double the average household income in any of the inner city neighbourhoods as indicated in Table 4-1.

The racial make-up of these neighbourhoods is also an interesting factor making this area different from the city as a whole. Within the city of Winnipeg, Aboriginal

peoples make up 7.1% of the population. Other visible minorities make up 11.9% of the city's population (City of Winnipeg and Statistics Canada, 1996). Within the inner city neighbourhoods, Aboriginal peoples make up a large proportion of the population such as in Centennial where 49.5% of the population is Aboriginal. There is also a large proportion of various other visible minority groups within these neighbourhoods such as in Spence where 39.2% of the population is a visible minority (see Table 4-1) (City of Winnipeg and Statistics Canada, 1996). Some of the predominant visible minority groups within these neigbourhoods include Blacks, Chinese, South East Asians, and Filipinos.

The statistical information that has been discussed here is summarized in Table 4-1. An obvious trend emerges in the poverty ranking within this table. With '1' indicating the highest indicator of poverty and '16' indicating the lowest indicator of poverty, it becomes evident that certain neighbourhoods within Winnipeg's inner city have much more serious poverty issues than do others.

All of these distinguishing features of Winnipeg's inner city indicate that compared with the rest of the city, this area indeed has the indicators of being a poverty striken inner city. Home rental is high, homes are older and rundown, unemployment is high, incomes are low, single-parenthood is high, and ethnic minorities are the majority in the area.

Table 4-1: Summary of Winnipeg's Inner City Census Data and Poverty Ranking, 1996

	% of rental dwellings	% of single-parent family structures	Unemployment rates	Average household income	% Aboriginals	% visible minorities
Winnipeg	38.0	16.6	8.2	$44,937	7.1	11.9
Centennial	79.8 (5)	40.0 (6)	29.0 (5)	$18,294 (6)	49.5 (1)	25.2 (5)
Dufferin	68.0 (7)	47.8 (2)	22.9 (10)	$19,797 (7)	42.2 (3)	18.3 (7)
Dufferin Industrial	40.0 (14)	20.0 (13)	15.4 (13)	N/A	23.3 (11)	41.4 (2)
Inkster-Faraday	28.5 (16)	24.1 (12)	13.1 (14)	$31,086 (13)	14.5 (13)	16.3 (8)
Logan-C.P.R.	72.4 (6)	54.5 (1)	26.3 (7)	$18,147 (5)	36.7 (5)	22.5 (6)
Lord Selkirk Park	89.1 (3)	46.2 (3)	33.3 (1)	$16,513 (2)	47.9 (2)	9.1 (15)
Luxton	28.8 (15)	24.7 (11)	10.1 (16)	$36,007 (14)	14.1 (14)	8.8 (16)
Main Street North	100 (1)	0.0 (15)	23.9 (9)	$17,556 (3)	4.8 (16)	90.3 (1)
North Point Douglas	61.5 (10)	30.0 (9)	26.4 (6)	$22,961 (10)	36.1 (6)	12.3 (13)
St. John's	46.7 (13)	27.3 (10)	18.7 (11)	$28,146 (12)	24.3 (10)	12.7 (12)
St. John's Park	57.7 (12)	12.9 (14)	11.5 (15)	$39,130 (15)	9.1 (15)	16.3 (8)
Spence	80.6 (4)	41.7 (5)	30.3 (3)	$17,674 (4)	28.0 (8)	39.2 (3)
South Point Douglas	66.7 (8)	0.0 (15)	33.3 (1)	$20,572 (9)	33.8 (7)	9.9 (14)
West Alexander	63.7 (9)	30.1 (8)	18.1 (12)	$25,825 (11)	18.3 (12)	37.0 (4)
West Broadway	95.2 (2)	44.1 (4)	29.2 (4)	$16,211 (1)	27.8 (9)	14.3 (11)
William Whyte	60.8 (11)	37.7 (7)	26.3 (7)	$20,460 (8)	37.8 (4)	15.6 (10)

Source: (City of Winnipeg and Statistics Canada, 1996).

Now that the characteristics of the sample itself and of the area in which they work have been explored, it is important to look at how the empirical data for this study was collected or in other words, the characteristics of the interview process.

4.3 THE INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

The interview instrument was created based on the questions that were formed as a result of the literature review. The interview format, an interview guide approach combined with the standardized open-ended interview approach, consists of three major parts. See Appendix B for the research instrument.

4.3.1 Parts One and Two

The first two parts of the interview follow the interview guide approach. Since the questions being asked were quite in-depth, part one and part two were given to each participant prior to the interview in order for them to be able to prepare their responses more accurately and sufficiently.

Part one asks the participants to think back and describe in full detail a specific example of the process that was used in one of their most successful or most rewarding experiences of organizing a community around an issue from the beginning to the completion of that project. Asking participants to describe a specific example rather than asking them general questions about their

organizing techniques is an attempt to eliminate responses from being 'ideals' rather than what actually occurs in everyday life.

Part two asks participants the same question but instead of using one of their most successful examples they are asked to describe one of their least successful experiences. The goal within this question is to discover what has not worked for participants in the past and at the same time to look at the techniques that are being used.

4.3.1.1 Interview Guide

Since part one and two are the sections using the interview guide approach, there are a number of issues that are required to be addressed within the interviews. A list of questions that needed to be answered within the participants' descriptions within parts one and two were brought along to each interview. These questions were only asked if the participants did not address these issues throughout their responses. These questions were formed as a result of the literature review and the following set of elements of community organization typologies summarized by Kramer and Specht (1983:15):

1. "the *character of the action system* (for example, grass roots organizations, 'elitist' planning councils);
2. the *locality* (for example, neighborhood, region);
3. the *substantive nature of problems dealt with* (for example housing, education);
4. the *character of the issues* (for example, conflict-generating issues, consensus-producing issues);
5. the *character of the 'target' system* (that is, the system to be changed, for example, public assistance agency, board of education);

6. the *organizational structures developed* (for example, mass movements, planning committees of professionals representing agencies);
7. the *role of the professional worker* (for example, activist, enabler);
8. the *sponsor of the project* (for example, voluntary association, public agency)."

Each issue that is required to be addressed within the interviews was made into question form so that when participants needed to be asked about an issue, each would be asked in the same way in order to maintain consistency. Each question within the interview guide will now be looked at and their significance to the study will be discussed.

Who or what was being organized? It is important for this research to determine first of all whether it is people or resources that are being organized. Secondly, it is important to find out what types of people are being organized. For example, are they an already organized group?

In what specific area of the city did this process occur? This question is not for analytical purposes. Instead it was needed in order to make sure that when defining the boundaries of the inner city, as discussed earlier in this chapter, that all participants' work was included within this area of this city.

What type of issue were you organizing around? This refers to issues such as housing, education, safety, children, etc. When determining the types of organizing being used within the analytical stage it is important to know the issues.

Was the goal to produce conflict or consensus? How was that achieved? Once again, this question is important for determining what type of organizing is occuring.

Who or what was the target of the organizing process? The target may be actual individuals or groups such as landlords or politicians or it may be an organization or government body. The target is important for determining the purpose of the organizing.

Was the organizing aimed at making changes to the existing structural economic, social, and political system? If so, what was to be changed? How was the process aimed at changing the system? Understanding if the process was aimed at changing the system can be used to determine how 'radical' the organizing within Winnipeg's inner city is. The processes that are used in doing so are important for this reason.

Was the goal of the process focused on the process itself or the product of the organizing? Explain. The goal of an organizing process is very important for analysis in this study. Process versus product focused organizing therefore will have different techniques and affects on the community.

Where did funding come from for this project? Knowing where funding comes from is important in determining how much control organizers and community members have during the process. With funding often come requirements and boundaries that must be adhered to in order to receive the money. This may, as a result, limit the freedom that the community has in decision making.

What did you see was your role as an organizer within this process? How an organizer defines his or her role within a certain process is crucial to this analysis. Where the organizers feel that they fit in the process is helpful in determining their level of involvement in decision making.

Who called for the organizing venture? The issue here is whether the government, another organization, or the community called for the organizing. This will have an effect on how inclusive or exclusive the process is.

How did you begin the organizing process? How did you first get people involved? The techniques that organizers use to first involve community members in the organizing process are so important to how the entire process occurs. It is necessary to determine if all community members were invited into the process or if the focus was on a certain group.

How long did the organizing process last? The length of the organizing process is helpful in finding out how long the community was involved.

What types of bodies were created to help with the organizing process? The types of groups that were formed during the process can be an indicator of community involvement.

Was the organizing aimed at being a short-term activity or a permanent part of the community? This question is required to understand if the community will remain active on a particular issue or if it is just a 'one time' event that will end the process once the event is achieved.

Where did ideas come from within the process? It is important to know whom is being heard within the decision making process and what means are available for them to voice their ideas.

How were people kept interested and involved in the process? Within organizing projects that can last several years it becomes difficult to keep people involved. People living within inner cities have many obstacles within their lives and trying to make time and have energy for community projects can become difficult. Also burnout becomes a problem when the same people are continually involved.

How were community members prepared to take over the project when your work was done? In order to keep projects going once an organizer's job is

finished it is important to prepare community members to run the project successfully. Training courses and utilizing the skills available within the community are ways to do this.

How were people made aware of the consequences of the decisions that you made? If the organizer is in a position where he or she is making decisions on behalf of the community, it is necessary to determine how the community is informed, if at all.

What were the greatest obstacles? What were the achievements made? What were you happiest about? What were you disappointed about? These last four questions are helpful in determining what organizers feel are positive and negative aspects about their organizing techniques and experiences.

4.3.2 Part Three

Part three is the final section of the interview instrument. It is here that the standardized open-ended interview technique is used. Within this section each participant is asked the same four questions about their overall organizing techniques. This portion of the interview is for the participants to reflect back on their own work. The first question asks, "Do you ever or have you ever used a particular model or organizing? What is it called? Describe briefly." This question attempts to discover whether or not participants have used techniques found within the literature and also how they classify their own work.

The second question asks participants what types of evaluation systems do they use on their work. It is important to know if they look back at their work to determine the level of success and the effects that it has.

The final two questions of "What are the greatest obstacles for you as an organizer?" and "What achievements have been made?" were asked in the first two parts of the interview in reference to specific examples but here they refer to the overall techniques being used. These two questions prompt the participant to do an impromptu evaluation of their work.

This interview instrument was designed with the intent that participants would be able to describe their experiences as organizers as accurately as possible through the use of examples rather than by means of summarizing their jobs. Asking for two different examples is intended to discover what techniques work and do not work for organizers in Winnipeg's inner city communities.

4.4 CONCLUSIONS

Discussing the use of interview methodology within this chapter has served a useful purpose. This now forms a foundation or a basis for the analysis that is to occur in the next chapter. Understanding the methods used and the reasons for their selection is helpful in making better sense of the analysis. Using an interview guide approach has allowed for participants to share their experiences

in their own way without the confines of predetermined questions. Selecting in-person in-depth interviewing has permitted both the researcher and the participants to understand a lot more about this study and one another than if it had been done over the telephone. It has allowed the process to be beneficial and more equitable for both parties.

Chapter Five

Analysis of the Research Results

In-depth analysis of the data obtained through the interviews conducted for this study will occur within this chapter. The types of responses that correspond with each question will be examined and then compared. Before the analysis begins it is important to first give a brief overview of how the interviewing experience itself unfolded.

5.1 THE EXPERIENCE

As it was stated in the previous chapter, twelve community organizers from within Winnipeg's inner city were interviewed. Each interview was held at a destination indicated by the participant. While the majority of the interviews were held in the office of each participant, three of the interviews were held at local dining establishments. While the interviews that took place within the restaurants contained a few distractions, interviews that occurred within the work place had just as many distractions with phones ringing and people knocking on office doors. On average, the interviews lasted an hour. The shortest was thirty minutes and the longest was an hour and forty minutes.

One interesting point about the participants was that although the question was not asked during the interviews, seven of the twelve participants indicated that they in fact lived in the areas in which they did their organizing work. Since this

was not a specific question, the actual number could be higher. What this indicates is that the group of participants have a large stake in the work that they do - they are working within their own communities to improve the lives of the residents living there, including themselves and their own families.

5.2 RESPONSE ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON

5.2.1 Question by Question Analysis

As each interview was completed they went through a process of transcription and coding. Since an interview guide approach was used for the first two parts of the interview, each transcribed interview was coded according to the list of questions (Appendix B) that were required to be addressed during the interviews. During the interview process it was discovered that the third part of the interview instrument was quite repetitive of the previous two sections and was therefore left out of the analysis.

5.2.1.1 Part One

Who or what was being organized? Nearly all of the interviews were based on organizing processes that were based on organizing community members in general. There were a few specifics that focused on the Aboriginal community, Aboriginal women, youth, and women in a particular housing complex. Every example involved the organizing of people; none involved just the organizing of resources. Four of the examples involved organizing within an already organized

group. Another example involved the organizing of various organizations to form a community group.

In what specific area of the city did this process occur? The examples discussed by the participants throughout the interviews were well representative of the core area. The projects were not concentrated in certain parts of the core area but rather were from various neighbourhoods within the inner city. In terms of locality, there seemed to be a variety of types of communities being organized. For example, five of the organizing processes focused on an entire neighbourhood such as those specified in the previous chapter. Four examples focused on a larger area such as the inner city in general, the North End, and the Aboriginal community. Finally there were three examples that focused on a particular area within certain neighbourhoods. For example, door knocking on a particular street and organizing residents within an apartment block.

What type of issue were you organizing around? The participants indicated a number of different issues that are the causes for organzing within the inner city. There were four examples of housing issues, four examples of the organizing of community groups or residents associations, two examples of employment, and two examples of safety issues. Other issues mentioned included the formation of a community centre, youth recreation, child welfare, and a crosswalk installation. There are more than twelve examples here because some processes involved more than one issue.

Was the goal to produce conflict or consensus? How was that achieved? Most of the examples discussed by the participants were about producing consensus. These examples dealt with creating things within the community and had little to do with outside influences. There were a few however that did focus partially on conflict. The conflict took many forms such as lobbying government, taking busloads of people to meetings to make a statement, and picketing. When specifically asked this question, one participant stated:

> The goal is to create community - hopefully. I'm not sure that consensus is essential to good community and that conflict isn't an automatic disqualifier. I would think that goodwill would be essential. So that you can disagree with people- heck you can fight with people all the time. As long as you're well disposed towards them, um you can have a good relationship with them, and you can form good community relationships on that basis.

Who or what was the target of the organizing process? There were various targets of the organizing processes discussed. Within most of the examples, the target was the community itself. Some specifics include those with housing and employment needs in the community and neighbourhood youth. Other targets included the city and provincial governments, the police, a troublesome neighbour, and the child welfare system.

Was the organizing aimed at making changes to the existing structural economic, social, and political system? Only two examples discussed making changes to the existing system. The first example was not tremendously radical in nature but the community fought to change the way community consultation by

the City was conducted and ended up being in control of the process and having the experts work for them instead of the experts telling the community what they need. The second example involved the transformation of the Child Welfare System through lobbying and the formation of an alternative centre. When asked generally about this issue, one participant explained:

> Well the organizing that I've enjoyed the most or that I've worked in- I've done lots of other kinds of organizing that doesn't...existing changes is yeah. ...Um at a personal level of course, I'm a socialist so my personal interest separate from the groups I work with- and that where the difference in community organizing is- you don't go past the experiences of those people that you're working with. Uh if those people are involved in a specific issue that is a limiting issue but it is one that they are concerned- so you can only go as far as their particular issue is concerned. You can't uh what I call superimpose your particular personal value systems or whatever else.

Another participant felt that:

> The system is not a humane system. It doesn't look at the individual. Sometimes it's so grey you can't make any sense of it and sometimes it's so black and white it's utterly stupid. My whole goal is- oh definitely. I am very clear about that with everyone. Especially people I work with in the community. I mean that's my role. If the system ain't working what are we willing to do to change it?

The rest of the examples worked within the system and did not attempt to change it. One participant felt that the system did not need to be changed and stated:

> I don't think it's possible. I'm one of these who doesn't think it's possible for people to change the world. If you're lucky you can change yourself- it you're lucky. But the evidence is that most people have trouble doing that as well. But what you can do, is if you understand the way the system works- The system that is set up here isn't inherently discriminatory against people that are-are underprivileged in some way. It just as a matter of fact discriminates. And so if you understand how the system works and you know how to push the buttons you can make the system work just as well for people.

Was the goal of the process focused on the process itself or the product of the organizing? Eight of the examples discussed included the importance of both the process and the product within the organizing. Four examples focused on the product as the main goal while no examples focused solely on process. A participant who felt that both the process and the product were important stated:

> You can have a good end product but if you haven't had a good process which helped people grow and learn and move ahead, so what? It's not sustainable. If all you focus on is the product then as an organizer you're gonna know what the heck you're doing- there'll be no trouble with that- but what have you left in the community to make sure when you're gone it will continue long beyond you?

Where did funding come from for this project? Funding for the various projects came largely from government funds. Some of these included Human Resources and Development Canada, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the Winnipeg Development Agreement, the Core Area Initiative, and various provincial and federal coop housing funds. Other funding came from the United Way. Five of the examples did not receive outside funding and relied on neighbourhood resources instead such as administrative resources being donated by a participating organization, church donations, neighbourhood fundraising, other neighbourhood groups donating funds, and various other skills that people have to offer to the process.

What did you see was your role as an organizer within the process? Every participant was specifically asked to respond to this question and in every case, a list of roles was given. Nobody felt that they had only one specific role to play. One participant indicated that at times a leadership role was required while another participant stated that a leadership role was never used in the process. Terms such as supporter, resource person, educator, mediator, facilitator, advocate, make connections, mobilizer, mentor, agitator were all roles described throughout the responses by participants.

Who called for the organizing venture? In most instances the residents themselves called for the organizing to begin. In a few other cases parties such as a social worker, the community organizer, and in two instances government initiatives were responsible for starting the organizing.

How did you begin the organizing process? How did you first get people involved? To get people involved in the organizing processes discussed during the interviews most organizers began by talking with community members. Four of the examples involved door knocking to begin the process. Other examples include sending around an invitation within the community in regards to a community meeting, bringing existing organizations together and inviting new people, recruitment within the neighbourhood to form a new board, organizing a conference, calling around for support, talking to community 'gatekeepers', and choosing people representative of the community to form a group rather than

having an open meeting to form the group. A participant described this process of getting people first involved as follows:

> Well um, we had to push and push and push people to pull and pull people in (laughs). People are really hesitant you know. They're scared, they think they're gonna bother people. But we-we got people to make a notice, an invitation and pass them around. Say, 'Hey, there's a community meeting at the...centre and please come.' You know, this is what we're talking about and people don't need a whole lot to be pulled in you know except for personal contact and invitations. So yeah, it was really, let's make some notices, let's pull people in, and relatives and friends.

How long did the organizing process last? The processes discussed lasted anywhere from one month to six years. Another was two months, two lasted a year, and the remainder of them were three years and up. One process is in its sixth year and is still continuing.

What types of bodies were created to help with the organizing process? The most common type of body created to help with the processes were committees or working groups. In other cases a board of directors was formed, meetings were held, a coalition was formed, planning sessions took place, staff specializing in group development were included in the process, neighbourhood residents were called to show their support, and a youth group was formed.

Was the organizing aimed at being a short-term activity or a permanent part of the community? Of all the examples discussed, six of them were short-term

activities although the products were lasting. The other eight examples all are permanent activities, most of them being the formation of community groups.

Where did ideas come from within the process? Most of the ideas within the processes came from within the bodies that were created to help with the process. For instance, ideas came from a working group, meetings, citizens' group, board of directors, conferences, neighbourhood council, steering committee, and the community including also specific groups such as women and youth.

How were people kept interested and involved in the process? There is one major theme that arose out of the interviews and it was based on this question. Five of the processes discussed in the interviews stated that the most important way of keeping people interested and involved was to have victories and 'wins' with issues along the way. As one participant noted:

> One of the ways of keeping interests is to show people that you can actually succeed in a short space of time. If we had started with the first thing that we were doing as, let's do a uh- let's organize the [community association] before we had done that other stuff I don't think it would have been as successful. So uh building trust through that [activity] and making it fun, and people worked together. There was a collective spirit.

Some noted that this builds trust and it is a uniting factor. Other ways to keep people interested in the process included:

- the fact that the working group was to be the tenants of the final project so they had a particular interest in seeing the project develop;

- people need to be educated throughout the process;
- show people how things can go bad when they don't stay involved;
- the stakes are high for people when they indicate what the issues are in their neighbourhood; and
- the group makes the decisions and plans.

How were community members prepared to take over the project when your work was done? The most common way in which this was done in the examples discussed was through education of the community. Other ways included the fact that the working group would be the tenants and therefore already had a long-term vision, people should be in charge from the beginning, and an articulate group was chosen from the start. A participant stated that in order to get community members to take over the project,

> You just don't do anything for them. Like I don't go and knock on doors. They say, 'Oh what do we need to do?' I say, 'We need to knock on doors.' 'Will you do that?' 'No but I'll go to the door with you if you want.' And then you teach them.

How were people made aware of the consequences of the decisions that you made? The way that most of the organizers kept people aware of what was happening was basically by keeping in touch with people- talking with one another. Other methods included newsletters, bulletin board postings, brochures, write-ups in the community newspaper, annual reports, and holding open meetings.

What were the greatest obstacles? The obstacles faced by organizers within these specific examples are varied. One organizer felt there were no obstacles within the example provided. Two examples included the difficulties that people living in poverty have with committing to a long-term project. A major obstacle for many organizers was the current system. Issues such as inhumane bureaucracies, the system itself and people working within the system, political opposition, and the difficulties that administrative and political bodies have concerning sharing power with community groups. As one participant noted:

> A lot of obstacles of course was the system itself. Um many of the obstacles were the people who worked in that system. And uh low and behold the government was our ally you know, which was kind of unusual.

Other obstacles include getting people connected with the vision, after getting the physical building built actually building a 'coop' of people, people attached to their own self interests, power struggles within the organization, limited resources, cynicism, threats, and potential burn-out due to too many tasks at once.

What were the achievements made? The major achievements that were noted were obviously the results that the organizing achieved. This section of the interview was based on a successful process so the issue that was organized around was successful. Other achievements were more social relation successes. Some of these included an inclusive process, seeing people grow and continue to be involved, the legacy created by the group, women were

empowered, a positive message about the community was created, and leaders were formed as a result.

What were you happiest about? Since this was a more personal question, less technical responses were given and more personal development sort of issues were brought up. Some of these included personal connections that were made, people gained a voice who didn't have one before, seeing people stick with the process, the leaders that emerged as a result, residents empowered, and the positive group dynamics that made it possible to achieve the goals. Other aspects that made the organizers happy included the recognition that the community process is the right way of organizing, being happy to be part of the solution, that things are still functioning, and seeing money going towards projects that encourage long-term sustainability in the community. One participant noted that during the organizing process the group never stopped to celebrate:

> It was a responsibility to do it. We just did it. Um it was the organizing work- it was actually a movement I guess if you want to call it that. Um yeah, it was just something we had to do. It didn't feel personally you know- I didn't get any personal satisfaction out of it. I mean it was basically something that had to be done for the community and we did it.

What were you disappointed about? Because this was also a more personal question, the responses were very much related to people and emotions. The most frequent disappointment had to do with group conflict. These included people going to personality stuff instead of staying on the issue, a group being

split due to conflict and the resulting broken relationships, name calling and other hurtful things, and some community members did not want to show their support to an initiative involving other community members that just needed the community's support. Although there was a lot of support from community members on this particular initiative, an example of a response from those who did not want to support it was,

> 'Why don't they do it themselves?' And I said, 'They are doing it themselves. They just need some support. They just need to know there's a community behind them'.

Other disappointments included the fact that poverty and oppression gets in the way of people working together in the long-term, the lack of funding and human resources available, and the absence of a mechanism to sustain the group beyond the life of the program. One participant indicated that within the example discussed there were no disappointments.

5.2.1.2 Part Two

The second section of the interviews involved discussing an example of an unsuccessful organizing process. Rather than going through question by question as in part one, it is more important here to determine what techniques have not worked for inner city organizers in Winnipeg. Therefore the analysis in this section will just address why the processes here were not successful, according to the participants.

As in part one, the types of issues that people organized around within this section were varied. The difficulty of how to keep coop housing developments continually resident driven came up with three participants. Two attempts at setting up residents' committees also were unsuccessful. The first example was of a committee that was formed through democratic community processes but after its formation was no longer accountable to the community. The community priorities were even decided upon by the committee alone. The committee had no annual general meetings, new members were appointed, and the chair remained for four years. As a result of this experience, when forming new community committees, some form of contract with expectations would be created. The second residents' group never really got very far due to many reasons. Some of these included the neighbourhood was not ready for it, political and ideological splits within the community, it was imposing a middle class format on a non-middle class neighbourhood, there was no clear project to work on and succeed in, and the idea of the group didn't come from the community but from an outside source.

Two other examples focused around recreational centres. In one example the participant came into the process too late and presented options that were resented by the groups already involved. This was due to the fact that the groups were already set up in what they wanted and how they wanted to achieve it. The second example around recreational centres involved a recreation centre board of directors intimidating people from the residents' group who wanted to see how

youth could become more involved in the programs available. With the community being intimidated the focus of the process was changed to look for an alternate recreational site.

There were two examples where organizers became frustrated with workers within the system. In both cases they felt that with the presence of social workers and other bureaucracies, the communities became divided. One participant felt that the social workers and other community workers were patronizing and undermined local leadership.

The final three examples were quite different but the lessons learned are important. The first example involved a small group gathering that was quickly planned in order to facilitate discussion but resulted in conflict within the group. This occurred because the organizer stated that not enough time was taken to prepare and plan the event.

The second example involved fighting for the rights of welfare recipients within an advocacy organization. A meeting was held but no welfare recipients attended. The organizer explained:

> It was tough to do organizing work when people themselves weren't prepared to- to put themselves on the line- to stand up for what ever they believed in.

Finally the third example involved the participant indicating that a major change in strategy was required when they realized that their initial belief that government funding would not be needed was wrong.

5.2.1.3 Synthesis

What this question by question analysis of the first two portions of the interviews has done is give an overall general view of what is occurring within community organizing processes within Winnipeg's inner city. As can be seen within this large amount of information is that there are many issues that are being organized around and yet there are similarities in the issues as well. Within all of this data some characteristics of inner city organizing within Winnipeg have emerged. Organizing here is based largely on targeting communities by producing consensus within the parameters of the existing economic, social, and political system. While eight of the examples indicated that both the process and the product of the organizing were goals there still were four examples that focused on just the product. The government is the largest funding agency for these projects and yet five examples relied on community resources.

The roles that organizers felt they played were numerous but they seemed to downplay any leadership roles leaving those for community members. Even the idea of the organizing itself did not usually come from the organizers. In most instances the neighbourhood itself identified the need for the organizing process to begin. Once the process was started, most of the organizers got people

involved initially by talking to them. The processes discussed tended to last usually more than two years. Eight of the examples discussed were intended to be permanent processes within the community while still six examples were of short-term processes.

In order to help with the organizing processes most of the examples resulted in the creation of committees and working groups. Most of the ideas that were generated within the process came from these committees and groups. In order to keep people interested and involved in the process, the most common response by organizers was to get the community to win issues along the way. Education was the most common tool used to prepare the community to take over the project. Community members were mostly kept informed by the organizers by talking together. The obstacles, achievements, happiness, and disappointments were broad and varied from project to project and from organizer to organizer. The overall organizing trend within Winnipeg's inner city appears to be one that is inclusive and democratic.

Since there were equal numbers of male and female organizers interviewed for this study, it is interesting to look at the results by means of gender analysis. Interestingly enough, when the responses are sorted according to gender there does not seem to be any significant differences between the accounts of both the men and women interviewed. Both groups seemed to have similar types of responses between them. The only minor difference that was evident between

the descriptions given by the men and women organizers had to do with the information obtained from the question 'Was the goal of the process focussed on the process itself or the product of the organizing?'. Out of the six examples given by the women in this study, five of them indicated that both the product and the process were important to the process and only one indicated that just the product itself was the main goal. The men on the other hand were evenly split with three examples indicating that both the process and the product were important and three indicating that the product was the most important goal. Therefore, the types of organizing techniques being used within Winnipeg's inner city do not seem to correlate with gender type.

5.3 STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE PROCESS

The data received as a result of these interviews was very dense and very rich. Sorting through all of the information was time consuming but proved to be very valuable and comprehensive. By asking participants to describe in full detail specific examples of their work, this study was able to derive information about how the participants conduct their work that otherwise might not have been obtained. The use of examples has informed this study further as to the types of activities that are occurring within Winnipeg's inner city communities. Initially participants were going to be asked to describe two examples of organizing processes that they had gone through but was changed to be more specifically one successful example and one less successful example. This decision gave a valuable indication not only of what types of organizing techniques are being

used by organizers within Winnipeg's inner city but also what types of organizing processes have not worked here.

As stated early on in the introductory chapter, a major weakness of this study is the fact that only organizers themselves were interviewed. It would have made for a much more in-depth and accurate study if groups of residents that had been involved within each process described by organizers would have been interviewed as well. As valuable as that information would be, it is beyond the scope of this study.

In the following chapter the information and conclusions that have been made here will be placed within the context of the organizing literature and current planning thought that was discussed in the second and third chapters.

Chapter Six

Synthesis and Summary

It has been determined in the previous chapter that the community organizing endeavours taking place within Winnipeg's inner city communities are quite inclusive in nature. Since the data has been analyzed it is now important to give some meaning to that data in terms of the focus of this practicum. The results of the analysis will now be discussed in the context of the community organizing literature that was presented within the third chapter. This process is crucial in determining how community organizing practice within Winnipeg's inner city compares with community organizing models as well as contemporary organizing practice and thought occurring elsewhere in North America. Following this will be a theoretical examination of how this information can be interpreted according to the ideas of current planning thought presented in chapter two.

6.1 COMPARING THE RESULTS WITH THE LITERATURE

In looking back to the community organizing literature that focused on various organizing models, there are many models that specific interview findings can be applied to, others that do not apply at all, and still there are very obvious models that the overall research findings can be coupled with.

The first group of models that can be applied quite freely to the research data is the seven forms of community organizing presented by Miller, Rein, and Levitt

(1995). There is an example of the organization of organizations within the interviews conducted. This process involved bringing together various community organizations as well as community residents to form a community group. The particular organizer that was involved in that process explained,

> [that the] work has often been with people who have some skills and some motivation and represent organizations. Uh but ultimately if-if that's all we're doing, then we're failing.

Another two models that were evident in the interviews included organizing around identity and advocacy organizing. The use of both models within one specific example makes this an example of a mixed model process. A group of Aboriginal women organized themselves around the issue of child welfare within the Aboriginal community. These models apply to this example since organizing around identity involves the organization around the principles of justice or equality. The major goal is to change the system and that is just what those women did- they altered the child welfare system. The advocacy element is included because the women not only did this for women but also on behalf of Aboriginal children that were being affected by the system.

There is one major model presented by Miller, Rein, and Levitt (1995) that the overall analysis of the data falls under. This model is the organization of residence. As stated in the synthesis portion of the previous chapter, community members were the targets of most of the organizing processes. This model involves organizing individuals into a collective organization and that is just what

most of the organizing examples involved. Within this model residents' groups can also organize residences. This occurred in a few examples as well where residents' groups organized others to create housing coops, a crosswalk, youth recreation issues, and a safety foot patrol. Door knocking and meeting with people before large community meetings are held such as recommended by both Fred Ross and ACORN, was the most common way to get people first involved in the organizing process by organizers within this study.

The three different models presented by Rothman and Tropman (1987) include locality development, social planning, and social action. The one model that was not discovered throughout the interviews that were conducted for this study was the social planning model. In every instance that was discussed, the community participation was always required unlike within the social planning model. The processes of organizing described by the research participants engaged the community much more than the process within social planning which involves solving the community's problems easily through research by a professional and the implementation of those findings. Community members were required in the processes unlike in social planning where the community members' participation is not always needed.

Social action really was not present within the examples given in the empirical portion of the research either. Although there were instances of picketing and

demonstrating, there was not any indication of mass organizing based on conflict and hostility aimed at coercing or overturning oppressive power structures.

The one model that did apply to the overall analysis of the research data was locality development. Within this model community members must be involved at every step of the process, which is what many of the examples involved. Locality development is usually found within the community development field and an interesting note is that many of the organizers that were interviewed referred to their work as community development work. Most of the processes stressed "democratic procedures, voluntary cooperation, self-help, development of indigenous leadership, and educational objectives" as stated as being factors within locality development by Rothman and Tropman (1987: 5). Although not all of the processes felt that the power structures in society were collaborators, many actually did involve interaction with government. One major disagreement that the empirical research findings have with locality development is that the model states that it should be used within homogeneous communities. Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods are very diverse and locality development appears to be the model being used despite this diversity.

The feminist model discussed in the third chapter contained six specific models of community organizing including community care, community organization, community development, class-based community action, feminist community action, and community action from a Black (or in this case Aboriginal)

perspective (Dominelli, 1990). As stated in that chapter, three of the models correspond with Rothman and Tropman's (1987) three models. The social planning model can be compared to community organization, social action is similar to class-based community action, and locality development is very much like community development (Wharf, 1997). Therefore the feminist model that most resembles Winnipeg inner city organizing is community development since it is comparable to locality development.

The other models that apply to the interview results are feminist community action and community action from an Aboriginal perspective. These two models are comparable to the one example described above regarding Aboriginal child welfare issues. But in terms of the overall analysis, the community development model best describes the organizing situation within Winnipeg's inner city communities.

The combination of the locality development, organization of residences, and community development models make the overall organizing technique being used in Winnipeg's inner city communities one of community building. When looking at the specifics of the concept of community building, there is still room for expansion within this city although organizers are on the right track and are heading in that direction. One organizer stated,

> I think I see a lot of groups who are, who organize to get this to happen or the City, the Province, or the federal government to make this happen or that happen and it's all around specific issues that you know. And I think that's been the-the model since the '60s

> and-and so you end up getting a crosswalk here or you end up getting a program there or you end up getting a little bit of money- like they throw money at the community because it's the way of managing the poverty- you know, the tensions of the poverty. Um but it's still not community building and uh I think that uh we need to really start thinking about community building. And if that's where we're gonna work than we need to start figuring out the people tools that we need to figure out how to get behind each other.

One important aspect of community building is that residential involvement is broad and it is community driven. As stated in the previous chapter, seven of the twelve organizers interviewed mentioned that they actually lived in the communities in which they worked. This implies a community driven process since most of the organizers were residents themselves- they were not brought in from outside the neigbourhood to do their job.

Another important aspect of community building is that it is asset-based organizing. One participant, in discussing the type of organizing models used in the work being done, explained,

> I came to a point where I realized that that's [trying to work on problems] really draining for people and uh because successes are limited and um uh sometimes it's not even worth the fight really. And so I have really shifted to towards focussing more on where the assets in the community are and where the pluses are and building on those. Because when it comes down to it the big problems in the neighbourhood are sometimes beyond our ability to do uh something about them. They come from much farther fields. Problems such as poverty and that kind of thing um we can't solve them but we can bring people together and uh sort of do you know, look for where the gifts and strengths and assets are in the community and help people uh- give people opportunities to use those and to-to build on those.

Although Winnipeg's inner city community appears to be on the road to a community building process, there are some important aspects of community building that appear to be lacking based on the examples given during the interview process. There did not appear to be a collaborative effort to link the inner city communities with the broader community of Winnipeg. Also although some indicated building on community assets, that aspect did seem to be lacking from many of the processes discussed.

Now that the empirical results have been placed within the realm of organizing literature and practice it is important to make sense of this information from a planning viewpoint and how it can be explained in terms of current planning thought.

6.2 RETURN TO CURRENT PLANNING THOUGHT

It is important to come back to planning thought within this concluding chapter in order to make sense of the empirical research results from a planning viewpoint. Discussing the results in terms of planning theory will be a benefit for planners and for community organizers working with planners so that both community organizing literature and planning literature can be more comprehensive to both parties in the context of community organizing within Winnipeg's inner city.

When the research results are applied to the planning theories that were discussed in the second chapter an interesting analysis occurs. Turning back to Table 3-1 (Community Organizing Links to Current Planning Thought) it appears that the classifications of locality development and community development are comparable with collaborative planning theory. This is due to the fact that these models emphasize that community change occurs when everyone participates. The process is very interactional and the practitioner is seen as a coordinator and a teacher of decision-making skills.

Collaborative planning is very applicable to these research findings in that the overall process being used within Winnipeg's inner city is one of community involvement in input and action. The role of the organizers are similar to that of a collaborative planner such that the stress is on how organizers use their knowledge. In some instances, like in collaborative planning, the organizer remained the primary actor and in some cases the organizers were working within the bureaucracy. But in most instances this was not the case. It is at this point that the notion of categorizing becomes blurry and where the argument against categorization is supported.

Although many of the examples discussed by organizers were not attempts to change the current societal system, in many other ways the processes had much more in common with radical or emancipatory planning than with collaborative planning. Therefore, despite the match between organizing models and planning

theory, in real life situations things do not fall into straightforward categories very easily. In terms of the similarities between the research findings and radical planning, the role that the organizer or planner plays is crucial. Within radical planning the community becomes the expert and the planner or the organizer brings certain skills and knowledge to the process. Many of the organizers that were interviewed also noted that they had learned from the community members as well. This is what makes radical planning different. And like many of the community organizers interviewed, Sandercock (1998) points out that the radical planner usually does not do planning work from within the state but rather works directly within community movements.

6.3 SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study has aimed to address the types of community organizing practices occurring in Winnipeg's inner city communities. Through a series of interviews and a process of comparative analysis the general typology of community organizing within Winnipeg's inner city was determined. This information was then used to compare the current state of community organizing in Winnipeg with North American community organizing literature and current planning thought. The processes being used within Winnipeg's inner city are generally democratic and inclusive in nature.

What this inclusiveness means for organizers is that communities are becoming responsible for their neighbourhoods. In order for significant and meaningful

change and growth to occur it must come from the people. In order to build stronger communities under the community building principles, organizers must rely more and more on local social capital and must cultivate it.

Planners have a lot to learn from the findings of this study as well. First of all planners working within inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg can understand what organizing involves and what types of processes are occurring within Winnipeg. Planners working within a community context can learn from organizers in terms of the importance of community involvement at every level of the planning process whether it is a revitalization process or otherwise. People need control of the process and planners and organizers need to become resources for the community. Learning from radical or emancipatory planning theory and its application to community organizing practice can make both planners and organizers realize the role that they must play in order for their work to be empowering for community members.

Now that the overall inner city organizing practice within Winnipeg has been determined and evaluated it is important to discover the intricacies within these particular organizing processes. It is recommended that a community organizing process be followed to determine the effects that it has on the community and the various degrees of empowerment and involvement that actually occur within the process. Community members and other stakeholders should be involved in

such an endeavour in order to fully understand the effects that these processes have on the community.

As planning becomes more intimate with the community and state resources become continually scarce, planners will need to learn from the experiences of organizers and radical planning theory to become a resource for the community and encourage communities to build on their own resources in order to flourish.

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Appendix A

The Consent Form

This study is being conducted in order to find out the types of community organizing processes being used within Winnipeg's inner city communities. The information gained from this interview will be compared with organizing practices elsewhere in North America. This study is being conducted by Megan Hopkins as part of the requirements to graduate with a Master in City Planning degree from the University of Manitoba. This practicum work is being advised by Dr. Sheri Blake of the Department of City Planning, Faculty of Architecture at the University of Manitoba. The Faculty of Architecture's Ethics Review Committee has approved this interview process.

Within this interview you will be asked to describe in detail two specific examples of community organizing processes that you have gone through. Here the organizing process refers to how people were encouraged to become involved in the endeavor and what the goals of the organizing were. With your permission, this interview will be audio taped so that analyzing the material at a later date will be much easier. If at any time a portion of this interview makes you feel uncomfortable in any way, you may choose to have the tape recorder turned off for your response, omit a section all together, or terminate the interview. Also, if you have any questions or concerns during the interview feel free to ask right away.

Your identity will be kept confidential. This means that your name, your position, your organization's name, and any other information that would give your identity away will not be included in the final report of this study. Where information occurs within interview transcripts that will be included in the final report, names and other information that is confidential will be omitted.

If you are interested in viewing the final report, it will be available for you to read in September 2000. This work will be published as a practicum and will be placed in the Architecture and Fine Arts Library at the University of Manitoba. This information may also be considered for future publication within planning journals by the researcher.

If you have any questions or concerns after this interview is completed, please feel free to contact Dr. Sheri Blake at 474-6426.

Thank you for giving up your time to participate in this interview. Your responses are very valuable to this research project and are greatly appreciated.

I, _____, give Megan Hopkins permission to use the information gathered during this interview under the conditions stated above for the purpose of researching community organizing techniques used in Winnipeg's inner city.

Date_____

Respondent's Signature_____

Researcher's Signature_____

Appendix B

Interview Questions

This interview will consist of three major parts. The first two parts will be the discussion of two examples of organizing processes that you have gone through and the last section will consist of a few additional questions regarding your overall community organizing techniques.

Part One:

Think back and describe in full detail a specific example of the process that was used in one of your most successful or most rewarding experiences of organizing a community around an issue from the beginning to the completion of that project.

Part Two:

Now, think back and describe in full detail a specific example of the process that was used in one of your least successful experiences of organizing a community around an issue from the beginning to the completion of that project.

(There are a number of questions that I will need to be addressed within these two examples. I will carry with me a set of questions and check each one off as they are addressed within each example. The list that I will have will serve as a guide that will be used to make sure that each section that I am interested in will be discussed. If a participant leaves out a section that I require, I will ask him or

her to then describe that portion for me. The questions that need to be answered include the following:

1. *Who or what was being organized?*
2. *In what specific area of the city did this process occur?*
3. *What type of issue were you organizing around?*
4. *Was the goal to produce conflict or consensus? How was that achieved?*
5. *Who or what was the target of the organizing process?*
6. *Was the organizing aimed at making changes to the existing structural economic, social, and political system? If so, what was to be changed? How was the process aimed at changing the system?*
7. *Was the goal of the process focused on the process itself or the product of the organizing? Explain.*
8. *Where did funding come from for this project?*
9. *What did you see was your role as an organizer within this process?*
10. *Who called for the organizing venture?*
11. *How did you begin the organizing process? How did you first get people involved?*
12. *How long did the organizing process last?*
13. *What types of bodies were created to help with the organizing process?*
14. *Was the organizing aimed at being a short-term activity or a permanent part of the community?*
15. *Where did ideas come from within the process?*

16. *How were people kept interested and involved in the process?*
17. *How were community members prepared to take over the project when your work was done?*
18. *How were people made aware of the consequences of the decisions that you made?*
19. *What were the greatest obstacles?*
20. *What were the achievements made?*
21. *What were you happiest about?*
22. *What were you disappointed about?)*

Part Three:

At this point I would like to ask you a few remaining questions that deal with your overall organizing technique.

1. Do you ever or have you ever used a particular model of organizing? What is it called? Describe briefly.
2. What types of evaluation systems do you use on your work?
3. What are the greatest obstacles for you as an organizer?
4. What achievements have been made?