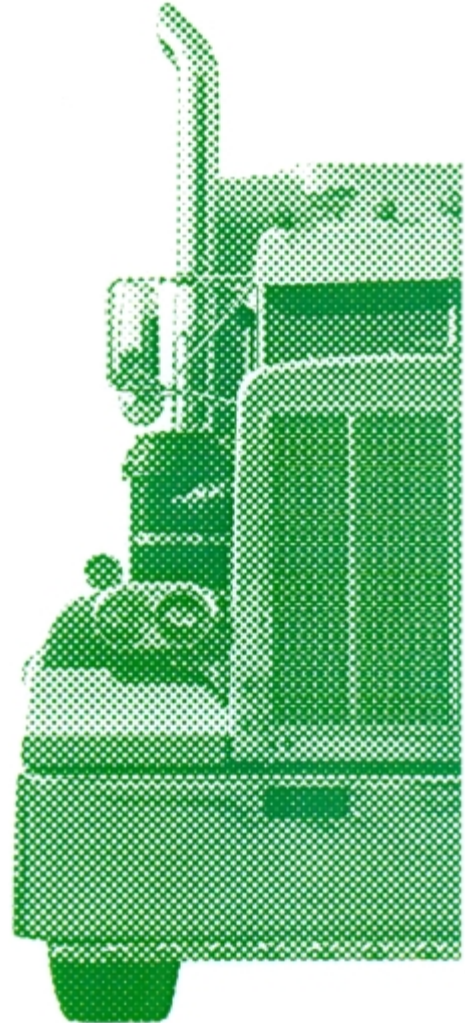


State of the Inner City 2010

**WE'RE IN IT
FOR THE
LONG
HAUL**



CCPA
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for POLICY ALTERNATIVES
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State of the Inner City Report 2010

Introduction: We're in it for the long haul

This is our 6th *State of the Inner City Report*.

Deciding the focus of this year's *State of the Inner City Report* unfolded as it does every year. We began the process by meeting with representatives from various organizations working in the inner city. Some of our partners have participated in the *State of the Inner City* project since we began six years ago. Others are new to the process this year. What has been consistent about our community partners is that they are deeply committed to improving the communities that they live and work in.

In spite of the many challenges that persist, each day they see the positive impact of their work. They also know, as described by Lucille Bruce, Executive Director of Native Women's Transition Centre, that "there is a long way yet to go". But, says Sister Maria Vigna of Rossbrook House, they are "*in it for the long haul*".

After a few initial meetings with our community partners in the early months of 2010, we began to see three priorities emerge. One priority that has been a theme in each of our *State of the Inner City Reports* is housing. While there is agreement that housing continues to be a top priority in the inner city, specific housing concerns have emerged in the southern part of the inner city. We agreed to focus on these concerns this year. In the Spence, Daniel McIntyre and West Broadway neighbourhoods, rising rental rates and the shrinking supply of affordable rental units as a result of rent-to-condominium conversion is a growing concern. The neighbourhood renewal organizations representing these communities wanted to explore this issue further in the 2010 *State of the Inner City Report*. While the con-

version of rental housing to condominiums and the displacement of renters due to rising rents has been less severe in the North End, it has had an impact as displaced renters move further north where the supply is also not keeping up to demand. It was agreed that this is an important issue and CCPA Manitoba hired University of Winnipeg student and Spence neighbourhood resident Ellen Smirl to work with Brian Grant of West Broadway Neighbourhood Development Corporation, Don Miedema of Spence Neighbourhood Association, Glen Koryluk of Daniel McIntyre/St. Matthews Neighbourhood Association, Clark Brownlee of the Right to Housing Coalition, and Gord McIntyre of the Winnipeg Rental Network. Ellen gathered and analyzed data that help us better understand the housing challenges in these neighbourhoods and what might be done to respond. A follow up study is now underway that will include case examples of individuals who have been affected by condo-conversion and rising rents in these neighbourhoods.

A second priority came from our community partners who are also part of the coalition Community Led Organizations United Together (CLOUT). Members include Diane Roussin of Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre, Josie Hill of Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre, Dilly Knol of Andrews Street Family Centre, Kathy Mallett, Community Education Development Association, Tammy Christensen, Ndinawemaaganag Endaawad, Sister Maria Vigna, Rossbrook House, Lucille Bruce of Native Women's Transition Centre, Heather Leahman of North End Women's Centre, Joelyn Frenette at Wabung Abinoonjiiag and Sharon Taylor of Wolseley Family Place. CLOUT was taken by surprise in early 2010

when the City of Winnipeg passed a motion to provide a grant in the amount of \$225,000 per year for 15 years in support of the Youth for Christ Centre of Excellence. Two of CLOUT's members vehemently opposed the process that led to the decision (Christensen & Roussin, 2010) but by the time they heard about the project, the political decision had already been made. Nonetheless they voiced their concerns to City Council with CLOUT members by their side.

This experience inspired them to look at ways of informing the broader public about the work that they do and the collaborative model that they have built. It was serendipitous that Carole O'Brien, a University of Manitoba city planning student expressed an interest in working with the CCPA to fulfill her internship requirement. It so happened that Carole is a filmmaker and was keen to work with CLOUT in the making of a video, and supporting research paper, to showcase the philosophy that guides the work of CLOUT.

A third issue came forward as a result of recent findings published by the Province of Manitoba showing that Aboriginal children are far behind non-Aboriginal children when they begin school. Many children never catch up, putting them at greater risk of dropping out of school altogether. CCPA summer intern Brigitte DePape and CCPA researcher Lynne Fernandez worked with FACT Parent Child Coalition members Kathy Mallett, Bobbette Shoffner, Gerrie Prymak and Carolyn Young to further explore early learning challenges for Aboriginal children and the more culturally-appropriate, community-based models that are proving to have results.

While all three chapters are unique, they share at least two things in common.

One, each of the issues identified evolved from collaborative work being done at the community level.

Neighbourhoods like Spence, Daniel McIntyre

and West Broadway are identifying common challenges and potential solutions through ongoing dialogue and collaboration with each other, as well as with the people who live and work in their neighbourhoods.

Members of the FACT Coalition, parents and early childhood educators are concerned about the school readiness of their children and they are developing their own ideas about what works best. They caution government about fully embracing the Triple P parenting approach without consideration of the specific needs of Aboriginal children. They want governments to be more open to culturally relevant practices.

The members of CLOUT have long known that their strength comes from working together. As described in "Together We Have CLOUT", CLOUT members have developed long-lasting relationships built on mutual respect and collaboration as they work toward their common goals.

A second theme is the reality that the journey to economic and social justice for people living in inner-city communities is long and slow. While outsiders are bombarded with media images of crime and despair, inner-city organizations know that many positive gains have been made. They also know that the inner city is extremely vulnerable and outsiders continue to lack understanding about the complexity of issues and how best to address them. The answers, they say, are in the community, and the best way policy makers can help is to listen to the community and support them on the road to economic and social transformation.

Whether providing services for families, developing relevant early learning education and care for children, or working to improve housing, community organizations have made it clear that they are "in it for the long haul".

They want governments and other funders to show that they are too.

Together we have **Clout**

Carole O'Brien with CLOUT

In keeping with our community-based participatory research approach, the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives–Manitoba (CCPA-MB) has taken the lead from our community partners, Community Led Organization United Together (CLOUT) to produce a video showcasing the uncommon working methods of this inner-city coalition. The video explores the dynamics of the women's relationships; how they define leadership; how they measure success; and finally, how they perceive their influence and place in the wider community. By observing their activities and listening to them discuss their work as individuals and as a group, we become privy to a unique philosophy and approach to social justice. This exercise originated with the desire of the women of CLOUT to share the lessons they learned through years, and in some cases decades, of community work. Building from recent planning theories of 'The Just City', that informed the making of the video, this paper

shows how community organizations and policy makers can collaborate to create the necessary conditions that produce spaces and places of social justice.

"You don't build a community by looking at what's wrong with it... You know it's like a small community the inner city. It's like small town in a way. We all know each other we all hopefully try to watch out for one another as much as we can... Get to know us and get to know the people we are working with. And be prepared to look at the world differently and be prepared to build relationships with people. Because I think if the leadership outside the community has a real relationship with the people they wouldn't be able to turn their backs or be able to not support the kinds of things the community needs."

—Dr. Josie Hill, Co-Executive Director Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre and founding member of CLOUT

Anybody who works in social services knows the work is difficult and unyielding. Days are busy, and so many demands are put on you that you easily lose sight of yourself and your own needs. Executive directors of community-based organizations are especially at risk of finding themselves isolated from the people they serve and from the community they support. But nine executive directors of community-based organizations in Winnipeg's inner city have found a way to break that isolation and work together more effectively for the betterment of their communities. They belong to a unique coalition called CLOUT—Community Led Organizations United Together.

The nine organizations are Andrews Street Family Centre, Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre, Community Education Development Association, Native Women's Transition Centre, North End Women's Centre, Ndinawemaaganag Endaawad, Rossbrook House, Wolseley Family Place and Wabung Abinoonjiiag. While these community-based organizations are all driven by the same philosophy of building supportive relationships, facilitating growth, respecting diversity and building capacity, they each have their own specialty. Some are drop-in centres for families, some serve as resources to help mothers and children and some offer shelter, culture, recreation and counseling programs for youth. Others provide safe homes for women or youth, and others provide educational services to promote the development of skills. Each organization has clout in its own community and is not only valued for what they do but for their creativity and innovation. Being members of CLOUT, however, allows these organizations to work at a different level. It allows them to see beyond the need of their own organizations and to see the needs of the community as a whole. With the big picture in mind, they can pool their resources and prevent overlap in program delivery, and therefore, do more for their neighbourhoods. Drawing on each

other for support, they are able to educate policy makers and the broader public, and advocate politically for their community. Working collectively gives them strength.

Of the nine women directors of CLOUT, seven self-identify as Indigenous. Not surprisingly, CLOUT's approach to community work is influenced by Indigenous collective-learning philosophies—a philosophy based on the strong belief that our stories define us. CLOUT members understand that a person's own story can say much more than what is written in a file or medical history. They also know that real transformation only begins when we are able to speak our personal truth. In an article on policy and health, Toba Bryant (2010) talks about different ways of knowing; learning from what is written, learning from analysis, and learning from "lived experience acquired through dialogue and information sharing among members of a community" (p.214); this is CLOUT's forte, they are a community of organizations that listens to people. Their aim is to empower people by giving them that space, a voice, and in doing so, build capacity in their neighbourhoods.

"My greatest lesson is that the community will be there for you if you are there for them.

That's a big lesson I learned on my way, for sure. And with CLOUT I learned that I am not alone. And if I really need help or if there is something I really feel strongly about, there's other people I can talk to, and see if they feel the same way. I'm not alone also because the community is backing me up. They are voters. It's not just me. Right? It's a community."

—Dilly Knoll, Executive Director Andrews Street Family Centre and founding member of CLOUT

CLOUT's approach to capacity building is as grassroots as it gets. And as they listen to people's stories, it is also with an ear for stories that reveal gaps in existing services. When a gap is identified, the solution is almost always

found with input from the community. To be sure, this is an informal approach to managing organizations, but it is also how CLOUT members ensure the community participates in its own growth. When new issues are identified by community residents, CLOUT members meet to decide which organization should be responsible for taking the lead or for delivering the new program, if one is needed. Sometimes the decision is evident and at other times a given organization needs to be persuaded to take it on; but it is always with the knowledge that they will not be left alone, that the other 8 organizations will be supporting them, with time and resources. It is as members of CLOUT that things really get done.

This process-based and flexible approach to program delivery is what allows CLOUT to address issues as they come up and to provide an integrated delivery of services based on a continuum of needs; as a child, or woman, or family outgrows one organization, there is another waiting to care for their new needs. In this way, a connection always exists between where they were and where they are going; it also prevents people from falling through the cracks. Foremost, it builds capacity in the community. To be sure, this is a complex and living approach to programming and service delivery. But complex problems require complex solutions and CLOUT's approach to solving the community's complex problems of systemic poverty, lack of housing, poor health and low educational outcomes ensures that everyone remains grounded in the community, especially CLOUT members.

"I came out of school thinking I had to know it all. And I think maybe I did, or thought I did. And then you get to working in the community and you realize you don't have to know it all. In fact families know. They know best. You're not the expert. They are the expert. So that's my biggest learning, you got

to listen to families. They know what they need. You've got to let them make the decision, and you're just there to help. Just there to support and walk with people... So when you're connected with the community and the community is telling you what they need, you have no choice but to attain what the community is asking you to do."

—Diane Roussin, Co-Executive Director
Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre, CLOUT member

That CLOUT even exists is due to a particular set of political circumstances. In 1999 the new NDP Manitoba government took a bold step to abide by the 1991 Report of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry (AJI) report to transfer Aboriginal Child and Welfare services to the Aboriginal community (MacKinnon 2010). The devolution process created many challenges for community-based organizations working with children and families. While supporting the idea of the AJI Child Welfare Initiative, they were concerned that the critical role of community-based organizations was excluded from the process. This concern brought together a handful of passionate and dedicated women and men intent on ensuring that their perspective be heard. As they worked to solve a difficult situation, they learned that they all had a similar approach. Realizing they could do more by continuing to work together, they formed a partnership. In November 2003, CLOUT was launched as a coalition of community-based organizations. Its vision was to mitigate the tremendous changes taking place in Manitoba's child welfare system and to support the continued growth and development of Aboriginal children and families (CLOUT 2008).

"I know the families here really want a lot for their children, a decent education, decent housing, all this those things. And I hope that CLOUT, we are all working towards that... I think people have to have a vested interest in

their development. Everybody here wants their kids to be successful, to be happy, to accomplish things. And I'm just a little tool in that box to help. So that's where I'm coming from. We also have a joint responsibility to address injustice issues when we see it. We also have the responsibility to address the racism in society. And to confront that and to become very good allies with that."

—Kathy Mallett, Executive director CEDA and founding member of CLOUT

Because the competitive funding model did not fit their philosophies of social justice, they also decided to not compete with each other. This choice to work collaboratively was based on a growing understanding, rooted in their daily struggles, that improvements to social services can only be gained by working together. They also found that together they could better resist diminishing government funding and the unrealistic reporting demands for efficiency and effectiveness placed on them. Working from the Indigenous tradition centred on the 'circle' also served to reduce their isolation by creating an 'extended family' of like-minded organizations, and much needed support, allowing CLOUT members to do a lot with very little.

In his book, *Empowerment*, planning theorist John Friedmann (1992) describes an 'alternative development' model as one that "is centered on people and their environments rather than profit" (p.31). This description fits the work CLOUT is doing; they empower people "through their involvement in socially and politically relevant actions" (p.33). And as individual capacities build, and as their ability to speak for themselves develops, so does the community, and "what begins as a protest movement... [is] transformed into an instance of self-management [that] becomes part of the fabric of a new society" (p. 24). Over the years, CLOUT has lost track of the number of people they have helped. Proof of the effective-

ness of their alternative approach, however, is seen in the rising number of people who now work in their organizations. And now, as they share their stories of success with the people who are where they used to be in their lives, the fabric of the inner-city community grows stronger.

"I heard a speaker once. I think it was Jon Sobrino. He said in order for us to achieve a just world, we need teachers for justice, plumbers for justice, architects for justice, dentists for justice. I think in that kind of model we need governments for justice, we need leaders for justice, we need police for justice... We need to come to this table to say 'You know we are not going to do it without each other'. Otherwise we don't have a hope. And I think that can happen. I'm hopeful. But I'll tell you, it doesn't happen as fast as I would like. I think we are in it for the long haul. And that's what's so amazing about groups that work together. Yeah, we have outcomes and we have to ensure they happen. But even if they don't happen, we're still there. And that's critical because it's family right? You don't bail out when things don't go the way you want them to."

—Sister Maria Vigna, Co-Executive Director Rossbrook House, CLOUT member

CLOUT is not a typical coalition. Membership is by invitation, and is based on shared philosophies and approaches to social development, as well as natural long-standing working relationships. CLOUT formed without political expectation — or, one could argue, in the funding vacuum created by the current neo-liberal political philosophy — which aims to maximize the role of the market and minimize the role of government, thus weakening its ability to provide services to citizens. In spite of many barriers, the CLOUT women simply do what needs to be done. And because the coalition was created by them, they can remain close to the ground and more respon-

sive to the real needs of the community. Their visibility, and presence of mind and spirit, has earned them the trust of their communities, as individuals and as a collective. Members of CLOUT report they have yet to see another model like theirs in other communities where they travel for work.

"I've done conferences, and I've done presentations and almost every time I do it's kind of funny. People from across Canada will come up to me afterwards and say 'That's just so simple'. 'That's so common sense'. 'How come we don't operate this way?' Everywhere. And I don't have an answer for that. Because to me it is so common sense right?... I think it is how things should be done. If you want people to succeed, if you want issues dealt with, you have to deal with people who live there, who live it!"

—Tammy Christensen, Executive Director
Ndinawemaaganag Endaawad,
CLOUT member

CLOUT members meet as regularly as they can; but busy schedules and lack of funding to hire a coordinator prevents them from doing more. Together, they offer expertise and experience, and in the indigenous spirit, they continue to learn from each other; the most crucial lesson being how to maintain trust in their relationships, with each other. As their individual capacities grew, so did the group's. While some of its individual members have come and gone over the years, CLOUT's 'can do' attitude remains. So does its original tenet of providing quality empowering opportunities for all people, regardless of race, who come through their doors. Currently CLOUT is an all women group, as there are presently no male directors of the nine member organizations. It is felt the group has reached its potential and the level of trust is high. The remaining founding members will however be retiring in the next 5 to 10 years and foremost on their agendas is the creation of an effective

succession plan. The need and the ability to successfully transfer knowledge and experience in training the younger generation to understand the nature of good governance is on everyone's mind.

"I think we need to begin to capture the CLOUT model as a best practice. We need to do some research to capture the positive outcomes that we are having and the work that we do with our families. We need to begin to role model what we do. And also to market some of what we do. To talk about it to other groups in the city and the groups outside of the city, so that they can learn how we do things and they can learn about the approaches that work for us. So I think CLOUT could do a little bit more of promoting itself.... Perhaps we need to focus more on policy change and lobbying for different ways of looking at issues and needs and priorities. But we've done some good work on it, probably not nearly enough. We still have a long way to go. Partly I think it's because there are so many gaps in needs and issues still in existence in our community. So we are really busy doing that day to day frontline work still. And that makes it difficult for us to do the other side of things."

—Lucille Bruce, Executive Director Native Women's Transition Centre and founding member of CLOUT

"Good governance requires leadership to articulate a common vision for the polity, build a strong consensus around this vision and mobilize the resources necessary for carrying it out" (Friedmann 2002, p.27). CLOUT's work to create spaces for the creation of an alternative, kinder 'place' that provides real opportunities for residents has earned them the unwavering respect and support of the community. This leadership vision for the polity has been shifting, however, towards a growing ambition to influence policy makers. This desire to be more influential stems from the growing number of political decisions that

negatively affect the residents of the inner city, but are taken without taking the time to consult with them or account for their real desires or needs. An example is a recent decision by the city of Winnipeg to donate over \$200,000 per year for 15 years in support of the construction of a faith-based inner city recreation complex, called Youth for Christ, whose stated goal is to proselytize Aboriginal youth who live in the area. Two of CLOUT's members vehemently opposed the process that led to the decision (Christensen & Roussin, 2010) but by the time they heard about the project, the political decision had already been made. Nonetheless they voiced their concerns to City Council with CLOUT members by their side.

"To me leadership is about having a clear vision. It is recognizing that you are not the expert and that everyone has something to offer. It is about not being above or below people. We can always learn something from everyone. Everyone has value and something to offer the world... So my influence is probably limited. But I may be able to assist people to know their rights and responsibilities and to provide people with as much information as possible so that they can make an informed choice. It is their decision what they do with the information. It is not mine to judge or make their decision for them. Leadership is about providing support and assisting in making things happen. It is walking with people where they are at."

—Sharon Taylor, Executive Director
Wolseley Family Place and founding
member of CLOUT

Returning to Friedmann's alternative development model, which he describes as beginning locally, with the "long-term aim to transform the whole society through political action" (p.31), it is hardly surprising that CLOUT's vision of itself is changing. CLOUT knows that transformative change will require significant

policy change. They also feel they have the wisdom and critical knowledge to share in this regard. Their concern is the lack of consultation by politicians who know of the coalition's work and its importance to North End residents. The Youth for Christ incident became a clear call to all the women that this gap in political process needed to be filled. The need to raise their 'clout' within the larger community was identified, and in CLOUT style, they formed a circle to decide what to do. A solution was found in collaboration with the CCPA, to tell the CLOUT story in a video.

"This video will allow us to witness effective leadership and to see what is possible when people and organizations work together in strength and in trust. Through CLOUT's eyes we will get a glimpse of what a just city can look like".

—Shauna MacKinnon, Director, Canadian
Centre for Policy Alternatives—Manitoba

A planning analysis of The Just City—with CLOUT as our guide

In *The Prospect of Cities*, John Friedmann (2002) asks why the city of everyday life never becomes part of the 'official' story (p.xxiv), or why some parts of the city remain invisible to planners and policy makers, while other 'official' areas receive their attention. CLOUT members have been asking similar questions. The city of everyday life is the city they encounter daily, and despite the visibility of their work in their neighbourhoods, these same neighbourhoods remain invisible to the larger community. Media stories about inner city and north end communities focus almost exclusively on crime, reinforcing its negative aspects to non-residents, who then shut their eyes and their minds.

Friedmann explains that "cities root citizens in their institutions and traditions" (p. 35). This concept is useful, as it suggests that we look at Canada's colonial history and institutions.

Planning is one of those damaging colonial institutions. Leonie Sandercock (2002) states: “planning is used by elites to maintain and support the power of dominant classes and cultures” (p.128). In Canada, the dominant class maintains its privileged position through its institutions and these actions effectively entrench systemic poverty in places like Winnipeg’s North End. This poverty further marginalizes and disengages people from civic life because “to be economically excluded is to be politically excluded” (Friedmann 1992, p.20), and to be politically excluded is to be invisible. In Canada, invisibility is a state particular to the colonized; rendered landless and placeless, either on reserve or in the city, Indigenous peoples have become forgotten by the mainstream. The unfairness of this situation is a given, but the damage really extends to all of society. Whether we are aware of it or not, all Canadians are experiencing the damaging effects of colonial policies that gave us the Indian Act and residential schools.

The economic restructuring of the past 30 years towards neo-liberalism is another impediment to the socially just world CLOUT aspires to, because as Friedman notes, free markets are not “free”; they are about creating space for wealth and power, not creating space for people (p. xv). There is a lot of resistance by politicians to developing policies that may negatively affect those who wield economic power, a mindset that works against what CLOUT is doing. Writing about policy and health, Toba Bryant (2010) says that the issue is an ‘us versus them’ way of thinking that leads politicians, directly or indirectly influenced by neo-liberalism, to think that developing public policy only occurs through conflict (p. 212). Bryant also cautions us about the language that is used—or misused—during public-policy development: “even if an issue is recognized, it may not be seen as a public problem, but rather something that individuals can solve on their own” (p.209).

Thinking that individuals are responsible for all their economic and social problems is how politicians justify cuts to public funding. “These policies have exacerbated the disadvantages suffered by low-income people” says planning theorist Susan Fainstein (p.3). In Winnipeg, these disadvantages are evident in the political neglect of the North End and is corroborated by Bryant’s research: “there is little in the strategy that addresses structural inequalities that affect Aboriginal populations and other households living in poverty” (p.217). CLOUT deals with the consequences of these narrow political ideals and policies on a daily basis.

Another political consequence of neo-liberal ideology is the requirement to prove effectiveness by quantifying outcomes that are simply not quantifiable. This creates an intense bureaucratic model of reporting and CLOUT has real concerns about how their time and energy is increasingly consumed with justifying their existence to funders rather than doing what they do best. They know that inner-city residents know how to solve their own problems, but the neo-liberal framework provides few resources to enact the solutions they envision with the participation of the community. And since mainstream structures are inadequate for their needs, CLOUT members have also devised flexible and unconventional solutions, in a complex webbing of support with other organizations, whose first objective is to listen and be there for the community. In other words, they are leaders, not followers.

There is no denial that colonization is a complex problem requiring equally complex solutions. Progressive non-indigenous planners and community practitioners will need to become allies to groups like CLOUT, in a process “whose long term objectives is to rebalance the structure of power in society...” (Friedmann 1992, p.31). CLOUT is doing its part to rebalance the existing power struc-

tures in society by challenging their funders on their reporting expectations. They insist on keeping their energies focused on the people they serve because “their intuition tells them that there is little to be gained through a traditional politics of representation” (Friedmann 2002, p.70).

This neo-liberal governance model shapes the milieu in which CLOUT operates. It is characterized by an absence of strong governmental funding support and restrictive policies. But working collectively, member organizations have created a flexible model of services delivery. Despite fewer and fewer resources, they continue to provide needed supports, whether they be emotional, physical or educational. But this situation is not sustainable. Providing ongoing and core resources to grassroots organizations like CLOUT is essential. “Real community development requires real government aid” (Fernandez, 2010), especially when social justice policies are weak. Friedman (1992) for his part adds: “alternative development require a strong state to implement its policies”; not any state, but “a state that rests on the strong support of an inclusive democracy in which the powers to manage problems that are best handled locally have been devolved to local units of governance and to the people themselves, organizers in their own communities” (p.35), organizers like CLOUT.

Organizations like CLOUT would not be necessary in a socially just world. In its absence, they play a critical role in pressing for social justice and political change. Political change, however, is not simple, and when the policies that need changing have a long history, it is even harder. As Jim Silver (2006) notes, the problems in the inner-city “. . . have deep roots that go far back in time, and thus cannot be solved quickly. It must, of necessity, be a long term solution” (p.65). For progressive planners and other allies who want to

work with community-based organizations toward solutions to deeply rooted problems, change will be slow. However, much can and is being done. Toba Bryant, for instance, suggests an ongoing collaboration, including mentorship, between ‘citizen activists’ and professional policy analysts (p.215). She explains how several years of inner-city and poverty related research has allowed CCPA and its many community partners to inform policy development. For example, the Province of Manitoba’s recent commitment to build a number of social housing units is the result of community based research and advocacy for social housing. These ‘politicized’ collaborations have been instrumental, and they will continue to require a willingness on the part of CBOs, researchers, planners and policymakers to consult on a regular and ongoing permanent basis.

CLOUT members have expressed a desire to be more influential politically. Referring again to Friedmann’s alternative development model, their reasoning for wanting to raise their clout belongs to a natural process. He says: “giving full voice to the disempowered sectors of the population tends to follow a certain sequence. Political empowerment would seem to require a prior process of social empowerment through which effective participation in politics becomes possible” (p.34). In other words, political power is “the power of the voice and of collective action” (1992, p.33). This understanding of power certainly fits with CLOUT’s progression and mandate. There is, however, a long road ahead before the voices of those living and working in the inner city are heard by all. For his part, David Harvey (2009) notes: “the right to the city is not a gift. It has to be seized by political movement” (p.49). Friedmann adds: “Ultimately gains in social power must be translated into effective political power” (1992, p.34). In this light, the challenge for CLOUT is to find a balance

between what they do best—programs and services for women, children and families—with the equally critical role as advocates for policy change toward greater social justice.

Community practitioners, planners and policy makers can learn a lot from the CLOUT model of service delivery—a model based on the idea that power and strength come from ‘working together’. This collective approach is in direct contrast to the competitive individualistic characteristics of neo-liberalism. It could also be said that the CLOUT model works to reverse the damaging effects of colonialism.

CLOUT members effectively produce spaces and places of social justice in their neighbourhoods. It is interesting to note an irony about the neo-liberal milieu that, over the years, may have allowed CLOUT to be more responsive to their community: the neo-liberal push for decentralization, says Harvey (2009) has created a political vacuum that “has opened a space for all sorts of local initiatives to flourish” (p.48), initiatives like CLOUT. While this does not justify the inequality that neo-liberalism and colonialism create, it does make room for community-based solutions to emerge, and for the critical need for hope.

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Early Childhood Education & Care in the Inner City and Beyond: Addressing the Inequalities Facing Winnipeg's Aboriginal Children

**Brigette DePape and Lynne Fernandez with Kathy Mallett,
Bobbette Shoffner, Gerrie Prymak and Carolyn Young**

There are pockets of children in Manitoba who face great obstacles in obtaining a decent education. Newcomer and refugee families, for example, struggle with the education system and are less able to help their children than if they were in their home countries (Ghoryashi, 2010: 179). Many newcomers also struggle with unemployment, underemployment and low incomes (Ghoryashi, 2010), increasing the likelihood that they will not have access to the Early Childhood Education and Care that prepares children for school. And given the higher than average rates of poverty throughout Manitoba (MacKinnon, 2010: 68), and the relation between low-educational attainment and poverty, we have reason to be concerned about how many Manitoba children will fare in the school system.

These concerns apply to many Aboriginal chil-

dren whose needs may differ from non-Aboriginal children. Research by Healthy Child Manitoba (HCM) (2006b) found that far fewer Aboriginal children are prepared for school than are non-Aboriginal children. This finding has dire consequences for Aboriginal children who are more likely to struggle throughout their schooling and are at greater risk of dropping out completely. The lack of preparation of these children to do well in school has life-long implications. In the words of Canada's Chief Public Health Officer:

Every dollar spent in ensuring a healthy start in the early years will reduce the long-term social costs associated with health care, addictions, crime, unemployment and welfare. As well, it will ensure Canadian children become better educated, well adjusted and more productive adults. (Butler-Jones, 2008: 69).

This paper moves forward from HCM findings to examine the extent of the problem in Winnipeg's inner city and Gilbert Park. It examines why Aboriginal children often get off to a slower start and considers what needs to be done to bring them to the same state of preparedness as non-Aboriginal children.

The study begins by evaluating Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) for Aboriginal, inner-city children age one to five. It also considers the ECEC program at the Gilbert Park housing community which, although not physically located in the inner city, experiences many of the same challenges found in the inner city. Programs are evaluated by asking if they adequately prepare children for school and if, in doing so, they meet the needs of children's families and reinforce culturally appropriate parenting skills. We also ask whether or not programs teach children about their Aboriginal heritage and provide positive Ab-

original role models. In 1996 the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples emphasized how important it was to provide culturally-appropriate ECEC to Aboriginal children (Ferguson, 2010: 104).

The study will explain why some ECEC in the inner city falls short, and will argue that those programs that are successful do not receive enough support. Finally the report will make policy recommendations to improve inner-city ECEC programs.

In Section 1, we look at what children need to be ready for school and why Aboriginal children lack those needs. Section 2 surveys the ECEC programs available to Aboriginal children in Winnipeg's inner city and Gilbert Park. Section 3 examines the challenges facing ECEC in Manitoba generally and specifically in the inner city. Section 4 offers policy prescriptions to improve ECEC for Aboriginal children in the inner city.

Definitions

Terminology throughout the Early Childhood Education and Care sector is not used consistently. The terms used in this report are defined as follows:

Early childhood education (ECE)—the organized practice of education in early childhood, one of the most vulnerable stages in life. ECE focuses on children learning through play.

Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC)—education and care provided for children in the form of child care (daycare), moms and tots programs and Aboriginal Head Start programs.

Child Care—or daycare is care and Early Childhood Education for a child in a licensed program. Child care is typically an ongoing service during specific periods, such as when parents are at work or school.

Aboriginal Head Start (AHS)—funded early childhood development program for First Nations, Inuit and Métis children and their

families. AHS projects typically provide half-day preschool experiences that prepare young Aboriginal children for their school years by meeting their spiritual, emotional, intellectual and physical needs. All projects provide programming in six core areas: education and school readiness; Aboriginal culture and language; parental involvement, health promotion; nutrition; and social support.

Moms and Tots—A community-led program for pre-school children and caregivers to stimulate the love of learning, increase self-confidence and enrich the caregiver/child relationship in an early childhood environment. Programming emphasizes parenting skills and early learning.

Culturally relevant—Recognizing, understanding and applying attitudes and practices that are sensitive to and appropriate for people with diverse cultural, socio-economic and educational backgrounds, and persons of all ages, genders, health status, sexual orientations and abilities.

Section 1: Early Childhood Education and Care and Aboriginal Children

A wealth of research shows that ECEC improves readiness for and future success in school (Ferguson, 2010: 103). ECEC improves educational attainment particularly for socioeconomically disadvantaged children. This improvement is evidenced by higher reading and mathematics scores, increased IQ scores, higher levels of social competence, and less grade repetition (Peisner-Feinberg et al., 2001: 1544-1548).

ECEC also improves a vast range of social outcomes such as student success in school, higher rates of labour market attachment, higher earnings, less dependence on social welfare, and lower crime rates (Kohen et al., 2006: 264).

ECEC is an important preventative measure against long-term problems associated with language impairment (Beitchman & Brownlie, 2010). These research results were confirmed by a mother from RB Russel Child Care Centre who explained that she is impressed with what her son has learnt at child care: "My son knows sign language: like hand motions for 'help' & 'milk'," and it "help[s] me to better understand his needs".

Bobbette Shoffner, Director of Early Learning and Parenting Programs at Mount Carmel Clinic, reminds us that "there is a misconception that 'day care' and 'pre-school' is the place you go before you start school and real learning, when in fact, learning starts right from birth". Fraser Mustard explains that the early years are the most formative: "By the time a child has reached age five, most of the brain's wiring is complete; reversing poor development is difficult after this age. The child's readiness to learn, and [his or her] health at this stage will set the pattern for later life" (Mustard, 1999: Appendix III).

In a Healthy Child Manitoba video that the public can access on the website, Dr. Santos explains how crucial connections are made between the billions of neurons in a baby's brain and that between ages two and three, an explosion of connections occur as the baby goes through a period of tremendous growth and learning. The video also tells us that the number of connections forged depends on the amount and type of interaction babies have with their caregivers: a dynamic environment can increase the number of neuron connections by twenty five per cent (Healthy Child Manitoba website video, 2010b).

The Manitoba Child Care Coalition confirms the life-long benefits of ECEC, including "... savings to education and school systems through higher rates of school success, and earlier identification of learning disabilities with lower remedial and special education costs..." (Prentice and McCracken, 2004: 10).

Inner-city Aboriginal children

Research based on Early Development Instrument (EDI) indicators shows that 36% of Aboriginal children are not ready for school, compared to only 22% of non-Aboriginal children (Healthy Child Manitoba, 2006b). The EDI determines children's readiness for school based on the following areas of development: physical health and well-being, social competence, emotional maturity, language and thinking skills, and communication skills and general knowledge.

A large percentage of these Aboriginal children are located in inner-city neighbourhoods, where between 27.5 to 54.9 per cent of the population is Aboriginal (Silver, 2010: 162).

Inner city children scored especially low on language and thinking skills, including basic literacy and numeracy, and interest and memory (Healthy Child Manitoba, 2009a: 9). Data from Healthy Child Manitoba show that

the average overall EDI scores in Manitoba are 8.19 and 8.2 respectively for language and thinking skills. These same scores are 7.8 and 7.6 in Winnipeg’s inner city, compared to over 8 in both categories for almost all other Winnipeg neighbourhoods (Healthy Child Manitoba, 2009:3; Healthy Child Manitoba, 2006a).

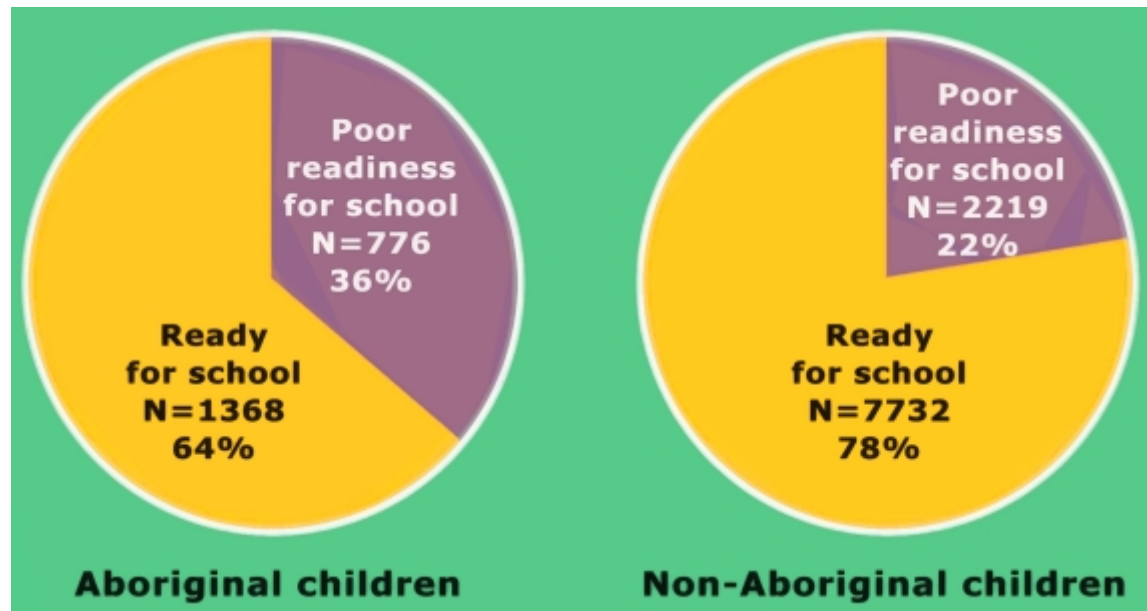
A study conducted by Healthy Child Manitoba explains that the factors associated with poor readiness for school for Aboriginal children were, among other things, low socio-economic status (Healthy Child Manitoba, 2006b). Silver confirms the low-income status of these families, finding that four-fifths of inner-city Aboriginal families have incomes below Statistics Canada’s Low Income Cut Off [LICO] (2010: 162). Low socio-economic status amongst Aboriginal Peoples is in large part the legacy of colonialism which has stripped Aboriginal culture, language and sense of self worth from many Aboriginal families (Hart, 2010).

Kathy Mallett, co-director of the Community Education Development Associations (CEDA) explains that children who went through residential schools were not parented but institu-

tionalized and were never shown how to parent. Then, during the 1960s the provincial child welfare system took thousands of children away from their parents and placed them into foster care or arranged for them to be adopted. Once again the Aboriginal family unit, already weakened by the residential school experience, faced further trauma. She goes on to explain that these two major historical events have resulted in destabilizing a once strong family-unit tradition into shattered families and communities.

Child care is also an important support for parents to pursue careers or education. Gaining financial stability through decent employment is essential for getting out of poverty, the very poverty that made Aboriginal children poorly prepared in the first place. Kathy Mallett explains that “In order for our kids to succeed, we also need our parents to succeed”. A mother from the RB Russell Childcare Centre is grateful for the centre that enabled her to go to school at the Lord Selkirk adult learning centre, where she is finishing her high school diploma. “I’d like to go college & university, then work at the Aboriginal centre.” Mallett confirms that young inner-city women

Figure 1: School Readiness by Aboriginal Status based on EDI indicators



Source: Healthy Child Manitoba, 2006b

want to further their education and go into the workforce, and available, affordable child care makes this a reality. Bobbette Shoffner confirms that child care can be a safe place for a child while parents are working or upgrading their education.

The importance of ECEC to Aboriginal families was confirmed in the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba:

Childcare services strengthen families in a number of ways. They can provide a healthy environment in which basic skills are developed, and children are prepared for school and encouraged in appropriate behaviours. At the same time, they provide a respite for parents, an opportunity to participate in the labour force, and a meaningful form of employment (Ferguson, 2010: 104 quoting Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba, 2001).

Section 2: ECEC Programs in Winnipeg's Inner City

To provide adequate and appropriate ECEC in the inner-city requires that programs be suited to inner-city families and children. Discussion (which follows) of how to design programs that work must first be put in the context of the scarcity of ECEC throughout the Province.

Not all child care in Manitoba is regulated by the Province. There is a regulated child care space for between 14.5 % and 24% of children in Manitoba (Ferguson, 2010: 106). That means that at least 75% of children only have access to unregulated ECEC which is more expensive and often of lower quality. Unregulated child care includes supervision of children by family members, casual babysitting arrangements whereby "supervision is provided in the home of the child or in the home of the person providing the care and supervision", or provided by Child and Family Services, among other exceptions (Community Child Care Standards Act, 2010: 3).

Although the government is increasing the number of children's spaces with 6,500 more child care spaces by 2013 (Healthy Child Manitoba, 2009b), children in the inner city continue to lack access. Consideration will have to be given not just to increasing regulated ECEC spaces, but to ensuring that Aboriginal children have access to programs that meet their needs.

Affordability

Despite the stronger standards and better subsidization relative to the rest of the country, the majority of child care users in Manitoba still pay full fees (Ferguson, 2010: 106) and the average Manitoban pays about \$6,000/year for infant child care (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-MB, 2009). Only parents who have their children in regulated child care qualify for subsidies. The Childcare Coalition argues "the subsidy system is still very restrictive, requiring parents to be well below the Low Income Cut-Off (LICO) to receive the maximum fee subsidy (see Table 2) (Childcare Coalition of Manitoba, 2004). For some parents, becoming employed means that they no longer qualify for the subsidy. However, their incomes are not high enough to pay for non-subsidized child care and some quit their jobs to qualify for the subsidy again, or get an unqualified babysitter at a lower cost. These issues are exacerbated in the inner city where marginalized parents have fewer resources to make up for the lack of affordable, regulated care. There is also a shortage of care to meet their children's cultural needs.

Culturally-relevant care

A lack of culturally-relevant education means Aboriginal children grow up not learning about their history and culture. Earlier in this report we looked at research confirming that Aboriginal children need to understand their roots. Kathy Mallett, who is Ojibwa, explains "they (Aboriginal children) don't know who

they are". When she was in school, she could not connect with stories like Dick and Jane, about two blonde-haired kids and their dog. Kathy explains that the lack of culturally specific curriculum in the inner city contributes to this problem. She explains that having books and role models in which Aboriginal children can see themselves is essential for their development, sense of identity and self-worth.

Part-time care

Mallett explains that many Aboriginal parents do not necessarily want full-time day care. Residential schools left many Aboriginal parents leery of early childhood education and afraid of leaving their children. Unfortunately, few part-time programs are available. We need to open up the scope of what child-care means to include programs where caregivers can attend part time with their children. The following section looks at three inner-city programs, one of which (Turtle Island Tots and Families) is an example of a program that helps inner-city families with part-time hours.

Parenting programs

Mallett stresses that there are not enough programs in the inner city that are targeted at parents who stay at home with their children. There is often a lack of sustainable funds and consistent programming for high-need families and their particular circumstances.

Triple P Parenting Program

In order to improve parenting in Manitoba, the government is focused on the Positive Parenting Program (Triple P). The Healthy Child Committee of Cabinet committed \$1.4 million towards Triple P to improve parenting skills. Triple P is based on a system of degrees of intervention, including, dissemination of general information, counselling for parents

who have serious problems with their children, and advice and workshops for parents (Healthy Child Manitoba, 2010a). The program operates by training directors and staff at non-profit organizations, who are then expected to transfer what they have learnt to parents. Unfortunately aspects of the program are not well suited to inner-city needs.

The Triple P program is more appropriate for middle-income parents and is not tailored to the needs of the inner-city demographic, comprising in large part of Aboriginal Peoples, single mothers, newcomers, people with low incomes and people with low literacy levels.

Noelle DePape, Director of the Immigrant and Refugee Centre of Manitoba [IRCOM], explains that organizations receive training from the government in the Triple P method. This training would allow her organization to provide parents with information on parenting and to hire staff to deliver workshops on parenting skills. However, Triple P does not provide the resources to implement the program. Further, the curriculum—developed in Australia—is based on Australian cultural norms, similar to Canadian cultural norms, but not similar to Aboriginal or newcomer cultures. For example, the parenting style suggested is based on the nuclear family, not the idea of 'it takes a community to raise a child' that underpins many other cultures' parenting styles. On the other hand, the Four Feathers and Turtle Island Tots and Families programs are examples that do embrace Aboriginal parenting styles.

Four Feathers—Success in culturally relevant ECEC

The Four Feathers Child care is a program offered in the Gilbert Park public housing community that helps children between the ages of three and five get ready for kindergarten. As an Aboriginal Head Start Program, it is funded by the Public Health Agency of

Canada. It has also received grants for additional programming by The Coffey Fund, currently managed by the Winnipeg Foundation.

Four Feathers is one of the few programs available that offers a culturally relevant curriculum for Aboriginal children, including Cree and Ojibwa language classes everyday, and traditional meals like bannock. Nearly all the staff is of Aboriginal descent. Jenny, the director of the Centre, wrote a series of Aboriginal children's books and reads them to the children. These are just a few examples of the culturally relevant care the centre offers. Jenny explains that "now you have children saying I am proud to be Aboriginal".

Turtle Island Tots and Families

There are a number of excellent parenting programs, such as Turtle Island Tots and Families. Turtle Island Tots and Families—offered at the Turtle Island Neighbourhood Centre, 510 King Street—allows children to attend ECEC with their caregivers. This form of care develops parenting skills while improving children's readiness for school. The space is full of toys and books, and is an excellent early childhood environment for children to play and learn with their parents. An Early Childhood Educator organizes various developmentally appropriate activities from problem-based play, healthy nutrition time, reading, to art. The program is based on an early childhood model that emphasizes parent development through direct parent-child interaction. About 32 families are involved in the program, attracting about 10–15 parents and their children each week. Ninety per cent of families attending Turtle Island Tots and Families are Aboriginal.

Turtle Island Tots and Families grew out of parents' need for programming for toddlers who had aged out of the Province's Healthy Baby program at the Indian and Métis Friend-

ship Centre on Dufferin. A core group of mothers along with Susan Wehrle, WRHA nutritionist, Gerrie Prymak, Canadian Association for Young Children Manitoba Chapter and volunteer, Carolyn Young, of Manidoo Gi Miini Gonaan and Wendy Prince Moore, Parent Student Support Program, Mount Carmel Clinic and the North End FACT Parent Child coalition, decided to take matters into their own hands, and spearheaded Turtle Island Tots and Families.

Children who went through the program are better prepared for school. Carolyn Young reports that teachers from David Livingstone School say children from Turtle Island Tots and Families are very ready for school in terms of numeracy and literacy, where inner city children need the most assistance. Kindergarten teachers have told Young that the children who go through the Turtle Islands Tots and Families program are better prepared for school than those who have not. At Turtle Island Tots and Families, young children learn pro-social behaviors like cooperation and sharing so needed during group work in school. These improvements have been observed even though the program only operates one day a week, year round.

Lessons learnt

Four Feathers is able to provide such high-quality culturally-relevant education for children because it receives sustainable core funding. As an Aboriginal Head Start Program, it receives money from the Federal government that is topped off by a private donor. Many child care centres would like to offer Cree and Ojibwa lessons, and free part-time early childhood programs like Turtle Island Tots and Families, but they do not have the sustainable core funding to do it. To truly give parents the option of quality culturally-relevant ECEC, core sustainable funding must be given to all ECEC centres.

If the government wants to ensure that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal kids start off on equal footing, then they need to realize that the one-size fits all approach, like Triple P, do not always work. Money invested in community-based programs—like Turtle Island Tots and Families that employ Aboriginal staff who can reinforce Aboriginal culture—work because they are created by the community for the community

Section 4: The Challenges Facing ECEC

Lack of funding for non-profit ECEC centres

Carolyn Young, ED of Manidoo Gi Miini Gonaan, explains that gaining core, sustainable funding is the biggest challenge facing those in the field of ECEC. She explains that “it’s always a fight to get funding. It’s very representative of the community because many have given up, lost hope, and that’s what we need to change.” Young, a trained Early Childhood Educator herself, spends hours of her time filling out proposals in order to run basic children’s programs. This takes time away from managing the daycare.

Without the funding required to operate, many child care and parenting programs are currently running on deficit budgets, and turning to the private sector for funding. Young sees it as the way out of uncertain project by project funding: “I need a private sponsor”. She believes that the answer may be having a company adopt her community. Private funding for some communities, but not others, will only reinforce existing inequalities.

In order to receive funding, programs often need to be evidence-based like the Triple P program. Unfortunately, Triple P was tested in Australia, not in Manitoba. On the other hand, local programs started by community members themselves that are responding to

children’s needs, such as Turtle Island Tots and Families, often do not receive funding because they are not evidence-based. While evidence-based programs can have value in some instances, they should not be applied indiscriminately in communities that do not have the necessary conditions for the programs to work.

When evidence-based programs are used, they may need to be reformed to meet inner-city needs. When evidence-based programs do not meet a community’s needs, they should be abandoned in favour of community-designed programs. The province needs to honour local communities and look at evidence inside Winnipeg communities to judge whether programs are meeting needs and if they should receive funding.

Division between social service systems

There is a lack of coordination between the Education, Child and Family Services, and the ECEC systems. Mount Carmel Clinic’s Anne Ross Day Nursery cares for a large number of children who are in foster care, so Shoffner is aware of the disconnect that can arise for children who have to negotiate more than one system. The division between the Child and Family Services system and the child care system is problematic because when a child is taken away from her/his family through the Child and Family Services system, there is usually a break in care—often during a period of huge trauma for the child when s/he is especially in need of support.

The government’s new policy placing child care centres in schools has highlighted a lack of coordination between some schools and the child care community. For example, Shoffner explains that some schools can charge very high rent for an early childhood centre to operate on their premises. Additionally, child cares are required by Manitoba Child Care

Program regulations to lock all their doors, but because schools are not necessarily required to do the same, it is sometimes difficult to enforce Child Care Program rules.

Unjust distribution of services

ECEC services are not distributed evenly across Winnipeg. The distribution tends to advantage higher-income neighbourhoods with greater social capital and disadvantage inner-city and poorer neighbourhoods (Child Care Coalition of Manitoba, 2004: 3). The Child Care Coalition of Manitoba points out that distribution of spaces is not planned around need. Instead, ECEC facilities develop in an ad-hoc manner, without coordinated planning. Group centres start up when and where non-profit parent groups, private owners or workplaces establish them. One result is that neighbourhoods high in 'social capital' tend to have more ECEC programming, while those with lower social capital have less (Child Care Coalition of Manitoba, 2004: 15).

Lack of trained Early Childhood Educators (ECEs)

According to the Director of Early Learning and Parenting Programs at Mount Carmel Clinic, the lack of Early Childhood Educators is reaching a crisis point. While there are training programs available for ECEs in the inner city, there are not enough. Specifically, there are not enough government subsidized programs that give low-income people the chance to become ECEs, and there are not enough culturally relevant training programs tailored for Aboriginal students.

Kathy Mallett explains that Aboriginal children should be learning from people who are conscious of Aboriginal traditions, and by their own people. More Aboriginal ECEs are needed. Furthermore, there are very few male ECEs who could provide much needed role models for children being raised by single

mothers. Nearly 96% of ECEs in Manitoba are women (Service Canada, 2010).

Four Reasons for the ECE shortage

1. Socio-economic barriers

Carolyn Young explains that people living in the inner city face financial barriers, and do not have the money to pay for the education required to become qualified. The Red River College work study placement tries to eliminate this barrier with 2 school days and 3 work days, but according to Young many interested young people still can't afford the \$3000 cost. Additionally, those living in poverty have little time to go to school. Mallett confirms that some Aboriginal women are interested in becoming ECEs, but lack the skills and training to enter the program.

2. Undervaluing of children and ECEs

In Manitoba, staff turnover tends to be high because of relatively low rates of pay, and the demanding nature of the work. Trained ECEs start at approximately \$32,400 per year, or \$15.50 per hour (Service Canada, 2010). If children were valued as they should be, those who work with them would be compensated accordingly.

Carolyn Young, the director of Manidoo Gi Miini Gonaan explains how ECEs feel undervalued. She notes that no other teacher must spend hours of her time requesting money so that she can teach. Considering the extent to which the early years are formative, it seems backwards that primary and secondary school teachers are more valued and better paid. An ECE earns about half of what a kindergarten teacher makes (Manitoba Childcare Association, 2009).

Between 2002 and 2007, with their Five Year Plan, the government increased ECE salaries by 15% (Healthy Child Manitoba, 2009b). Current policy, under The Family Choices program, have raised salaries another 3% so

ECEs are now making \$15.50 an hour. Raising the wages of ECEs is a step in the right direction, but the current salary is not enough to support ECEs, or high enough to attract new workers.

Just before this report was finalized, the Provincial government announced plans for a province-wide pension plan for full and part-time child care workers. The plan will be available to Early Childhood Educators and Child Care Assistants (Kusch, 2010). This positive initiative could go a long way to making the ECEC sector more attractive to workers, however many Child Care Assistants, who can earn as little as minimum wage, may still live in poverty.

3. Difficulty retaining workers

The Manitoba Childcare Association notes that as many ECEs are leaving the field as are entering. A total of 182 ECEs left child care in an 18-month period (between August 2008 and April 2009) and the Manitoba Child Care Program classified an average of 175 new ECEs annually (Manitoba Childcare Association, 2010: 2). Although government training supports and initiatives are commendable, they alone will not ensure the availability of enough ECEs to meet licensing standards (Manitoba Childcare Association, 2010: 2).

4. Misconceptions of the inner city makes recruitment difficult

Carolyn Young explains how recruiting qualified workers into the inner city is especially difficult, partly due to the fact that people feel uneasy about working there. Bobbette Shoffner notes that people see the area as dangerous, but that the degree of crime is perceived to be greater than it actually is. This may be due to how the inner city is portrayed in the media, and the focus on exceptional events. Both women explain that in fact, the inner city is a safe and gratifying area to work in.

Section 5: Policy prescriptions

The following policies would go a long way towards improving ECEC for the inner city's Aboriginal children.

A recent Senate report recommends that "the federal government coordinate a nationwide federal/provincial initiative on early childhood learning" (Eggleton, 2009: 55). The Provincial government should continue to lobby the Federal government to provide a universal system. In the meantime, the Province can still take the following immediate actions to improve the situation for Aboriginal children in the inner city.

1. Expand the number of ECEC spaces through increased core funding for culturally-relevant ECEC programs.

- A targeted response can be achieved by conducting a survey to determine the number and type of ECEC spaces needed in the inner city and places like Gilbert Park with high concentrations of Aboriginal children. For example, do we need more Aboriginal Head Start or more Tots and Families programs?
- Fund evidence-based evaluation of existing culturally-relevant programs such as Four Feathers and Turtle Island Tots and Families to help ensure that effective programs can be expanded.

2. Evaluate Triple P's relevancy and effectiveness by:

- Funding evaluation of Triple P as applied to Aboriginal families living in the inner city so that Triple P is evidence-based in a Manitoba context.

3. Make ECEC more accessible by:

- Increasing the subsidy eligibility levels and indexing them yearly. This is suggested by the Manitoba Child and Family Report Card (Social Planning Council of

Canada, 2008). Without the burden of high child care fees, families will not have to choose between quitting their jobs and qualifying for the subsidy, or maintaining their jobs and settling for cheap low-quality care.

4. Increase the number of qualified ECEs by:

- Increasing salaries and benefits for ECEs and ECEs in training. Trained ECEs should earn around \$19.46/hour. This salary is a market competitive salary established by the Manitoba Childcare Association (Manitoba Childcare Association, 2010). Increasing salaries will attract new ECEs, as well as retain current ones.
- Setting a minimum salary for ECEs in training to \$15.57, equivalent to \$32,386 annually (Manitoba Childcare Association, 2010). This is a market competitive wage presented by the Manitoba Childcare Association (Manitoba Childcare Association, 2010).
- Implementing a structured pay scale throughout the sector so there is consistency in rates of pay according to accreditation and experience.

- Identifying demand for ECEC spaces and Early Childhood Educators by conducting a survey to determine the amount of ECEs needed. Research the actual entry and exit rates of the ECE workforce to ensure the volume of graduates is sufficient to catch up to the needs of the current and expanding system (Manitoba Childcare Association, 2010).

5. Increase the number of Aboriginal ECEs by:

- Subsidizing ECEC training for Aboriginal students.
- Partnering with Urban Circle to expand its successful training program. Urban Circle is a community-based, non profit organization that offers pre-employment training by Aboriginal people for Aboriginal students. In addition to providing catch-up high school courses, Urban Circle will offer an ECE training program set to begin in January of 2011 (Urban Circles, 2010).
- Attracting more Aboriginal men to the field.

Conclusion

Children in the inner city are the most in need of ECEC, as shown by the low EDI scores and low socio-economic status, yet they are receiving the least. ECEC experts agree that Canada needs a universal ECEC system, but until that is a reality, there is much the Provincial government can do improve Aboriginal children's access to ECEC. The concept of ECEC needs to be broadened to meet the needs of inner-city families by providing: part-time care, care provided with the caregiver and a culturally sensitive environment.

Programs like Turtle Island Tots and Families and Four Feathers are successful because they are designed by the community therefore tailored to community needs. The government should invest more in successful community-based programs like these, and provide high-need centers with sustainable core funding so that they can offer families more options. Healthy Child Manitoba emphasizes working with Aboriginal communities to encourage

positive parenting practices as a way to improve readiness for school (2006b); supporting Turtle Island Tots and Families would be a natural way to meet that commitment.

Since coming into power the provincial government has increased funding substantially to inner-city programs and we are beginning to see positive change as a result. But we must keep up, even increase, the pace of investment in order to maintain momentum, and we must listen to what local experts are saying so that resources are used effectively.

With more supports for parents and children that fit their needs, Aboriginal children can start off on the same foot as non-Aboriginal children who live in higher income areas. In the words of Bobbette Shoffner: "The children in this community should have nothing less than every other child in the city. We're going to get there."

Acknowledgements

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Squeezed Out

The Impact of Rising Rents and Condo Conversions on Inner-city Neighbourhoods

Ellen Smirl with Clark Brownlee, Brian Grant, Glen Koryluk, Shauna MacKinnon, Gord McIntyre, and Don Miedema

Shelter is widely recognized as a “fundamental indicator of health” (MacKinnon, 2010: 13) contributing to a community’s social well-being by “provid[ing] a sense of security, permanency, and continuity” (MacKinnon, 2010: 13). Rental housing is particularly important in urban communities. It provides an option for individuals and families who are financially unable to purchase their own homes as well as those who would prefer to rent.

Unfortunately, Manitoba’s rental housing market has seen a dramatic decrease in accessibility and affordability in recent years. The Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) noted in their Spring 2010 report that Manitoba’s vacancy rate stood at 1 per cent, a rate that persistently remains among the lowest amidst Canadian provinces (CMHC, Spring 2010 Rental Market Report-Manitoba highlights).

Throughout the six years of conducting research for our *State of the Inner City* reports, individuals and organizations consistently tell us that housing is the most pressing issue in their neighbourhoods.

This year we have heard these concerns again. Our community partners in three inner-city neighbourhoods have raised very specific concerns about the shrinking supply of rental housing. The goal of this report is to examine more closely the rental-housing situation in these inner-city neighbourhoods that include West Broadway, Spence and Daniel McIntyre.

Preliminary research tells us that low-income residents in these neighbourhoods are particularly vulnerable to displacement because of some disturbing trends. For example, it appears that there is a growing number of units for which rent is being raised beyond

the annual guidelines set by the Manitoba government.

The *Manitoba Residential Tenancy Act* regulates rents to guard against drastic increases. However, over the years the Act has been amended to include provisions allowing landlords to increase rent beyond the guidelines. As will be described further, this has become a problem for low-income renters in the context of a tight rental market. When demand is high and supply is low, it makes sense for property owners to do what is necessary to be awarded above guideline increases as they are sure to find renters willing to pay the price. Many are doing just this, but as will be described further, the effect is not entirely positive.

A secondary concern explored in this report is what appears to be a growing trend to convert rental housing into condominiums (condos). Because our community partners expressed concerns about condo conversions in their neighbourhoods, it was our aim to quantify the magnitude of this activity in each of the three neighbourhoods. To our surprise, this information was surprisingly difficult to obtain, but we were able to collect enough information and data to see a trend emerging.

In this report we paint a picture of the magnitude of the housing challenge by first examining the demand side of the housing market in each of the three neighbourhoods to more clearly illustrate the characteristics of individuals and families in relation to their current and future housing need. We follow with an assessment of the housing supply including availability, condition and types of rental housing available, as well as the changes taking place related to the rental housing stock in each specific neighbourhood.

Understanding housing demand in the context of housing supply is critical. Affordable rental stock is being lost through apartment-to-condo conversion as well as through the in-

creasing number of rental units being affected by above guideline rent increases. The Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) noted in its fall 2009 report that between October 2008 and October 2009 more than 250 rental units were permanently removed from Winnipeg's rental universe due to condominium conversion or conversion to alternative uses. Additionally, between 25 and 30 per cent of rental units received above guideline rent increases (CMHC, Fall 2009: 5). These changes, combined with data from the CMHC that shows Winnipeg's rental vacancy rate is already at an extremely low 1.1 per cent, make housing the top concern of our community partners and the reason for our ongoing investigation into this matter in our *State of the Inner City* research.

Rent Regulation: A Hot Debate

The idea behind rent regulations, or rent 'controls', is that government needs to protect those who rely on lower-rent housing to meet their shelter needs. Rent controls are meant to contribute to the security of tenure so that tenants don't face unpredictable rent increases.

Mainstream economists have been almost unanimous in their opposition to rent control, stating that it discourages new housing production (Arnott, 1995: 99). However, this consensus appears to diminish when variations on regulatory models are examined more closely. There is an increasing recognition that rent controls vary dramatically in their characteristics and as such there is great difficulty in drawing generalized conclusions regarding the costs and benefits of rent control (Ellingsen & Englund, 2003; Arnott, 1995; Turner & Malpezzi, 2003) (see Box 1 for description of different forms of rent control).

Increasingly, the literature on rent control has begun to acknowledge that perfect market

Box 1: Types of Rent Regulations:

First Generation:

- Controls often involve a freeze on rents without taking consideration of costs or price.
- Generally established during emergencies to prevent landlords from taking advantage of a sudden scarcity of housing.
- These types of controls were enacted during both World Wars.

Second Generation (Manitoba's type):

- Involve more complex provisions and restrictions governing rents, rental increases, conversion, maintenance, and landlord-tenant relations.
- Generally allow for automatic percentage rent increases in relation to the rate of inflation.
- Generally permit a higher percentage rental increases in accordance with meeting certain criteria.
- Often exempt certain categories of housing from rent increase restrictions, i.e. housing constructed after application of controls and high-rent units.

Third Generation:

- Rents are regulated within the tenure.
- Rents remain the same for residing tenant, but can be increased between tenants.
- Also known as 'tenancy termed control'.

conditions do not exist within the housing market (Arnott, 1995; Ellingsen & Englund, 2003), and as such, arguments that are based on the assumption that the market will effectively regulate itself without government intervention may be faulty. Such failings require a need for regulation that prevents landlords from abusing the imperfect nature of the housing market.

While in theory Manitoba's rent regulations ensure security of tenure, this security be-

comes meaningless if it is not accompanied by regulations that prevent landlords from raising rents beyond what people can afford.

Rent Regulation in Manitoba

In Manitoba, rents are regulated through the provincial *Residential Tenancy Act*. The Act allows landlords to increase rents annually by an amount set by the Residential Tenancies Branch (RTB); this allowable increase is termed the 'guideline'. The 2010 guideline was set at 1 percent and the recently set 2011 guideline will be 1.5 percent, taking effect on January 1st 2011. As noted, within the legislation there are legitimate ways for landlords to work around these guidelines. Landlords can increase their rents above the provincially set guideline by applying for an above guideline rent increase through the RTB. In order to qualify for a rent increase above the guideline landlords must present their operating expenses (e.g. property taxes, utility bills, repair costs) and their capital expenses (e.g. how much it costs to replace the roof or buy new appliances) to the RTB to demonstrate that the guideline increase will not cover their expenses. The legislation requires that these expenses be incurred for work completed prior to application (i.e. a landlord cannot apply for an above guideline increase for work that they plan to do in the future).

The RTA also exempts buildings constructed after March 7, 2005, for a period of 20 years. Units renting for higher than \$1,120 per month are also exempt.

While most renters welcome improvements to their units, the ability of landlords to increase rents above the guideline once renovations have occurred puts many renters in a difficult situation. Tenants are often forced to leave while buildings undergo renovations but are given right of first refusal once units are ready to be reinhabited. But returning once work is

completed becomes impossible for many tenants who are unable to afford the higher rent. In a low vacancy market, landlords are not affected because they have no difficulty attracting tenants willing to pay the higher rates.

When this phenomenon occurs within low-income neighbourhoods the result is the displacement of low-income renters. Not only do they lose their homes, but they find it extremely difficult to find decent and affordable alternative housing because it is in such short supply.

An additional concern with the current regulatory framework is the unclear criteria regarding what constitutes 'renovation'. There appears to be too much potential for landlords to avoid regular maintenance, allowing their properties to deteriorate to a state where they are then required to do more significant renovations and thus qualify their request for an above guideline rent increase. The extent to which this practice is occurring requires further investigation.

Manitoba in the broader context

The Manitoba government is under constant pressure to eliminate rent regulation completely. Deregulation proponents argue that the shortage of rental units is directly attributable to rent regulation. However, Canadian provinces without rent regulations have similar challenges. This demonstrates that eliminating rent controls as a primary strategy will not effectively moderate price or supply. The two major centers in Saskatchewan, a province that deregulated rent control in 1992, are facing housing crisis similar to Manitoba's; Regina is currently facing a vacancy rate of 0.8 per cent, the second lowest rate in Canada's Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) and Saskatoon has had an average rent increase of \$53 between April 2009 and April 2010 (CMHC, Spring 2010 Saskatchewan High-

lights: 2,4). Traditional critiques of rent control promote the abolishment of regulation in favour of market-based mechanisms. However it is low and middle-income renters who face the greatest difficulty in finding affordable units, and a deregulated rental market would not encourage development of housing for this group. It is simply not profitable to do so (MacKinnon, 2008).

Apartment to Condominium Conversion

The practice of converting existing apartments into condominiums (condos) is becoming increasingly common. Condos can provide a viable housing option to entry-level buyers who may not qualify for the purchase of a detached home, as well as buyers who prefer homeownership with fewer maintenance responsibilities. Condominium development is appealing because it is high-density, making it a particularly appealing model for urban centers trying to contain urban sprawl. However, in a tight rental market, we create additional market challenges when we replace one form of housing tenure for another. As will be described further, this is why many cities have put regulations in place to control condo conversion when rental vacancies are low. Increasing housing options by adding units through new condo construction and the conversion of non-residential buildings into condos is another matter and should be highly encouraged to increase housing density and options.

Manitoba does not regulate the conversion of condominiums and in a market where housing prices are rising and rental availability is low, some rental property owners are realizing lucrative profits by converting their buildings into condominiums, thereby contributing to the shrinking supply of rental units.

The Condominium Act currently includes mini-

Box 2: Tenants rights prior to renovations

(Applies regardless of whether going condo or renovating suites for rent)

Prior to renovation, a landlord is obliged to:

1) Give at least 5 months notice from the time of the end of the lease when the vacancy rate is below 2 per cent. When the vacancy rate is at 2-2.9 per cent 4 months notice is required and 3 months are required when the vacancy rate is higher than 3 per cent.

2) Pay the tenants moving costs up to \$500.00. This can be paid to a moving company, or to an individual who helps with moving (e.g. friends). It can also be used to rent a moving van. Also included is the cost of utility changes (hooking up telephone, cable, internet etc.) and change of address costs occurred at the post-office.

Tenants also have the right of first refusal, which means that they have the first option to move back into to the suite post-renovation. Once the renovations have occurred the landlord will most likely apply for an above guideline increase and as such, rents in the building will increase in relation to the costs of renovation. If the tenant chooses to exercise the right of first refusal, s/he must provide the landlord with written intent (generally prior to the termination of the lease).

mal consideration of individuals who would be affected by condo conversions. In Manitoba, under the *Condominium Act*, once a landlord has registered the building as a condominium, the original tenant has the 'right to first return': the right to continue to occupy the unit as a renter for a period of no fewer than two years and no more than the period

of time the suite was occupied prior to the date of registration if that period is greater than two years. The tenant still pays the pre-conversion rent including any allowed rent increases. Even if the tenants face no contractual barriers—and there is concern that loopholes exist to this protection—to re-entering the suite post-condo, the rental increase is almost certainly out of the price range of lower-income earners. The Province is aware of the concerns around condo conversions and is in the process of making amendments.

As noted, some Canadian cities have enacted legislation that prevents the conversion of existing rental units into condos when the vacancy rate dips below a certain level (see Box 3). This type of legislation is meant to address the greater possibility of displacement that accompanies lower vacancy rates. In Regina, a city that has recently experienced a steep decline in availability of rental units, regulations stipulate that if the vacancy rate is lower than 3 per cent in either the city as a whole or the neighbourhood where the property is located, conversion of rental properties into condominiums is not allowed (<http://www.regina.ca/Page967.aspx>). If 75 per cent or more of the tenants support the conversion however, it may be allowed to proceed (<http://www.regina.ca/Page967.aspx>). Regina has had a policy on condo conversion since 1994 and is currently reviewing its policy on condo conversion and has enacted a moratorium on all future conversions until the review is complete (<http://www.regina.ca/Page967.aspx>).

The City of Winnipeg does not currently have a policy regulating the conversion of existing rental units into condos. A motion put forward at City Hall in April 2010 requesting recommendations to examine the desirability of developing a condo conversion policy was rejected. Recent changes to the *Manitoba Condominium Act* stipulate that a tenant must be given 5 months notice to vacate the rental unit

Box 3: Canadian cities with condo conversion policies:

Victoria: no conversions are allowed when apartment vacancies are below 2 per cent.

Vancouver: conversion of buildings with more than 4 units are not allowed when the vacancy rate is below 4 per cent

Kelowna: no conversions are allowed when vacancy rate is below 4 per cent

Ottawa: no conversions are allowed when vacancy rate is below 3 per cent

Toronto: has legislation to protect from condo conversions for existing rental property with more than 6 units

(but the tenant still maintains the right of first return) when the vacancy rate is lower than 2 per cent however no provincial legislation or municipal by-laws exist regarding the restriction of existing rental stock from being converted in a rental market experiencing low-vacancy rates (CBC, 2010).

While the 2009 fall rental market survey (CMHC, Fall 2009: 4,5) marked the first year-over-year increase in the size of the rental market in six years, (an increase of 755 units) a major source of these additions were units that were temporarily removed for renovations and as such mark an “artificial gain in the universe count” (CMHC, Fall 2009: 4). More importantly, there were more than 250 permanent removals from the rental universe between 2008 and 2009 (CMHC, Fall 2009: 5). These losses represent units that were converted to condominium or alternative use and won't be returning to the rental market.

CMHC estimates that between 1992 and 2009, Winnipeg's private rental stock saw a decline from 57,279 units to 53,154, for a net

loss of 4,125 units. This net loss includes the 5,473 condo conversions that occurred in the same period. As there is no change in zoning required for condo development and no formal mechanism that tracks conversion at the municipal level, it is difficult to determine at the neighbourhood level the number of buildings that are being or have been converted. This lack of available data poses serious impediments to the creation of policy recommendations that will prove effective in maintaining and creating both affordable and adequate housing options, particularly in the low-income neighbourhoods examined within this report.

Rental Housing and the Inner City

The following section details the demographics of the inner city, including Spence, Daniel McIntyre and West Broadway neighbourhoods followed by an assessment of the state of rental housing in areas.

Originally defined by the 1980s Core Area Initiative, Winnipeg's inner city is a geographic location bounded on the north by Caruthers Ave. west of the Red River and Munrow Ave east of the Red River; on the west by McPhillips St., Ingersoll St. and Raglan Road; on the south McMillan Ave. and Marion St.; and on the east by Raleigh St., the Seine River and Archibald St.. This report examines three neighbourhoods within the inner city: Spence, West Broadway and Daniel McIntyre. Boundary lines of each neighbourhood are shown in Map 1.

As seen in Table 1, the City of Winnipeg has seen slow to marginal growth since 1971, growing by 31.2 per cent between 1966 and 1996 (CCPA-Mb, 2008: 29). Comparatively, Winnipeg's inner city saw a decline of 25.5 per cent during that same period (CCPA-Mb, 2008: 29). However, between 2001 and 2006 all three neighbourhoods saw a reversal to the

trend of decreasing population, with Spence experiencing the largest increase of 13.6 per cent (Table 1). While lack of research prevents attributing Spence's population increase to any identifiable cause, given its close proximity to West Broadway—which has seen increasing displacement amongst low-income renters—there is concern amongst housing advocates in both Spence and Daniel McIntyre that rapid population growth within these areas may result in displacement of low-income area residents.

It is important to note the increased incidence of low-income status in inner city neighbourhoods compared to the City of Winnipeg in general (Table 2). Canada does not have an official poverty line but the most commonly used measurement when quantifying poverty is Statistics Canada's Low-Income Cut Off (LICO). LICO is an income level at/below, which a family spends a greater percentage of income on food, clothing and shelter than the average family of similar size. If a family spends 20 percentage points more of

**Table 1: Population Changes
Spence, Daniel McIntyre, West Broadway and Winnipeg**

Year	Spence		Daniel McIntyre		West Broadway		City of Winnipeg	
	Number*	Per cent change**	Number*	Per cent change**	Number*	Per cent change**	Number*	Per cent change**
2006	4,260	13.6%	9,750	0.3%	5,325	5.6%	633,451	2.2%
2001	3,750	-4.8%	9,725	-1.6%	5,045	-2.8%	619,544	0.2%
1996	3,940	-19.1%	9,885	-5.0%	5,190	-4.9%	618,477	0.5%
1991	4,870	-4.8%	10,400	-5.1%	5,455	-16.7%	615,215	3.5%
1986***	5,115	4.5%	10,960	4.7%	6,545	24.9%	594,555	5.3%
1981	4,895	-1.7%	10,470	-3.4%	5,240	0.8%	564,475	0.6%
1976	4,980	-20.1%	10,840	-5.8%	5,200	-22.9%	560,875	4.8%
1971	6,230		11,505		6,745		535,100	

Source: 2006 Statistics Canada Census, Neighbourhood Profiles

* Includes non-institutional population only

** Change in percent from previous census year

*** Headingly is included in Winnipeg figures up to 1986

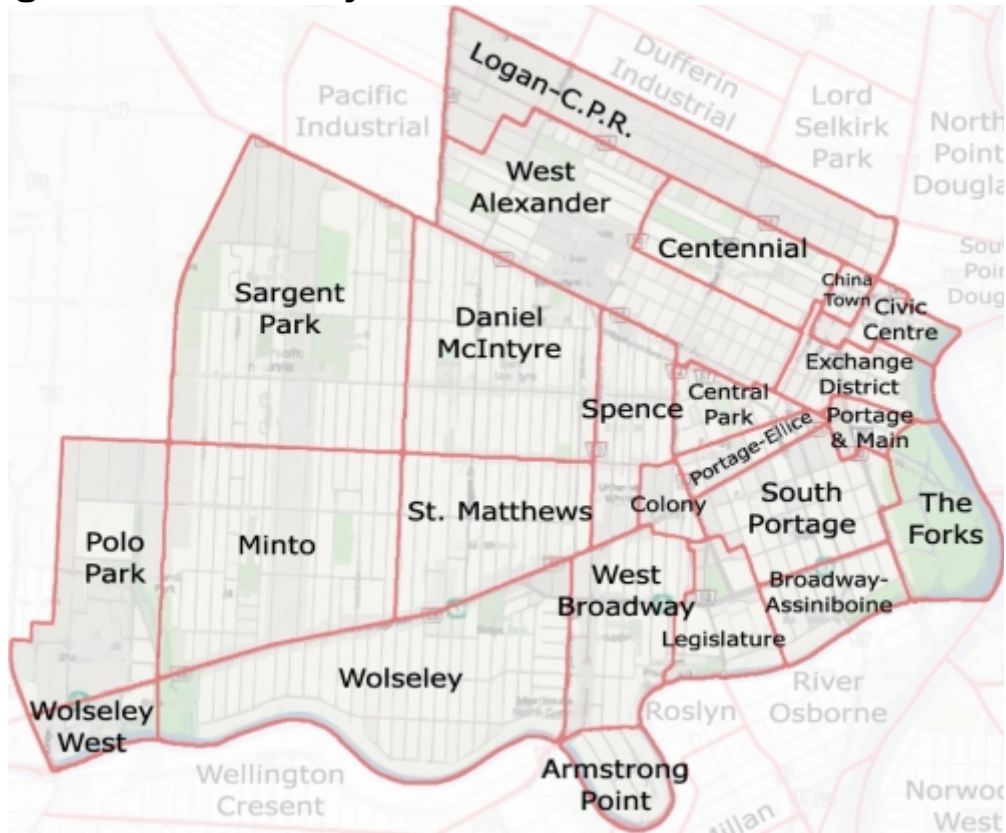
Table 2: Incidence of low income: West Broadway, Daniel McIntyre, Spence, & City of Winnipeg

Incidence of low income* in 2005 after taxes	West Broadway per cent	Daniel McIntyre per cent	Spence per cent	City of Winnipeg per cent
Total economic families	52.4%	30.3%	42.2%	11.1%
Female lone-parent economic families	64.7%	55.1%	61.4%	33.6%
Male lone-parent economic families	77.8%	38.9%	15.4%	18.1%
Couple economic families	40.8%	20.8%	32.7%	6.4%
Children under 6 years of age	86.8%	53.5%	60.2%	25.9%
Male unattached individuals (15 yrs +)	57.5%	53.2%	66.9%	34.5%
Female unattached individuals	64.9%	51.0%	82.4%	35.1%

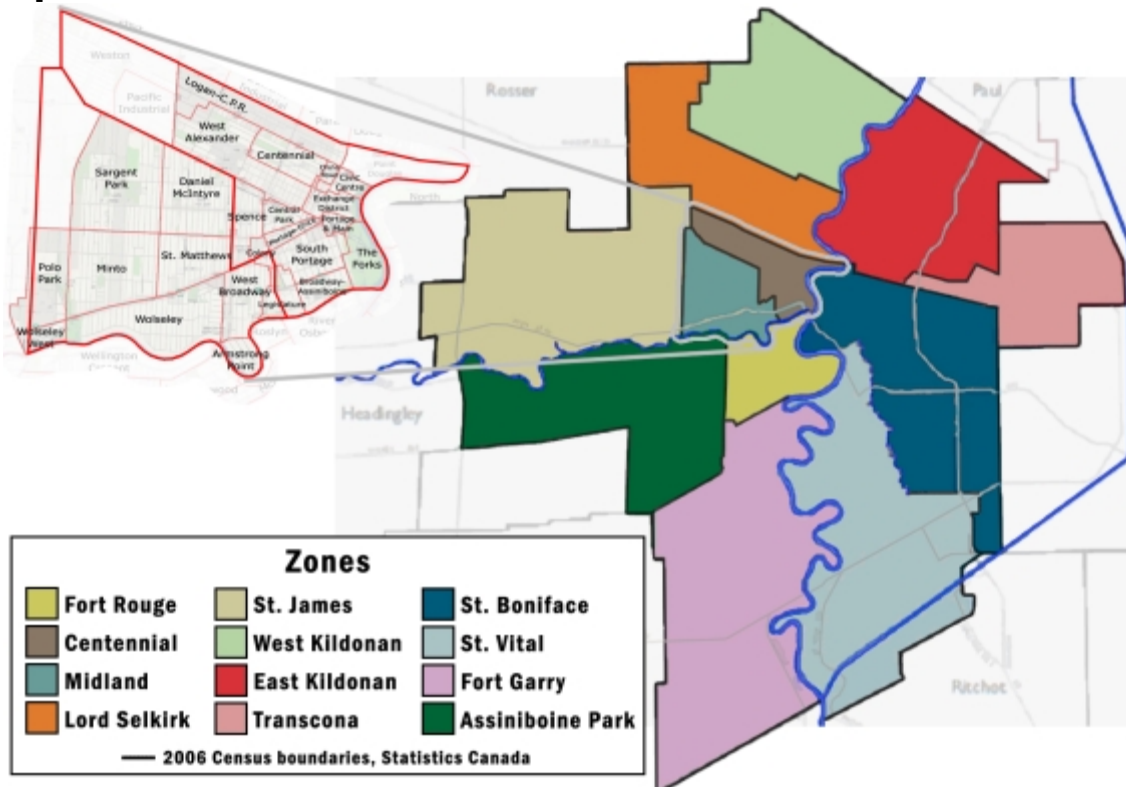
Source: 2006 Statistics Canada Census, Neighbourhood Profiles

* While this category existed prior to 2006, the breakdown of the groups within the category was different and as such cannot be compared to previous years and has not included prior years.

Map 1: Neighbourhood boundary lines



Map 2: CMHC Midland and Centennial zones



its total income on essentials (food, clothes, shelter) than the average family, then it falls below the LICO.

Families, individuals and children in Spence, Daniel McIntyre, and West Broadway are at greater risk of experiencing poverty than families living in the City of Winnipeg in general (Table 2). These data demonstrate that families and individuals alike are more likely to experience poverty within these three inner city neighbourhoods than in the city of Winnipeg in general.

These data are important when examining rental housing trends. Individuals who fall into the low-income category are the most vulnerable to displacement due to rising rent costs and lowered vacancy rates, both of which are currently occurring in Winnipeg and both of which result in fewer safe and affordable housing options.

In a rental market characterized by extremely low vacancy rates, lower-income tenants may

be directly displaced via condo conversion or through the conversion of rooming houses to single-family dwellings. Additionally, low-income earners risk being indirectly displaced by the rising rents caused by increasing demand combined with reduced housing supply (Market, 1988).

Core-housing need

Core-housing need describes households or individuals who face greater barriers to accessing adequate housing. Households in core-housing need include individuals who reside in housing that has one or a combination of the following characteristics: in need of major repairs; does not have enough bedrooms to provide for the size of the household or; costs 30 percent or more of total before-tax income. As noted by Statistics Canada the primary cause of most households falling into core-housing need is affordability (<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/050105/dq050105b-eng.htm>).

Table 3: Average Rents, 2007-2009: Midland Zone, CMHC Rental Market Report

	Average Rent Bachelor	Average Rent 1 Bedroom	Average Rent 2 Bedroom	Average Rent 3 Bedroom
2009	\$438	\$507	\$657	\$788
2008	\$434	\$494	\$595	*
2007	\$426	\$494	\$582	\$632

Source: CMHC Market Housing Report, 2008, 2009

* Data suppressed to protect confidentiality or data is not statistically reliable

Table 4: Average Rents, 2007-2009: Centennial Zone (Spence is comprised within the Centennial Zone)

	Average Rent Bachelor	Average Rent 1 Bedroom	Average Rent 2 Bedroom	Average Rent 3 Bedroom
2009	\$432	\$596	\$820	*
2008	\$476	\$580	\$782	\$826
2007	\$469	\$566	\$768	*

Source: CMHC Market Housing Report, 2008, 2009

* Data suppressed to protect confidentiality or data is not statistically reliable

Rent increases and core-housing need in Inner-City 'zones'

The Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation reports on vacancy rates and rent increases in urban neighbourhoods using zones established by Statistics Canada. The zones do not correspond directly to the three neighbourhoods examined in this report, however the three neighbourhoods are encompassed within two of the zones used in the CMHC reports and data pertaining to each zone can give an indication of overall trends (*see Map 2*). The Midland zone encompasses both Daniel McIntyre and West Broadway and is bounded by; North/East: Notre Dame Avenue; Sherbrook St. to Portage Ave., Portage to Osborne St., to Assiniboine River; South: Assiniboine River; West: St. James St.. Spence Neighbourhood is encompassed within Centennial Zone which is bounded by; North: C.P. Rail Winnipeg Yards; East: Red River; South: Assiniboine to Osborne St., north on Osborne to Portage Ave., Portage to Sherbrook St., Sherbrook to Notre Dame Ave.; West: Keewatin St.. Data from CMHC should be examined with the recognition that while these neighbourhoods are encompassed within the CMHC zones, other neighbourhoods with differing characteristics are also represented

within these data and as such any conclusions drawn should be applied with caution when referring to the individual neighbourhoods.

When examining average rent increases (Table 3) both in the Midland Zone and Centennial zone (Table 4) as well as within the greater city of Winnipeg, it is interesting to note that the moderate level rent increases seem to contradict claims that low-level income earners are being priced out of the rental market. Additionally, a marginal increase in median income has occurred in all neighbourhoods (Table 6).

However, what marginal rent increases may obscure is the large number of people already spending more than 30 per cent of their income on housing and shelter costs (Table 5). In both Spence and Daniel McIntyre, 43.6 per cent and 43.5 per cent respectively of tenant occupied households were spending more than 30 per cent of their income on shelter compared to 37.3 per cent in the city of Winnipeg (Table 5). West Broadway has 45.8 per cent of tenant occupied households in core-housing need. If an individual or family is already falling into core-housing need, even a marginal increase in rent will take additional funds away from other necessities such as

Table 5: Tenant occupied households spending 30 per cent or more household income on shelter

	Spence	West Broadway	Daniel McIntyre	City of Winnipeg
1996	58%	64.7%	48.2%	43.5%
2001	47.6%	52.7%	43.5%	38.0%
2006	43.6%	45.8%	43.5%	37.3%

Source: 2001, 2006 Statistics Canada Census, Neighbourhood Profiles

Table 6: Median Income 2006, Single individuals in Spence, West Broadway and City of Winnipeg

	Spence	West Broadway	Daniel McIntyre	City of Winnipeg
2001	\$12,296	\$13,622	\$15,539	No data in neighbourhood census
2006	\$13,346	\$14,371	\$17,642	\$26,016

Source: 2006 Statistics Canada Census, Neighbourhood Profiles

food. It is also important to note that while CMHC surveys landlords regarding average rent increases, response is not mandatory. Within smaller rental universes even one or two failures to respond can result in a skewed result and as such may not give an entirely accurate depiction of the true nature of the number of renters facing increased rents.

All three neighbourhoods have seen a decrease in the number of tenant occupied households falling into core-housing need between 1996 and 2006 (Table 5). While on the surface this appears to be a positive trend, there is more we need to know. For example we don't know if the decrease of renters in core-housing need is attributable to improved circumstances for residents. In fact it is more likely that the shrinking supply of low-cost rental housing has displaced low-income residents and made way for an influx of new higher-income renters. While general statistics show fewer people in the neighbourhood experiencing core-housing need, they do not tell us who these people are and/or the length of their tenure in the neighbourhood. To better understand these data, further research

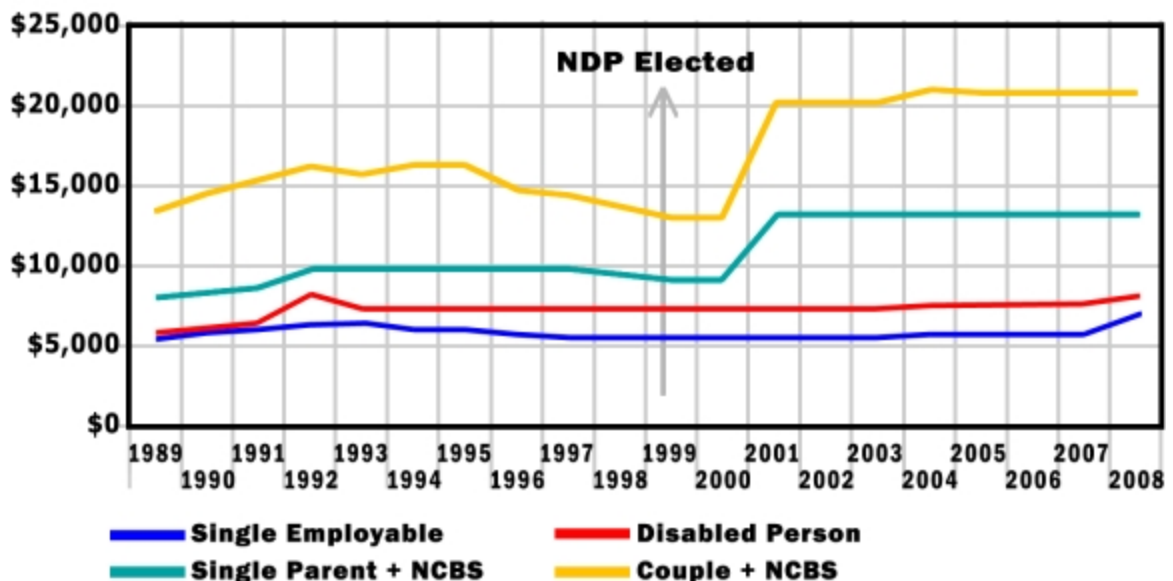
regarding changes to the specific incomes of the population of each neighbourhood, length of tenure and in/out migration of individuals and families is needed. Additionally, it may be useful to examine any migration trends occurring among people on social assistance as those are generally the first to be displaced because of an increasingly competitive rental market.

EIA and rent increases

Individuals on Employment Income Assistance (EIA) consistently remain in a high level of core-housing need. Over a ten-year period, average welfare rates for single and disabled persons have remained relatively stagnant (Figure 2) and shelter allowances remain much lower than average rents (Tables 7 and 8). The percentage of income that welfare recipients spent on shelter has ranged from 76 per cent in 1999, to a high of 97 per cent in 2007 (Table 8).

The current basic rent allowance that is provided by welfare for a single adult per month is \$285 (including heat, electricity and water)

Figure 2: Basic Social Assistance Rates, Manitoba w/ NCBS, 1989–2010



Source: Social Planning Council of Winnipeg

while the average gross rent for a bachelor within the Midland Zone is \$438/month (Table 3), which leaves a gap of \$153. If an adult with no disabilities and no dependents were to rent an average bachelor suite within any of the three neighbourhoods (\$486), they would, on average, be spending 71 per cent of their total monthly income (of \$616.40) on shelter, 2.3 times the amount required to qualify as being in core-housing need. Renting a bachelor outside of the inner city would constitute 78 per cent of their monthly allowance leaving a mere \$130.40 dollars for food and other necessities. Anecdotal evidence suggests that individuals on EIA are using some of their food allowance monies to 'top up' their shelter allowance and then frequenting food banks or finding other methods to compensate for the resulting shortfall.

These data demonstrate the high level of shelter insecurity that individuals on EIA face. In examining these numbers, questions arise as to where people on Employment Income Assistance (EIA) are living, and in what kind of conditions, if they can't afford even a bachelor suite. Further questions arise regarding where these residents will go if the low-income rental units that do exist are eliminated in favour of higher-end rentals or condo conversions.

While it may not be all that surprising that persons on EIA would have difficulty finding affordable housing given that EIA rates have been slow to increase relative to the rental market, the current minimum wage rate of \$9.50/hour is also insufficient to elevate an individual from core-housing need (in all housing types). An individual working 40 hours per week at \$9.50/hour would be spending 32 per cent of her before-tax income on shelter if she were renting an average bachelor suite in the city of Winnipeg (Table 10). These data dispel the myth that getting people off EIA and into entry-level jobs will improve the living conditions of low-income individuals.

New immigrant population

In 2008, 11,230 new immigrants entered Manitoba (<http://www.gov.mb.ca/labour/immigration/index.html>). The MB government has announced a target of 20,000 new immigrants per year over the next ten years (<http://www.gov.mb.ca/labour/immigration/index.html>). New arrivals tend to initially occupy the rental housing market, which has raised concern that the vacancy rate will only get lower if sufficient new housing is not created in proportion to new arrivals.

It is important to note that there are different

Table 7: Rent increases in Winnipeg CMA 1999-2009

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Bach.	\$337	\$339	\$357	\$378	\$379	\$388	\$405	\$420	\$451	\$464	\$447
All	\$500	\$514	\$521	\$537	\$554	\$568	\$589	\$608	\$638	\$663	\$690

Source: CMHC Rental Market Reports-Winnipeg CMA1999-2009

Table 8: EIA rates/ year

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Single employable adult	\$5,352	\$5,352	\$5,352	\$5,352	\$5,352	\$5,572	\$5,592	\$5,592	\$5,592	\$6,816
Per cent of total EIA spent on rent	76%	76%	80%	85%	85%	84%	87%	90%	97%	82%

Source: Social Planning Committee of Winnipeg

demographic groups that make up the immigrant population. Those who constitute the “immigrant” categories tend to have more job-market skills, maintain higher levels of education and literacy, and tend to transition fairly quickly from the renter market into the housing market. Alternatively, those defined as “refugees” tend to have lower levels of job-place skills, low levels of literacy and they tend to occupy the rental market for longer periods. Often many refugees have spent time in refugee camps, sometimes years, where they were prevented from attaining a formal education and from acquiring job skills and work experience. Many refugee families cannot afford to buy a house even four years after arrival in Canada (Carter & Osborne, 2009: 317) and as such, contribute to an already tight rental housing market. Refugees in particular face great difficulties in their search for affordable and safe housing which results in many of them settling into inner-city neighbourhoods (Carter & Osborne, 2009: 309).

Because their familial makeup tends to be larger and younger, overcrowding is a major concern for refugee families, many of whom

need three and four bedroom units (Carter & Osborne, 2009: 312). However these larger units make up only 2 per cent of the rental universe in Winnipeg (CMHC, Spring 2010 Manitoba highlights: 5). It should also be noted that larger units can allow families to live more affordably as they can house a greater number of people able to contribute to monthly shelter costs (Distasio, 2003).

While there are no data in the Canadian census to identify refugees from the greater immigrant population and track where they settle, a recent study found that 80 per cent of new immigrants and refugees are spatially concentrated in the inner city. Additionally, 85 per cent of new arrivals have incomes below the LICO with approximately 64 per cent being unemployed at the time of arrival, further limiting access to adequate and affordable housing (Carter & Osborne, 2009: 312). Empirical evidence suggests that inadequate housing inhibits proper integration, resulting in “poor health, educational and employment opportunities” (Carter & Osborne, 2009: 309).

Table 9: EIA shelter assistance 2010 (original)

Family Size	Basic Rent Allowance	Rent with Heat, Lights and Water
1 Person	\$243	\$285
2 Persons	\$285	\$387
3 Persons	\$310	\$430
4 Persons	\$351	\$471
5 Persons	\$371	\$488
6 Persons	\$387	\$513

Data retrieved from Province of Manitoba. Employment and Income Assistance Facts. Available at <<http://www.gov.mb.ca/fs/eiafacts/rental.html>>

Table 10: Comparison of Average Rents in City of Winnipeg, 2007-2010

Average Rent Bachelor		Average Rent 1 Bedroom		Average Rent 2 Bedroom		Average Rent 3 Bedroom	
Oct 07	Apr 10	Oct 07	Apr 10	Oct 07	Apr 10	Oct 07	Apr 10
\$451	\$486	\$578	\$633	\$740	\$816	\$874	\$978

Source: CMHC Rental Market Report-Winnipeg CMA, Fall 2009

The 2010 provincial budget included funding to create 400 additional social housing units as part of the government's strategy to create 1,500 units in the province over the next five years (<http://news.gov.mb.ca/news/index.html?archive=&item=8121>). This move is a positive step towards an increase in the number of housing units but falls short of providing the 1000 units a year over five years that housing advocates estimate is needed to keep up with demand. When the contention that housing is "one of the most important determinants of health" (MacKinnon, 2010: 139) is positioned against the shortage of affordable and adequate rental stock in, it becomes evident that a safe, affordable housing supply is much more than a matter of real estate. Housing policy has the potential to either negatively or positively impact the health of whole communities, and can set the stage for healthy integration of new Canadians.

Aboriginal population

Spence, West Broadway and Daniel McIntyre all have much higher rates of Aboriginal population than the areas outside of the inner city (Table 11). From the increased occurrence of poverty amongst Aboriginal households (Table 12), it can be hypothesized that Aboriginal populations within these neighbourhoods experience a higher level of vulnerability when the rental supply is reduced. It has also been noted that the overlapping concentration between the Aboriginal and recent immigrant population in the inner city has "[set] the stage for the competition for affordable housing amongst the two groups" (Carter & Osborne, 2009: 321) and that the two groups tend to compete for "very few units, generally of lower quality and at prices that are higher than they can afford" (Carter & Osborne, 2009: 321, 312).

Aboriginal populations in Manitoba have been demonstrated to have a greater risk of

Table 11: Aboriginal Population*

Aboriginal Identity**	Spence	West Broadway	Daniel McIntyre	City of Winnipeg
1996	28%	27.8%	15.4%	7.1%
2001	32.3%	26.4%	19.3%	9.6%
2006	30.9%	23.9%	17.2%	11.2%

Source: 1996, 2001, 2006-Statistics Canada Census, Neighbourhood Profiles

* In 2001, the categories for counting Aboriginal populations changed between 1996 and 2001. In 1996 the category was 'Aboriginal population', in 2001, the category broke into two: 'Aboriginal Origin' and 'Aboriginal Identity'. In 2006 the category of 'Aboriginal Origin' was further changed to 'Aboriginal Ancestry'. To best compare data Table 12 comprises the 1996 Aboriginal population, Aboriginal Origin category in 2001 and 2006's Aboriginal Ancestry.

** This category includes Métis single response, North American Indian single response, Inuit single response, multiple aboriginal response, and Aboriginal responses not included elsewhere.

**Table 12: Aboriginal and Overall Household Poverty Rates (before tax):
Winnipeg and Winnipeg Inner City, 1996-2006**

Year	Households in poverty in Wpg	Aboriginal households in poverty	Aboriginal poverty compared with non-Aboriginal	Aboriginal households in poverty in inner city
1996	28.4%	64.7%	2.27%	80.3%
2001	24.7%	53.7%	2.17%	71.3%
2006	20.2%	46.0%	2.27%	65.0%

Source: State of the Inner City Report 2009, CCPA-Mb

becoming and remaining homeless when moving to urban centres such as Winnipeg (Mulligan, 2008: 6). It has been estimated that 75–80 per cent of the homeless in Winnipeg are of Aboriginal descent (Mulligan, 2008: 6).

Aboriginal and refugee populations are more likely to experience low-income status and occupy positions as renters within the housing market. These two combined factors increase vulnerability to homelessness and demonstrate the need to maintain existing and create new rental units that prove both affordable and accessible to these groups.

As demonstrated by the high percentage of low-income residents in all three neighbourhoods, there is a strong need for quality affordable housing in each area. Areas and residents vulnerable to displacement are in need of effective strategy to mitigate harmful consequences. Despite prevalent reports of the

negative aspects of Winnipeg’s inner city, area residents report a number of positive aspects including centrality of location, proximity of family and a strong feeling of community, and have frequently expressed the desire to remain in the inner city.

The following section will examine the demographics specific to residents of Spence, Daniel McIntyre and West Broadway in relation to one another as well as within the broader context of the city of Winnipeg. This section will expose the vulnerabilities that many within this group experience when trying to secure affordable and adequate housing.

West Broadway

This is what a lone parent living in West Broadway said when she received a notice from the landlord that the rent would increase.

Table 13: Changes in West Broadway Housing Stock

West Broadway	1996	2001	2006	Total +/-1996-2006
Apartment	2,555	2,575	2,530	-25
Apartment-detached duplex	145	195	160	+15
Single-detached house	190	225	175	-15
Semi-detached house	30	30	30	None
Row house	35	35	30	-5
Total # units	2,955	3,060	2,925	-20

Source: 2006-1996 Statistics Canada Census, West Broadway Neighbourhood Profile

Table 14: Source: Dwelling Tenure Changes West Broadway

	West Broadway			Winnipeg		
	1996	2001	2006	1996	2001	2006
Per cent of owners	4.8%	6.2%	7.2%	62%	63.6%	65.1%
Per cent of renters	95.2%	93.8%	92.8%	38.0%	36.4%	34.9%

Source: 2006-1996 Statistics Canada Census, West Broadway Neighbourhood Profile

Table 15: Average Gross Rent in West Broadway

	1996	2001	2006
West Broadway	\$382	\$493	\$451

Source: 2006-1996 Statistics Canada Census, West Broadway Neighbourhood Profile

The quote is from an article called, *Where Exactly Are We All Supposed to Go?* (March/April 2010 edition of *The Broadcaster*):

“Everyone was shocked and outraged. They applied for an increase nearly 9%. This

would translate into an increase of between 50-80 dollars more monthly for tenants here ... my daughter is not quite school age, and my income is very low and very fixed—it’s real difficult. My rent went up by about \$50 a month. That’s about \$600 more out of

Table 16: Tenant occupied households spending 30% or more of household income

West Broadway	
1996	64.7%
2001	52.7%
2006	45.8%

Source: 2006-1996 Statistics Canada Census, West Broadway Neighbourhood Profile

Table 17: Rent Increase Applications in West Broadway & Spence, October 2005 to September 2008 (Data unavailable for Daniel McIntyre)

Neighbourhood	# Of Rental Units Affected	# Of Applications	Total Capital	Average Capital	Average Rent Increase Requested	Average Rent Increase Granted
Spence	328	14	\$1,077,730	\$76,981	23.9%	17.4%
West Broadway	882	31	\$1,820,046	\$58,711	17%	15.1%

Source: State of the Inner City Report 2008

Table 18: Rent Increase Applications in West Broadway, Spence, Daniel McIntyre from October 2008 to March 2010

Neighbourhood	# Of Complexes Affected	# Of Rental Units Affected	# Of Applications	Total Capital	Average Capital	Average Rent Increase Requested	Average Rent Increase Granted
Spence	5	85	6	\$179,951	\$29,991.83	16%	9.2%
West Broadway	17	473	20	\$1,686,572	\$84,328.60	19.3%	15.2%
Daniel McIntyre	4	82	5	\$145,023	\$29,004.60	11.4%	11.3%

Source: Manitoba Residential Tenancies Branch

Table 19: Private Apartment Vacancy Rates (per cent) by bedroom type, Midland Zone

	Bachelor		1 Bedroom		2 Bedroom		3 Bedroom +		Total	
	Oct 08	Oct 09	Oct 08	Oct 09	Oct 08	Oct 09	Oct 08	Oct 09	Oct 08	Oct 09
Midland Zone	1.3	2.0	1.5	1.4	1.4	0.9	*	0.0*	1.4	1.4

Source: CMHC Fall 2009. Data is unavailable specific to neighbourhoods concerning vacancy, Midland Zone includes the Daniel McIntyre and West Broadway neighbourhoods, Centennial Zone includes Spence neighbourhood.

* Data suppressed to protect confidentiality or data is not statistically reliable

** Data suppressed to protect confidentiality or data is not statistically reliable

my pocket every year. When you're living below the poverty line — this new rent is a huge chunk".

West Broadway is bounded by: Portage Ave. on the north; Osborne St. on the east; the Assiniboine River and Cornish Ave. on the south and Maryland St. on the west. Located in close proximity to downtown, an expanding university campus and surrounding neighbourhoods with greater economic security, West Broadway is a neighbourhood noted for its vulnerability to gentrification (Silver, 2006). The displacement of low-income earners as a result of increasing rents and a shrinking housing supply is a primary concern to housing advocates in West Broadway.

Changes in housing stock and dwelling tenure (Tables 13 and 14) tell an interesting story in West Broadway. Even with a decline in the number of units being rented over the ten-year period, West Broadway remains a neighbourhood with an extremely high number of renters (92.8 per cent) compared to owners (7.2 per cent) (Table 14). However, these data — combined with anecdotal observations made by community advocates and members — indicate a trending within West Broadway towards ownership. The number of units that were owned increased during both census periods, for a total of 65 units over the ten-year period.

As noted in the previous section, the number

of households experiencing core-housing need has decreased in West Broadway (Table 16, page 42) but still remains high with 45.8 per cent of tenant occupied households in West Broadway spending 30 per cent or more on shelter. Changes made to the 2006 Census prevents comparison of individuals within each income bracket and as such, it is difficult to determine whether the decrease in the number of people falling into core-housing need is indicative of improvement in low-income status or rather is the result of displacement of low-income earners in favour of higher-income groups. However, the median income has remained extremely low (\$14,371) in comparison to the greater city of Winnipeg (\$26,016) and as such would seem to indicate that a large portion of individuals within West Broadway still face economic hardship. The median income remains at a level which would dictate that average shelter costs fall below \$359.28 per month in order to escape core-housing need.

Since 2005, West Broadway has been affected by more than twice the number of above guideline increases than the other two inner city neighbourhoods (Tables 17 and 18). Between 2005 and 2010, 1,355 units were affected by above guideline rent increases in West Broadway (Tables 17 and 18). Average rent increases granted above the guideline in West Broadway was 15.15 per cent (Tables 17 and 18). The large amount of capital invested (Table 18) indicates that the approvals were pri-

Table 20: Changes in Spence Neighbourhood Housing Stock

SPENCE	1996	2001	2006	Total +/- 1996-2006
Apartment	1050	1120	1,225	+175
Apartment-detached duplex	210	165	115	-95
Single-detached house	320	315	365	+45
Semi-detached house	0	25	45	+45
Row house	10	15	15	+5
Total # units	1595	1640	1765	+170

Source: 2006-1996 Statistics Canada Census, Spence Neighbourhood Profile, p 16

marily large-scale renovations. Many units within West Broadway are being renovated and landlords are allowed to raise rents well above the provincial guideline, ultimately shrinking the supply of units that are affordable to low-income earners.

According to our community partners, the conversion of rooming houses to single-family dwellings poses great potential for displacement because of the generally low-income status of most rooming-house residents. One owner in West Broadway recently converted two rooming houses (14 suites) into high-end rental suites resulting in the eviction of all of the tenants. Lack of financial security means that individuals who live in rooming houses are very often one step away from being homeless. Concerns similarly exist in West

Broadway regarding the conversion of existing apartment rentals into condominiums. The city does not issue specific permits for the conversion of rental units to condominiums, nor is there a change in zoning when converting from a rental unit to condominium. The lack of tracking by the city makes it difficult to identify the number of units that have been or are going to be, converted specifically within West Broadway. Nonetheless, West Broadway Renewal Corporation (WBRC) estimates that there has been a loss of 27 rental units since 2003.

Spence

“At Spence Neighbourhood Association, we are finding it important to recognize all community members as being part of the

Table 21: Private Apartment Vacancy Rates (per cent) by bedroom type, Centennial Zone

	Bachelor 1		Bedroom 2		Bedroom 3		Bedroom +		Total	
	Oct 08	Oct 09	Oct 08	Oct 09	Oct 08	Oct 09	Oct 08	Oct 09	Oct 08	Oct 09
Centennial Zone	3.1	3.0	0.8	1.7	1.7	1.5	3.7	**	1.5	1.9

Source: CMHC Fall 2009. Data is unavailable specific to neighbourhoods concerning vacancy,

* Data suppressed to protect confidentiality or data is not statistically reliable

** Data suppressed to protect confidentiality or data is not statistically reliable

Table 22: Dwelling Tenure Changes: Spence Neighbourhood & City of Winnipeg

	SPENCE			CITY OF WINNIPEG		
	1996	2001	2006	1996	2001	2006
Per cent of owners	19.4%	18.5%	17.5%	62%	63.6%	65.1%
Per cent of renters	80.6%	81.5%	82.5%	38%	36.4%	34.9%

Source: 1996, 2001, 2006 Statistics Canada Census, Spence Neighbourhood Profile

Table 23: Tenant occupied households spending 30 per cent or more of household income

	Spence (overall)	Renters	Homeowners
1996	64.7%	58.0%	25.4%
2001	52.7%	47.6%	14.8%
2006	45.8%	43.6%	7.9%

Source: 1996, 2001, 2006 Statistics Canada Census, Spence Neighbourhood Profile & SICR 2008

community association. Tenants are as important as homeowners, which means that not all our projects can focus on homeownership as the panacea for community improvement. We are refocusing our effort on developing new rental stock and improving existing rental buildings in an effort to keep rents affordable. We want to do our best at community improvement without displacement. This means a greater focus on people rather than buildings. Development that is more concerned with community appearance fails to take in consideration the needs of all the people who live there." Don Miedema—Spence Neighbourhood Association.

The Spence Neighbourhood is bounded by Portage Ave. on the south; Notre Dame Ave. on the north; Balmoral St. on the east and Sherbrook St. on the west. Between 2000 and 2008, Spence Neighbourhood Association (SNA) and partner agencies created more than 200 housing units in Spence, either through infill or renovation projects (CCPA-Mb, 2008: 81). During this period, 99 rental units and 45 owner-occupied houses were renovated, and 16 new rental units and 42 new private ownership houses were added to the housing universe (CCPA-Mb, 2008: 81). It should be noted that the approximate 200 units were created on/from vacant lots or vacant buildings and did not reduce the rental housing stock. Despite an emphasis by the SNA to-

wards homeownership during this period, the area has actually seen a decrease in homeownership and an increase in the number of renters (Table 16). Primary concerns in Spence Neighbourhood include both the disappearance of rental stock through condo conversions, as well as increases in rents through above guideline increases.

While anecdotes about the decreasing rental stock in inner city neighbourhoods abound, when initially examining the data, all dwelling types have actually increased in number with the exception of apartment-detached duplex, which lost 95 units between 1996 and 2006. (Table 20). An overall gain of 175 apartment units, and an increase of five row houses represent a positive step in the neighbourhood. However, the remaining increases arose in the single-detached house (+45) and semi-detached house (+45) both of which, even if they are included in the rental pool, are likely to be unaffordable for most low-income renters. The total number of units increased by 130 within a ten-year period, however an increase in population of 320 people over the same period demonstrates that despite positive steps in increasing the number of rental units, the increase is insufficient to meet the increasing demand. The lowered vacancy rate noted in the CMHC fall 2009 rental report fluctuated between a high of 3.0 per cent (bachelor) to a low of 0.0 (3 bedroom) while the

Table 24: Average Gross Rent in Spence

	1996	2001	2006
Spence	\$438	\$345	\$424

Source: 2006-1996 Statistics Canada Census, Spence Neighbourhood Profile

Table 25: Median Income in Spence

	Spence	Winnipeg
2001	\$12,296	*
2006	\$13,768	\$26,016

Source: 2001 & 2006 Statistics Canada Census, Spence Neighbourhood Profile

*Comparable data unavailable for this year

overall average vacancy rate was 1.9 per cent (Table 21) demonstrating that any gain in supply of rental units has not been sufficient to meet the demand. As losses and gains may represent artificial fluctuations in the housing stock due to units being removed for renovations or being added back post-renovations, a more accurate tracking of the number of units added and being lost is needed.

When vacancy rates are critically low, as they are in both Spence neighbourhood and the Winnipeg CMA in general, landlords have the power to be more selective in regards to prospective tenants. Individuals on social assistance or of a lower socio-economic status may be passed over in favour of higher income earners that may be viewed as more desirable renters.

The median income in Spence has increased by \$1,472 and core-housing has decreased by 18.9 per cent. These numbers are likely indicative of higher income earners moving into Spence with landlords in Spence corroborating this (CCPA-Mb, 2008: 71). The number of individuals in Spence facing core-housing need remains high at 45.8 per cent (Table 23) with renters 5.5 times more likely to spend 30

per cent or more of their income on shelter than owners (Table 23).

The number of rent increase applications received by the RTB for Spence neighbourhood remained relatively constant between October 2005 and March 2010 (Tables 17 and 18, page 42) with approximately four applications per year. On a positive note, this is a decrease in the average rent increase granted—although at 9.2 per cent, it is still 8.2 per cent higher than the 2010 provincial guideline.

A lack of data prevented us from confirming the number of conversions that have already occurred or are planned in Spence, but there is much concern around condo conversion due to the high number of older rental units that often are the target of conversion. The danger of these units being converted increases the vulnerability of area residents to displacement, making further research and tracking of data important.

Daniel McIntyre

“The people of the Daniel McIntyre neighbourhood have expressed their desire to have a healthy balance of home rental and home

Table 26: Changes in Daniel McIntyre Housing Stock

Daniel McIntyre	1996	2001	2006	Total +/- 1996-2006
Apartment	1,330	1,390	1,430	+100
Apartment-detached duplex	230	180	215	-15
Single-detached house	1,965	2,020	1,925	-40
Semi-detached house	60	35	65	+5
Row house	0	20	15	+15
Total # units	3,585	3,645	3,650	+65

Source: 1996-2006 Winnipeg Census

Table 27: Dwelling Tenure Changes: Daniel McIntyre & City of Winnipeg

	Daniel McIntyre			Winnipeg		
	1996	2001	2006	1996	2001	2006
Per cent of owners	46.2%	45.3%	47.6%	62%	63.6%	65.1%
Per cent of renters	53.8%	54.7%	52.4%	38.0%	36.4%	34.9%

ownership options. Rental opportunities must be both affordable and offer a mix of units at market rates. As well as having an inclusive range of housing choices, residents envision a community that is safe, friendly, beautiful and sustainable. As a neighbourhood revitalization organization, Daniel McIntyre / St Matthews Community Association will work together with residents, businesses and community groups to reach these goals.” Anonymous

Daniel McIntyre is bounded by: Notre Dame Ave. on the north; Sherbrook St. on the east; Ellice Ave. on the south; and Ingersol St. on the west. Like other inner city neighbourhoods, Daniel McIntyre has experienced the disappearance of affordable rental stock at a time when it is most in demand (Table 26).

The housing stock in Daniel McIntyre increased between 1996 and 2006 by a total of 65 units. However since the 2006 census survey, a trend of permanent removals has been seen citywide and has been documented by

the Daniel McIntyre/St-Mathews Community Association (DMSMCA). Data gathered by the DMSMCA measured losses of six blocks and 60 rental units that were removed from the rental market due to condo conversion in the last two years within both the Daniel McIntyre and St-Mathews neighbourhoods. While St-Mathews neighbourhood is not a focus of this report, it shares similar characteristics and demographics with Daniel McIntyre and is covered under the purview of DMSMCA. Building neglect has resulted in the loss of three blocks and 100 units over the past three years combined within those same two neighbourhoods. As shown in Table 27, dwelling tenure has decreased a marginal 1.4 per cent over the ten-year period indicating that the balance between renters and owners in Daniel McIntyre remains relatively constant.

Tenant-occupied households spending 30 per cent or more of household income on shelter went down by 4.7 per cent between

Table 28: Tenant occupied households spending 30 per cent or more of household income

	Daniel McIntyre	Winnipeg
1996	48.2%	43.5%
2001	43.5%	38.0%
2006	43.5%	37.3%

Table 29: Average Gross Rent in Daniel McIntyre

	1996	2001	2006
Daniel McIntyre	\$407	\$400	\$493

Source: 2006-1996 Statistics Canada Census, Daniel McIntyre Neighbourhood Profile

Table 30: Median Income in Daniel McIntyre

	Daniel McIntyre	Winnipeg
2001	\$15,539	*
2006	\$17,642	\$26,016

Source: 2001 & 2006 Statistics Canada Census, Daniel McIntyre Neighbourhood Profile

*Comparable data unavailable for this year

1996 and 2001 and remained frozen for the following five years (Table 28). This decrease indicates that fewer people in Daniel McIntyre are spending excessive amounts of their income on shelter, however it doesn't tell us whether this is a result of displacement of lower-income tenants from the neighbourhood or whether the circumstances of long-term area residents are improving. The increase in median income (Table 30) raises similar questions.

Eighty-two units were affected by above guideline rent increase between October 2008 and March 2010, with the average approval permitting an average increase of 11.3 per cent. The already high number of people in core-housing need indicates that more affordable housing, not less, is needed and therefore rent increases create a greater risk for displacement for area residents.

Daniel McIntyre and Spence neighbourhoods face very similar issues and in fact appear to be so similar that it is near impossible to differentiate between the two areas without knowing the dividing boundaries. Both neighbourhoods are changing as a result of significant developments. Spence is faced with the encroaching development of a University campus on the east, while Daniel McIntyre faces the expanding homeowner push from the West. While these two neighbourhoods have yet to face the scale of gentrification experienced in West Broadway, there is legitimate concern that similar patterns are beginning to emerge.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

The housing challenge in the three neighbourhoods examined in this paper is a snapshot of a much bigger housing problem. While gentrification has some positive effects—by creating mixed-income neighbourhoods—it can also lead to instability as some long-time residents are squeezed out. This displacement leads to further concentration of poverty in the few remaining inner-city neighbourhoods where rental housing remains affordable. The neighbourhood renewal corporations are doing their best to work within their communities and with the public and private sector to find solutions.

But housing remains a complex issue and we should be wary of one-size-fits all solutions. Neither government nor the market is adequately equipped to address this issue alone. For example, while limiting increases in rent through rent regulations and controlling rent to condo conversions can help protect low-income renters, it won't address the shortage of supply.

Allowing housing stock and prices to be determined in an unregulated market will similarly not provide an adequate solution because it limits accessibility, particularly amongst low-income earners. An increase in social housing units will help address the housing needs of some low-income renters, but it is not likely to be sufficient to meet the growing demand and it won't address the broader need for rental housing. Therefore both public and private solutions will be required, but govern-

Table 31: Private Apartment Vacancy Rates (per cent) by bedroom type, Midland % Centennial Zones

	Bachelor		1 Bedroom		2 Bedroom		3 Bedroom +		Total	
	Oct 08	Oct 09	Oct 08	Oct 09	Oct 08	Oct 09	Oct 08	Oct 09	Oct 08	Oct 09
Midland Zone	1.3	2.0	1.5	1.4	1.4	0.9	*	0.0	1.4	1.4

Source: CMHC Fall 2009. Data is unavailable specific to neighbourhoods concerning vacancy,

* Data suppressed to protect confidentiality or data is not statistically reliable

ment will need to play a central role, directly—through increasing supply—and indirectly—by providing the private sector with incentives to encourage rental development for low and mid income renters.

Landlords, in conjunction with proper government assistance programs, have the potential to assert positive influence within neighbourhoods. For example, the federal/provincial Rental Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (Rental RRAP) is a program that offers forgivable loans to landlords for eligible repairs in self-contained units that house low-income tenants. It is a positive step towards providing low-income housing options for those who do not qualify, are unable to access, or choose not to live in social housing. One landlord who owns properties in the Spence Neighbourhood noted that an increase in the number of RRAP's offered to landlords would aid in addressing low-income housing shortages.

In all three neighbourhoods, rooming houses make up a significant portion of housing for low-income individuals, however concerns regarding security, adequate maintenance, and vulnerability to displacement have been expressed by both residents and researchers. RRAP offers funding specific to rooming houses with rental rates at or below the established levels for the market area and as such, could prove to be helpful in maintaining affordable housing options while contributing to better maintenance and security of the buildings.

RRAP has been noted by both landlords and community housing advocates as a positive step in maintaining low-income housing, however it has also been noted that greater funds are required to ensure that more affordable rental housing is preserved. We recommend that funding for RRAP be increased as a partial solution to the loss of existing affordable rental housing. We also recommend that

RRAP funding be strategically allocated to communities in greatest need and that Manitoba Housing make information about the allocation of RRAP dollars more accessible to the public.

Other federal/provincial initiatives have contributed to an increase in supply and the Manitoba government's commitment to increase the number of social housing units by 1500 in five years will help. But it won't be near enough. Housing advocates continue to argue that a comprehensive national housing strategy will be required if we are to sufficiently tackle this issue nation-wide. A strategy could serve to better coordinate efforts between the federal and provincial governments as well as introduce measures to spur private development. One promising development in this regard is The National Housing Strategy: Bill C-304. At time of writing Bill C-304 is scheduled for its third and final reading and is expected to pass with the support of the Liberals, the NDP and the Bloc. However the Conservatives are expected to oppose the Bill and this could delay it moving forward. Nonetheless, it is an important step and has the potential to move us closer in the direction we need to go.

While much of the responsibility for affordable rental housing lies with the federal and provincial governments, there is much that cities can do. The city of Winnipeg provides support for a select number of community initiatives through the Housing Investment Reserve Fund and they have in the past contributed to new housing development by transferring ownership of vacant lots to affordable housing developers. Tax Increment Financing (TIF) has been an area where the City of Winnipeg has had some success in providing investment incentives for the private sector. TIF creates funding for projects by borrowing against future expected property tax revenues. Winnipeg's Multiple Family/Mixed-Use Building Grant Program provided grants that were

equal to the incremental taxes on improved property for up to 15 years. This program, which was recently terminated, provided grants to developers in older neighbourhoods.

There is much more to be done at the municipal level. In this regard the City of Winnipeg can look to other jurisdictions who are responding to affordable rental issues through various means. We propose that the City of Winnipeg implement the following policies similar to those in other major cities. Examples include:

Inclusionary Zoning

Inclusionary Zoning is a policy used to increase the amount of affordable housing. Inclusionary Zoning policies require developers to include a minimum number of 'affordable' units in their development plans. While policies can be mandatory or voluntary (with incentives), mandatory approaches work best. Using this approach, developers can opt out of building affordable units by paying a fee that could then be applied toward affordable housing.

Condominium Conversion Regulations

As noted, many cities are regulating apartment-to-condo conversion when vacancy rates are low. Given the challenges described in this paper, Winnipeg should do the same. Introducing and enforcing a by-law that limits apartment-condo conversion when rental vacancy is critically low (under 2%) could prove helpful in limiting the conversion of existing rental stock. At the same time the city and province could establish an incentive program to promote the conversion of vacant industrial space or derelict/boarded up buildings into rental and or condo developments. This could encourage the revitalization of vacant buildings while also protecting existing low-income rental units.

It is encouraging that the Manitoba government is in the process of updating the Manitoba Condominium Act however there is some concern that changes will focus on protection of purchasers. As described, in a low-vacancy environment it is renters that are most affected by conversions and therefore they too must be considered.

Housing Development Fund

Many U.S. and some Canadian cities have established Housing Funds to support the development of affordable housing. The City of Winnipeg's existing Housing Investment Reserve Fund is far too limited in scope. It provides \$1 million annually to specific organizations and excludes neighbourhoods that are in dire need. The fund has not changed or grown since it was first introduced in the late 1990s and it is time to bring the 'fund' into the 21st century. It should be redesigned as a more comprehensive "affordable housing fund" that maintains existing programs but is expanded to include grants and loans to encourage development of rental housing for low-income families across the city. While it is recommended that such a fund could be accessed by both for-profit and non-profit organizations, we would recommend that special consideration should be given to projects that integrate a training and employment component for at risk inner-city youth. Following examples in other cities, Winnipeg can build a fund using multiple revenue options (development fees, inclusionary zoning cash-in-lieu, portion of revenue from hotel tax, leverage from other levels of government, and others).

RRAP and TIF

The Multiple Family/Mixed-Use Building Grant Program should be reinstated and redesigned along the principles of Inclusionary Zoning. The municipality, being the delivery agent for RRAP in Winnipeg, can effectively use TIF incentives to promote mixed-rehabilitation projects, with a percentage of rental

units receiving RRAP. This approach would not only promote mixed-income development, but will also stretch the RRAP funding further by impacting more multiple family rental buildings throughout the inner-city.

The above policy recommendations are far from exhaustive and many others should be explored. The main challenge will be to es-

tablish a comprehensive package that responds to the complexity of issues, including both supply and demand. In Winnipeg's inner city, it will be particularly important to ensure that the unique needs of low-income individuals and families are a priority if we are to mitigate the consequences of inadequate housing.

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