

An Analysis of Innovative Practices for Municipal Government Support of
Community Economic Development in Western Canada & Northwestern
Ontario

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Abstract

This research project explored the relationship between municipal governments and community economic development (CED). It identified the unique role that municipal governments play in promoting CED, gives policy recommendations for advancing the transformative and innovative elements of CED within local governments, and identified models of innovative practice in municipal policy related to CED. The project focused on medium-sized municipalities in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and northern Ontario. The thesis profiles important roles that municipalities play in supporting CED and uses examples from the research to illustrate these roles. Lastly, Haughton's (1998) multifaceted definition of CED (p. 876) was used to place each municipality on a spectrum from 'localist transformative' CED to 'gap filling' CED and examples were given from the research to show which municipalities had the strongest and most innovative support of CED and those that were less successful.

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Chapter 1: Thesis Roadmap

Introduction

This thesis explores the relationship between municipal governments and community economic development (CED). It aimed to identify roles that municipal governments can and should play in promoting CED, to point out gaps and barriers that exist in support of CED at the municipal level, and to distinguish models of innovative practice in municipal policy related to CED. This thesis builds on research which was part of a larger research project focused on the role that municipalities play in supporting CED and the social economy (SE) in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and northern Ontario. The larger research project identified innovative practices for CED and SE across the study region and provided three examples of municipalities that have strong and or innovative support of CED. It should be noted that the term of social economy was used in the larger research project and not in this thesis because in Manitoba, the term community economic development, not social economy is used more commonly.

Both the research done as part of the larger research project and this thesis is important because municipalities have considerable impact and influence over CED initiatives. As the level of government closest to people and communities, municipal governments can and do play a role in supporting community economic development through direct funding, policy support, in-kind donations and land. This research into the role of municipal government and community economic development will help to develop a better understanding of the supportive and intermediary role that many municipalities play in supporting CED and will help to identify opportunities for when

and where municipal support can be strengthened. The profiles of innovative municipal practice help to illustrate the differences in policy and program support that exist in municipalities throughout British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and will give CED practitioners and municipalities across Canada a basis to advocate for more effective CED policy in their own cities.

An important part of the research was to analyze whether the intent of the various municipal interventions was to be transformative of a local or neighbourhood economies or whether they constitute a ‘gap filling’ approach that simply aims to ameliorate some of the shortcomings of the current market economy. This discussion will be elaborated on later in the document.

The impetus for the larger research project comes from a number of stakeholders. Firstly, the Canadian Community Economic Development Network (CCEDNet) and Le Chantier de l’économie sociale in Quebec have both done extensive research on the role of provincial and federal policy to promote CED and the social economy in Canada. While CCEDNet has completed an inventory of municipal support for the social economy across Canada (The Canadian CED Network, 2003) it has not undertaken a more thorough analysis of the topic.

There is an underlying assumption in this thesis research that CED is an approach that produces beneficial social and economic outcomes for marginalized peoples and communities. The thesis does not critique the theory of CED and its merit as an alternative economic system; rather this projects looks at CED as a development strategy that is used within the larger context of the mainstream capitalist economy, and which is

providing beneficial results to individual lives, certain industries and many isolated, declining communities.

A limitation of this research relates to the respondent group. Only municipal officials were asked to respond to the interview questions, as there was not enough time or resources to interview practitioners from CED organizations to get their interpretation of how municipalities do or do not support their work. Further research should be undertaken to look at practitioners' perceptions of municipal support of CED.

As mentioned earlier, the research that informed this thesis was part of a larger cross-regional research project looking at the relationship between municipal governments, CED and the social economy. In September 2007, it was discovered that a research project proposed by Brendan Reimer and me was similar to a project the Social Economy Research Hub that was being funded in Alberta. We contacted each other and decided to combine research efforts to allow for comparability of data across projects. This added an extra element of complexity to the project but also enriched the process that now included a diverse group of community partners from different geographical locations and disciplines and two partners that had close relationships to municipalities. It also comprised almost the entire spectrum of those affected by the issue being studied, including those who represent CED groups, CED practitioners, academics and students, and municipal administrators. Emma Sharkey, the project research assistant, completed interviews with six municipalities with populations of up to 30,000 in each of the five provinces. Jenny Kain conducted interviews with a number of municipalities with more than half a million inhabitants in Canada. I completed interviews with 8 municipalities across the study region that have a population between 30,000 and half a million. The

end result was the a research report entitled *Municipal Government Support of the Social Economy Sector* co-authored by Jenny Kain, Emma Sharkey and me.

This research project was funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) through a Community University Research Alliance (CURA) that was administered by The Social Economy Research Partnership. The project was a collaboration between the Linking, Learning, Leveraging or prairie node of the Social Economy Research Partnership and BALTA the British Columbia and Alberta regional node. The research group for this project collaborated on the identification of research questions, a common methodology, and the division of labour for interviews. The research team consisted of: Brendan Reimer of the Canadian Community Economic Development Network, research assistant Emma Sharkey; Jenny Kain of the City of Edmonton, a graduate student in the CED program at Cape Breton University; and Peter Hall, Professor of Urban Studies at the Center for Sustainable Community Development, Simon Fraser University; and me.

Emma Sharkey, the project research assistant, completed interviews with six municipalities with populations of up to 30,000 in each of the five provinces. Jenny Kain conducted interviews with a number of municipalities with more than half a million inhabitants in Canada. I completed interviews with 8 municipalities across the study region that have a population between 30,000 and half a million. The end result was the creation of a research report entitled *Municipal Government Support of the Social Economy Sector* co-authored by Jenny Kain, Emma Sharkey and me.

It should be noted that while this thesis used data collected by others for the larger research project, the literature review and larger theoretical framework are only

applicable to this thesis and not the larger project. There were also a number of research questions, unique to the thesis, that were not posed in the larger project.

Significance of the Proposed Research

The role of local government in Canada is continually shifting as a result of neoliberal policies. The shift from an industrial and resource focused economy to a global service-based economy has produced significant changes in the Canadian labour market that has left many communities in turmoil; the failure of the automobile sector in southern Ontario being a prime example. Rising unemployment and social malaise has caused a shift towards greater awareness of the roles local government play in this new economic context (Bradford, 2002, p.2). In many ways, this shift has placed even greater challenges on cities as they face rising rates of poverty and inequality, unemployment and underemployment, environmental degradation and shortages of affordable housing and increased levels of homelessness (Torjman & Levitan-Reid, 2003, p.2).

In Canada, local government responsibilities can include: public education (elementary and secondary), protection (police, fire and emergency planning and services), animal control, roads (traffic control, parking, street-lighting), public transit, environment (water, sewerage and garbage collection and disposal), land-use planning and regulation, building regulation, economic development and promotion, public libraries, parks and recreation, public cultural facilities (museums, concert halls, art galleries), business licensing and regulation, and sometimes electricity, natural gas, telephone, local health and social services (Sancton, 2010, p.131).

In the past, the role of local governments in Canada was primarily focused on providing physical infrastructure and traditional economic development activities like the attracting businesses. Municipal governments concentrated their efforts on core city operations like roads and sewers, road maintenance, and water. Little, if any attention was paid to the roles of local governments in addressing social issues such as poverty and homelessness (Torjman & Leviten-Reid, 2003, p.2). Few assumed an explicit social role and if they did have a role it was generally limited to sponsorship of a particular program or a specific community event (Torjman & Leviten-Reid 2003, p.2). In this era, social issues were largely viewed as in the jurisdiction of the provincial and federal governments.

As the role of local governments evolve, so too does their relationship with the CED sector and community-based organizations. In the past, local governments were primarily responsible for providing infrastructure and emergency services such as fire and policing. The role of local government has been downplayed because of its sub-ordinate relationship to provincial and federal governments. One direct result of neoliberalism in Canada has been the change in the scope of services delivered at the local level. This change has resulted in what Bradford (2008) refers to as “place based policy” (p.1). Increased municipal responsibility is now taking place in areas such as, housing, social services, and heritage preservation. This study found that the role and jurisdiction of municipal governments is increasingly complex across Canada. In Ontario, many municipalities are responsible for administering social assistance and social housing, which are delivered at the provincial level in most western Canadian provinces.

The importance of the role of local governments in this new economy is well recognized by urban and local government theorists. There is an awareness that ‘local

spaces' are important arenas for addressing today's most challenging public policy issues (Bradford, 2002, p.1). There is a large and growing mismatch between the fiscal capacity of local governments and the range of responsibilities that have been laid at their doorsteps (Torjman & Leviten-Reid, 2003, p.2). Although other levels of government have downloaded many of these responsibilities to the municipal level, there has been no ongoing commitment to a sustainable source of revenue for local governments to effectively deliver them. Local governments, therefore, are experiencing significant change.

The new direct relationship between cities and the Federal government includes some transfers of federal funds to the municipal level, such as GST rebates, gas taxes, green infrastructure funds, and some heritage and cultural funding (Kain, Sharkey & Webb, 2010). The current focus on climate change and the environment has also produced a policy atmosphere in which local governments are considering the environmental and economic opportunities that could be garnered through CED projects such as energy retrofitting or the creation of local green energy systems like wind farms and biomass generation. Additionally, the recent focus on poverty reduction legislation at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels of government has created yet another opportunity for CED approaches to be considered by local governments. Together these structural changes have increased the scope of municipal control and opened up opportunities to reinvest in CED activities. This thesis explored the roles of the local government support for CED in this new context.

A paradigm shift in the community planning field towards a more holistic and integrated approach to planning, including the equity planning approach discussed further

later in the thesis, has created a movement away from promoting downtown commercial development towards a greater focus on revitalizing low-income neighbourhoods and a concern for those who inhabit these areas. This focus has led many planners to look at the social factors that contributed to decay of downtown areas and to try to create planning strategies that incorporate the social, economic and environmental challenges faced by these neighbourhoods. Many community planners are becoming conversant in CED theory and practice, providing another conduit for local government support of CED. Like the CED movement, the equity planning movement, which began in the US in the 1970s, adopted a more holistic view of planning that recognized how well functioning cities and neighbourhoods were not merely the result of good land use and urban design policies, but that social and economic conditions had to be given as much consideration when making planning decisions.

The major contribution of this thesis to planning discourse is in the realm of professional practice, especially for community planners and municipal officials, but also for CED practitioners. The changing roles of municipalities contributes to the importance of and need for this research. Little has been done to look at what municipal governments, the level of government most visible to citizens and CED actors, has done to support the CED community and how this falls into the larger discipline of equity planning. As mentioned earlier, in the past many policy specialists have downplayed the role of the municipal governments because of their sub-ordinate relationship to provincial governments. Yet, the scope of services delivered at the municipal level has increased as a result of neoliberalism with provincial governments downloading responsibilities to the local level. Likewise, the new direct relationship between cities and the Federal

government has resulted in the transfer of federal funds to the municipal level. This study gives CED practitioners and community planners a better understanding of the scope and breadth of CED policies that various municipalities have in place. It can act as an important lobbying tool for many groups across Canada and will allow municipalities to see how other jurisdictions have approached their problems and to brainstorm innovative new policies and programming.

Its contributions to the planning dialogue are in continuing the tradition and values of the equity planners. This thesis will help to illustrate some of the more progressive planning policies that are being enacted in municipalities across Canada and how these can be strengthened to achieve more just, equitable, strong neighbourhood and cities.

Research Questions & Problem Statement

Two sets of research questions were employed in analyzing the results and findings of this thesis. The first questions are those that were developed for the larger research project. These research questions were devised in a collaborative and iterative process amongst the research team. They are:

In what policy or program areas are municipalities supporting CED?

What is the existing scope of municipal policy or programming support already in place in the study region?

The second set of research questions, unique to this thesis, were developed by me alone and are intended to build on the conclusions of the larger research project. They include:

Based on Haughton's multifaceted definition of successful CED practices, what are the most effective frameworks for supporting CED at the municipal level?

Can we classify the policies, programs and also the general framework used to describe each municipality into 'gap filling' or 'localist CED' practices?

Those that view their work as trying to create a sustainable economy, versus those that provide patchwork funding/programming to fix the market failure of the day?

What policy recommendations would serve to strengthen the transformative & localist elements of CED within municipal governments?

This last set of questions, unique to this thesis only, use data solely from the medium sized municipalities in their analysis.

Research and Analysis Methods

The larger research project set out to employ action research methods as a mode of research and analysis, ensuring that stakeholders were not only consulted, but meaningfully involved at all stages of research development, implementation, analysis and reporting. The involvement and connection of the researchers to various community-based organizations and CCEDNet, our community partner, was important to ensure that the research remained useful and beneficial to community groups performing valuable work on the ground. All elements of the larger research project were carried out in conjunction with a research team. This team collaborated on the creation of research questions, common definitions, analysis and conclusions.

Emma Sharkey, Jenny Kain and I were responsible for carrying out actual data collection and Peter Hall and Brendan Reimer played advisory roles in the process. The research group decided that qualitative research, in the form of in-depth semi-structured surveys, would be the best method to get the rich results desired out of the larger study. The research technique used was telephone surveys with municipal officials who work in departments responsible for CED related activities (planning, economic development, social planning, etc.). The survey questions were open-ended in nature to ensure rich answers and to allow for an interpretative approach to data analysis. Data collected were largely qualitative in nature, and facilitated the development of descriptive policy recommendations and innovative models of practice (see **Appendix 1** for a complete list of the survey questions). The data collected painted a comprehensive picture of the current state of municipal government involvement in CED in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario. I was responsible for conducting surveys with eight major cities with a population between thirty thousand and half a million, in the study area; these interviews make up the primary data used for analysis in this thesis. Co-researchers of the larger project also interviewed six municipalities with more than half a million inhabitants and 21 municipalities with a population of thirty thousand or less (see **Appendix 2** for a full listing of municipalities).

As noted earlier, analysis of the research questions that were shared amongst the larger research project and took place with the larger research team, consisting of students, academics and community partners. All data were transcribed by the researchers that conducted the interviews and then brought to the larger group for coding and interpretive analysis. The open coding process organized the findings into categories or

concepts that started to emerge as the data was reviewed as a group. Each code was created to reflect the nature of each type of municipal support encountered in the interviews. The codes chosen were: expressions of intent; financial support; in-kind support; planning, researching and advising; human and social capital development; and lastly procurement.

A second level of data analysis in the thesis involved the selection of criteria for creating a model of innovative practices at the municipal level. For this categorization I drew upon a series of frameworks for understanding and classifying the relationships between local governments and the CED sector that were developed by the larger research team. The data were then further analyzed to determine which municipalities support CED in an innovative way and which do not, and to classify each municipality's practices as either 'gap filling' or 'localist' as defined below.

Ethics

Ethics review was required and was obtained for this thesis, as stakeholders from outside the university were contacted for interviews. Each interview participant signed an informed consent form and were made aware of the potential risks of participating in the study. The interview questions asked were of a policy or programming nature and did not call on participants to recount any of their own personal experiences, as such the participants were not deemed to be on a vulnerable group. All tape recorded interviews and transcribed documents will be destroyed upon completion of this thesis.

Chapter Summary

Chapter Two of this thesis begins with a short discussion on the changing role of municipal government in Canada today. It then goes on to explore the equity planning movement, looking at some of the similarities and implications for planning and municipal renewal between equity planning and CED. This is followed by a lengthy review of the literature on community economic development and an assessment of CED strategies from ‘localist transformative’ to ‘gap filling.’

Chapter Three discusses the research methods used in the larger research project and more specifically those from this thesis. It looks at the literature on participatory action research, a method that the larger research project strived for but did not achieve. It then goes on to describe the process of analysis for both the larger project and this thesis alone.

Chapter Four gets into the bulk of the thesis work. It begins by describing the different roles that municipalities played in supporting CED and providing an innovative practice model for each. It then goes on to explain some of the various frameworks for understanding and classifying the relationship between local governments and the CED sector, that was developed by the larger research team. This is followed by a discussion on how the transformative and localist elements of CED can be strengthened in municipal practice through policy recommendations.

Chapter Five concludes the research by looking at opportunities for future action and challenges to be overcome by both municipalities and the CED sector in the future.

Chapter 2 – CED, Equity Planning and Municipal Government

The literature review begins by providing some background on the equity planning movement and a discussion on how equity planners had impacts on and informed the more holistic approaches to planning that came after them, including elements that effected the CED movement.

It then goes on to look broadly at the concept of community economic development (CED) and what the academic literature on the topic says about the movement and the theory behind it. The literature review utilizes a model articulated by Boothroyd and Davis (1993) to classify and analyze differing definitions and approaches to CED. It also looks at the social and economic circumstances that lead to the adoption of specific CED approaches, the success of the movement, its challenges, and whether or not it has the potential to play a role in transforming the present economic system.

Implications for Planning and Municipal Renewal - Synergies between CED and Equity Planning

In the 1970s *equity planning* emerged in the US as a challenge to conventional planning practice that was mostly concerned with urban renewal in the physical sense. Equity planners viewed conventional land use and downtown-oriented planning as being done for purely market gain or developers and not for the benefit of citizens (Metzger 1996, p. 112). They further extended the work of the advocacy planners, the first planners to reject the rational or system approach to planning and to “appeal for planning to be more than a technical exercise and instead embrace social justice” (Allmendinger 2002, 138). Led by Norman Krumholz and other municipal planners, equity planners began to

consider issues of poverty, distribution of wealth and public good when creating planning policy.

Equity planners began to focus their planning skills and research to “influence public policy in favor of programs and decisions which seek to redistribute resources towards low-income individuals and communities” (Metzger 1996, p. 112). Changes to the political landscape in the US as a result of the civil rights and antiwar movements created space to consider the role that planning played in entrenching poverty and privilege within cities:

For planners, the black riots/rebellions that ensued in central cities reflected both the failure of traditional planning and urban renewal strategies to either reduce poverty or gain support from the poor, and the inadequacy of existing political and planning processes to express the needs and concerns of the disadvantaged (Heskin 1980, p. 53)

These changes led the pioneers of the equity planning movement to advocate for a more comprehensive and holistic approach to planning, which would give as much weight to social and economic issues as to traditional land use and urban design concerns (Metzger 2003, p. 113). Norman Krumholz began the early practice of equity planning during his term as the head planner for the City of Cleveland in the 1970s. He was hired by one of the first black mayors of the city and was tasked with trying to make the city work for everyone. The first plan created by Krumholz in Cleveland represented a drastic departure from the conventional plans of the 70s. The plan bravely stated that many of the city’s current problems emanated from poverty and lack of equity rather than focusing on trying to attract major commercial development in the downtown core (Cleveland Planning Commission 1975).

The plan laid out a framework by which new development proposals would be evaluated on how well they promoted equity and benefit the most disadvantaged of Cleveland's neighbourhoods and citizens. It entrenched the City's responsibility to "give priority attention to the goal of promoting a wider range of choices for those Cleveland residents who have few, if any, choices" (Cleveland Planning Commission 1975). See appendix 4 for further information on the Cleveland Policy and Planning Report. Policies for greater choice in the areas of housing, employment and transportation for low-income and working class populations were proposed. Krumholz and Clavel (1994) use the example of the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority, as a concrete example of successful equity planning in Cleveland. The Transit Authority placed emphasis on creating solutions for those who use transit as their primary means of transportation; the population who did not have access to cars. The plan's highest priority "was improving mobility of the transit dependent population" (Krumholz & Cavel 1994, xiii).

The equity planning movement gained further acknowledgement when Norman Krumholz became President of the American Planning Association in 1986. At that point in time, equity planning policies were beginning gain momentum in many other municipal governments. Policies included the creation of neighbourhood-based development organizations and/or community development corporations (Metzger 1996, p. 115). Other municipalities explored program in which profit from commercial development was redistributed towards the creation of affordable housing or various social services through linkage agreements or fair share plans (Metzger 1996, p. 115).

The similarities between the goals of the equity planners and those of the CED movement are numerous. Firstly, both schools of thought focus on the neighbourhood or

community as the level of analysis for urban planning and problem solving. Both movements are concerned with eliminating the barriers to full participation in the economy and civic life for all residents. They both consciously work towards trying to curb decline in the most economically impoverished areas. Both movements espouse support for local hiring and purchasing and, similar to the CED movement, equity planning focuses on promoting opportunities for those who wish to be employed but face barriers. Both the Cleveland Policy Planning Report of 1975 and the Chicago Development Plan of 1984 list promoting employment amongst their principles. Both plans emphasize the creation of employment to provide residents with a decent enough wage to lift them out of poverty.

Major differences between CED and equity planning can be explained by their different origins: CED work is carried out in the community, led by the community, while defining equity planning work is being led and undertaken by professional planners internal to municipal governments. As mentioned earlier, the two movements have very similar goals; the overlap occurs when equity planners work with local communities to support the CED movement through municipal planning and policy tools. The tools used by the CED community and equity planners correspond to this distinction between the community and municipality. CED tools include non-profits, credit unions, cooperative and nonprofit housing, worker cooperatives, social enterprises, and employment training programs. In contrast, equity planning tools include fair share plans, linkage agreements, more open civic government, rent control, and the creation of good, accessible public transit. The incubation of CDCs is a tool that crosses the municipal community divide; emanating in municipal policy and then run by the community. Equity

planning tools like linkage agreements, redistribute funds from development in high demand neighbourhoods towards new development in revitalization areas (Krumholz & Cavel 1994, p. 27), can be useful to directly support CDCs.

While the two movements have very similar motives, the equity planners are more far-reaching in the scope of tools they used to create more equitable neighbourhoods. Equity planners focus on creating greater opportunities for residents in all aspects of their lives. While CED's focus on the community economy often overlooks larger issues like transportation which have impact impacts on access to employment and stability. A real strength of equity planning is in the belief that any use of public funds to support redevelopment should include support for almost all of the equity planning principles. CED practitioners have not gained enough municipal strength to start demanding such extensive parameters on municipal funding and support.

Like municipal officials concerned with CED practice and programming in present-day municipal governments, equity planners seldom worked for conventional planning offices and instead work for municipal housing offices, in community development or economic development programs (Metzger 1996, p. 115). While there is a strength to the diversity of departments in which these individuals work, Krumholz & Clavel believes that "the barriers to the achievement of a real equity planning approach are mostly internal" (Krumholz & Clavel 1994, xi) and as the planning department is often a highly regarded department which professional designation and 'expert' status, both CED and equity planning could benefit from more of its proponents working in more conventional planning departments. Equity planners were in an interesting position to try to act as facilitators of social change in impoverished areas. They can be advocates

in favour of better urban policy for the neighbourhoods they work with and can ensure that the planning process is done in a truly participatory and equitable fashion that empowers those with whom they work.

In closing, equity planning is most in line with Haughton's approach as he believes municipalities and other local authorities can be honest brokers of change and can try to re-write the larger more systemic policies to favour those residents and areas most in need of some form of CED related transformation.

Community Economic Development as 'Localist & Transformative' or 'Gap Filling'

It is often unclear what is meant by the term *community economic development*. It is used by different actors to describe many different economic circumstances, from a Wal-Mart moving into a local municipality to an entirely communitarian way of living. The interdisciplinary and holistic nature of the concept make it difficult to define and give it different meaning to different people.

Shaffer, Deller and Marcouiller (2006) suggest that the larger concept of CED originated in UK urban policy in the late 1980s and early 1990s (p. 458) and has many similarities to approaches adopted by the international development and sustainable development communities. Common amongst all definitions of CED, John Loxley (2007) notes, is the understanding that the theory pertains to more than just local *economic* development and has many important social and political elements (p. 7). To many theorists such as Douglas (1994), CED is regarded as being a process of purposeful intervention into the community economy (p. 3). Most CED theorists such as Loxley (2007) believe that the movement exists in acknowledgment of the fact that the market is

not meeting the needs of the community. Those who practice CED look to the concept as a method for community problem solving and as a means for community empowerment.

Beyond these basic assumptions CED approaches generally include some degree of community involvement and empowerment, economic growth and job creation, as well as planned development. In the paper “Community Economic Development: Three Approaches,” Boothroyd and Davis (1993) put forward a tripartite analysis of how approaches to CED can be easily explained by evaluating the emphasis on either Community (Ced), Economics (cEd) or Development (ceD). In order to provide clarity to the multitude of definitions of the topic found in the literature this thesis will use Boothroyd and Davis’ classification as well.

COMMUNITY Economic Development:

In the Ced approach, according to Boothroyd and Davis (1993) focus is on evening out distribution of wealth and building stronger communities based on the idea of ‘leaving no one behind’ (p. 235). This view of CED is closest to the concept of *community development*, in which emphasis is placed on the “relationships between people and how they can be made more fruitful and mutually beneficial in a specific place at a specific time” (MacIntyre 2003, p. 5). This version of CED finds its roots in notions of fairness, justice and cooperation rather than competition. In Ced, emphasis is put on communal or collective well-being and the concept of mutual aid.

According to Oakley and Tsao (2007), Ced initiatives emphasize meaningful community involvement in decision-making and recognize the importance of developing individual human capital and the social capital of communities, while at the same time

trying to increase physical capital (p. 820). Approaches that prioritize the community focus on capacity building, empowerment and eliminating marginalization. Supporters of this approach rely heavily on the social capital literature and believe many ‘poor’ communities are rich in other areas. Authors such as Wilson (1996) believe this ‘wealth’ manifests itself in such things as a community’s collective interpersonal or relational skills like trust, cooperation, and consensus-building (p. 621).

For Boothroyd and Davis (1993) the strategies employed in Ced aim towards favouring those most in need and take the form of co-ops, land trusts, and community development corporations (p. 236). Because of this aim and that of decreasing marginalization, Ced also puts strong emphasis on employment training initiatives and individual development accounts. Initiatives that are firmly based in individual empowerment and capacity building; which in turn leads to community capacity and further empowerment. Of the three classifications, Ced represents the most bottom-up approach in which all members are meant to contribute meaningfully and those most in need are given the most consideration. Loxley (2007) believes that critics of this approach conclude that it is presently out of step with current social norms which value individuality over communality, noting that “Ced approaches are very process oriented, looking at how things should be done rather than what exactly should be done” (p. 8).

Community ECONOMIC Development

Under cEd, community economic development is considered synonymous with promoting growth in jobs, income, and business activity. The community is seen simply as the locality in which these activities take place. There is still the recognition that

failures exist in the economy but more traditional economic approaches are sought to address issues like a traditional resource economy failing. According to Shaffer, Deller and Marcoullier (1994):

We maintain that community economic development occurs when people in a community analyze the economic conditions of that community, determine its economic needs and unfulfilled opportunities, decide what can and should be done to improve the economic conditions in that community, and then move to achieve agreed-upon economic goals and objectives (p. 61).

Boothroyd and Davis (1993) label this variation of CED 'smokestack chasing' (p. 231), describing the process where cities or municipalities try to entice large industries or employers to come to their areas, with the hope of creating jobs, and leading to economic growth. The downside of this sort of CED projects are that the local community has very little power over the decision-making process of large industries and much of the profit of such ventures often leaves the community in which it is produced. This approach to CED assumes a more traditional, neoclassical approach to economics, and leave the health of the economy, and therefore the community, to the invisible hand of the market. Some authors like Haughton would argue this variant of CED should be given the terminology 'local economic development' because it has little to do with community control or power and involves little purposeful planning towards development. For example, Haughton (1998) argues:

The dominant ethos was that local economic development should be centred on tackling local economic initiatives, in particular developing the conditions to attract private sector interests back into the city. It is worth stressing here that environmental and social aspects of regeneration were relegated to secondary status, subject to the 'trickle-down' effects which were said to come with market success (p. 872).

The stability of the CED can be questioned due to its single solution approach that favours one major employer coming to save a community economy. Many communities have pursued the alternate variants of CED when the primary employer (factory or mine) in the community has closed.

Community Economic DEVELOPMENT

In the third and last conception of CED, development is the major focus in creating communities and economies that are, as Taylor (1998) believes, “viable in the short term and sustainable in the long term” (p.165). This approach puts more emphasis on the quality of the economy, rather than on economic growth and the number of jobs created. This is the conception of CED that looks at the larger picture of communities’ futures and tries to accommodate the needs of both today and tomorrow. In this approach, communities try to increase their productive capacity to meet local needs, to create more demand locally, and to begin exporting only if these other objectives have been achieved.

In this definition theorists such as Douglas (1998) believe focus is placed on increasing local ownership, control over resource management and import substitution (creating locally what once would have been imported) (p. 12). Credit unions and cooperatives are both examples of this approach (Boothroyd & Davis 1993, p. 234). The communities that adopt these strategies see a positive relationship between local control, stability, and sustainability (Boothroyd & Davis 1993, p. 235). In the context of globalization, many local economies and communities are turning to this approach having felt the negative effects of their integration into the global economy, where profits often accrue to distant head offices, instead of into local coffers, or where there are major plant closures due to off-shoring. This last categorization of CED is likely to entail a large

restructuring of the economy. It is the approach that would be the most transformative, but faces the challenge of swimming against the tide of mainstream economics.

Why is Community Economic Development Needed?

As stated before the common thread to the various approaches to CED is the underlying assumption that the market economy is leaving behind certain segments of society, or certain cities or regions, and not accounting for their material needs. The rise of globalization and neoliberalism has had profound effects on communities across the world. The interconnectedness of the world economy has left many communities in economic disarray. Loxley (2007) sees the newfound mobility of goods and capital has led to plant closures and job restructuring because enterprises are now free to move wherever economic conditions are best suited to profit maximization and where they can exploit income inequalities (p. 9). This mobility, he argues, coupled with the growing prominence of the neoliberal political ideology, which further promotes the idea of market supremacy, has meant a retrenchment of the welfare state and the social safety net.

The work of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) and its researchers, such as Cunningham (2007), have documented a growing gap between rich and poor in many countries including Canada and a further entrenchment of poverty amongst certain groups or in certain neighbourhoods. Halpern (1993) contends this growing gap has left many communities neglected and depleted because of the decisions of others not to invest in, insure, support, or interact with these locales and their residents (p. 113).

Another factor contributing to the search for alternatives is the need for a holistic approach to community problem solving that is not solely based on economics or community development. According to Shaffer, Deller and Marcouiller (2006), “economics is the study of nation states (macro) and the study of the individual consumers and firms (micro). This distinction, however, leaves out an important middle ground frequently labeled the community” (p. 59). This suggests that analysis at the community level is weak and that opportunities for economic development at the community level have not been fully explored.

Another factor contributing to the need for holism is that economic development has historically focused on jobs, income, and business growth, whereas community development has tended to focus on equal rights, institutional organization, and political processes. Shaffer, Deller and Marcouiller believe that in the past, academics and practitioners have emphasized one of these two approaches and “seldom worried about the other” (p. 60). For Oakley and Tsao (2007), this is problematic and points to the need for CED strategies which are based on the assumption that to alleviate poverty and other social ills, a holistic approach addressing all the interrelated problems of a community, including both economic and social must be implemented (p. 820). CED also acknowledges that producing wealth is an important component of promoting change in communities and that economic development is essential to tackling poverty and can actually lead to community empowerment.

In communities with high levels of poverty, where the Ced approach would traditionally be valued, practitioners are discovering the pivotal role of individual empowerment as a key success factor for engaging in CED. For Wilson (1996), CED

strategies are strongest where the individual is the “subject not object of community economic development and social change” (p. 617) and where individual empowerment is a precursor to community and societal betterment. Cummings (2001) makes similar points and believes that empowerment is most valued when viewed “as a discernable transformation, a quantum of influence that can be cultivated by active participation in local community life” (p. 445).

In Ced, the focus on individual job readiness and training leads to greater amount of community success because individuals are able to overcome personal and systemic barriers to employment such as, discrimination in the employment market. This also allows for differing manifestations of wealth to take place. Shaffer, Deller and Marcouiller (2006) and Shragge and Toye (2006) emphasize that with individual empowerment come other forms of non-monetized wealth such as increased choices and opportunity for individuals and a reduction of power inequalities caused by factors such as ethnicity, gender and class (Shaffer et al, p.70; Shragge & Toye, p.15).

One of the major driving forces behind the CED movement is a response to the effects of social exclusion. Social exclusion has meant that some communities or individuals have been historically excluded from the economy, and in broader terms from society as a whole. For Taylor (1998) those experiencing social exclusion are plagued by lack of choice in terms of where to live and to work (p. 166). Haughton (1998) sees the effect of this exclusion when community members are denied access to jobs and a good quality of life, and this has led to circumstances where “social breakdown is inevitable” (p. 874).

It is difficult to build or maintain an economy in those areas where inhabitants experience social exclusion; outside investment is hard to attract, it is difficult to get insurance and there is lack of will on the part of many institutions, such as major banks, to be present. These institutions see a lack of market viability in such areas and have an increased perception of risk. Social exclusion creates the optimal conditions for Ced or ceD projects because there is little outside competition, local need for both jobs and services, and because local residents benefit both in terms of wages and increased cash flow to their neighbourhoods.

In the Ced and ceD variants of CED much emphasis is put on local control of community economies and, more generally, community affairs and politics. The scaling back of government services in the age of neoliberalism has meant that many responsibilities once performed by the state are now taking place at the community level. Ghorayshi, Graydon and Kliewer (2007) believe that many civil society actors applaud this change as they feel that control over the affairs of communities belongs at the community level, as this is more democratic and less hegemonic than state control (p. 36). Shaffer, Deller and Marcouiller (2006) are of a similar opinion and assert that a community is the logical economic unit to exert control over its economic future (p. 70).

Douglas (1994) argues that CED can create diversity in a local economy and lead to greater linkages to other industries and sectors and that there is a positive relationship between linkages and the number of times that income circulates in an economy (p. 11). In other words, the greater the linkages, the greater the multiplier effect. If there are not enough goods and services available locally, community members will have to spend their wages elsewhere. This is an important point when looking at CED initiatives which

have been initiated because a large employer relocating or a factory shutting down. CED strategies that are adopted to replace a large employer should be diverse in order to keep the likelihood of economic crisis to a minimum. Single industry communities also increase the likelihood of leakages to other communities. Locally controlled economies can also provide for local demand and are not subject to pre-prescribed profit margins set by a distant head office. Many community run businesses operate on a not-for-profit basis to supply communities with much needed goods and services that might not be available otherwise.

How is CED Accomplished?

Now that multiple definitions of CED have been offered and some of the major driving factors for the movement have been outlined, its time to look more closely at how CED projects are actually carried out, what strategies and institutions are used to put into strategies in motion. There are multiple institutional and enterprise types favoured by CED movements because of their ability to provide economic gain while enshrining social goals. Boothroyd and Davis (1993) underline the point that CED tries to capitalize on the already existing networks and successes within neighbourhoods such as neighbourhood associations, community centre groups, and youth coalitions (p. 234). In the Canadian CED Network's Profile of CED in Canada, written by Toye and Chaland, non-profits, credit unions, cooperative and nonprofit housing, worker cooperatives, social enterprises, and employment training programs were the prominent types of organizations created by communities to take control of their economic future (Toye & Chaland 2002, p. 28).

Pell (1994) and Ghorayshi, Graydon and Kliewer (2007) believe that as governments have moved further and further away from service provision that many non-profit organizations have become key providers of services such as employment training, housing and social services and are largely responsible for the initiation and administration of many CED projects (p. 161 & p. 37). Community development corporations or CDCs have been important catalysts for local economic growth. Cummings (2001) notes that most CDCs have been set up in low-income neighbourhoods to try to increase investment and economic activity in these areas (p. 443). Wilson (1993) points out that CDCs in the US are well networked among themselves and nurtured by a web of financial intermediaries and technical assistance providers that channel resources and professional expertise to low-income neighbourhoods and communities across the country (p. 617).

Credit unions perform the vital function of making CED projects viable as they provide financing and other financial services for start-up businesses that would not have been available otherwise. For Boothroyd and Davis (1993) the development of credit unions and community loan funds help to encourage retention of community savings for community use (p. 234).

Collectively owned enterprises are often favoured in the CED sector; the reasons for this are many. Community-run businesses are more democratic, are able to function on a participatory basis, and profits are shared more equitably. They often have a stronger commitment to buying, hiring, and reinvesting locally than enterprises owned from the outside, whose sole concern is their bottom line. Authors such as Pell (1994) have chronicled that in Canada, these businesses largely take the form of social enterprises and

cooperatives (p. 166). A social enterprise is a market based intervention that also has serves social goals (Defourny & Nyssens 2006, 4). The Canadian group Enterprising Non-Profits defines a social enterprise as “business ventures operated by non-profits, whether they are societies, charities, or co-operatives” (Enterprising Non-Profits, 2012)

Often CED projects are supported or even initiated by governments. The state is often apt to fund such projects because they have social as well as economic benefits. Government support for CED projects can be justified on a number of grounds; for instance, the creation of local wages decreases dependence on income assistance, and the creation of new enterprises can increase the tax base. Haughton (1998) views that many communities are happy to have control over their over future and their own affairs and do not necessarily want the processes of empowerment to be a cover for reduced state engagement and funding in community level activity (p. 875). In Canada, Shragge and Toye (2006) contend that communities themselves have been responsible for the initiation of CED projects or strategies and that government support often followed (p. 8). Immergluck (2005) and others emphasize that governments also play a role in CED through the procurement process (p. 215). They are buyers of large quantities of goods and can choose to directly support community run enterprises through their buying processes. In Canada many governments are adopting procurement strategies to support CED enterprises (see, for example, City of Vancouver, 2006).

CED: A Question of Vision

The academic literature on CED falls short on evaluating the overall vision of the concept. Just as there is a multiplicity of definitions associated with CED, there is also a

range of visions regarding whether the concept is representative of a cohesive theory of economic development and revitalization or is merely a strategy adopted by localities to solve imminent short-term problems. What is clear, though, is that conceptions of CED as either a theory or a strategy is based on the definition of CED that one chooses to adopt. In his book *Transforming of Reforming Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Community Economic Development*, John Loxley (2007) articulates his position that the lack of an economic theory behind the concept of CED is problematic. As in the absence of a theory:

All economic initiatives at the local level are seen as contributing both to the community and to development. In this extreme, any local project, regardless of who owns it, where they reside and to where they take any profits, is considered to constitute part of community economic development (p. 7).

For Loxley, CED is more in line with Ced or ceD, but he eliminates cEd, as it has no stipulations on ownership or profits. Loxley believes there are two fundamental views about CED; one which conceives of the concept as ‘filling gaps’ that are created by the current capitalist economic system, and the other that focuses more on its transformative potential (p. 9). Based on his criteria for defining CED, he sees the ‘filling gaps’ approach as being most in line with cEd and as the most predominant view of CED in Canadian society. Loxley is not in favour of cEd because he views its approach as a band-aid solution which is not holistic, offers only stop-gap solutions to problems caused by the market and creates circumstances which will only reoccur in the future (p. 9).

Authors such as Cummings (2007) echo Loxley’s concerns for this approach to CED as it fails to distinguish the problematic nature of the ethos of greater market integration of communities without “questioning the fairness of existing institutional arrangements” (p. 447). Cummings states that a focus on further reintegrating

communities into the mainstream economy fails to realize why communities have ended up impoverished in the first place, while the appearance of success with market related programs clearly furthers the neoliberal agenda (p. 447). Armstrong et al. (2002) and Shragge and Toye (2006) caution that many governments support this view of CED, and believe that reinserting communities into the mainstream economy is possible and will eventually reach a point where these areas will become normally functioning parts of the existing regional economy and will no longer need to receive government funding (p. 458 & p. 15).

There are various authors who view the many definitions of CED as falling into either progressive approaches or liberal local development approaches. Shragge and Toye (2006) and Fontan (2003) are supporters of the progressive approach in which the CED movement challenges government policies and principles viewing them as a contributing factor to the unequal distribution of resources that necessitate CED strategies in the first place. Shragge and Toye question whether government support and recognition of CED will “move it away from its vision of an alternative to mainstream values of economic and social development” (p. 10). They contend that the real possibility of CED lies in creating “new forms of development that are democratic, ecological and that are engaged in critical analysis and related popular education contribut[ing] to building a locally-based opposition movement” (p. 14). They believe the power of government funding could “increase the pressure of assimilation into the dominant system and gradually marginalize progressive practices” (p. 14) and thus the transformative element of CED practice in the first place. Theorists like Wilson and Loxley believe that in the US there is a growing feeling of malaise that comes with success in CED because it is often so tightly

associated with cEd, that it is viewed as “selling out to consumer society, to hierarchy and professionalization, and to the non-profit funders themselves” (Wilson 1996 p. 617).

Haughton (1998) also believes that there are various contrasting definitions of CED and that some versions of the concept have a greater ability to be transformative than others. He labels his contrasting definitions ‘localist CED’ and ‘mainstream’ or building better bridges CED.

Table 2. Alternative models of community economic development

'Localist' CED	'Mainstream' or 'building better bridges' approaches to CED
Done by local people Maximize local control of assets and decision making Local ownership of strategy Reduce economic leakage Build local capital base Permanent regeneration and role for state investment Build community asset bases in an attempt to create revenue streams (e.g. locally owned managed workspaces) Social entrepreneurs 'Alternative' projects Build alternative local economy Evaluation through social audit	Doing with local people Use local potential to attract external investment Local involvement in strategy Link to mainstream economy State control of spending decisions Programme lifetime Exit strategies with emphasis on state withdrawal State decision making as 'risk averse' Mainstream programme bending Build a stronger mainstream economy Modified mainstream evaluation

(Haughton 1998, 874)

Haughton critiques cEd and more mainstream approaches to community economic development for their tendency to move away from creating “alternatives to mainstream markets” and for their focus on dealing more with social exclusion at the community level by “building better bridges between excluded communities and the mainstream” (p. 873).

The reason Haughton’s thinking diverges from that of Wilson, Loxley, Shragge, Toye and Fontan is that Haughton is not advocating solely for a progressive/transformative approach or a liberal/mainstream approach to CED, but emphasizes an approach to CED that is tripartite in nature and encapsulates strategies from each of the approaches:

Providing alternatives to mainstream market activities (products, services and jobs); helping marginalized communities link better into mainstream market activities; and making mainstream regeneration initiatives more effective by better integrating them with local communities, bringing the benefits of improved access to local resources, knowledge and legitimacy (p. 876).

For the purpose of this thesis, Haughton's tripartite conception of CED is most useful as it is a more pragmatic approach to CED which addresses the number of hardships communities could potentially face by severing their ties to the outside economy, while realizing that complete integration into the mainstream is also not desired as it only increases the likelihood of recidivism and lack of community control. Haughton recognizes that "it is also worth bearing in mind that, deep though the distrust of the local state might be in some respects, there is also a genuine role for the local authority to act as honest broker; they can provide a form of legitimacy and financial stability in the eyes of the community" (p. 875). For these reasons Haughton's conception of CED was adopted for this research and is reflected in the research questions. Haughton's beliefs are also most closely aligned with the equity planning paradigm described earlier.

Another challenge to the entirely transformative approach that Loxley (2007) points out is that communities are often made up of different classes and the ruling or capitalist class has no vested interest in being involved in CED strategies that are transformative (p. 10). According to Taylor (1998), the market's obsession with the individual and individual survival designates all those who the market has failed as "the community" (p.165), which is problematic because individuals might not actually conceive of themselves as a cohesive community. It appears as though the challenge in trying to outline whether CED is a cohesive theory of social change is about as difficult as it is to define the movement itself, while those in the Ced and ceD camps view the

movement as having greater transformative potential than those who favour cEd. There are many proponents of CED and numerous success stories to illustrate its usefulness, but the movement still has many criticisms and future challenges to face.

One of the primary concerns of any actor involved in a CED project, be it government, a practitioner or individual community member is tackling the issue of what exactly constitutes a community. Douglas (1994) believes that most researchers and practitioners view communities “as groups of individuals who need to associate for common cause and action. They need to exert influence over internal, and particularly external, forces that condition the quality of their lives” (p. 2). A major challenge for all CED initiatives is that a given area may contain many different interest groups such as ethnic groups, those with different income levels and age differences. CED projects often face problems trying to “mobilize different interest-groups to tackle the problems within their area, whilst recognizing that different communities will rarely be wholly enclosed by geographical boundaries” (Shaffer, Deller & Marcouiller 2006, p. 258). This creates challenges for community development workers and planners whose mandates are normally defined by geographical boundaries (e.g. urban constituencies or municipalities).

CED can cause rifts between those who would like to see communities remain as they are and those seeking change. An example put forward by Loxley (2007) is the replacement of locally owned stores with cooperatives or land trusts (p. 11). Those who presently own stores in communities are not going to be pleased by the newfound competition of a community-run enterprise. Halebsky, Gruidl, and Green (1999) believe that an ongoing challenge for geographically bounded CED initiatives is to mediate these

conflicts, engaging willing and unwilling collaborators in building a long-term strategy (p. 89).

One of the major challenges posed to CED projects, put forward by government funders and charitable foundations, is evaluation of CED initiatives is often hard to measure because they are neither merely social or economic. As stated before, CED initiatives should be holistic and often try to accomplish multiple objectives at once, making the measurement of CED difficult (Armstrong et al. 2002, p. 457). For Oakley and Tsao (2007), in the past, other programs that aimed at alleviating inner-city poverty had been top down in their planning and administration and thus were easier for funders to evaluate as they ostensibly planned the programs (p. 820). In CED projects that are actually planned and carried out at the community level, it is harder for those providing the funding to monitor the initiatives.

The last commonly held criticism of CED, one described by Cummings (2001) is that many of the strategies employed by CED, such as the creation of community or social enterprises, offer only low paying jobs and that small enterprises have high failure rates (p. 449). These small enterprises often suffer from a lack of economies of scale in regards to production, so the cost of lower profit margins on goods produced is passed down to the workers via lower wages.

As CED has gained popularity it has been “widely perceived by a range of policymakers as one mechanism through which to moderate the scale of economic decline in more disadvantaged localities” (Lawless 2001, p. 135). Along with *community development*, CED has been a major strategy employed by planners as a participatory problem-solving mechanism with which to engage in neighbourhood planning. For

Douglas (1997), CED and city planning are mutually reinforcing as they both emphasize planned interventions and “purposeful design and action by community residents” (p. 7). Like city planning, many CED projects are spatially bounded and recognize the “unequal geographical distribution of opportunities and resources” within a city (Bryant 1994, p. 203). CED and urban revitalization are becoming more intrinsically linked, because neighbourhood decay usually begins with social and economic circumstances, such as unemployment, that in turn have physical manifestations such as run down housing and main streets. Poverty is often a geographically bounded condition and Lawless (2001) believes

it is possible to identify `localities' or `communities' which have endured marked, sometimes severe, economic retrenchment. Typically, such localities are characterized by acute pockets of socio-economic deprivation and increasing joblessness (p. 136).

Deindustrialization has greatly affected many urban communities, causing whole areas to experience poverty and marginalization (Morin & Handley 2004, p. 371). Those without employment have few choices for housing and tend to end up inhabiting the same areas, leaving some communities with little or no way to support a healthy economy and community businesses.

This further contributes to out-migration from various communities because in urban centres, one's place of employment and home are not necessarily in the same geographical neighbourhood. However, there is a link between one's decision to continue living in a neighbourhood and the economy. Morin and Hanley (2004) point out that most people, if in a position of choice will not remain in an economically depressed area, as those places are also often perceived as locations of high crime rates and lower property values. There is also the argument to be made that CED projects done in conjunction with

planners will have more far-reaching effects as planners have the ability to liaise with local governments. For instance, Shaffer, Deller and Marcouiller (1996) illustrate that in the UK some large community-wide CED projects have resulted in funds being allocated to improve public transit projects, so that individuals from disadvantaged communities can more easily travel to places of employment (p. 259). This further reinforces the need for this thesis research that explores the link between overall community renewal, CED, and municipal government.

Chapter 3 – Research Methods

Participatory action research (PAR) methods were sought as an ideal research method for both this thesis and the larger study. It was hoped that a PAR approach would ensure stakeholders were not only consulted, but meaningfully involved at all stages of research development, implementation, analysis, and reporting. The research team believed that this would make the results of the research the most easily used by CED practitioners and municipalities in Canada. It would also mean that some sort of action imperative would flow from the research results. Whether this took the form of a lobbying campaign involving CED groups and the CED Network or trying to create municipal government working groups on CED within municipal governments.

This thesis proceeded with research on PAR methodology and sincerely believed that it would be the method undertaken to complete the research. In the end this goal proved to be too ambitious for this thesis and the research project. Various problems that occurred along the way made a PAR approach difficult to achieve. These problems included a real difficulty reaching municipal officials to interview, never mind those to help develop research questions and interpret results. Other problems that arose related to turnover of the research team itself. In the beginning Mike Gismondi a professor at Athabasca University and city councilor was on the research team. Due to other commitments he had to leave the team. This meant the municipal councilor perspective was underrepresented in the research. In the very least, the composition of the research team ensured that there was a connection to various CED actors, community based organizations, key sector stakeholders, and municipal officials undertaking the actual research and analyzing the findings. This connection helped to ensure that the research

outcomes would be useful and beneficial to community groups performing valuable work on the ground. While the team tried to abide by some of the tenets of PAR research in the end the process more closely resembled a good qualitative group research process with many stakeholders involved in the CED world but not exactly those who were explicitly the subject of the research. The following paragraphs describe PAR methodology and the process the ideal research method the team and thesis strived to use.

PAR is a methodology that has become increasingly popular in research across numerous disciplines. It has accompanied the increased prominence of qualitative research and the questioning of the positivist school of thought. As such, PAR falls into both the constructivist and critical social science approaches. Two important principles in a PAR approach to research are the inclusion of those most affected by the area being studied and engaging in action-oriented research that works toward a problem solving goal (Kidd & Kral 2005, p. 183). According to Reason (1994), PAR aims to create “knowledge and action which are directly useful to a community” (p. 45; see also Kekale & Pirttila 2006, p. 252). It is different from conventional research in which the research problems, methods, analysis and results are generated by professional researchers or academics. In PAR projects there is a “commitment to full democratization of both content and method” (Chataway 2001, p. 240). This means that the research process is designed so that there is inclusion of some of the people being studied in the identification of the problem, as well as research questions, and even sometimes analysis (Kidd & Kral 2005, p. 187). According to Greenwood and Levin (2000), PAR projects offer a different paradigm for research which is not “abstract, self-referential, and

distributed within a narrow disciplinary circle” (p. 87); meaning their results will be useful to the larger non-academic world.

In PAR projects the concept of knowledge or knowing comes to be as the product of people coming together to “share experiences through a dynamic process of action, reflection and collective investigation” (Gaventa & Cornwall, p. 2001, 78). Kidd and Kral (2005) note that PAR was developed in response to the problematic nature of data collection that presently exists in most of academia in which institutions claim specific rights over the methods used to collect knowledge and, as such, the media to create social change (p. 191). Instead, participatory action researchers are interested in “valuing discourses from a broad range of intellectual origins” (Savin-Baden & Wimpenny 2007, p. 333). For these reasons, PAR approaches are as much about methodology as they are about ideology and the epistemological foundations of knowledge (Klodowsky 2007, p. 2847). The success of PAR methods is dependent on joint ownership, commitment and responsibility. In practice PAR involves “focusing on the agenda of participants; the use of self-reflective cycles; developing shared quality criteria to ensure validity; generation of knowledge and understanding” (Savin-Badin & Wimpenny 2007, p. 335).

As it is not possible to carry out participatory action research without the active participation of the people being studied, PAR projects tend to be more complex in their organization and execution. Wadsworth (1998) contends that in any research project there are normally four conceptual parties, these are: the researcher/s, the researched, the researched for, in the sense of having the problem the research is to resolve, the researched for, in the sense that they might benefit from better information about the

situation” (1998). She believes that in PAR many of these roles are combined and those that are affected are treated as co-researchers.

Because of this, open and clear communication is one of the pillars of PAR. Researchers and the community partners must have concise, open communication and should come to consensus around project objectives. Roles and responsibility of all those involved should be laid out in advance of the project beginning. Savin-Badin and Wimpenny (2007) suggest that early sessions of PAR research should focus on: getting familiar with one another (the researcher(s) and co-researchers); exploring what exactly the PAR method means for both groups; and working towards consensus based decision-making processes (p. 334).

Lastly, the concept of reflexivity is at the core of PAR. Researchers in PAR inquiry must always be aware of their role in the research and try to consciously be aware of how their bias might affect the research. Much of the PAR literature emphasizes the use of critical reflexivity so that “underlying positions and assumptions of both researcher and community can be identified and analyzed in terms of how they might impact or skew the results of the research” (Klodawsky 2007, p. 2857).

All elements of the larger research project were carried out in conjunction with a research team. The first task of this newly formed research team was to agree on the specific research questions the research was looking to answer and to ensure that all members of the team were using the same language in reference to CED. As mentioned earlier, clear communication is important in PAR projects. In the case of this project, it was also very important that all members of the research team be using the same language to communicate the projects conception of CED clearly to the municipal

administrators engaged. If the researcher were to use insular language that is only understood within the CED community, the project might miss out on documenting CED programs supported by municipalities. For this reason, as a research group it was decided that using CED principles to define the concept, instead of just the label CED, would be better understood by municipal administrators. The Neechi Principles, developed by a cooperative grocery store in Winnipeg's North End, best described the version of CED to which we subscribed (see **Appendix 3**).

The team agreed that striving for a PAR approach to the research would be most fitting, as the funding for the project came from a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council – Community University Research Alliance, which stipulates that all research undertaken must be done in conjunction with a community partner. In the case of this project, it was decided that the major community partner, CCEDNet, would be involved in all steps of the research from identifying research questions, deciding on a method to collect data, analyzing results, and creating policy recommendations because of the depth of knowledge the partner could contribute to the research. As CCEDNet is a member based network, their participation in the project is complicated as they represent many of the conceptual parties described earlier, the network represents both the researchers and the researched for.

The second task was to determine which members of the research team would be responsible for specific aspects of the research. This is consistent with the PAR literature that states that it is beneficial to clearly distinguish roles and responsibilities of both the researchers and the community partners before the project commences (Savin-Badin & Wimpenny 2007, p. 334). It was determined that Emma Sharkey, Jenny Kain and I would

be responsible for carrying out the actual data collection and that Peter Hall and Brendan Reimer would play an advisory role in this step. It was at this point the team agreed that qualitative research, in the form of in-depth semi-structured surveys, would be the best method to get the richest results out of this study. Again, even though our project did not meet all of the pillars of a PAR approach the PAR process of setting up the research proved beneficial for our group.

The research technique used was a telephone survey with municipal officials who work in departments responsible for CED related activities (e.g., planning, economic development, social planning). The survey questions were open-ended in nature to ensure rich answers and to allow for interpretive analysis. All data collected was qualitative in nature, which facilitated the development of descriptive policy recommendations and innovative practice profiles (see **Appendix 1** for a complete list of the survey questions).

The recruitment process involved researchers contacting potential participants by email or the phone. In some cases the researchers had professional relationships with the participants, but in most cases the researcher and participants did not know each other prior to the commencement of the research. Contact information for participants was obtained from publicly available phone and e-mail listings. Recruitment was carried out over the phone or e-mail, at which time potential participants were provided with details of the study. Once a prospective participant agreed to participate, he/she was asked to sign a participant consent form.

While the survey was designed to be conducted with one participant from each local government, several participants identified local government colleagues with further information/knowledge in the area of research. This was particularly the case in the large

local governments where staff roles are more specific to a particular area. Multiple surveys were conducted with more than one municipal government employees that provided the research team with a wider range of responses to the questions; these surveys were generally of longer duration. The entire process of data collection took place between spring 2008 and fall 2009. There were numerous challenges encountered in recruiting individuals to survey and thus this process took much longer than expected and the size of the project had to be scaled down from the research team's initial ambitious scope.

Analysis Process

Project analysis of data took place with the same members of the research team. Most of the critical decision-making regarding analysis for the larger project was made at an in-person meeting in July 2009. Initially, it was hoped that this first phase of analysis might be able to be inclusive of some of the municipal administrators who actually participated in the interviews. Again, for this reason the research analysis could not be strictly classified as adhering to a PAR approach as it left out those who 'were researched'. However, the different perspectives brought forward from the research team did not strictly represent a traditional academic approach to research and the involvement of the Canadian CED Network, as well as a municipal administrator, helped to steer the analysis process towards an action-oriented approach continuing to consider how the research could be analyzed to prove most useful for the CED community and municipal governments, while providing some useful policy and program recommendations for these groups to act upon.

Before this in-person meeting occurred, all data was transcribed from a digital recorder and was open coded to organize the findings into categories or concepts that reflect the ability of each response to promote social, economic, natural or human capital. This process could also be referred to as cross-sectional or categorical indexing because the data in this study has a uniform layout based on each respondent's answers to the ordered sequence of the survey questions (Mason 2000, p. 150). In the text *Social Research Methods*, Neuman (1997) discusses the importance of organizing research into concepts based on "themes, concepts or similar features" (p. 421) early in the research to start to form early theoretical statements about the research. The concepts listed above are widely accepted in the CED world and were a well-understood theoretical framework for practitioners and the research team. These initial codes were also chosen because they were broad enough to encapsulate all of the possible responses from interviewees. Neuman suggests that once a researcher has completed open coding that they have generated a list of themes that are starting to emerge from the data (p. 423). Although it could not be ensured that these codes would be the final codes used for actual analysis by the group, it seemed too unorganized to leave all of the data collected in a largely unclassified state. It was proposed to the group that these classifications could be used for coding and they did serve as a basis for much of the final 'roles' codes that were developed.

The final frameworks for data analysis were developed by the research team as a whole. The research group determined that it would be useful to classify the identified examples of municipal support into 'roles' and to begin categorizing data by the type of roles that local government's play in their support of the sector. This process began with

the three researchers who undertook the surveys re-counting some initial trends they encountered from the research transcripts with the larger group. Quickly similarities and synergies in responses were encountered and the group was able to dig deeper into the coding practice and the preset categories/concepts to begin the process of axial coding. This meant looking closer at the relationship between the themes that were created during the open coding practice, not the actual data itself. Neuman suggests that during axial coding “a researcher asks about causes and consequences, conditions and interactions, strategies and processes and looks for concepts that cluster together” (p. 423). After much discussion the primary roles or codes identified were: Expressions of Intent; Financial Support; In-kind Support; Planning, Research and Advising; Human Social & Capital Development; Land Use; and Procurement (further described later in the thesis). Because of time constraints the group as a whole was not able to engage in selective coding as a last pass through the data. The three researchers responsible for data collection undertook this process on their own and submitted their results to the group for discussion. This process helped to ensure that all the major themes and hypotheses in the research could be backed up with specific quotes or cases in the data.

Interpretive analysis was used throughout the process of analyzing results. This was the most useful way to draw results from the data because as Mason (2000) suggests, an interpretive reading enables researchers to focus on the interviewees “interpretations and understandings, or their versions and accounts of how they make sense of social phenomena” (p. 149) and greater focus can be placed on researchers’ interpretation of what they heard from interviewees. The researcher team agreed that interpretive analysis was important because of our extensive knowledge of the CED sector and how various

initiatives could support CED, even if it was not directly acknowledged or understood by the interviewee. Reflexivity was also quite present in the analysis because as mentioned earlier, the researchers entered the study with their own assumptions and understanding of the concept of CED and its propensity to affect change; and because the group had a very specific definition of CED that we were working with. The research team was acutely aware of our own strong connection to and support for CED, and aware that some of those we interviewed were not as supportive of the concept. Throughout the project we worked within our definition to decipher if some of the espoused support for CED that we heard in many of the interviews actually fell within the confines of our study. For instance, Armstrong et al. (2002) believe many governments view CED not as a transformative concept, but more of a process of reinserting communities into the mainstream economy. Those with this view hope the process will reach a point where they will become a normally functioning part of the existing regional economy and will no longer need to receive government funding (p. 458). This assertion of Armstrong et al. was considered while analyzing the results of conversations with local governments to see if their conceptions of CED were more closely aligned with conventional economic development.

The second major means for analyzing the data that the research group decided on was the identification of six frameworks for describing in general terms how the studied local governments relate to the CED sector and their various modes of interaction. These five frameworks are: ‘Solitudes’; ‘Coffee Shop’; ‘Partnering’; ‘Linking and Leveraging’; ‘Integrated’; and ‘What Can We do to Help’. The frameworks were created to “enhance local governments’ strategic consideration of their developmental role in their

communities and the ways in which they can best work to support the local CED and SE [social economy] sector” (Kain, Sharkey & Webb 2010, p. 7). Examples of municipalities that exemplified each of the frameworks were chosen from all of the interviews and a case study was written each municipality describing how that particular locale engaged with its CED sector in the research report of the larger study.

This framework approach was also adopted in this thesis to help to answer research question D, which is concerned with classifying each municipality’s practices as either ‘transformative/localist’ or ‘gap filling’. In the larger project these frameworks were created to be value neutral; the thesis took these concepts and assigned value to each framework by putting them on a continuum from ‘transformative/localist’ or ‘gap filling’, with the ‘transformative/localist’ example constituting the ideal type. This focus on the ideal type was well suited to this thesis’ interpretive focus that aims not to “test hypotheses or create a generalizable theory, but use the ideal type to bring out the specifics of each case and to emphasize the impact of the unique context” (Neuman 1997, p. 433). According to Neuman (1997) the ideal type is most useful for comparison in research because the ideal type constitutes a “pure standard against which the data or ‘reality’ can be compared” (p. 433). In this case of this research, an ideal transformative and localist municipal government was one that most embodied the ‘How Can We Help’ framework, Haughton’s definition of localist CED and a combination of the Ced and ceD typologies.

Similar to the process used by the larger group, themes were used in a process of axial coding to sort each municipality into ‘transformative/localist’ or ‘gap filling.’ Themes that emerged from the literature review about the most beneficial approaches,

strategies, conditions and consequences for transformative/localist CED to take place were used to code each municipality to a place along the spectrum.

The themes used were as follows:

Ced

- Relationships
- Equity, fairness, justice
- Collaborative, collective, bottom-up decision-making
- Local ownership: Co-op, land trust, CDC
- Capacity building, empowerment
- Permanent role for state investment
- Social entrepreneurs

cEd

- Growth
- Jobs
- Income
- Industry
- Top-down or municipal decision-making
- Attracting external investment

ceD

- Sustainability
- Holistic
- Local production and consumption
- Control over resource management
- Build local capital base and assets

The last consideration for placing each of the medium sized municipalities interviewed into the spectrum was the degree to which they offered some sort of assistance relating to many of the municipal government roles for supporting CED identified by the larger research project. The localities that provided support in more than a few of the role categories placed favorably on the spectrum because of their holistic and far reaching support of CED.

It was a disappointing that PAR ideals were not able to be reached as a pure methodology for the larger project and also for this thesis. However, as many of the basic

principles of PAR research were still followed, like the process used for formulating research questions, the process of analyzing data, the overall use of reflexivity and the inclusion of “the researched for.” This made the qualitative research process more rich and helped the research group with structuring the process of doing collective research. There is still room to further this research by interviewing CED practitioners about the results of the study to see how successful they deem many of the initiatives the municipality listed as being supportive of CED actually are.

Chapter 4 – Analysis

Local Government Roles Identified in the Research & Innovative Practice Models

There are a variety of roles that local government can play to advance CED efforts that, in combination, support multi-faceted approaches to address challenges faced at the community level. The research done by Kain, Sharkey and Webb (2010) identified several core roles local government engages in to support CED activities (p. 21). These roles were classified into the following categories: Expressions of Intent, Financial Support, In-Kind Support, Planning, Research and Advising, Human and Social Capital Development, Land Use and Procurement. Below these roles are expanded upon and one innovative practice model from each of the medium-sized municipalities is used to further illuminate each role. Innovative practice examples were chosen by their ability to promote transformative or localist CED based on the process described above. The roles that most closely aligned with Ced and ceD approaches were used to determine the innovative practice examples. Each example has been backed up with corresponding information from the literature review.

Expressions of Intent

The first role the larger research group created was labeled *Expressions of Intent*. This describes local government action that is supportive of CED and takes the form of “strategic documents, policies, bylaws and directives (Sharkey, Kain & Webb 2010, p. 21).” In the research it was found that local government policies can produce beneficial CED outcomes within their jurisdiction by guiding program development and departmental composition. They can also be supportive of the CED outcomes of “non-

governmental organizations, the private sector, and citizens (Sharkey, Kain & Webb 2010, p. 21).”

One example of an exemplary policy that is supportive of CED is the Thunder Bay Food Charter:

Given that the Government of Canada has formally endorsed the right of every individual to have food security, which means that everyone has access to enough safe and nutritious food to stay healthy and have energy for daily life;

And that governments at all levels have recognized the need for food systems planning, and the need to establish principles to govern decisions regarding food production, distribution, access, consumption and waste management;

And that Community Food Security is a comprehensive approach that integrates all components of the food system, from producers to consumers, which emphasizes the health of both the environment and local economies and promotes regional food self-reliance;

And that a sustainable local food system promotes social justice, population health, and reflects and sustains local culture and environment;

Therefore, the City of Thunder Bay endorses the following principles as the foundation of a comprehensive food security framework for research, planning and policy and program development.”

(Thunder Bay Food Charter 2009)

Built into this Charter is explicit support for community economic development through three strategies. Firstly the document promotes the prioritization of “production, preparation, storage, distribution and consumption of local food as an integral part of the Thunder Bay economy” (Thunder Bay Food Charter 2009). Secondly, the charter seeks to develop greater opportunities for collaboration between rural and urban areas to sustain rural farmers and communities. This is in line with Ced and ceD approaches as it aims to

purposefully intervene in the community economy (Douglas, 1994, p. 3), while increasing the productive capacity of cities and their surrounding areas to meet local needs, to create more demand locally, and to begin exporting only if these other objectives have been achieved (Douglas 1998, p. 12). Lastly, it commits to support for creating a local food system realizing this will create greater food security and self-reliance in the region.

Another example of supportive policy document is the *Abbotsford Cares* report that reviews many of the City's existing policies, reports, and outside research that were related to social issues in Abbotsford. One of the recommendations of this report is to create an Abbotsford Social Development Advisory Committee (ASDAC). This committee helps to oversee the City's social planning function and also provides advice to council on pertinent social issues. The committee is made up of community leaders and employees from the city's many social agencies. The City's website states: "the committee helps to build Abbotsford's legacy as a community that cares about all community members, including its most vulnerable and marginalized citizens" (City of Abbotsford 2006). One of the working groups of this committee is the Measuring Up Working Group (MUWG) whose objectives include seeking to increase "employment for people with disabilities in Abbotsford" and to increase employer "disability confidence" allowing businesses to employ those with barriers to employment. Again, this is exemplary of a Ced approach because it emphasizes meaningful community involvement in decision-making and recognizes the importance of developing individual human capital and the social capital of communities (Oakley and Tsao (2007), p. 820). It also puts emphasis on what Boothroyd and Davis (1993) refer to as 'leaving no one behind'

(p. 235) or including those who are most vulnerable and likely to be left out of economic activity. Further evidence of the City of Abbotsford support for creating employment opportunities for those with disabilities is illustrated below in the procurement section.

Financial Support

Another common role encountered in almost every municipality interviewed was that of *Financial Support*. In this role municipalities use financial contributions to support CED activities within their boundaries. A variety of types of financial support were discovered in the research including “program and project funding, tax abatement/relief, and financial incentives like density bonuses and grants” (Sharkey, Kain & Webb 2010, p. 22).”

The City of Medicine Hat, Alberta offers financial assistance to CED initiatives or groups through its Community Development Grants program. These grants are intended for organizations that perform valuable social services within the Medicine Hat and can be up to \$15,000 in value. According to the brochure for the program, the City is most interested in funding programs that relate to family/life skills, youth, inter-agency coordination, seniors, parent/child programs, single parents, volunteerism, neighbourhood improvement, and family violence (City of Medicine Hat 2010). Along with offering this financial support, the Community Development Department in Medicine Hat also provides in-kind assistance to these same organizations in the form of consultative services and administrative help. This funding program recognizes a permanent “role for state investment” (Haughton 1998, 874).

In-Kind Support

The next type of role was characterized as in-kind support. In-kind support refers to contributions that are not financial in nature but act to support CED groups and projects. Examples encountered in the research included the gifting of buildings or land, equipment, labour, and materials. Another significant type of in-kind contribution was the secondment of municipal government staff or providing time in the regular work day of municipal staff to work on CED initiatives (Sharkey, Kain and Webb 2010, 23).

In Brandon, Manitoba, the City supports The Brandon Neighbourhood Renewal Corporation (BNRC), a local non-profit dedicated to core area renewal, by giving the organization free office space in City Hall, and allowing the BNRC to have access to other city services including office equipment, phones, internet, staff support, and so on. Altogether the city estimates that it donates \$60,000 annually in in-kind financial contributions to the BNRC (City of Brandon, personal communication, June 2009). In keeping in line with the Ced concepts of relationship building and collaboration the city. This arrangement also increases the long-term viability of the BNRC to revitalize inner-city Brandon by providing it with a stable location to operate from and as Haughton notes: it “can provide a form of legitimacy and financial stability in the eyes of the community” (p. 875). The BNRC’s location within City Hall gives them certain sense of legitimacy and permanency that many CED organizations do not have.

Planning, Research, Advising

Municipal government support in the form of planning, research and advising includes most activities that “enable organizations, enterprises and citizens to make good decisions about what to do, when to do it, with whom and with what (Sharkey, Kain and Webb 2010, 24). It can take the form of sharing information like mapping resources,

statistical data, neighbourhood level data and other resources that community groups would not have access to or the capacity to produce on their own. It also includes helping groups to interpret and understand by-laws and municipal policies that are pertinent to CED initiatives.

The City of Red Deer's Social Planning Department works very closely with non-profits and the local CED community. The department has a number of key responsibilities that all relate to this vital planning, research, advising function. Firstly, the department is committed to supporting strong local organizations. In this role it identifies planning as one of the key strategies to help agencies in the city stay strong and become more sustainable. The department is also actively involved in undertaking social research designed to inform decision-making and strategic planning for both the city and community groups. City staff illustrated how, at present, they are undertaking best practice research on seniors' housing and working with the Recreation, Parks and Culture department looking at neighbourhood characteristics to determine what services and programs should exist there (City of Red Deer, personal communication, April 2009). This all works towards supporting and strengthening community associations in places where gentrification has taken place.

Lastly, the Social Planning Department works at interpreting and making sense of various policies for community based organizations. According to the department's website, it seeks to "keep an eye on social trends, interpret policy for Red Deer social agencies, inform government about our community and share information with other community stakeholders" (City of Red Deer, 2009). These examples again lend themselves to a collaborative approach to CED. By making information and research

public the City of Red Deer cultivates bottom-up decision making and seeks to build “relationships between people and how they can be made more fruitful and mutually beneficial in a specific place at a specific time” (MacIntyre 2003, p. 5). This access to information and help with understanding social trends and best practices also lends itself toward capacity building of local CED organizations.

Human and Social Capital Development

This role is most focused on increasing the capacity and skills of individual people and organizations within a municipality to undertake CED. It takes the form of “training, education, and other capacity building activities in the community” (Sharkey, Kain and Webb 2010, 25). Some examples encountered in the larger research project in municipalities over half a million included allowing municipal government training and capacity building activities be available to the community sector.

An integral part of the City of Saskatoon’s supportive approach to the CED sector involves offering opportunities for community members to increase their knowledge and understanding of municipal practice through its Planning Education Program. The goal of this program is to educate citizens and groups on all aspects of community planning and development, related by-laws, policies, and the city’s official community plan (City of Saskatoon 2009). The interviewee from the city believes that the program “opens up city planning entirely to the community” (City of Saskatoon, personal communication, June 2009). This in turn leads to greater democratic decision-making and a leveling of the playing field at city hearings regarding the planning process. It is not only those educated in planning and developers that get to understand the planning process, those residing in

low-income neighbourhoods now have the same opportunity to understand and participate in these civic processes. In fact, the largest numbers of registrants come from Saskatoon's core neighbourhoods (City of Saskatoon, personal communication, June 2009).

This type of opportunity is consistent with the Ced approach outlined earlier by Shaffer, Deller and Marcouiller (2006) and Shragge and Toye (2006) where with individual empowerment come other forms of non-monetized wealth such as increased choices and opportunity for individuals and a reduction of power inequalities caused by factors such as ethnicity, gender and class (Shaffer et al, p.70; Shragge & Toye, p.15).

Land Use

Local governments have control over planning and land use functions within their boundaries. As such, support for CED can “involve land regulation powers and property holdings such as zoning bylaws, official plans, and land trusts” (Sharkey, Kain and Webb 2010, p. 26). Municipal governments can provide linkage agreements, community benefit clauses, density bonuses and help in receiving zoning variances for low-income neighbourhoods in need of revitalization and, more specifically, CED initiatives. An example of land use support from the larger research project entailed the use of a “pedestrian commercial shopping street overlay to facilitate development of a pedestrian-oriented character to commercial and mixed use developments in an inner city neighbourhood to support revitalization” (Sharkey, Kain and Webb 2010, p. 26)

The City of Kamloops is actively trying to promote the creation of affordable housing and green development in its new North Shore Neighbourhood Plan. The plan allows for reductions in development cost charges for green developments and also for the creation

of social housing. It is hoped that the reduction in cost will induce developers to create more affordable housing units and to create buildings and neighbourhoods that have lessened impact on the city existing infrastructure and environment. According to City staff, Kamloops is also committed to expediting development applications for projects that have green and/or affordable elements (City of Kamloops, personal communication, September 2009). The City has hosted a design charrette for a downtown neighbourhood block in which they invited the RCMP, property owners, social housing providers, church groups, etc. to share their ideas for how to develop an inner-city block (City of Kamloops, personal communication, September 2009).

Procurement

One very tangible way that local governments support CED is through procurement. City governments purchase materials, goods and services. Some of the more formal ways that municipalities support CED are through “policies, practices, bylaws and supplier codes of conduct, to name several” (Sharkey, Kain and Webb 2010, p. 27). Many municipalities have even gone so far as to include support for CED and environmental practices by making them criteria in bidding processes or in Requests for Proposals.

The City of Abbotsford has various procurement practices that directly support CED organizations and their efforts to increase economic opportunities and better social conditions, for those who are most disadvantaged. For instance, the City contracts with the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) for its paper recycling (shredding and loose paper) services. A conversation with an employee from the City of Abbotsford illustrated the close connections between the City and the local MCC office. In this case, the paper

recycling is done through an MCC program that aims to employ people with mental disabilities (City of Abbotsford, personal communication, August 2009). Similarly, the City of Abbotsford's recycling depot (which is shared between Abbotsford and Mission) is run by Abbotsford Community Services, another organization that employs adults with developmental disabilities.

This example is salient because, again, it speaks to addressing the concept of leaving no one behind (Boothroyd and Davis 1993, p. 235) by providing employment for those with intellectual disabilities. It is a strong Ced practice that helps to alleviate marginalization of this population.

Mention should also be made of the City of Thunder Bay's efforts to create its own Sustainable Environmental and Ethical Purchasing Policy. While not yet passed by Council, the EarthWise Thunder Bay Community Environmental Action Plan, an integrated community sustainability plan, set the stage for the creation of a SEEPP:

Develop and promote green procurement capacity within Thunder Bay by adopting sustainable environmental and ethical purchasing policies (SEEPP). Develop a municipal Corporate Green Procurement Policy based on social and environmental ethics. Work with EarthWise Community Partners to promote this policy in the wider community (2008, 65).

Conversations with staff from the City of Thunder Bay illustrated how the municipality is presently researching the policy and will submit it to council in the near future.

For an exhaustive list of the various types of municipal support encountered please see **Appendix 5**. Each example of municipal support discovered in the research interviews with the medium sized municipalities has been classified based on its role.

Frameworks for Understanding & Classifying the Relationships between Local Governments & the CED Sector

As mentioned earlier, the research group identified six different frameworks for understanding local government relationships and modes of interaction. The frameworks can be used to “identify how different tools (policies, funding, procurement, etc.) may be combined to support the CED sector and build communities” (Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, 7). The team discussed using the term “frameworks” instead of models because the intent was that they were to be descriptive rather than prescriptive. These frameworks are to help “describe what was happening in some places at the time the research was conducted” (Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, 7). For the purposes of the larger research study these frameworks were to be value neutral and focus was placed on trying to understand “how each framework shapes the interaction between local governments and CED and SE actors” (Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, 7). The frameworks are also not mutually exclusive, especially in larger and more complex local government structures where one framework may be found in one sector, like affordable housing, and another in another sector, like social enterprise finance.

The real intent underlying the creation of these frameworks for the larger study was to help municipalities think more theoretically about how they approach the question of support for CED and to begin greater strategic planning and research around the topic. It was hoped the frameworks would help municipalities view their interactions with the community sector and their overall vision for revitalization in a less piecemeal fashion. They were also viewed as being helpful to CED actors in gaining a better understanding

of how they might influence local government decision-making, enter into partnerships, and gain greater access to municipal resources (Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, p.7).

The decision to make the frameworks value neutral was not something that all of the researchers agreed upon at first, but conceded to in the end, so as to not upset or alienate any of the participating municipalities. However, for the purposes of this thesis it was seen as an opportunity to further advance the research by assigning value to each of the frameworks and to identify certain municipal practices as being more transformative, innovative and supportive of CED than others. This categorization can be beneficial to CED actors as it helps to provide a solid framework for classifying each municipality's practices to further articulate what the most successful examples of municipal support, so they might be advocated for in every locality.

The following section represents the exact description of each of the frameworks developed as it appeared in the publication *Local Government Support of Community Economic Development and the Social Economy* (Kain, Sharkey and Webb, 2010).

Solitudes Framework

The “Solitudes” framework describes a situation where there are no relationships between local government and CED and SE actors. In Figure 2 there are three actors represented: the local government, CED or SE actors, and actors from other sectors such as business, education, health, etc. There are no lines of interaction connecting these actors, they operate in solitude. There were no municipalities interviewed for this project that exemplified the solitudes approach.

(Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, p. 8)

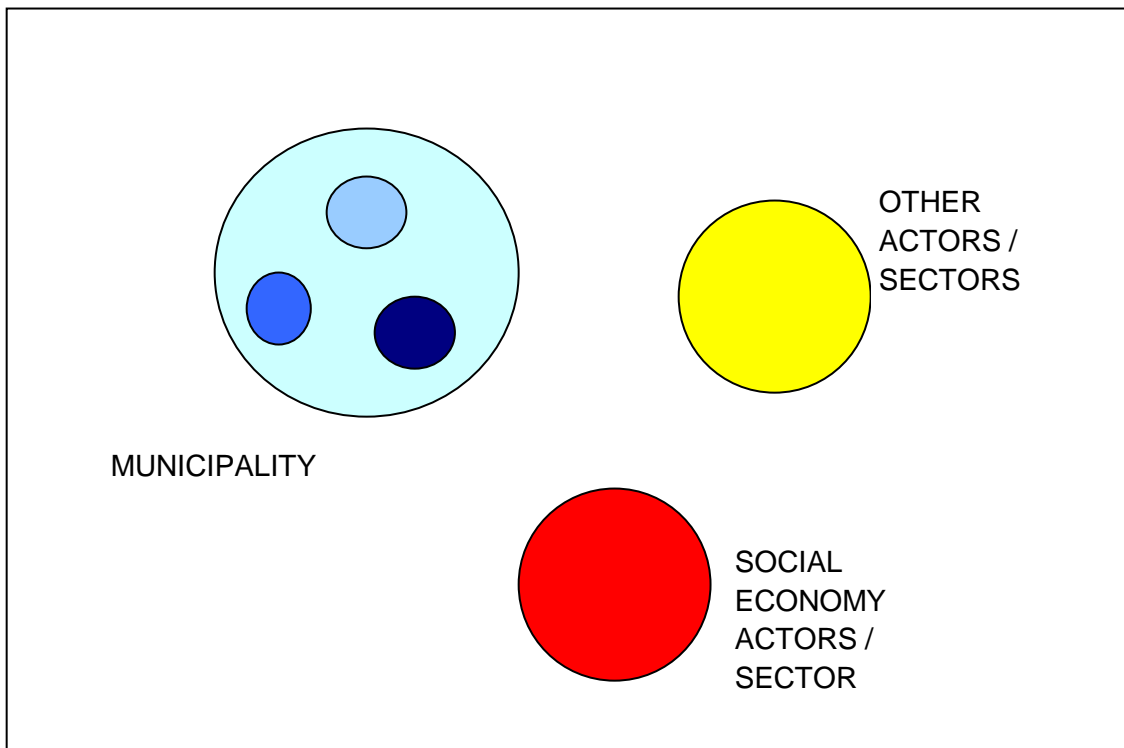


Figure 1. Solitudes

Coffee Shop Framework

This framework most often applies to small local governments, where everyone knows each other and often assumes multiple, intersecting roles, although it can be found in some sectors in larger places (for example, in an emerging sector). The intersection of roles is depicted in Figure 3. An example of this framework is when a mayor is also head of a non-profit, or when a councillor is the town store owner. This framework implies a high level of mutual understanding and less reliance on formal policies. It is often accompanied by exchanges of in-kind contributions, and close co-operation on human resources and social development programs.

(Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, p. 8)

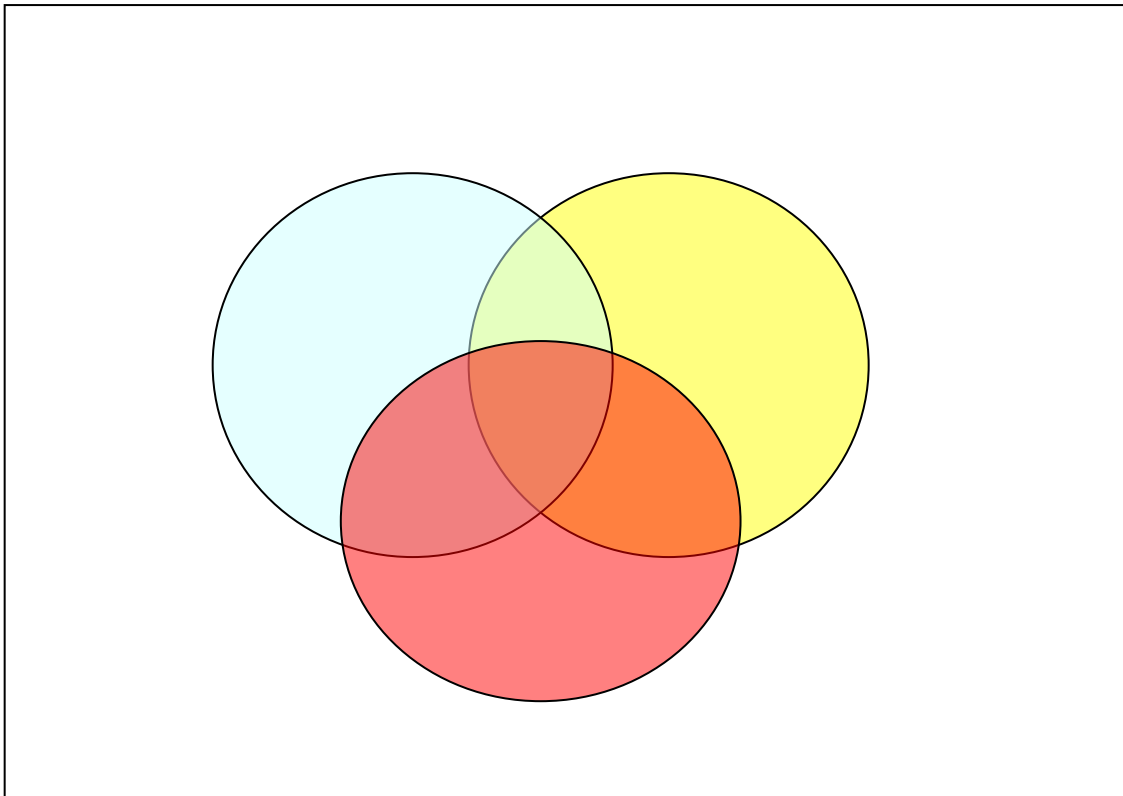


Figure 2. Coffee Shop

Partnering Framework

This framework applies in those instances where the organizations involved are relatively large, formal, and well-established, and so are able to bring specialized expertise and resources to the table. Partnerships need to be founded on trust, but they may also require formal municipal policies to specify roles and responsibilities. Depending on the content of the partnership, there may be exchanges or sharing of resources (funding, in-kind, information and procurement). Local governments may play a central initiating role in the partnership, or leave this to others. Likewise CED and SE actors may play a central role in the partnership network, or may be excluded completely. Both possibilities are shown in Figure 4.

(Kain, Sharkey and Webb, 2010, p. 9)

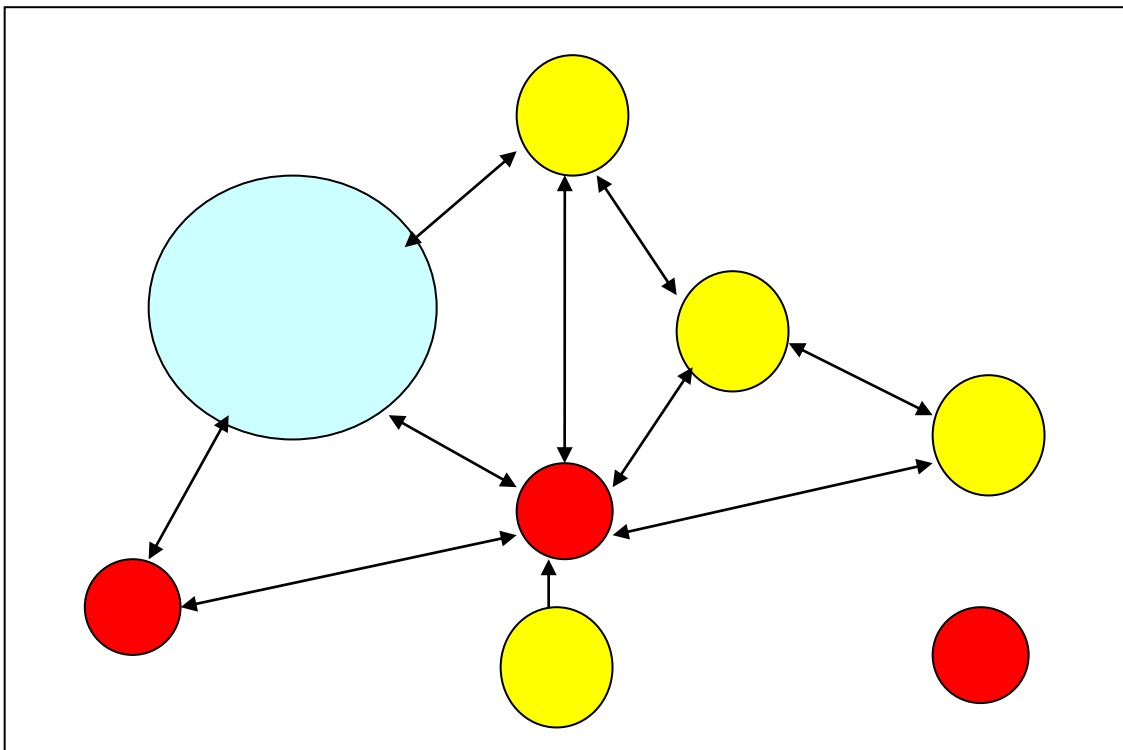


Figure 3. Partnering

Linking and Leveraging

Actions at the local level are often shaped by external forces. In the municipal context, this is especially common when external sources of funding and other resources. The linking and leveraging framework depicts examples identified where local partnerships come together to access external resources. For example, local governments sometimes need to demonstrate that they have local partners in order to apply for funds from higher levels of government. Local financial and in-kind resources are often required to match the external support. Local governments and CED actors also may collaborate in planning, research, and advocacy efforts to attract attention of external agencies. How successful the local actors are in attracting the external funding and other resources, and how effectively they use them, will depend partly on the qualities of the local ‘linking and leveraging’ partnership.

(Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, p. 10)

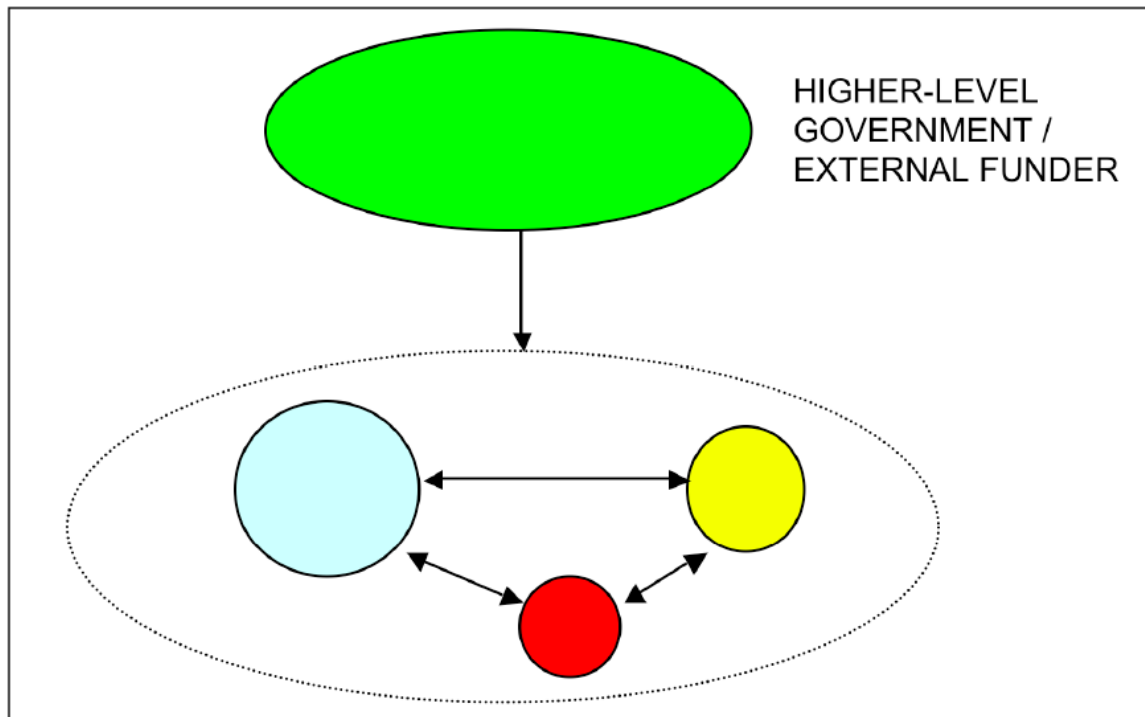


Figure 4. Linking and Leveraging

Internally Integrated

Advocates of sustainable and integrated local development have long recognized the challenges of coordinating the activities and actions of the different functional departments that make up larger local governments. For example, to implement a progressive procurement policy, the finance, purchasing, public works and community development branches all need to be involved. As depicted in Figure 6, this framework describes a kind of ‘internal coffee shop’, often achieved through working groups supported by internal municipal policies. This can be a very effective framework for achieving organizational transformation within local government, but the challenge for external actors, including those in the social economy sector is to understand how to access these internal decision-making forums so that any integrated vision is not imposed in a top-down fashion.

(Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, p. 11)

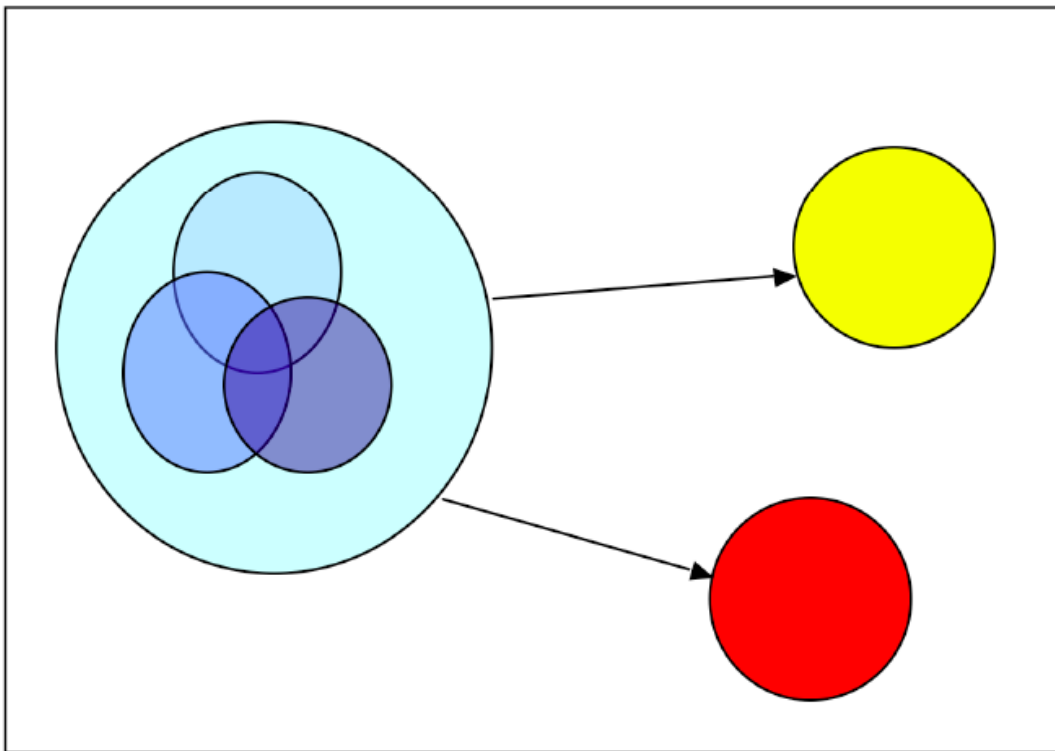


Figure 5. Internally Integrated

How Can We Help?

The sixth framework (Figure 7) identified in this research is one in which local government responds to claims made upon it by networks of CED actors (which may include others from other sectors, such as education, health, and the private sector). These networks may be area- or sector-based: for example, they may be structured around a neighbourhood revitalization program, or involve all actors in a given a sector such as affordable housing. The role of the CED community here is to effectively communicate their needs to local government, which in turn responds with strategic and focused interventions (be it land use planning, procurement, or financial and in-kind contributions).

(Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, p. 11)

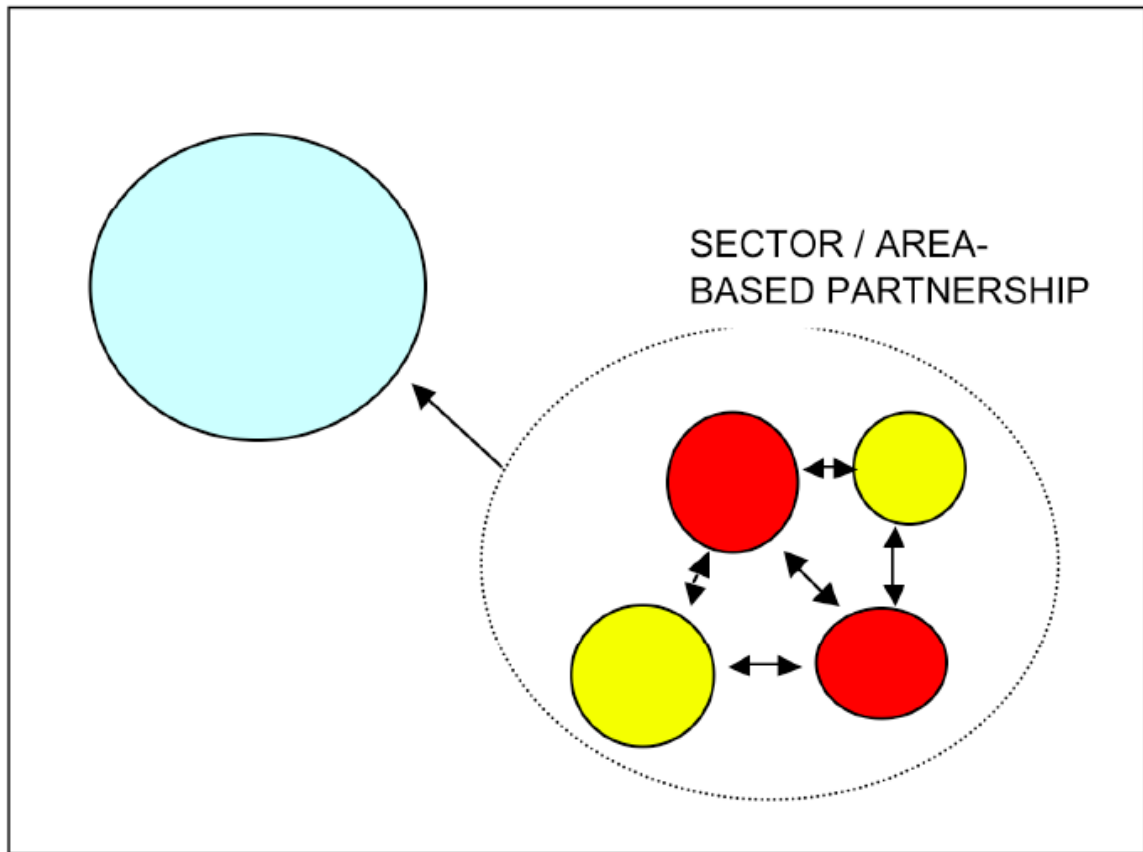


Figure 6. How Can We Help?

The research report published by Kain, Sharkey and Webb, emphasized that these frameworks were not “intended to be mutually exclusive or prescriptive. Each framework has strengths and weaknesses, and each framework may not work in a given context” (2010, 7). The larger group decided that we wished to emphasize that these frameworks were yet another tool used to help further analyze research data and to create more ways to understand the relationship between CED actors and local government.

As discussed earlier, this thesis builds upon and seeks to further this initial research and has classified and assigned value to each frameworks to further distinguish each of the different approaches to municipal support and to ground each framework in the research findings for each municipality interviewed. Each framework and each municipality has been placed on a spectrum from transformative/localist to gap-filling, where gap-filling is seen as the least ideal form of municipal support and localist CED is the strongest.

Revisiting the Concepts of Transformation and Gap Filling

Before each of the frameworks are categorized on the spectrum from transformative to gap filling, it is useful to revisit the basic concepts ideas behind these frameworks. Remembering that Haughton’s (1998) ‘localist CED’ represents the most ideal variant of transformative CED because of its ability to have the most positive impact, while being driven by community and supported by local government. Instead of the contrasting conceptions offered up by Loxley (2007) and Shragge and Toyne (2006), where more wholesale change of the economy and political structures are required not just at the local level, but the at the country or continent as a whole.

Transformative and Localist CED Approaches (Ced & or ceD)

A transformative or localist view of CED is one which is innovative not mainstream, that is democratic and prioritizes local decision-making, ownership, management and favours a bottom-up approach guided by local people in partnership with government. Strategies employed in the transformative/localist approach include co-ops, land trusts, and community development corporations; any measure that aims at creating a strong alternative local economy, increasing community assets and reducing economic leakages. Its aims are to consider more holistic and sustainable solutions to revitalization while allowing communities to try to increase their productive capacity to meet local needs while boosting local demand. In this view of CED theorists such as Douglas (1989) place focus on increasing local ownership, control over resource management and import substitution (p. 12). A significant premise behind the transformative ideal is that a community in control of its own resources is less likely to pollute the local environment or entirely deplete resource stocks. Haughton (1998) emphasizes that the role of government in the localist approach is as a more permanent and ongoing partner in any revitalization effort (p. 874).

In the most transformative approaches, CED strategies are led by strong community, not state, actors and there is a strong working relationship between the two. Shragge and Toye (2006) and Fontan (2003) emphasize that in the transformative approach there must be room for the CED movement to challenge existing government policies and principles, as in the past they have often been a contributing factor to the unequal distribution of resources that necessitates a CED strategy in the first place. However, communities benefit from government support through improved access to

local resources, knowledge and legitimacy (Haughton 1998, p. 876), while reducing the negative hardships.

Middle Ground

Somewhere between the transformative and gap filling approaches are the strategies that are similar in aim to the transformative approaches listed above, but with more focus on individual initiatives like employment training and individual development accounts than on more community-oriented projects. Middle ground projects are also those that were more policy oriented than direct action oriented. This was often demonstrated in municipal policy changes that were not associated with any specific project or initiatives and thus the desired change was slower to be achieved. These initiatives lack the ever-critical integration with their local communities (Haughton 1998, p. 876) that would bring about for lasting change. The aims of this approach are to decrease personal marginalization through creating opportunities for those most in need. This means creating initiatives that are firmly based in individual empowerment and capacity building. The role of local government is similar to that above but because this approach is more piecemeal, the government has a harder time being holistic in its dealings with each group.

Gap Filling (cEd)

The characteristics of the gap filling or least desired approach to CED are piecemeal, represent the status quo and are often undemocratic, with power vested in few hands of major decision-makers, like governments and corporations. These approaches assume a more conventional, neoclassical approach to economics, and leave the health of the economy, and therefore the community, to the invisible hand of the market.

Synonymous with promoting growth in jobs, income, and business activity, the CED approach recognizes that failures exist in the economy but more conventional economic approaches are sought after to fix the situation. In this case, solutions are seen in a formulaic way, with little concern for the political and social climate of the community. They include “smokestack chasing” and tax breaks for large corporations. In this approach, CED is seen as a process of reinserting communities back into the mainstream economy to reach a point where they will become a normally functioning part of the existing regional economy and will no longer need to receive government funding (Armstrong et al. 2002, p. 458). There is no iterative relationship between the City and its CED sector. The CED sector is not able to get access to the government to challenge its policies. In this case, the lack of a formalized relationship with the CED sector does not allow for the challenging of government policies and principles viewing them as a contributing factor to the unequal distribution of resources that necessitates a CED strategy in the first place.

The downside of these sort of CED projects are that the local community has very little power over the decision-making process of large industries and much of the profit of such ventures often leaves the community in which it is produced. Some would argue this variant of CED should be given the terminology ‘local economic development’ because it has little to do with community control or power and involves little purposeful planning towards development. For instance, Armstrong et al. (2002) believe many governments view CED not as a transformative concept, but more of a process of reinserting communities into the mainstream economy. Those with this view hope the process will reach a point where they will become a normally functioning part of the existing regional

economy and will no longer need to receive government funding (p. 458). This assertion of Armstrong et al. was considered while analyzing the results of conversations with local governments to see if their conceptions of CED were more closely aligned with conventional economic development.

The Spectrum

The medium-sized municipalities were placed in the spectrum based on their overall approach to working with the CED community. This included the degree to which they viewed their relationship as a long-term partnership, their willingness to listen to CED actors and make appropriate changes to policy, the types of CED strategies and projects which they chose to fund, and the extent to which they try to direct change. At the top of the spectrum most in line with the transformative or localist CED approach is the *How Can We Help?* and *Internally Integrated* frameworks. The middle ground frameworks are *Partnering* and *Linking and Leveraging*. At the bottom of the spectrum, most in line with a gap filling approach are the *Coffee Shop* and *Solitudes* frameworks. The position of each framework in the spectrum is further defined below and an example from the research is used to illustrate this positioning.

Figure 7. The Spectrum

Transformative/Localist CED	
Thunder Bay & Saskatoon	How Can We Help?
Red Deer	Internally Integrated
Abbotsford	Partnering
Kamloops	Linking and Leveraging
Medicine Hat	Coffee Shop
No municipality (for comparative purposes only)	Solitudes
Gap Filling	

‘How Can We Help?’

The ‘How Can We Help?’ framework most embodies a transformative/localist relationship between CED actors and local governments. Out of all of the frameworks this approach is the most driven by the CED sector, not government, and leaves most room for transformative thinking and action. The foundation of this approach is a municipality that is supportive of its CED sector, which is willing to form long-term partnerships and act to legitimize the work done by the community sector. This in turn can increase access to capital and reduce hardships experience by CED groups. In this model decision-making is vested at the community, not municipality, and local government responsiveness is key. If the CED sector is organized and has a concise vision for the change, the municipality responds with the appropriate policy, funding, and

planning help. While driven by community, there is an inherent recognition that the CED community and municipality working together are stronger than either working alone.

The CED stories of two municipalities, Saskatoon and Thunder Bay, which illustrate this transformative ‘What Can We do to Help’ approach are told below.

How Can We Help? Story: Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

In the “How Can We Help” approach municipalities don’t aim to take on CED projects themselves, rather they seek to offer assistance to local groups in the form of financing, planning research and advising (Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, p. 11). The City of Saskatoon best demonstrated this approach of all of the municipalities interviewed as it views its role as that of a supporter of projects, initiatives and CED groups themselves. The city does not feel that it is its role to undertake CED programs or to plan for revitalization initiatives. Instead, as the interviewee noted “Saskatoon is really open-minded for ideas coming out of the community” (City of Saskatoon, personal communication June 2009).

Unlike local governments such as Red Deer, Saskatoon does not have any policies or programs that specifically use the language of CED but are supportive of CED actions none the less. One such policy is the city’s support of the development of affordable housing. At the time of the interview the city was providing all affordable housing projects with a 10% capital grant for project development. This initial grant helps to act seed funding and financing applications for local non-profit housing providers. The city also provides support once the projects are built in the form of helping to provide mortgage assistance for low-income people and providing the developer with a five-year tax abatement. Support for affordable housing does not end with financial assistance, the

city has also created policy and by-law changes to help aid in the creation of affordable housing. The city has now has new zoning districts and a density bonus program allowing affordable housing more density than what would be initially planned for in the zoning by-law. According to the interviewee: “we’ve learned a lot over the last couple years about the form of affordable housing and the kind of density they need to make numbers work” (City of Saskatoon, personal communication, June 2009).

The next significant program that the city administers that is supportive of CED is the enterprise zone. At the time of the interview the enterprise zone had been running for six years. The goal of the enterprise zone is to end the process of decline in the neighbourhoods that it covers by helping to create opportunities for economic development. The city offers a number of supports through the program including providing rebates for development charges, tax abatements and grants. The supports are aimed at helping to retain existing businesses and incubating new ones. Most of the uptake of the program is from small local businesses, but the interviewee did mention that social enterprises are also eligible.

The City of Saskatoon most exemplifies the “How Can We Help?” framework through its relationship with QUINT, a strong community development corporation that undertakes CED initiatives in the city’s five core areas. The City and QUINT have a strong relationship and the city views its work with QUINT as “deferring authority to a local body [running] autonomous to the city” (City of Saskatoon, personal communication, June 2009). To quote Kain, Sharkey and Webb (2010) “in this model the municipality is aware that supporting CED and SE actors enables the municipality to accomplish many of its own goals” (p. 18). This is best illustrated by the city’s role in

the Station 20 West development. Station 20 West is a neighbourhood initiated community enterprise centre that consists of a library, affordable housing, a grocery store and offices for community organizations. The project was initiated by QUINT and other inner-city organizations and received help from the city in acquiring the land, cleaning up the brownfield site, building a library there and providing assistance for the affordable housing developed on the land. The city then offered the land to QUINT and its partners for a \$1.

The last example of the city's willingness to help and work with community groups is their Planning Education Program (PEP). This program is designed to help citizens and organizations better understand planning and municipal processes and plans. In the PEP "we cover all aspects of community planning and development, related by-laws, policies in our official community plan. What we stress is the importance of how to relate to council and how to be involved in the urban development and planning of Saskatoon. So, it opens up city planning entirely to the community and we spend a day with... members of CED association member and we discuss how planning is undertaken and how development occurs in Saskatoon" (City of Saskatoon, personal communication June 2009).

The PEP builds the capacity of community organizations and individuals in the core neighbourhoods. It helps empower groups to understand the development process for their own CED projects but also to oppose projects which they feel are not in the best interest of their often economically and socially challenged neighbourhoods. The interviewee from Saskatoon interviewee noted that:

“If you want to engage the public, you have to inform the public. Otherwise they don’t know how to relate or they don’t even know what a public hearing process is. We found that a lot of the hearings and meetings we attended were unnecessarily focused on what the procedures and processes were and what the roles of various participants were and what the city could and couldn’t do legally. So we like to clear that all up with the planning education program and what it does is tend to make our public hearing process smoother and allow people to focus on the specific issue at hand and don’t come to the podium and say ‘I am not sure what this is all about’; ‘I got a letter and I not sure what it means.’”

(City of Saskatoon, personal communication, June 2009)

How Can We Help? Story: Thunder Bay, Ontario

Overall the Thunder Bay approach towards working with community is very collaborative and responsive. The City does not have a strong body of explicit policies that tie it to CED action, instead it works closely with local non-profits to identify local needs. The municipality seemed to have a clear vision that the strength of the community sector is integral to a strong city with a strong identity. The individual interviewed mentioned that the many partnerships the municipality is engaging in are integrally important because they build the capacity of local non-profits and local government (City of Thunder Bay, personal communication, September 2009).

This approach could be evidenced through Thunder Bay’s willingness to work closely with its community sector, not only in offering services to community groups but also in recognizing what those groups can offer the city.

We work with piles of non-profits groups in a couple of different ways, planning, gap analysis to direct delivery and partnership. Where we are providing training in one area because we do that very well, we are working with a first Nation group right now and they are going to provide us with cultural awareness training in return” (City of Thunder Bay, personal communication, September 2009).

Open dialogue and discourse enable Thunder Bay to work closely with its community partners. A community development approach was adopted by its community services department many years ago. The interviewee mentioned that “in my area every supervisor has a role in community development. It is not separate from their job, it is part of their job. So, when they see an opportunity it is ‘how can I help this group’.” In many ways, Thunder Bay embodied the ‘How Can We Help’ framework but also pushed boundaries further to ask “how can we help each other”:

This one particular group required certain training in order to get a grant. We know that group, we know they have a pulse on the community, they work well with kids and the school boards. So, we thought we can do this training and they said we don’t have any money. They have a cultural and knowledge base that we don’t have so lets just share services (City of Thunder Bay, personal communication, September 2009).

This approach was unusual amongst municipalities most of which rarely acknowledged in the interview that there was much that local government could learn from its local CED organizations and sector. This iterative process allows CED groups to educate municipal practice and policy, leaving more room for transformative thinking and action.

Thunder Bay has various sorts of financial support for CED initiatives including property tax abatements, a community grant program, and grants for cultural organizations. While most of these monies go towards supporting community development programs, the interviewee did mention that the City was open to supporting social enterprise and that one grant had gone to a social enterprise in the past.

Documents like the Thunder Bay Food Charter show that the city council in Thunder Bay is aware of the current difficult economic climate and are committed to supporting the local food economy through policy and purchasing decisions. This also

serves to legitimize social and economic justice goals of the Thunder Bay local food movement and highlight some of the serious problems with the mainstream industrial food system, such as its negative environmental impact.

'Integrated'

The integrated model is the most holistic, least piecemeal, approach to supporting CED at an internal municipal level. It describes a situation where the municipality has strong policies, initiatives, programs and mandate to pursue CED. In this case CED actions are not directly driven by the community sector, while the city can still be responsive to their needs. As discussed earlier in the description of this model, it can be particularly useful for internal transformation of municipalities. This can occur through inter-departmental working groups that foster a greater understanding of the issues surrounding, poverty, homelessness and neighbourhood decline. If CED actors are included in these working groups this model has great potential to be transformative, if not it would be placed at another point in the continuum.

Integrated Story: Red Deer, Alberta

Red Deer, Alberta had the most comprehensive and high-level support for CED of all of the municipal governments interviewed. The municipal corporate strategic plan explicitly mentions: “Foster[ing] an understanding and awareness of Community Economic Development as it relates to the economic, social, environmental and cultural well-being of our community” (City of Red Deer, personal communication, April 2009). The inclusion of support for CED in such overarching municipal policy means a good awareness and understanding of the City’s CED goals amongst different city departments. Red Deer has a Social Planning Department that provides support to local

organizations. Employees interviewed from this department identified planning as one of their key strategies to help agencies in their city stay strong and become more sustainable; meaning the department is actively involved in undertaking social research designed to inform decision-making and strategic planning for both the city and community groups (City of Red Deer, personal communication, April 2009). The City has a municipal integration strategy team looking at the municipality's role in social inclusion and has a commitment to try to include more Aboriginal residents in their municipal staff. This is accomplished through a partnership with Red Deer Aboriginal Employment Services' pre-employment program. The program includes life and employability skills training and then a work placement with the City of Red Deer.

While it is important that the City recognizes the need to look into issues surrounding equality and inclusion, the challenge for a strictly municipal-based inclusion strategy is that it could result in a top down approach to inclusivity and ultimately fail to meet the real needs of those in society who have been traditionally left out of the economy, and civil society in general.

While the City is quite strong with its own mandate, it does still provide support for CED groups in the form of Agency Capacity Grants, which are used to fund organizations with their administration, planning and operations needs and by sponsoring learning events related to CED for community organizations. Red Deer also partners with the community foundation to support a leadership training program, for people coming from the private, public, or non-profit sectors.

While Red Deer's activities to support CED are very holistic and far-reaching, they are not as informed by, or responsive to, the community sector as some other

municipalities, like Abbotsford's ASDAC committee or Saskatoon's relationship with QUINT. While its approach is producing beneficial results, it does not benefit from as much community input as some other municipalities.

'Partnering'

The partnering approach has been classified on the spectrum as being less likely to promote transformation because it requires very stable and longstanding CED organizations to enter into formal partnerships with the municipal government and many CED groups in Canada experience a high degree of change due to a lack of stable funding. It is also used to describe situations in which the partnering municipality is not as committed to more significant change of existing structures but is still willing to work with community on a smaller scale. In this approach municipal governments are entering into partnership with larger more formal CED/SE actors that have reached a high level of functioning and are probably already largely operating well within the dominant economic paradigm. These are large, established, well-funded non-profits, not neighbourhood based cooperatives or grassroots initiatives, where the scale where CED is most effective. The close relationship between partners might make the CED group less likely to challenge the close and comfortable relationship with their municipality that would be necessary for more fundamental change to occur.

Partnering Story: Abbotsford, British Columbia

In Abbotsford there are no explicit policies committing the City to work with CED groups and aside from ASDAC, relationships are formed on a more ad hoc basis. The support for CED has yet to build its way into municipal literature and policy, like Red Deer. The City has a strong relationship with its local Mennonite Central Committee

(MCC) and works with that group to promote the hiring of those with barriers to employment. The local MCC is quite large and well organized and operates the recycling depot for both Abbotsford and Mission. In Abbotsford, there is a strong non-profit community and the City views its existing partnerships as being as justification for not getting involved in CED work or policy directly (City of Abbotsford, personal communication, August 2009). In this case the partnering model can be seen as less desirable because it puts the City in a position of greater power than the adjacent partnering organization, which is against the Ced spirit which aims to emphasize meaningful community involvement in decision-making as it leads to capacity building and empowerment (Oakley and Tsao 2007, p. 820).

The focus of much of Abbotsford's CED support is on those initiatives that support individual, rather than community transformations. The contracting of recycling to MCC programs are focused on individual rather than community transformation and are likely to be smaller in their scope of effectiveness as they touch fewer people and create less systemic change.

However, while Abbotsford does not have much CED activity at the neighbourhood level, the City has begun to partner with Community Future South Fraser on a program called 'Abbotsford Connected Neighbourhoods'. This program aims to promote neighbourhood revitalization and community development in more established neighbourhoods of the city to provide residents with "sense of safety, builds social networks, and provides people with a unified voice on issues of importance to them" (Centre for Social Enterprise, 2009).

'Linking and Leveraging'

This model is used to describe a situation where the municipal CED agenda is being dominated by other higher levels of government, such as provincial governments. This leaves less room for CED actors to influence the agenda. While this framework might lead closer to a mutually beneficial relationship between CED actors and the local government, it still has little ability to be more transformative in scope. Because this framework is dominated by a higher level of government it is less likely to be responsive to local conditions and to produce piece-meal results.

Linking and Leveraging Story: Kamloops, British Columbia

In the Kamloops case, the municipal CED agenda is very much articulated by the City's preoccupation with not becoming involved in functions which it perceives to be the responsibility of the provincial or federal governments. The interviewees from Kamloops stated that "providing social services from the municipality is not our core function. We have limited responsibility in our social service program, we rely on the provincial/federal government to support social service agencies" (City of Kamloops, personal communication, June 2009).

Kamloops has a Social Development Branch which works closely with community agencies as well as its own internal departments. This branch was also responsible for the drafting of the Kamloops Social Plan. The Social Plan identifies priorities, gaps and actions in various areas such as housing and homelessness, youth, aboriginal community, and children and families. The Social Plan sets the stage for outlining the municipality's contribution to social issues facing the city:

Since the City often holds secondary or limited responsibility for social services, many of the options available to the City involve communications, advocacy and partnership building with and between community agencies. While the City does not have the mandate or capacity to function as a front-line social service delivery agency, it does have an opportunity to engage with the community and community agencies to identify community needs and help ensure that the needs of community members are met. (City of Kamloops Social Plan, 2006)

As mentioned above, one of the main roles of the plan is to identify local priorities that can then be shared with federal department and programs such as Service Canada and the National Homelessness Initiative (City of Kamloops, 2006). Each identified action in the plan includes an analysis around the extent of municipal responsibility for that particular issue: “The social plan, a lot of this is speaks of our role as a facilitator and someone who brings together various groups” (City of Kamloops, personal communication, June 2009).

The shortcomings of the Kamloops approach emanate from the Municipality’s failing to act on the findings of its social plan. The plan merely conveys the information to other levels of government and leaves little accountability for municipal action towards supporting the local CED sector. Thus this Linking and Leveraging Approach has been classified as less likely to promote localist CED.

However, this does not mean that Kamloops does not engage in direct support of CED. The City takes a more conventional approach to working with its CED sector. Its main contributions are through more conventional municipal interventions like reduced development cost charges and expedited development permits for projects like affordable housing.

‘Coffee Shop’

Most clearly aligned with the cEd school of thought, the coffee shop approach is the least localist of the model. Cities which embody this approach often have a lack of formal policies and procedures, and this can quickly lead to ‘business as usual’ practices or to exclusion of certain parties. The fewer actors involved the less likely this approach is going to be well-planned enough to challenge the dominant economic system and the roots causes of poverty. The coffee shop approach has little acknowledgement for the social factors that can underlie the need for CED and is the most likely of all the approaches to support smokestack chasing a means to fixing economic problems.

Coffee Shop Story: Medicine Hat, AB

Medicine Hat does not have a total lack of formal policies that relate to CED, the City does have an existing Social Policy Statement (City of Medicine Hat 2004). While this policy statement does acknowledge “the national trend toward greater disparity between rich and poor has not been eased by general economic growth nor by seeming regional prosperity” (City of Medicine Hat 2004); there was no clear means of distinguishing how this social policy would be supported by the municipal government.

Other parts of the social policy advocate for a dialogue between businesses and community social agencies (City of Medicine Hat 2004), which again is more illustrative of a charitable approach to dealing with local poverty, unemployment and decline. There is little commitment to democratization in this mode of interaction. Municipal procurement to support CED in Medicine Hat is very piecemeal and the impetus to support for CED organizations through procurement only happens in specific departments, mandated by specific individuals. For instance, the City of Medicine Hat’s Social Development Department orders food for meetings from a local social enterprise

because “we know they are non-profit and we want to support them and the work that they do. Working in the social development department we have those philosophies, so we do that on our own” (Medicine Hat, personal communication, January, 2010). As compared to Red Deer where municipal administrators are very involved with groups that receive FCSS funds, in Medicine Hat the City merely administers funds and has little contact with groups, does not provide any other forms of assistance and exemplifies the siloed coffee shop approach in which decisions are made informally and rarely involve those affected by the local government policies. The interviewee from Medicine Hat indicated that there is “presently little council support for such initiatives” (Medicine Hat, personal communication, January, 2010).

‘Solitudes’

The total absence of a relationship between a municipality and its CED actors makes this framework outside of even the gap filling classification. It was created to illustrate what a totally uncooperative local government arrangement would look like. No municipalities interviewed exemplified this approach and some sort of relationship or support with their local CED sector.

In closing, a given municipality’s position on this spectrum is highly correlated to the larger socio-political situation the municipality is facing. For instance, in northwestern Ontario many traditional economic activities like mining and forestry have been severely declining in recent years. These communities are badly in need of new employment opportunities and their precarious positioning within the mainstream economy makes them much more likely to consider alternatives to conventional smoke-stack chasing and to seek out locally-based innovative employment development

strategies. The same situation might be found in municipalities such as Kamloops, where an issue like rising levels of homelessness, can cause a municipality to pursue CED solutions. The political position of the city council in power at the time also heavily affected the placement. A few interviewees mentioned receiving little support from council for CED work, despite growing levels of poverty and homelessness. Conversely, many municipal officials felt well supported by their councils.

Strengthening the Transformative & Localist Elements of CED: Policy Recommendations for Local Governments

The examples used here illustrate how municipalities in Canada are using innovative models, planning practices and funding mechanisms to support and implement CED efforts within their boundaries. However, there is still much work left for municipalities to support comprehensive neighbourhood revitalization and poverty reduction strategies. Some holistic approaches to supporting CED were documented in this research and now it is the role of the CED sector, community planners and progressive municipal staff to build on these successes and further equitable development in cities across Canada. So, using Haughton's (1998) framework what were some of the most successful policies for promoting transformative or localist CED?

Haughton (1998) was a proponent of CED "done by local people" (p. 876). In trying to apply this principle to municipal support of CED, it would be manifested in a strong decision-making role for citizens and organizations in municipal decision-making over policies, programs and financial support. The strongest examples of this found in the research were Integrated Community Sustainability Plans (ICSPs), like the EarthWise Thunder Bay Community Environmental Action Plan, social policy statements, and

strategic plans, where communities were involved in the drafting of such reports/policies, either through consultations or steering committees. This, in effect, helps empower communities to undertake CED initiatives because they are the most likely to be affected by these policies.

Similar, to the principle of “done by local people” is that of “maximize local control of decision making” (Haughton 1998, p. 876). The use of community councils or advisory committees that help to create criteria for grants and also help evaluate proposals would help to build on the maximizing local control. This would also help to recognize that members of the local CED community are experts in their field of work and placing greater emphasis on using their expertise in decision helps to build capacity of residents in areas of revitalization. This can be evidenced by the practice of the Planning Education Program in Saskatoon which gives residents the tools and education necessary to make informed decisions, resulting in smooth municipal processes and also greater community control over development, project/program design and policy making. Another example of maximizing local decision-making would be Abbotsford Social Development Advisory Committee mentioned earlier. Again, this committee helps to oversee the City’s social planning function and also provides advice to council on pertinent social issues. The committee is made up of community leaders and employees from the city’s many social agencies (City of Abbotsford 2006).

Only a few municipalities interviewed had begun to think of implementing support what Haughton (1998) referred to as “local ownership strategies” (p. 876). The closest acknowledgement of the need for locally owned and controlled businesses was in Saskatoon where the City’s support for the Station 20 development included the building

of a new community-owned grocery store in a neighbourhood where access to groceries was very limited. Similar to supporting 'local ownership strategies' is to "reduce economic leakage" (Haughton 1998, 876). An example of this from the larger research report is Vancouver's Economic Revitalization Plan which aims to increase employment in the downtown eastside by "increasing demand for downtown eastside's products and services, strengthening capabilities of local suppliers and increasing employment opportunities" (Kain, Sharkey & Webb 2010, p. 64). Few other municipalities interviewed made explicit mention of any strategies to increase demand of local production and consumption to stem economic leakages from the municipality as a whole or from neighbourhoods in decline. More municipal attention focused on business improvement zones and social enterprise development will help to create a stronger local economy, with more profits residing locally, such as Saskatoon's Enterprise Zone.

Municipalities can also use planning tools like local area plans and neighbourhood plans to identify what essential services are lacking from an area so that residents and CDCs can organize around creating community run businesses like Station 20 West. Municipal policy documents like the Thunder Bay Food Charter also address this issue by seeking to "prioritize production, preparation, storage, distribution and consumption of local food as an integral part of the Thunder Bay economy" (Thunder Bay Food Charter, 2009). Food System Assessments like the ones being undertaken in Calgary and Vancouver (City of Calgary, 2001; Barbolet et al. 2005), are important research for creating enabling municipal policies and for informing action by local food pioneers. These policies acknowledge the need to build up local infrastructure related to production that has been lost so that residents are better able to purchase locally produced goods.

Sustainable and ethical procurement policies like the one put in place by the City of Calgary (Kain, Sharkey & Webb 2010, p. 65) also help to create local ownership by creating demand within local markets.

There were few examples among the medium-sized municipalities of efforts to build community asset bases or to create local revenue streams (Haughton 1998, 876). The only example came from the larger research report where Edmonton, one of the larger municipalities interviewed, offered assistance to help community organizations and social enterprises take ownership of their own spaces and gain assets. This took the form of the City providing financial support “towards the purchase, development and/or expansion of several multi-tenant not for profit centres” (Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, 62). The City also has non-profit leasing guidelines, which makes available City-owned space to non-profits for \$1/yr (Kain, Sharkey & Webb 2010, p. 62). Another large way for municipal governments to help build up a local asset base amongst its CED sector is to engage in the gifting of municipal assets, such as land or building, to CED projects. This initial investment would help secure future loans and grants for CED activity within economically depressed areas.

Little evidence was found in the study region of municipal efforts to support ‘build[ing a] local capital base’ among medium sized municipalities (Haughton 1998, 876). However, there are many great examples of the sort of activity among the larger municipalities and some outside of the study region. For instance, in Edmonton the City provided \$3 million to kick-start the initial capitalization of a local Social Enterprise Fund. This fund “provides flexible financing and business development services to help

not for profit organizations and cooperatives create or expand social enterprises or social or affordable housing projects” (Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, 61).

While the basis of this thesis is on researching the state’s role in CED, it is worth noting that a “permanent regeneration and role for state investment” (Haughton 1998, 876), in the present age of neoliberalism and state retrenchment, is far from the norm for how municipal governments today see their role in revitalization. Initiatives that are more supportive of long-term municipal support take the form of tax increment financing schemes, long-term tax abatements, and multi-year grant funding programs. Another important role for municipalities is using their reputation and influence to bring legitimacy to community projects. This was seen in Station 20 West example and also the City of Brandon housing the Brandon Neighbourhood Renewal Corporation within its municipal offices.

Local governments have much to learn from their CED sector. This can be illustrated with examples like, Thunder Bay’s relationship with its local CED sector when it comes to employee training. Much knowledge can be gained by true partnerships in which the government and the CED sector both share information and knowledge with one another. Illustrated by Abbotsford’s creation of ASDAC or Saskatoon’s relationship with QUINT. Municipal government understanding of CED would be enhanced if there were more partnerships between sectors for the purposes of sharing knowledge. These could take the forms of steering committees or research groups that could give input into documents like the municipal strategic plans, procurement policies, funding programs, etc. This would ensure the policies being created are not top-down in nature.

Only a few municipalities interviewed were aware of the transformative power of social enterprise as a triple bottom line approach to solving a myriad of social and economic problems including, the need to provide job and life skills training, increase retention of funds within communities, and provide access to much needed goods and services within neighbourhood in decline. Support for social enterprise and more specifically ‘social entrepreneurs’ (Haughton 1998, 876) took the form of initiatives like Red Deer’s exploration of providing space at city hall for a social enterprise or Vancouver’s RFP for social enterprises in a new city development (Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, 64). While these sorts of one off projects show a lot of promise they need to be further entrenched into municipal policy to ensure their sustainability. Ethical procurement was strong amongst medium sized cities and extended beyond mere purchasing into the realm of service agreements. Most commonly municipalities contracted with local non-profits that provide employment development opportunities for newcomers, the underemployed, and those with developmental disabilities for services like recycling, paper shredding and outdoor spring cleaning. Most of the procurement of services was informal in nature and not motivated by a specific purchasing policy like a SEEPP. Again, further entrenchment into municipal policy of purchasing from social enterprises and CED groups will increase the likelihood of the successful development of these initiatives in the future. Thunder Bay is looking to formalize its agreements because they are aware of the value-added benefits of contracting with CED groups.

While it is not exactly clear what Haughton would classify as an “alternative project” or ‘building an alternative local economy’ there are numerous opportunities for municipalities to support projects that work in contrast to conventional economic

development that only prioritizes profit-making and private ownership. These alternative projects have the ability to create jobs, provide much needed services and development in depressed neighbourhoods. The development of large ambitious CED projects such as Station 20 West in Saskatoon or Neechi Commons in Winnipeg; which combine various elements of commercial, residential, and community services and smaller CED projects like housing co-ops, community car-sharing, and urban farms are far more likely to be successful if they receive municipal assistance in the form of planning, research and advising. Whether this takes the form of planning and land use assistance helping groups to understand municipal planning regulations, research like the aforementioned food assessments, or in-kind advice and knowledge from professionally trained bureaucrats. The existence of social planning departments in many municipalities in Alberta and British Columbia helped to strengthen the local CED sector and resulted in much more CED activity in these provinces. The social planners interviewed understand CED goals and approaches and were excited to use municipal influence and resource to make projects come to fruition.

The last area where City governments can improve their support for CED is by broadening their own concepts of project and policy evaluation. The CED sector in Canada is adopting more sophisticated ways to measure and evaluate the outcomes of CED projects. More sophisticated evaluation measures acknowledge social, economic, and environmental goals. This triple bottom line or “social audit” (Haughton 1998, 876) approach to assessing and evaluating projects could be used to analyze proposals for municipal funding as well as for approving development applications and assessing municipal policies internally. This would help municipalities to realize where their

support for CED projects helps to meet goals that the city has set for itself, as well as helping its local community sector. There was a lack of discussion on evaluation practices in the literature in general. Perhaps in the future more research will be undertaken on evaluation of CED initiatives for the benefit of government and CED groups.

Chapter 5 – Conclusion

Opportunities for Action

The current state of the world economy, climate change, the rise of neoliberalism and increasing inequality make for an opportune time for citizens, governments and communities to consider the benefits of community economic development. These global circumstances have also given rise to the opportunity for local governments to consider their role in the social and economic welfare of their citizens. As mentioned in Kain, Sharkey & Webb “priorities such as community sustainability planning, poverty reduction, long-term solutions to homelessness and provision of affordable housing, neighbourhood revitalization, and climate change issues all benefit from an integrated, holistic, cross-sectoral response” (p. 41). CED strategies, much like the equity planning movement, offer this holistic multifaceted approach to community problem solving. This has also opened the door for more dialogue between city governments and their local CED sector.

A current opportunity to further CED work at the municipal government level is further supported by a number of federal and provincial policies and funding programs that increase access financial resources to local governments. The best examples of these programs are the Family and Community Support Services program (FCSS) in Alberta and Neighbourhoods Alive! (NA!) in Manitoba. NA! intentionally based its revitalization program on the Neechi Principles as a foundational set of (Government of Manitoba 2012). FCSS principles are also closely aligned with the Neechi Principles and this show the clear support of provincial governments for CED. Both of these programs build

strong CED sectors and influence municipal government perception and awareness of the sector in their province.

FCSS is a funding program that recognizes “local people can influence things that affect them, that communities can be innovative and creative, that citizen participation, self help and volunteerism is encouraged and that human growth and potential are enhanced.” (FCSSAA, 2010). This is realized through providing funding to municipalities and Metis settlements from the Government of Alberta. The funding is given to these jurisdictions and is meant to flow to local organizations that seek to accomplish one of the following:

- Help people to develop independence, strengthen coping skills, and become more resistant to crisis
- Help people to develop an awareness of social needs
- Help people to develop interpersonal and group skills that enhance constructive relationships among people
- Help people and communities to assume responsibility for decisions and actions that affect them
- Provide supports that help sustain people as active participants in the community (FCSSAA, 2010)

Similarly, Neighbourhood Alive! was created by the Government of Manitoba to undertake community-based neighbourhood revitalization in inner-city areas across the province (Government of Manitoba, 2009). Unlike FCSSAA, NA! does not grant monies directly to Manitoba municipalities for them to redistribute to groups in need. It instead gives grants and core funding to 12 neighbourhood-based non-profits tasked with undertaking CED and revitalization initiatives in their local communities. NA! focuses on affordable housing, safety, education, recreation and CED. This provincial program is critically important to municipal government support of CED because “the NA! program has created the basis for many Manitoba municipalities to become involved in supporting

CED as active partners in funding and in providing in-kind support to the community-based organizations funded through NA” (Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, 41). NA! has helped to increase the legitimacy of many CED groups to a point where their municipal governments view these non-profits as serious agents of local change. This can best be evidenced by the City of Brandon’s support for the BNRC.

The next major opportunity for increasing support for CED stems from the rise in interest in issues surrounding municipal sustainability. As mentioned in Kain, Sharkey and Webb (2010) “an increasingly shared focus and common language around sustainability among local government networks and organizations (i.e., the Federation of Canadian Municipalities) and the CED sector also improve the likelihood of forging connections and working together to advance a common agenda” (p. 41).

One of the interview questions for the survey related to integrated community sustainability plans (ICSPs) as many CCEDNet members mentioned that these are often the driving force of support for their initiatives from their local municipality. Sometimes confused as being only climate change plans, these municipal sustainability plans are normally organized around all three pillars of sustainability: social, economic and environmental.

In the research it was found that ICSP’s in Thunder Bay and Sudbury “have opened up opportunities for CED and SE activities such as recycling and local food production” (Kain, Sharkey and Webb 2010, 41). The CED sector needs to more closely examine the opportunities for partnering with local governments to fulfill some of the policy targets that are set out in these plans. Recognizing that drawing out the opportunities for social and economic benefits as well as cost savings will also help to

accelerate change. For example, implementation of a local food charter or local procurement policy can have a positive effect on a city's overall greenhouse gas emissions. CED groups need to work to illustrate these benefits to their city government.

The last opportunity for action relates to the creation of the localist/transformational and 'gap filling' spectrum. The biggest contribution of the spectrum is showing how the most successful support of CED was carried out and what practices led to this success. The research done by the larger group fell short of making these distinctions and as such did not assess what the most ideal model of municipal government support for CED would look like. In informal conversations amongst the research group it was apparent that some municipal governments stood out considerably in their support, yet the group chose not to label these cities as being better than others. By placing the municipalities on a spectrum it also illustrates success based on comparison. Giving the example of the 'ideal type' lets the CED community know what they should be striving to achieve in their municipal administration and can also serve to point out what kinds of interventions have yet to be undertaken. The CED sector can use the spectrum as a guide in advocating for municipal government program, policy and in-kind support.

Challenges to Overcome

The case for advancing CED at the local government level is not without its challenges. One of the biggest challenges encountered in the interviews themselves was the use of terminology. The researchers' background in CED made it possible for us to discern whether or not certain policies were or were not supportive of CED regardless of whether they used the terms CED, social economy, local economic development, inner-

city revitalization, etc. There were very few municipal policy documents and programs that made specific use of the words community economic development. It is hoped that one of the major contributions of this research is making it easier for CED groups and municipalities to actually classify what sorts of policies can be seen as being supportive of CED. Also, with the exception of the City of Red Deer, there is little involvement of municipal governments in CED networks and organizations. This is very different from the sustainability community where many local governments are part of the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI). Increased membership in these organizations helps to build knowledge and legitimacy, something the CED community in Canada is still struggling with at the municipal level.

The last considerable challenge that exists is that of the structural challenges that local governments face and how this impedes their involvement in positive change to begin with. In Canada local governments are chronically underfunded and face challenges trying to pave roads and provide sewage treatment. Many of the local governments interviewed believed that budget constraints were a major barrier to their support of CED. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM), has shown that “50 cents of every tax dollar collected in Canada go to the federal government, while 42 cents go to provincial/territorial governments. Municipal governments are left with just 8 cents of every tax dollar” (FCM, 2009).

Another structural issue relates to the make-up of municipal governments themselves. The compartmentalization of city governments makes it hard for them to address issues like poverty and homelessness as these issues may cut across departments like community development or planning. As Kain, Sharkey and Webb (2010) point out

“this can create challenges for CED actors, as it can be difficult to identify the best point of contact within local government” (p. 42).

Challenges aside, the opportunities are substantial and are bolstered by many of the encouraging examples found in Western Canadian and Northwestern Ontario municipal governments. Both the range and level of local government engagement in CED activities suggest there is significant interest in economic approaches that can be transformative and work toward building sustainable, equitable, vibrant cities and neighbourhoods.

As has historically been the case, economic crises or significant economic shifts have often provided the impetus to consider alternative economic approaches such as those offered by CED. Instead of looking at the recent global economic crisis as a barrier, CED groups need to capitalize on the faults inherent in capitalism as illustrated by this latest recession and the growing gap between the rich and poor. The CED community needs to forge ties with the rise of the global ‘Occupy Movement’ to “show that the present version of capitalism is leaving many people and whole neighbourhoods behind.” Municipal economic development strategies that employ smokestack chasing and have weak community involvement continue to ignore the residents and neighbourhoods that are most in need of help in the first place. The global economic downturn and the ripple effects in Canada’s economy have again given rise to opportunities for further conversations with local government about community economic development.

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Appendix 1: Survey Questions

Does your municipality support Community Economic Development and the Social Economy through a designated staff person, a department, or by devolving authority to a local body such as a community or economic development corporation?

Does your municipality partner with other groups (such as service clubs, non-profits, First Nations, etc.) on Community Economic Development or Social Economy related projects?

Does your municipality have bylaws or policies that commit your support to or define your role in Community Economic Development or Social Economy activities?

Do you have any equity based hiring and training practices?
Are you involved in the support of any education or training related programs either internally or externally?

Is your municipality involved in neighbourhood revitalization?
Are you involved in the development of affordable housing, such as housing for seniors, the disabled, or those with low incomes?

Do you have any programs that aid in the emergence, convening, incubating, or revitalization of community businesses or social enterprises?

If yes, what are the criteria you use for qualifying businesses as a social enterprise?

Do you support any community loan funds or micro-lending programs that could support Community Economic Development or social enterprises in your municipality?

Do you have a purchasing policy that addresses the purchase of local, “green” (environmentally friendly), or “ethical” (such as fair trade) products and services?

If yes, do you believe these policies have made a difference within your community?

Does your community have a sustainable community plan (related to the federal gas tax rebate)?

Does your municipality promote or engage in any community resource management projects?

Are you involved in the support of “green” programs?

Do you have any alternative energy generation in you municipality?

If yes, what affect does this have on your community? How are profits shared?

What tools, methods, approaches, or supports would you like to see your municipality take forward into the future to support Community Economic Development and Social Economy activities?

Is there anything that you think we've missed that you'd like to discuss or any final thoughts you'd like to add?

Appendix 2: Municipalities Interviewed

Abbotsford
Brandon
Kamloops
Medicine Hat
Red Deer
Saskatoon
Sudbury
Thunder Bay

Appendix 3: Neechi Principles

Neechi Foods is a cooperatively run community food store in Winnipeg's North End. Their 11 CED principles have made the organization well known across the continent.

The Neechi Principles:

Use of local goods and services

Production of goods and services for local use

Local reinvestment of profits

Long-term employment of local residents

Local skill development

Local decision-making and ownership

Healthy citizens (physical, mental and emotional)

Positive physical environment (sustainable, stable and healthy neighbourhood)

Neighbourhood stability

Human dignity (improving people's capacity to better themselves) and

Support for other CED projects

Appendix 4: Cleveland Policy Planning Report, 1975

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 neighborhood 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

CHICAGO DEVELOPMENT PLAN, 1984

Goal:

Increase job opportunities for Chicagoans.

Policies:

- target business investment in support of job development
- local preference in buying and hiring
- skilled labor force development
- infrastructure investment for job development
- affirmative action

Goal:

Promote balanced growth.

Policies:

- balanced growth between downtown and neighborhoods
- public-private partnerships
- strengthened tax base
- equitable distribution of the tax burden

Goal:

Assist neighborhoods to develop through partnerships and coordinated investment.

Policies:

- neighborhood planning
- expanded housing opportunities
- linked development

Goal:

Enhance public participation in decision-making.

Policies:

- increased citizen access to information
- increased opportunities for citizen involvement

Goal:

Pursue a regional, state, and national legislative agenda.

(Metzger 2003, p. 115)

Appendix 5: Complete List of Support for CED Encountered in the Study Region

Expressions of Intent

Red Deer AB: corporate strategic plan explicitly mentions CED. “Foster an understanding and awareness of Community Economic Development as it relates to the economic, social, environmental and cultural well-being of our community.”

Saskatoon SK: Municipal Enterprise Zone, was created to encourage businesses to locate or expand their operations in order to create more economic activity within an area in need of revitalization. Some incentives include: property tax abatement, grant in lieu of tax abatement, façade appearance grant, reduction or waiver of any off-site development charges, rebate of direct service charges, relocation assistance, land exchange, etc.

Abbotsford BC: Abbotsford Cares Report which created the Social Development Advisory Committee (ASDAC) mentioned in detail above.

Sudbury ON: The Earthcare Sudbury Local Action Plan, sets out framework for developing a local food security strategy as well as a local food charter. Details include trying to create an economic development strategy for food and working with food retailers to support the local food industry

Thunder Bay ON: Thunder Bay Food Charter explicit support for community economic development through three strategies. The document promotes the prioritization of “production, preparation, storage, distribution and consumption of local food as an integral part of the Thunder Bay economy” (Thunder Bay Food Charter 2009). The charter seeks to develop greater opportunities for collaboration between rural and urban areas to sustain rural farmers and communities.

Kamloops BC: Kamloops Social Plan: was created to provide guidance for the City on the growing social challenges the city was facing. The plan addresses social issues that are not directly the responsibility of local governments but sets out what the City of Kamloops can do within its jurisdiction to address these issues. The plan focuses on issues such as housing and homelessness, youth issues, building social agencies & community capacity, etc.

Medicine Hat AB: Municipal Social Policy Statement, “By addressing social issues such as economic disparities and the diversity of the population of Medicine Hat, and by identifying vulnerable groups such as the poor, youth, seniors and people with special needs, the City's role in supporting the potential of all citizens is insured.”

Brandon MB: Brandon Downtown Economic Development Strategy 2008 acknowledges that business development is not the only factor for successful downtown revitalization. The plan points out “that community development, which fosters economic growth and improves the quality of life for residents” is an essential factor for success and that buy-in from local government, business owners and citizens is essential.

Financial Support

Saskatoon SK: city gives 10% grant to all new affordable housing projects

Abbotsford BC: the city supports non-profits, social agencies through property tax exemptions

Kamloops BC: offers social planning grants that community organizations can apply for. In some cases these grants can be used as an operating grants. The city also has a number of services agreements with various groups (Boys and Girls club, YM/YWCA, etc.)

Medicine Hat AB: Community Development grants available to organizations that provide social services

Red Deer AB: Agency Capacity Grants are used to fund organizations with their administration, planning and operations needs.

Thunder Bay ON: has Core Area Renewal Programs that are financial incentives aimed at helping property owners and tenants in the downtown core areas of Thunder Bay to rehabilitate buildings. These financial incentives take the form of planning & building fee rebates, façade loans, and tax increment-based grants.

Thunder Bay ON: Grants under the community funding portion of the Community and Cultural Funding Program are available to various community non-profit organizations in the health and social services sectors. The Funding Program has three components: sustaining grants (3-5 years), operating grants and project grants.

Brandon MB: the City has a multi year contract with the Brandon Neighbourhood Renewal Corporation that provides the organization with an annual cash contribution of \$55,000

Saskatoon SK: The Saskatoon Collaborative Funding Partnership is a partnership of many Saskatoon funders, including the City of Saskatoon which was created to make it easier for community based organizations in Saskatoon to apply for grants. The City of Saskatoon's Social Services Grant and the Saskatoon Urban Aboriginal Strategy are both part of the partnership.

Saskatoon SK: Saskatoon Urban Aboriginal Strategy (UAS) provides support to urban Aboriginal communities by "promoting self-reliance and increasing life choices for Aboriginal people living in urban centres." Priority funding areas that relate to CED include: Increasing the availability and access to economic development opportunities such as enterprise pre-development and/or employment and improving the availability of initiatives that assist those at-risk of facing poverty, assist those at-risk of returning to poverty, and assist with managing the effects of poverty.

Brandon MB: Renaissance Brandon Grants Program 2009 were designed to encourage redevelopment in downtown Brandon and can be used for new construction, business relocation, safety initiatives, etc.

Kamloops BC: City Centre revitalization tax exemption applies to a portion of Kamloops' downtown city centre. The tax incentive was created to encourage revitalization and new development in the area.

Kamloops BC: the city is starting to build up a housing reserve fund that will be used towards funding affordable housing initiatives.

In-Kind

Red Deer AB: city staff are involved in providing direct support to CED organizations and community associations.

Red Deer AB: looking at potentially creating space in the new city hall for a social enterprise but no firm commitments yet.

Saskatoon SK: Station 20 West, the city assembled land and did environmental clean-up for the site and provided it to QUINT a local CED organization for \$1. At present, the location has a new library, affordable housing and office space and in the future QUINT will create a community enterprise centre, space for their own offices and office space for CHEP another CED organization.

Medicine Hat AB: has created a directory of local food producers to help find local growers. Many of the producers included are from the local Red Hat cooperative

Saskatoon SK: Community development department that emerged from Parks and Recreation has a mandate to work with community associations, assisting them to develop their projects, help with community consultations for the city, and to support local neighbourhood based initiatives.

Abbotsford BC: The city partners with Community Futures South Fraser to deliver the Abbotsford Connected neighbourhoods program. The aim of the program is to support the creation of connections amongst neighbours through creating a community event or project.

Brandon MB: The city provides office space to the BNRC in City Hall free on charge.

Planning, Research, Advising

Red Deer AB: The City of Red Deer's Social Planning Department is committed to support strong organizations. In this role they identify planning as one of the key strategies to help agencies in their city stay strong and become more sustainable. The department is also actively involved in undertaking social research designed to inform decision making and strategic planning for both the city and community groups.

Saskatoon SK: Community development provides assistance to community groups in carrying out projects

Saskatoon SK: local area planning program identified 11 core areas that need long range improvement plans. The Local areas plans are comprehensive and cover all aspects of civic responsibility including: transit, parks, traffic, safety and land use. The LAPP program's research has shown where neighbourhoods are trending the wrong way in terms of economic and social development. This information is valuable to community groups in the program planning.

Kamloops BC: the Kamloops social plan identifies that the city should put a process in place to "assist agencies seeking to expand or develop a new facility, to help address community concerns and minimize community opposition."

Kamloops BC: Venture Kamloops, the City's economic development agency has a business start up, retention and expansion program, where they provide business coaching and mentoring and provide assistance to the community for economic development projects.

Thunder Bay ON: Municipal government staff work with non-profits groups to undertake planning, gap analysis to direct delivery and partnership.

Human and Social Capital Development

Red Deer AB: the city has a commitment to try to include more Aboriginal residents through a partnership with Red Deer Aboriginal Employment Services' pre-employment program. The program includes life and employability skills training and then a work placement with the City of Red Deer.

Red Deer AB: also has a municipal integration strategy team looking at the municipality's role in social inclusion.

Red Deer AB: sponsors learning events related to CED for community organizations and is active in the province's CED network.

Saskatoon SK: the City of Saskatoon offers opportunities for community members to increase their knowledge and understanding of municipal practice through its Planning Education Program. The goal of this program is to educate citizens and groups on all aspects of community planning and development, related by-laws, policies the city's official community plan. To date this program has most of its uptake from the core areas of Saskatoon and is mostly heavily used by members of community associations and CED groups.

Kamloops BC: The City has hosted a number of social enterprise workshops

Medicine Hat AB: has held workshops on topics like community planning that community groups are encouraged to join. These workshops normally have a capacity building focus.

Red Deer AB: the city partners with the community foundation to support a leadership training program, for people coming from the private, public, or non-profit sectors. Each

participant undertakes an individual project and a group projects. Right now one group is working on CED and interviewing non-profits in the city to ask about their understanding, capacity to, interest in and willingness for to engage in social enterprise.

Thunder Bay ON: the city offers training to non-profits and also allows non-profit groups to reciprocate trainings to municipal staff.

Land Use

Saskatoon SK: has implemented some higher density zoning districts and density bonuses in the inner-city for the benefit of affordable housing projects.

Saskatoon SK: also offers reductions or waives development charges in their enterprise zone.

Red Deer AB: the city is looking at policies and procedures for creating secondary suites and taxation related to affordable housing. First city in Canada doing ending homelessness planning and have a commitment to end homelessness by 2018.

Kamloops AB: is very active in affordable housing and actively tries to encourage affordable housing development through tax incentives, expedited development applications, development cost charge rebates.

Procurement

Abbotsford BC: the City contracts with the Mennonite Central Committee for their paper recycling (shredding and loose paper) services. A conversation with an employee from the City of Abbotsford illustrated the close connections between the city and the local MCC office. In this case, the paper recycling is done through an MCC program that aims to employ people with mental disabilities. Similarly, The City of Abbotsford's recycling depot (which is shared between Abbotsford and Mission) is run by Abbotsford Community Services, another organization that employs adults with developmental disabilities.

Thunder Bay ON: research is underway towards creating a Sustainable Environmental and Ethical Purchasing Policy. While not yet passed by Council, the EarthWise Thunder Bay Community Environmental Action Plan (2008, 65) set the stage for the creation of a SEEPP.

Thunder Bay ON: As well as the city has a good relationship with Community Living Thunder Bay and has contracted the group to assist the city in conducting waste audits, working in the storage department, providing clerical activities, cleaning bus shelters, etc. very strong unionized environment, still enabling partnerships. The hope is to use the SEEP policy to purposefully support community groups in Thunder Bay.

Medicine Hat AB: the City of Medicine Hat's Social Development Department often purchases catering from a local non-profit called Worlds of Women Together, a catering training program for new Canadians that bakes and make many ethnic foods.

Sudbury ON: the City of Sudbury’s Earth Care Local Action Plan explores the idea of eco-procurement and recognizes that they city can achieve many of its environmental goals through eco-procurement. The document also makes mention to creating a “community-wide eco-procurement initiative.”

Brandon MB: The Purchasing Section of the City of Brandon and the Environmental Coordinator are presently creating a green procurement policy which will most likely be implemented in 2010.

Kamloops BC: the City of Kamloops has a policy which supports green procurement which implement life cycle cost analysis and minimizing environmental impact.

Appendix 6: Chart Identifying Each Role Played by Medium Sized Municipalities

Roles	Expressions of Intent	Financial Support	In-Kind Support	Planning, Research & Advising	Human & Social Capital Development	Land Use	Procurement
Municipalities							
Abbotsford	X		X				X
Brandon	X	XX	X				X
Kamloops	X	X		XX	X	X	X
Medicine Hat	X	X	X				X
Red Deer	X	X	XX	X	XXXX	X	
Saskatoon	X	XXX	XX	XX	X	XX	
Sudbury	X						X
Thunder Bay	X	XX		X	X		XX