



CCPA

CANADIAN CENTRE FOR POLICY ALTERNATIVES
MANITOBA

Community Development in a North End Winnipeg Neighbourhood, 2005–2017

By Jessica Leigh

SEPTEMBER
2017

**Community Development in a North End
Winnipeg Neighbourhood, 2005–2017**

ISBN 978-1-77125-359-8

SEPTEMBER 2017



Unit 205 – 765 Main St., Winnipeg, MB R2W 3N5
TEL 204-927-3200 FAX 204-927-3201
EMAIL ccpamb@policyalternatives.ca



Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank the board of the Dufferin Residents' Association of Winnipeg both past and present, Aboriginal Vision for the North End, the North End Community Renewal Corporation, the founding members of the original Bear Clan Patrol, Chickadee Richard, David Blacksmith, Mitch Bourbonniere and the late Larry Morrisette and also Janice Goodman and Jim Silver for their their support and guidance.

About the Author

Jessica Leigh is a community development worker and Urban and Inner-City Studies student at the University of Winnipeg. This paper does not reflect the official position of the Dufferin Residents' Association of Winnipeg.

Community Development in Dufferin Neighbourhood 2005–2017

This paper examines community development in the Dufferin neighbourhood in Winnipeg's North End over the twelve years from 2005–2017, and considers how this work later played an integral role in the resurgence of Winnipeg's Bear Clan Patrol. I will describe how community development (CD) has been practiced in Dufferin, including the challenges and successes, and will assess its overall impact. I have had the privilege of working in Winnipeg's North End as a community organizer for over a decade, the last seven years in Dufferin as the Community Development Worker with the Dufferin Residents' Association of Winnipeg (DRAW). I have also worked with the Bear Clan Patrol since its resurgence in 2014.

Dufferin neighbourhood continues to face numerous challenges in securing the funding and resources to sustain lasting change. Nevertheless, residents continue to demonstrate their capacity to mobilize and to sustain ongoing organizing efforts. Dufferin residents have carried out a number of community-driven strategies for improvements in housing, recreation, safety and relationship building. Despite many challenges, significant gains have been made over the past seven years. The recent success related to the re-

surgence of the Bear Clan Patrol evidences the capacity of the DRAW, but this is only one of many achievements of the Residents' Association. The social capital that now exists as a result of the work of the DRAW has allowed for an increased quality of life for residents. Networks now exist amongst key stakeholders that have enabled residents to access resources needed to address issues of importance to the neighbourhood. In addition, many Dufferin residents have made significant gains in their personal lives, accessing opportunities that have furthered their educational and employment goals, resulting in an overall increase in their standard of living. The DRAW has had a positive impact in Dufferin. In this paper I will try to explain how these gains have been made.

Initial Community Development in Dufferin 2005–2009

The Dufferin Residents' Association of Winnipeg was established and incorporated in 2005 by a group of concerned residents looking to take an active role in making meaningful and lasting positive change in their community. As described in the DRAW By-Laws:

The mission of the DRAW is to promote values that support the health and unity of the community by using existing resources and creative innovation. The DRAW is dedicated to promoting pride, honouring our rich multi-cultural and multi-generational heritage, and to providing community members with opportunities for leadership (DRAW, 2012).

Supported from 2005–2010 by the Community Education Development Association (CEDA), the DRAW held monthly board meetings, hosted seasonal community gatherings and created and distributed the quarterly *Dufferin Star Newsletter*. By the end of 2009, the DRAW had developed the capacity to apply for small grant funding, and operated on an annual budget of approximately \$5000.

The Community Development Resources for Dufferin Project 2010–2012

The Dufferin neighbourhood is one of eleven that form Winnipeg’s North End. Five of these eleven neighbourhoods, including Dufferin, were designated as *Neighbourhood Improvement Zones (NIZ)* by the Province of Manitoba in 2010. The designation as NIZ is the result of the extraordinarily high levels of poverty found within the neighbourhood—depending upon the poverty indicator used, the rate of poverty in Winnipeg’s inner city according to 2011 Statistics Canada data was in the 30 percent range¹ (Lezubski and Silver, 2015: 31), and it may well be higher in Dufferin. The poverty in Dufferin is complex, in that it involves multiple factors, including low levels of formal participation in the workforce, a lack of employment opportunities and racialization due to the ongoing impacts of colonialism and the legacy of the Indian Residential Schools. A large percentage of the population suffers from a lack of access to safe and affordable housing, low levels of educational

attainment, poor health, and a high level of resistance made manifest through participation in the informal economy, drug and alcohol use and distribution, and street gang activity, all of which result in increased exposure to violence (Comack et al, 2015; Silver, 2016). When factors such as these are experienced cumulatively over time, they can become a debilitating cycle, difficult to break without strategic and deliberate intervention. Thus the importance of the DRAW.

As a result of its NIZ designation, Dufferin became eligible for funding through the Provincial Housing and Community Development Initiative, *Neighbourhoods Alive*. The North End Community Renewal Corporation (NECRC), taking on the supportive role that CEDA previously provided, applied for and received funding for the *Community Development Resources for Dufferin* project. Consistent with Manitoba’s long-term strategy to “support and encourage community-driven revitalization efforts” (Province of Manitoba, 2015), the project provided the DRAW with funding to support a full-time Community Development Worker (CDW) for the Dufferin neighbourhood. The role of the CDW was to work with the DRAW and their volunteer Board of Directors to coordinate and implement resident priorities addressing housing, safety, recreation and capacity building. The CDW was also responsible for the organization and coordination of volunteers, facilitating the increased capacity of local leadership in working toward the overall revitalization of the Dufferin neighbourhood.

Demographics

Dufferin is a residential community bordered by an industrial park, rail yards and the neighbourhoods of Lord Selkirk Park and William Whyte. Together these three neighbourhoods compose what is arguably one of Canada’s most socio-economically marginalized urban spaces. The geo-

¹Low-Income Measure After Tax—31.8%; Low-Income Cut-Off After Tax—29.8%; Market Basket Measure—26.8%

graphic boundaries of Dufferin are McPhillips Street to the west, the CPR yards to the south, Salter Street to the east and Selkirk Avenue to the north. The community covers 0.7 square kilometres and is home to over 2,215 people. There are 760 households within Dufferin with an average annual household income of \$15,998. The average household income in Winnipeg as a whole, by comparison, is more than three times as high at \$52,618 (City of Winnipeg, 2017).

Dufferin is diverse. Approximately 28 percent of residents are First Nations and 22 percent identify as Metis, so that half the Dufferin residents are Indigenous. Another 22 percent are newcomers, primarily from the Philippines. There is also growing representation from Southeast Asia, Latin America, Africa and China. Dufferin is home to one of the youngest populations in Winnipeg, with almost 19 percent of the population less than ten years of age, compared with 11 percent in the City as a whole. Just over 49 percent of the population in Dufferin is under 30 years of age, compared to 38 percent in the rest of the city. Families in Dufferin tend to be large — 41 percent have three or more children. Almost half of these families are lone-parent-led, disproportionately by women. However, there is a higher than average number of single-parent, male-led households in Dufferin when compared with the rest of the city (City of Winnipeg, 2017).

Asset Based Community Development and Initial Outreach in Dufferin 2010–2016

An asset-based approach was applied to community development and outreach strategies in Dufferin. I understood from the project's start in 2010 that the residents are the experts about their own circumstances and they are the people best able to identify the changes needed in their neighbourhood. I also understood that the work taking place must be inclusive, and respectful of the lived experiences of residents. As the Community Development Worker, my role was

to build on the existing strengths present within the community and to support the DRAW in growing their voice and developing their capacity to address those issues identified by the residents. This included assisting as needed with the coordination, facilitation and implementation of the residents' vision for their neighbourhood.

According to the DRAW by-laws, this vision was to work toward creating a "united, clean, safe, nurturing community for all who live, attend school, work or visit within the Dufferin community" (DRAW, 2012). Also incorporated into the DRAW by-laws were the *Neechi Principles*, the guiding community economic development (CED) principles of *Neechi Foods Worker Co-op* in Winnipeg. The principles include the use and production of local goods and services, local reinvestment of profits, long-term employment of local residents, local skills development and decision-making, promotion of public health, the physical environment, neighbourhood stability and human dignity and support for other CED initiatives (Canadian CED Network, 2017). Until 2017 these principles were used by the provincial government in its CED Framework. The *Neechi Principles* assisted in steering the activities of the DRAW and forming its expectations of partner organizations.

Outreach in Dufferin 2010–2012

While I had previously established relationships in the North End neighbourhoods of Burrows Central, William Whyte and Lord Selkirk Park, I had not worked in Dufferin, and so had to build new relationships with Dufferin residents. Initially I used door-knocking. It was primarily older adults that I reached, as they were often willing to invite me in to talk about the neighbourhood. Frequently the elderly residents I spoke with were coping with mobility issues and isolation. While appearing interested in engaging with their local residents' association, they would require assistance and transportation to attend meetings and

events. This we were unable to provide in those early stages. The majority of other residents either chose not to open their doors, or were not home during the day. I eventually largely abandoned this form of outreach in favour of regularly attending community events and gatherings. I had greater success engaging people who were already active in the community than I did with door knocking.

Initially I would attend events, often introducing myself to the facilitator or the organizational partner as the Community Development Worker for Dufferin, and they would introduce me to the community. I would participate in whatever was going on, engaging in conversation with residents on a casual basis. In order to do this effectively, I had to feel reasonably at ease in the environment. As a result, I tended to favour organizations and activities that were relevant and relatable to me in some way. I frequently engaged in sharing circles, beadwork and women's gatherings, in addition to attending presentations and workshops related to food security, community gardening, harm reduction and cultural teachings. In this way I was able to observe and listen to the community and over time my presence became normalized.

Typically in a neighbourhood there are residents who serve as informal leaders and gatekeepers representing various groups. These can include homeowners and renters, those who are formally employed and those not, those who have children and those who do not, those who own property or businesses within the area but do not live within it, and many others groupings of people, often with their own distinct perspective, ethnic background and culture. Members of the community frequently look to these individuals to gauge their reaction to change. In this case, I represented potential change. Thus, my goal was to establish meaningful and trusting relationships with key residents in order to access the broader neighbourhood.

I was not aware when I was hired for the position that one such resident within Dufferin had

applied for and been turned down for my position. She was a strong Indigenous woman and grandmother with long standing ties within the North End and I was advised early on that it would be wise to seek out her input prior to moving forward. I discovered that she attended a local women's gathering each Wednesday with her grandson. At our initial meeting she expressed disdain for and distrust of my presence as an outsider. She made it clear that she anticipated that I would not stay for the long term, suggesting I would "just leave" when things became difficult and that "they will just send someone else." I understood her cynicism, recognizing from previous work in North End neighbourhoods that there is a long history of unfulfilled commitments to residents; her sentiment is not uncommon. I told her at our first meeting that I was not going anywhere. She was sceptical.

I evidenced my commitment to the work and to the relationship by repeated visits to see her and her grandson every Wednesday at the gathering, recognizing that it would take time and patience to earn her trust. I began looking to her for guidance related to work the DRAW Board was undertaking, and would return at a later date demonstrating the implementation of her suggestions. The development of this relationship took place in public in the presence of other local women and their children who also attended the women's gathering. Her informal approval of my presence over time opened the door for dialogue and the formation of relationships within the broader group. Eventually she agreed to join the DRAW Board, with the understanding that her grandson would always be with her. She felt strongly that it was important for children to witness adults working together collaboratively for positive change. She was the first Indigenous resident to join the DRAW Board.

Another relationship that was integral to successful outreach early on was a reunion with a woman I had met while working in the Burrows Central neighbourhood two years earlier. At

that time she had come into the Resource Centre looking for information about the work going on in Burrows Central. She shared that she had once been street-involved and addicted to cocaine. She had recovered from her addiction, and was intending to begin school to become a social worker. I remembered her well because of the confidence she displayed in stating her goal and the honesty with which she shared parts of her story. After I had been working in Dufferin for only a few months she stopped me on Selkirk Avenue. It turned out she lived in Dufferin and was in the middle of completing her degree in Social Work with the University of Manitoba's Inner City Social Work Program on Selkirk Avenue. She agreed to attend a DRAW Board meeting, soon became active in DRAW activities and is currently the Board Chair. She has also been working in the community for over two years as a social worker. I was invited to her graduation.

The work hours necessary to implement the *Community Development Resources for Dufferin* project were erratic — while there were core hours, generally 10–2, the remainder would be flexed as needed around activities in the neighbourhood, which would often involve my participation on evenings or weekends. As a single mother this presented childcare challenges. I began taking my children to work on such occasions. An unanticipated outcome was the increased trust it seemed to establish amongst residents, many of whom frequently brought their own children while volunteering. The children played with each other while the work was going on. Bringing my children with me deviated from the formal boundaries that are so often standard for “workers” within the community who come in from the outside. The unintentional outcome was positive and furthered relationship building, and relationship building was foundational for my work in Dufferin.

I extended frequent invitations to residents to attend DRAW meetings and would often offer to go with them to meetings for the first time and informally reinforce their presence and voice

as an invited guest. In some cases they required ongoing support. It would not be uncommon for me to meet residents at their homes prior to the meetings or to wait outside for them to arrive prior to going in, because entering an unknown and somewhat formal setting related to community organizing was experienced as intimidating by many local residents. In time, it was understood that participation was their right, and was necessary for lasting change. In some cases I would work one-on-one with residents developing the skills necessary to chair a meeting. I would often add notes on an agenda for them to follow. This is not the same as putting words in their mouths. It was a form of support, assisting resident leaders in learning a language that was a part of the institutional framework that until recently had been making decisions on their behalf without their informed consent or input.

Copies of the *Dufferin Star*, the community newsletter advertising local events, initiatives and meeting times, were distributed quarterly and other outreach activities began to evolve organically. The DRAW became generally regarded as a well-established Residents' Association, and developed a meaningful presence in the community. The DRAW was asked to host a monthly jewelry making workshop at Aboriginal Vision for the North End's (AVNE) Women's Gathering, which was widely advertised and reasonably well attended. DRAW was also asked to speak on occasion at AVNE and other community-based organizations (CBOs) about the Residents' Association and their vision of a healthy community. Often I would be the one attending such events on behalf of the DRAW. This was because members of the Board were often at school or work during the day, and also because residents were not yet engaged in outreach strategies. Over time I began bringing residents with me on such occasions, and in some instances was able to pass the responsibility over to volunteers. This became part of the capacity-building process that DRAW made possible.

Participation at the DRAW monthly meetings began to increase and new ideas, talents and skills were brought into the group. By the end of 2012, two years after I started working in the neighbourhood, the DRAW Board began to reflect the demographic make-up of the community in terms of age, gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status. The Board grew to a membership of over ten active Directors. All meetings were open to all residents, in order to hear feedback from the community and ensure transparency. This is not typical practice, as many CBOs require that residents outside the elected membership receive or request an invitation to attend. The open door policy of the DRAW serves to build the capacity of the organization and the broader Dufferin neighbourhood.

Initially, the DRAW attempted many different ways of bringing the community together. These included hosting community barbecues and community clean-ups, maintaining and delivering the *Dufferin Star*, and advertising direct contact with the Community Development Worker with an invitation to stop by anytime. By the end of the third year I began receiving drop-ins from community members on a regular basis, many of whom were seeking assistance and support with common neighbourhood challenges. These included, for example, the illegal dumping of waste materials on private and public property, substandard housing, food insecurity, the informal reporting of known criminal activity, access to child care, education and employment opportunities and access to financial resources. In addition, many residents expressed concerns related to street-involved individuals participating in the sex-trade and related “john” traffic from outside the North End. Safety concerns related to women, girls and children who were not involved in the sex-trade being “trolled,” or targeted by “johns” seeking sexual favours, was common. Generally complaints involved instances occurring during the day, and were particularly concerning as they

would peak around local schools during arrival and departure times.

By the end of the third year of the project I began to spend increasing amounts of time in the office or at meetings rather than out in the community, attempting to work with stakeholders, the City of Winnipeg and residents to develop strategies that would effectively address neighbourhood challenges including access to needed resources. In many cases such initiatives and resources did exist, but were not reaching residents.

The DRAW office was located at 509 Selkirk Avenue, with office space provided on an in-kind basis by the North End Community Renewal Corporation (NECRC). The NECRC office was directly across the street from Dufferin’s northern boundary, easily accessible to residents, and it housed a number of other resources and programs. These included the *North End Food Security Network*, *RentNet*, NECRC Housing staff with access to fix-up grants and housing resources, the *Tenant Landlord Cooperation Program* which advocated for renters dealing with challenges to sub-standard housing and for landlords struggling with troubled tenants, and the *Building Construction Maintenance Program*. Being a part of this network and with access to the Community Development Director, Janice Goodman, the DRAW was well placed and began to thrive, becoming increasingly effective in addressing the neighbourhood’s challenges.

Community Development Resources for Dufferin 2012–2017

By 2012, the implementation of the *Community Development Resources for Dufferin Project* became increasingly focused on coordinating existing initiatives and volunteers, maintaining relationships within the community and building new and dynamic initiatives with entities such as the City of Winnipeg, the Province and the Winnipeg Police Service. While the DRAW successfully partnered with many other CBOs shar-

ing their vision, much of the necessary work was beyond the capacity of these organizations alone. The DRAW's involvement was seen as necessary for the successful implementation of initiatives led by those from outside the neighbourhood.

The DRAW was able to access funding through a number of sources, including the Winnipeg Regional Health Authority's *Healthy Together Now*, the *Families and Communities Together Coalition* and the *North End Revitalization Incorporated (NERI) Small Grants Fund*. The NERI grants were by far the most accessible and reliable, providing \$10,000 annually to the DRAW. These funds were used to undertake community-based activities from 2012–2017, and to support the operations of the DRAW including food for meetings and the printing costs associated with outreach materials including the newsletter.

Initially outreach efforts could be time consuming. At one time it was necessary to connect with Board members, volunteers and residents in different ways. In some cases a visit to their home was necessary if they didn't have a phone or email. But by the end of 2012 the use of social media became an integral tool for outreach and community organizing. Rapid increase of resident access to social media was due in part to the accessibility of free computers at many CBOs. In addition, the increasing number of mobile apps available on electronic devices, particularly Facebook Messenger, allowed for access at any location offering Wi-Fi. In many cases this eliminated the need for expensive home phone or cellphone services. For the purpose of conducting outreach within the community it saved time, allowing for an electronic social network of volunteers that could be easily accessed. Advertising for community events, meeting reminders and group conversations could take place online in addition to the usual methods. Impact could be seen by increased attendance at meetings and in neighbourhood-based activities. Board communications also took place via social media, and the DRAW maintained ongoing communi-

cation with the broader neighbourhood via their Facebook page.

By 2013 the DRAW had developed a standardized pattern for activities related to community engagement, which would take place seasonally. The DRAW hosts a large-scale community clean-up in partnership with the William Whyte Residents' Association and other organizations each spring. A summer BBQ is held annually and generally serves as a time to distribute surveys and receive feedback from residents related to the work that has been taking place, and to understand evolving community priorities. The information gathered later informs the annual work plan. In the fall the DRAW would host the Dufferin Fall Clean-Up and Halloween Gathering. The DRAW AGM is held in October, with a community meal, DRAW elections and a Report to the community about activities over the course of the past year. During December the DRAW would host an annual *Holiday Spirit Initiative*, which involves a number of components supporting the most vulnerable residents over the holidays.

These community engagement activities were considered a priority by residents. They serve to reduce a sense of isolation by providing positive social opportunities. Consistent delivery of these has developed a growing sense of neighbourhood cohesion. It was clear that these initiatives must be maintained while other, dynamic solutions to community priorities related to housing, safety, recreation and outreach were taking place.

The Dufferin Neighbourhood Housing Plan
In 2012, the Dufferin and William Whyte Residents' Associations, supported by the North End Community Renewal Corporation, received funding from the City of Winnipeg's *Housing Improvement Zone Fund* to create Neighbourhood Housing Plans. Consultations and research were prepared by Bridgman Collaborative Architecture and community-based researchers between April

and October 2012. *The Dufferin Five Year Neighbourhood Housing Plan* was and is intended to guide the efforts of the DRAW and their neighbourhood partners, and to inform activities undertaken by the City and other entities when future housing development was being considered.

Residents in housing crisis attended workshops for the Dufferin Neighbourhood Housing Plan. They emphasized the day-to-day burdens associated with unstable and unaffordable housing. People said that a concentration of poverty and housing in disrepair “ghettoized” their neighbourhoods. Many want to see affordable and supportive housing located throughout Winnipeg, to reduce the concentration in their neighbourhoods of issues, including crime and violence, associated with poor housing. The Neighbourhood Housing Plan emphasizes that while there are many residents working together in a positive manner for a safe community, high levels of poverty, property vacancy, crime, by-law infraction, housing distress and dereliction relative to other Winnipeg neighbourhoods make William Whyte and Dufferin unique in their high need (BridgmanCollaborative Architecture Ltd., 2012).

The DRAW committed to five initiatives, or action items, which arose from the Neighbourhood Housing Plan and which they agreed to carry forward with their community partners: to enforce City By-Laws within Dufferin; to expand on advocacy for both renting tenants and local landlords; to promote resident awareness of grants and resources; to provide incentives to residents to remain in the community; and to develop a neighbourhood green plan. I noticed then as I do now that none of the goals are specifically related to ensuring the building of more units of safe and affordable housing in Dufferin. Slum landlords and sub-standard living conditions remain now, as they did then, one of the greatest challenges facing residents in Dufferin.

A number of existing planning documents and strategies were considered during the devel-

opment of the Neighbourhood Housing Plan for Dufferin. These included: *Our Winnipeg*, a governing document and the official development plan guiding growth and change within the city of Winnipeg; *LivesAFE!*, a crime prevention and suppression strategy involving a tri-level government memorandum of understanding that targets a 21 block area that overlaps into the Dufferin neighbourhood; *HomeWorks!*, a provincial housing policy and strategy for Manitoba assessing how local vision, goals and initiatives worked within the larger context of municipal and provincial planning documents; and *Complete Communities*, one of four direction strategies supporting *OurWinnipeg*, which represents research and analysis about “state of the art” land use and development (City of Winnipeg, 2011). For the most part, the goals and initiatives resulting from the community-based consultations leading to the Dufferin Neighbourhood Housing Plan are in line with these City of Winnipeg and tri-level governmental objectives.

By-Law Enforcement Within Dufferin

The By-Law Enforcement Working Group was established in 2013 in direct response to the Dufferin and William Whyte Neighbourhood Housing Plans, with the intention of addressing issues related to illegal dumping and the removal of bulky waste from the community. Arson was an ongoing issue, and was largely related to the piles of wood and mattresses commonly found in the back lanes and vacant lots in William Whyte and Dufferin. These violated the principles of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED), which dictate that a well-kept community increases the perception of safety, which in turn produces a tangible reduction in crime. This is especially the case for crimes related to graffiti, arson, land maintenance, illegal dumping, gang activity and the exploitation of women and girls.

Some of the bulky waste could be attributed to high rates of transiency, as people moving in and

out of sub-standard rental properties had limited means to move their household items. As a result they would frequently be left in yards, lanes and on private and public property. Also, bed bug infestations were common and furniture would often be discarded in public spaces. Previous to the development of the Neighbourhood Housing Plans the residents in Dufferin, as in other North End neighbourhoods, were seen — wrongly for the most part — as the cause of their own woes, living in dirty communities because they themselves were dirty and did not maintain their properties. However, illegal dumping of garbage, refuse and most frequently construction debris, made up the majority of by-law complaints and residents were able to prove that much of this waste came from construction companies and builders working in other areas of the city, who in an effort to avoid the fees related to appropriate disposal, would drive into the North End and illegally drop the waste off on public and private property. This issue had been ongoing for over a decade, with little support from the City or other local authorities. However, once the *LivesAFE Initiative* was underway and the Neighbourhood Housing Plans were developed this issue finally caught the attention of local authorities. Funds were secured by the DRAW from City Council to purchase cameras for residents and the onus was placed on them, as unpaid volunteers, to gather photographic and video evidence. This literally involved residents hiding in bushes or peering over gates in an attempt to remain unseen, and going through garbage in order to find addresses to identify the source of the illegally dumped waste. We were told it was important to catch companies and individuals “in the act.” One past Board Member describes what resulted:

I saw Internet installers who thought they were entitled to drop boxes and boxes of cable chords. He'd come with his work vehicle — and would load it into the schools' garbage bin and it would overflow onto the ground. He said, well he swore

at me, and drove away. I've seen people come over the bridge to dump their garbage — garbage that isn't even from the community. I'd find mail that isn't even from North End addresses. One time I hid and took pictures, a couple came to dump their furniture. I had to take their license plate and took pictures from over the fence. I'd send in the complaints with the pictures. By-law began calling me back. I had to find out the license plates, the way the vehicle looked, the way the people looked. The people would deny things. There had to be no way it would be contested. I chose to live here, I love this neighbourhood, and this is our community. It's not okay just because it's the North End (Moar, 2017).

Eventually such activities led to considerable improvement in resident access to By-Law Enforcement Services, including formalized surveillance methods, but not before residents were pushed to extreme lengths to evidence the challenges they were facing. Dufferin residents took a lead role in the development of the Community By-Law Working Group in partnership with the William Whyte Residents' Association in 2012. Stakeholders including but not limited to *By-Law Enforcement Services, Water and Waste, the Winnipeg Police Service, NECRC Housing, Manitoba Housing, and the Dufferin and William Whyte Residents' Association* attend these meetings. Participation on the Committee has increased awareness among City officials that addressing non-compliance of city by-laws was integral to reducing crime. It also educated residents about by-law standards and compliance and reporting, and led to the implementation of annual safety audits done by residents. The By-Law Enforcement Working Group provides an avenue for the community to hold City By-Law officials accountable for acting on the results of these audits.

As a result of the safety auditing, the DRAW became aware that most properties in Duffer-

in did not have their house numbers posted on the back of their buildings. This presented unnecessary challenges for volunteers doing safety audits, as the addresses of the properties were required for reporting. Often volunteers would have to walk around the block or onto private property in order to obtain the house number. In addition, it was a challenge for first responders when attempting to access properties from the back lanes. Upon further investigation the DRAW became aware that not having an address listed on the rear of a property was itself a by-law infraction. As a result, and out of the desire not to burden residents with a possible fine, the DRAW and William Whyte Residents' Association partnered in 2015 to secure funding for the implementation of a *Back-Lane Numbering Initiative*. This Initiative provided free numbers and installation to those willing to participate, and provided temporary employment to a local resident, who later obtained full-time employment with the North End Community Renewal Corporation as a result of the work experience gained. An initial audit of Dufferin properties indicated a 29 percent compliance rate with the back lane numbering by-law. The compliance rate is now 84 percent (Epps, 2016).

With the support of the *Community By Law Working Group*, Dufferin and William Whyte formed a successful partnership for an annual 100 block spring community clean-up involving over 150 volunteers and multiple stakeholders, including the Winnipeg Police Service. It is another example of the community working together to improve their neighbourhood.

Recreation Within the Dufferin Neighbourhood

Within Dufferin, recreation and leisure activities are mostly limited to programs running out of CBOs. The majority of these are unstable as a result of being reliant on the availability of year-to-year funding, and are overwhelmed by demand.

These programs tend to be diverse and are often open only to specific targeted groups rather than all residents. The exception is the North Centennial Recreation and Leisure Facility (NCRLF). This is a City of Winnipeg-run facility located at 90 Sinclair Street, at the furthest south-east corner of the Dufferin neighbourhood. While located within Dufferin, residents reported in 2012 during the development of the *Dufferin Neighbourhood Housing Plan* that they felt disconnected from the NCRLF due to its location at the edge of the neighbourhood. Residents emphasized that a lack of belonging and ownership informed their opinion that 90 Sinclair was “not for them,” while by contrast they reported being “welcomed” by many community partners including the many non-profit groups (BridgmanCollaborative Architecture Ltd., 2012).

The DRAW began hosting their monthly board meetings at the NCRLF in 2010 to bring attention to the facility. The NCRLF was experiencing extraordinarily low attendance for a City-run facility, and had kept their amenities and programming out of the City of Winnipeg Leisure Guide, which advertises city-wide sport and recreation opportunities. This exclusion was made to provide the local community, including Dufferin residents, with priority access. Space was in high demand and many groups from outside Dufferin and the broader North End wanted space for their programs. City employees recognized the benefit of providing first access to local residents. This did not go over well with decision makers at the City, as the facility was considered underused. The DRAW conducted a consultation related to the NCRLF in partnership with the City in 2013 as a part of their Spring Community Meeting. The event was held at the facility and over 50 residents participated. Overall, residents reported experiencing multiple barriers to access.

It was reported that physical access presented a barrier because there was no direct bus route through Dufferin that could bring residents to the facility. It was felt that the walk was too long

for many people — in particular there were concerns related to safety walking to and from the facility, especially at night. There were also repeated concerns about inadequate lighting on the exterior of the building and the grounds.

Financial access was also reported as a barrier, as was the process related to subsidized memberships. As a result, the facility began providing free passes to NCRLF for Dufferin residents. In addition, free or “open” gym times and access to weight rooms were increased. While the NCRLF has a mandate to prevent cost from being a barrier to participation, the paperwork and necessary documents required to access a subsidized membership are a barrier, particularly for those under 18 years who lack the parental support necessary to see the process through.

The NCRLF was described as being “tucked away in an industrial area” right next to the rail yards, and thus separated from the neighbourhood. It was not perceived by most residents as belonging to the community. Over 21 statements were made by those who attended the Recreation Consultation, stating that they did not know what was going on inside the facility and that better advertising with the neighbourhood was needed. They requested the effective use of social media, information on how to obtain fee waivers and access to updated program schedules. It was also reported by residents who did attend the facility that it “lacked a sense of community,” and that “I don’t know anyone here.” The ongoing staff turn-over at the front desk was noticed by the community and discouraged relationship building. Several residents reported having negative experiences with staff, stating “they were rude to me,” and on several occasions were made to feel “embarrassed” by the treatment they received. All residents felt strongly that local hiring practices, consistent with the Neechi Principles, would be beneficial for the community and in line with the stated intention of the NCRLF. It was also seen as important that the staff at the front desk be required to attend

cultural awareness training and “some sort of training about poverty.”

As a result of feedback from residents, the DRAW and the North Centennial Recreation and Leisure Facility made it a shared goal to make the facility both a partner and a welcoming space for residents. Socialization and “visiting” was highlighted by residents as a priority in terms of the best uses for the main lobby area. Residents said they wanted “a place to hang out,” “get a cup of coffee and read the paper” and to meet and spend time in a warm safe environment with other residents. To this end the NCRLF installed a big screen television set which can be seen in the lobby, provided newspapers, a small library, access to the internet, seating and most importantly, free coffee. It was also felt that it would be a positive thing to have the Police dropping by the lobby of the NCRLF on a regular basis, and that this would assist in building relationships. In doing these things the NCRLF was contributing to the process of community building in Dufferin.

An overall lack of communication from NCRLF was also reported by residents. So DRAW began taking an active role in advertising and outreach. Updates related to facility programming and free passes were advertised in the *Dufferin Star*, and the DRAW posted program information on their Facebook page. Free passes were given to interested residents and handed out at community events.

While some within Recreation Services were trying hard to encourage resident access by responding to the feedback that the residents provided, City policies were not very giving. Staff turnover at the front desk remains constant, and positions were frequently held by people who did not want to be there and who had no previous experience working with marginalized communities in the inner city or North End. As a result, there were frequent reports of City staff being unaware of the free pass system that was developed specific to the facility, and people wit-

nessing the shaming of youth who did not have the funds to attend.

The Centre had struggled with vandalism in the past. Youth had smashed windows, vandalized the playground area and uprooted the community gardens, on one occasion removing a fruit tree. The presence of adults gathering at the NCRLF increased as a result of providing the new amenities, and this improved informal supervision of the facility. There was a visible reduction in vandalism. It also drew attention to additional challenges related to sexual exploitation and the use and trafficking of drugs, which the facility was unwittingly hosting.

Things progressed well for some time.

But then there was a change in leadership at the City of Winnipeg Recreation Services, and it was determined that the coffee budget for the NCRLF should be cut at the end of the 2014 fiscal year. Many of the regulars at the facility scattered and a drastic reduction in attendance was noted once the coffee was removed. In addition, there was an alarming increase in vandalism and other negative impacts. It was argued by the City that the cost of coffee was extreme and that no other City facility provides this free service. For a while the residents attempted to gather and share financial resources to pay for the coffee, pooling money from their already humble budgets, but this did not work. It took until 2017 and countless formal and informal complaints directed to City Recreation Services to again see the value in providing free coffee, with funding promised for April 2017.

It was important for the DRAW to play an active role in building relationships between the NCRLF and local residents. It was clear that the needs of those living in Dufferin and the broader North End were unique relative to other areas of the city. This presented a learning curve on both sides. In October of 2014 at the DRAW AGM, the NCRLF and City Recreation Services reported back to residents about activities undertaken as a result of residents' recommenda-

tions. This outreach to the neighbourhood by the NCRLF helped in demonstrating the commitment of the Centre to the residents. The NCRLF has the potential to become a community hub for recreation and positive social opportunities for Dufferin. The DRAW has committed to working in partnership with the NCRLF and others to ensure this potential becomes a reality. Perhaps there are lessons here for City services being offered in low-income parts of Winnipeg.

The relationship of low household income and participation in sport is well documented — low-income people have less access (Leskiw and Associates, 2011). Increasing access, particularly for young people, to sports and recreation is an integral part of crime reduction and prevention. To this end, in 2014 funds were secured through the City as a result of the LIVESAFE! Initiative by the North End Community Renewal Corporation to hire a full-time Recreation and Leisure Facilitator for the North End, with a specific emphasis on both the William Whyte and Dufferin communities. The role of the North End Recreation and Leisure Facilitator has been to coordinate, communicate and connect, in order to provide a holistic approach to Leisure and Recreation in the North End with consideration to specific community needs and values.

Initially the DRAW worked with the facilitator, sharing information gathered at the Recreation Consultation in 2013 that had not yet been addressed. The DRAW had looked into the possibility of securing a van to transport residents to and from certain recreation and leisure opportunities. There was a van that the City could donate, but a sustainability plan was required to show capacity to maintain it. The Recreation Facilitator made this a reality in 2016 when a van was secured by NECRC for community use.

Concepts of Safety in Dufferin

Safety within Dufferin is seen in holistic terms by residents, via crime prevention through en-

vironmental design (CPTED), which is a multi-disciplinary method to deter criminal behaviour through urban design. CPTED strategies strive to influence offenders' decisions prior to criminal acts being committed. CPTED principles are used in practical ways related to community beautification, appropriate maintenance of vacant land, the enforcement of City By-Laws and following appropriate protocol when addressing vacant or derelict housing. Safety Audits are conducted by resident volunteers and Green Team Youth each summer. Volunteers and staff walk through the community noting anything undesirable, including poor lighting and spaces that feel unsafe. By-law infractions such as piles of garbage, mattresses and furniture are also incorporated into the safety audits. Everything is reported to

311 but contact may also be made with By-Law enforcement officials directly as needed.

Application of the CPTED principles and resident-driven, complaint-based reporting of infractions are accessible and tangible tools that can increase an overall sense of safety and security within the neighbourhood. Residents are willing to phone the Winnipeg Police with issues related specifically to the sex trade, gang activity, the drug trade, domestic violence and other concerns, but they are generally not satisfied with the responses they receive. While many of these issues are a constant source of concern to Dufferin residents, to fully tackle issues of this nature would involve many dynamic partnerships and a great deal of time. For the most part it remained beyond the scope of the DRAW.

Resurgence of the Bear Clan Patrol

On September 18th, 2014 in an interview with the CBC, James Favel, then Chair of the Dufferin Residents' Association, announced that it was the intention of the DRAW to bring back the Bear Clan Patrol (CBC, 2014). The interview was related to the discovery of Tina Fontaine's body in August 2014 and Drag the Red activity. The Dufferin neighbourhood and DRAW had long been aware of the impact john traffic had on the lives of girls and women in the neighbourhood and broader North End. The notion that some of the johns trolling through the neighbourhood may be linked to crimes related to murdered and missing women and girls was a disturbing and ongoing concern to residents.

The Community Development Worker arranged a meeting with James Favel and two of the founding members of the original Bear Clan Patrol of the 1990s, Mitch Bourbonniere and Larry Morrissette. We determined that before starting, we must seek permission from the original founders. We passed tobacco to them and received their endorsement and support. Both founders were asked if they would be willing to sit as advisors on a Council that would be developed to steer activities going forward. They agreed. The Bear Clan Council would remain separate from

the DRAW Board, and the Community Development Worker along with James Favel would report back to the DRAW on its activities, and DRAW would administer their funding.

The DRAW had been operating a weight loss program called the "North End Losers," with funding provided through *in-motion* Manitoba. The group had residual funds and had started "a walking group" that provided opportunities for residents to get physically active, with the hoped-for additional benefit of providing a safe way for women and girls to walk together and to reduce john traffic because of the increased presence of residents on the street. In February of 2015 the DRAW voted to use the remaining funds from the walking group to purchase the first shirts and jackets with the Bear Clan Patrol patch and logo.

In-line with the original Bear Clan Patrol of the 1990s, which was inspired by the American Indian Movement's *Peace Makers Patrol* based in Minneapolis, the founders of the resurgence believed that the community must organize to keep the peace and to support one another. The Bear Clan Patrol of today began as an Indigenous, community-led and volunteer-driven safety patrol operating out of Winnipeg's North End. As

in the past, the mandate of the Bear Clan Patrol is to support, protect and empower the most vulnerable members of society. This is accomplished non-violently and in harmony with the communities served. The following was written by Larry Morrissette and David Blacksmith, founders of the original Bear Clan Patrol in Winnipeg, and it applies to the Bear Clan Patrol of today:

The goals of the Patrol can be stated as being the restoration and maintenance of harmony within the community by promoting and providing safety, conflict resolution, mobile witnessing, and crime prevention, maintaining a visible presence on the streets, providing an early response to situations, as well as providing rides, escorts and referrals. The Bear Clan does not arrest people, it does not go into people's homes unless invited, or otherwise take action that is more appropriately the responsibility of the police. By working in a supportive and preventative manner, the Bear Clan hopes to avoid the need for the police, the courts and lawyers (Morrissette & Blacksmith, 1993).

The relationship between the Bear Clan and law enforcement has not always been positive. The mobile witnessing carried out by the original Patrol was intended to provide protection to Indigenous people at risk of violence and the violation of their rights by police. The original Bear Clan Patrol assumed the role of "aggressive witnesses" in an attempt to hold police accountable. This arose out of the direct experience of the community. In the past, as now, there are often contradictory views about the Winnipeg Police Service (WPS) expressed by North End residents. Some feel there is a need for increased policing, in the hope that it will reduce crime including street gang activity, the drug trade and "sex tourism." But many also express a fear and distrust and strong dislike of the police. Residents who do try to access the assistance of the WPS often complain that nothing is done and that their concerns aren't taken seriously. Also,

there is a perceived and real risk of retaliation for reporting crimes, and many feel it is safer not to get involved. While the communities expressed the need for increased security, they also did not want the type of policing they had been experiencing (Silver, 2016).

There are examples of Police officers who have been able to engage with the community in a good way, and who recognize the need for the knowledge and expertise of residents when identifying the sources and causes of crime. But such experiences remained the exception. The Police were, for the most part, an awkward presence within the community, even when attempts were made to engage with residents in a positive way. At various outreach initiatives the Police would often cluster together, and appeared to be as alienated from the "community" as the residents were from them. There was a feeling that while it was reasonable to expect the WPS to liaise with the community, they were law enforcement officers, and could not be expected to deliver the services that the community expected of them. The pressure of these unmet expectations was felt on both sides. A former WPS Community Liaison Officer who wishes to remain anonymous shared the following: "we are always being told to go to community meetings but they don't give us much (relevant feedback)." Another Community Liaison Officer who also wishes to remain anonymous agreed, stating that "we are constantly being told to go to meetings with the community, and then the community asks why we aren't on the street."

Former Chief of Police Devon Clunis issued a call for community-based solutions to crime prevention. This call was perfectly timed with the resurgence of the Bear Clan Patrol and the anticipated development of a mutually supportive relationship with the Winnipeg Police Service. The Bear Clan issued statements to city leaders including the WPS, advising of their intention to begin active patrolling. They soon came to be seen as a viable and valuable resource. The Bear

Clan of today has formed a relationship with law enforcement which, thus far, has allowed both groups to carry out their respective responsibilities more effectively. Nevertheless, it wasn't until the spring of 2016 that the WPS formally endorsed the Bear Clan Patrol in a televised live news broadcast. The timing of the resurgence, though unplanned, was ideal. Winnipeg had just been labelled the "most racist city" in Canada by *MacLean's* magazine (Macdonald, 2015), and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was moving across Canada outlining the results and recommendations of their *Report*. It was in the interests of governments at all levels to clear a space for Indigenous people willing to take on a leadership role, with the recognition that this must be carried out in a cooperative rather than oppressive fashion.

These social factors set a very different stage than that experienced in the 1990s, as has the advent of social media and crowd funding. A "go fund me campaign" enabled the Bear Clan to receive donations for operations unburdened by the need to adhere to government requirements so common to other grass roots community-based organizing efforts. Accountability to the community was maintained through daily interaction, and the Patrol's popularity grew rapidly. Starting with a group of twelve including three of the original founders — Larry Morrissette, Mitch Bourbonniere and Chickadee Richard — it grew within months to over 150 volunteers, expanding from street patrols to searches for missing people. With numerous communities outside the North End and even outside Winnipeg requesting assistance, it was determined by the DRAW Board that the Bear Clan had exceeded the administrative capacity of the organization.

Contrary to the vision of the original Bear Clan which did not agree to incorporation, as the result of transitions within the leadership and restructuring, the Bear Clan Patrol did incorporate on June 9th, 2016. This decision was made by both founding member Larry Morrissette and

the newly formed Board of the Bear Clan Patrol Incorporated, made up of five women and led by Elder Chickadee Richard. After incorporation and the increasingly large amounts of money being received by individual donors wanting charitable tax receipts, the Bear Clan Patrol Incorporated began to pursue their own charitable status. This is a process requiring some time. In the interim the Patrol has entered into a formal partnership with the Native Clan Organization, located at 94 McGregor Street in the Dufferin neighbourhood to deliver the *Walk With Me* program. By the new year of 2017, the Bear Clan had an active volunteer base of over 500 people willing to attend missing person's searches and community actions and to participate in foot patrols. Many of the volunteers are Indigenous, but there are also many non-Indigenous people involved in the Patrol who support the concepts and are "prepared to take direction from Aboriginal people" (Morrissette & Blacksmith, 1993)

Changing Politics

Neo-liberal politics in Canada, both provincially and federally, differ considerably from the traditional conservative movement, which while being opposed to high taxes and concerned with fiscal responsibility, was also connected to the welfare of the marginalized in society and was generally in support of social programming. Changes in dominant economic and political philosophy in recent years related to the expansion of capitalism and globalization have often resulted in potential social movements and civil unrest being averted and controlled through the formalization and professionalization of their respective causes. An Executive Director of a well-known and well-respected organization once told me that the purpose of the work we were doing was to pacify people that may otherwise "resist." A funding officer for the Province referred to those in roles like my own as "embedded" within the community, and reporting requirements be-

came progressively more demanding with specific targeted outcomes that in some cases were not always in line with the goals of the community. Community workers such as myself were spending increasing amounts of time trying to find creative ways to reconcile the needs of residents with the project requirements dictated by the Province in order to maintain funding. The considerable increase in non-profit organizations over the course of the last few decades is the direct result of “load shedding” of public responsibility onto the non-profit sector (Defilippis et al, 2010). Many social issues, previously the responsibility of government, came to rely heavily on a volunteer workforce, local initiative and community-based organizations. These are vulnerable.

For the last seven years the DRAW has been accessing funding for a full-time staff person and relying on *NERI Small Grants* to cover the operational costs of their many community initiatives. All funding was provided through the *Provincial Neighbourhood Renewal Fund*, a Neighbourhoods Alive Initiative operated through the Department of Housing and Community Development. This Department has subsequently been removed since the election in 2015 of a provincial Conservative government. It has been replaced with the *Department of Indigenous and Municipal Relations*. The Neighbourhood Renewal Fund, which previously funded the North End Communities of William Whyte, Lord Selkirk Park, St. John’s, North Point Douglas and Dufferin, in addition to many other community-based and local initiatives such as the *North End Revitalization Incorporated Small Grants Fund*, has come under review. According to the government website, the review is to ensure that “funding be straight forward and predictable to ensure better civic, business and stakeholder planning, and provide a measurable return on investment.” Further, it announces that the standard intake that the DRAW and many other community-based organizations rely upon for both their staff positions and their

operational costs will not be occurring, and that all programs will be “paused while review is underway” (Government of Manitoba, 2017).

This news was disappointing to the DRAW. While operating at an increased capacity as a result of the seven years of funding, the DRAW struggled to grasp the consequences this “pause” will have to the many successful initiatives underway within their neighbourhood. These are initiatives that must be sustained in order to have lasting impact.

Changing Role of the Renewal Corporation

In 2012, at the start of the project’s third year, responsibility for the *Community Development Resources for Dufferin* project had shifted from the North End Community Renewal Corporation to the DRAW. Funders began to require that responsibility for the project shift to the Residents’ Association, formally removing NECRC from the equation. When the DRAW questioned this new requirement, we were told by our Funding Officer that it was imperative that the DRAW continue to work towards its own independence as an organization. This change occurred on paper, and funding for the project began being issued to the DRAW directly in April of 2012. Despite this formality, the DRAW office continued to be housed out of the Renewal Corporation on Selkirk Avenue, as an in-kind contribution, and the DRAW transferred all funds provided by the Province for this project directly to NECRC for administration.

Aside from adding additional steps for the DRAW and their book keeping, the provincially imposed transition to “self-sufficiency” seemingly accomplished little. The NECRC continued informally to support the project and in so doing allowed the Residents’ Association to maintain the same full-time staff person for the duration of the project. This was largely due to the fact that by having the NECRC administer the funds through their established payroll, a benefits pack-

age, paid sick-time, vacation and retirement savings were offered to project staff, making the job more attractive overall, allowing for staff retention and consistent project delivery.

The DRAW Board made a good decision to continue operating out of the NECRC office at 509 Selkirk Avenue. However, the shift toward independence had changed the dynamic with the NECRC. The DRAW as an organization was now autonomous, as both the Community Development Worker and the Board assumed increased responsibility for their activities and outcomes. While the Community Development Worker was always responsible for writing all the proposals and the interim and final project reports while the DRAW was under the umbrella of the NECRC, these would be reviewed and submitted by the NECRC and the outcomes of the project would speak to the outcomes of NECRC as an organization. Once the transition occurred the DRAW reported directly to the Province. This meant that none of the five funded Neighbourhood Improvement Zones were under any obligation to report on their activities to the Renewal Corporation.

There are six Neighbourhood Renewal Corporations (NRCs) operating within the City of Winnipeg. The North End Community Renewal Corporation (NECRC) is unique among them. It is expected to represent multiple neighbourhoods, eleven in total with five of them — North Point Douglas, St. John's, William Whyte, Dufferin and Lord Selkirk Park — receiving sustained funding. Outside of the North End, the NRCs operate in a similar fashion to residents' associations, with the Spence Neighbourhood Association and West Broadway Development Corporation representing only one neighbourhood, Daniel McIntyre/St. Matthews Community Association representing two and the Central Neighbourhoods Development Corporation representing three. In addition, these four Renewal Corporations are located within close proximity to one another in the inner city. The Chalmers Neighbourhood

Renewal Corporation is located in Transcona and also serves only one neighbourhood.

The changing political climate within the Province and insecurities related to funding has led the NRCs in Winnipeg to form a coalition in order to speak to the government about the needs of their respective "communities". The distance between NECRC and the Residents' Associations within the North End has been allowed to expand to the point where the activities and work being undertaken by these respective neighbourhoods is, to a great extent, not known to the Renewal Corporation as there is no mandate that they report on it or communicate. As a result there is a broad sentiment on the part of the Residents' Associations that the NECRC is not in a position to speak to the interests of the "community" when petitioning a new government for funding. There is concern that work outside of the NECRC remains unseen politically, and that there is a sub-floor of dynamic grass-roots organizations doing valuable work within North End communities which goes unacknowledged by the new government. This is due largely to the fact that Neighbourhood Renewal Corporations such as the NECRC are considered the "principle" neighbourhood-based, networking and coordinating body through which broadly based neighbourhood renewal efforts are channelled. Yet this is not the case.

The climate amongst community organizations in the North End is in danger of becoming counter-productive. NRCs, the Residents' Associations and other community-based organizations brace themselves for competition for funding that may or may not be made available under the new government. Residents are struggling to understand the implications of the changes taking place. Aboriginal Vision for the North End, which has played an instrumental role in community development in the North End and particularly in the Dufferin neighbourhood, has announced that it is shutting its doors on Selkirk Avenue. The *New Immigrant Settlement Program* has left the North End, and in some cases the Residents' Associa-

tions are taking action towards dissolving their Boards of Directors, preferring to opt out of the stress associated with yet unknown transitions.

The DRAW's relationship with NECRC is unique and has been extraordinarily beneficial and supportive. The DRAW Board jokingly has referred to their dynamic with the Renewal Corporation as "still living in mum and dad's basement." This is not an inappropriate analogy. For the last seven years the DRAW has benefitted from access to multiple program partners within the same building and along Selkirk Avenue where the office is located. In addition they have received in-kind office space, which will remain ongoing as the arrangement is not funding dependent. The NECRC was also instrumental in providing support to the Bear Clan once it had exceeded the capacity of the DRAW in 2014. The NECRC provided small grants funding and in-kind office space to the street patrol. James Favel, the former Chair of the DRAW and the current leader of the Bear Clan Patrol stated the following when asked about the relationship between the Bear Clan and the NECRC:

It allowed me to experience a completely new industry, everyone was so supportive. I had no understanding of non-profits. NECRC helped me cut my teeth. You (the Community Development Worker) gave me direction through the DRAW, and NECRC provided me with a base to build on. I did not understand the line between Dufferin and NECRC until I got involved. NECRC was providing us with the warmth we needed to grow contacts and our infrastructure but DRAW, in the community, is where I learned. It is a good analogy, "Mum and Dad's house." When I came I was like a kid, I didn't know how to behave, I have had to learn how to speak the language and now we move on to where we are independent and able to function on our own. This has to be maintained for others. We were given opportunity and that opportunity needs to be there for others in the future (Favel, 2017).

I believe that the grass roots organizations and the NRCs are capable of having dynamic, mutually supportive relationships, as they have demonstrated in the past. For the DRAW, the NECRC provided a space from which to formalize broad community activity, while the Residents' Association was able to learn through trial and error, while being supported.

While the success of the Bear Clan is strong evidence of the resident capacity present within Dufferin, it is only one of its many successes. Over ten residents who have engaged in community-based initiatives as a result of participating in the DRAW have gone on to complete their education, and found meaningful paid jobs, many within the North End. Others have accomplished goals related to custodial rights of their children and obtaining appropriate housing. There is an increased sense of accomplishment and pride among residents, indicating that a new standard has been achieved for their community. There is now an expectation that this standard will be maintained and that their collective knowledge and experience has value.

The current insecurity related to funding is deflating. At the time of writing the DRAW Board is preparing to lose funding for their full-time staff person, and for their general operations. Despite this they will remain a functioning Residents' Association, even though not all of their many community-building activities can be maintained without additional support. Residents remain hopeful that new opportunities may be provided. The networks that now exist amongst residents and with other stakeholders such as By-Law Enforcement Services, the Winnipeg Police Service, the City of Winnipeg Recreation Services and partnerships with the Renewal Corporation, CBOs and the Bear Clan Patrol are critical to maintaining a progressively evolving standard of living within Dufferin. With ongoing support these networks can maintain the progress that has been made.

References

- Bridgman Collaborative Architecture Ltd. (2012). *Dufferin Neighbourhood Housing Plan*. Winnipeg: Dufferin Residents' Association of Winnipeg Inc.
- Canadian CED Network. (2017, February 10). *Neechi Principles*. Retrieved from Canadian CED Network: <https://ccednet-rcdec.ca/en/toolbox/neechi-principles>
- CBC News,. (2014, September 18). *CBC News*. Retrieved from CBC News Manitoba: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/winnipeg-community-vows-to-protect-its-young-women-1.2770395>
- City of Winnipeg. (2011). *Complete Communities: Winnipeg's Guide to Land Use and Development*. Winnipeg: City of Winnipeg.
- City of Winnipeg. (2017, February 9). *2011 National Household Survey Data – Dufferin*. Retrieved from City of Winnipeg: <http://winnipeg.ca/Census/2011/Community%20Areas/Point%20Douglas%20Neighbourhood%20Cluster/Neighbourhoods/Point%20Douglas%20South/Point%20Douglas%20South%20Neighbourhoods/Dufferin/Dufferin.pdf>
- Comack, E., Deane, L., Morrissette, L., Silver, J. (2013). *Indians Wear Red: Colonialism, Resistance and Aboriginal Street Gangs*. Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.
- DeFilippis, J and Fischer, R. (2010). *Contesting Community: The Limits and Potential of Local Organizing*. Rutgers University Press.
- DRAW. (2012, October). Board By_laws for the Dufferin Residents' Association of Winnipeg Inc. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada: Dufferin Residents' Association of Winnipeg Inc.
- Epps, D. (2016). *William Whyte/Dufferin Communities Back Lane Numbering Initiative Report*. Winnipeg: North End Community Renewal Corporation.
- Favel, J. (2017, April 11). (J. Leigh, Interviewer)
- Government of Manitoba. (2017, February 9). *Neighbourhoods Alive!* Retrieved from Indigenous and Municipality Relations: <http://www.gov.mb.ca/ia/bldgcomm/neighbourhood-salive/index.html>
- Leskiw and Associates. (2011). *21 Block Area of the North End of Winnipeg: Asset Mapping, Critical Analysis Report and Recommendations*

- tions. Winnipeg: Intergovernmental Strategic Aboriginal Alignment (ISAAs).
- Lezubski, D. and Silver, J. (2015). "High and Rising Revisited: Changes in Poverty and Related Inner City Characteristics, 1996–2011." In Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-Manitoba. *State of the Inner City Report 2015*. Winnipeg: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-Manitoba.
- Macdonald, N. (2015, January 22). *Welcome to Winnipeg, where Canada's racism problem is at its worst*. Retrieved from MacLean's: <http://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/welcome-to-winnipeg-where-canadas-racism-problem-is-at-its-worst/>
- MAID. (2017, February 9). *Core Area Initiative (Winnipeg, Manitoba) – Mennonite Archival Image Database*. Retrieved from MAID: <https://archives.mhsc.ca/core-area-initiative>
- Moar, S. (2017, March 27th). (J. Leigh, Interviewer)
- Morrisette, L.M. and Blacksmith, D. (1993). Winnipeg's Bear Clan Patrol. *Canadian Dimension* May/June Issue 3. p24-3p.
- Province of Manitoba. (2015, March). *Neighbourhoods Alive*. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.
- Silver, J. (2016). *Solving Poverty: Innovative Strategies from Winnipeg's Inner City*. Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.
- Social Planning Council of Winnipeg. (2014). *Measuring Poverty: Poverty Lines in Winnipeg*. Winnipeg: Social Planning Council of Winnipeg.
- Winnipeg Committee for Sport Policy. (2015). *Winnipeg Committee Sport Policy: Action Plan*. Winnipeg: City of Winnipeg.



Unit 205 – 765 Main St., Winnipeg, MB R2W 3N5
TEL 204-927-3200 FAX 204-927-3201
EMAIL ccpamb@policyalternatives.ca
WEBSITE www.policyalternatives.ca