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CED
IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Summary of Urban Issues Related to CED in the New Economy

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MANITOBA RESEARCH ALLIANCE CED IN THE NEW ECONOMY

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SUMMARY OF URBAN ISSUES RELATED TO CED IN THE NEW ECONOMY*

The Manitoba Research Alliance on Community Economic Development in the New Economy (referred to throughout this document as the Research Alliance or the MRA) is a three-year research project to examine how communities might overcome obstacles and share in the benefits created by the New Economy. We identified Community Economic Development (CED), a development strategy that emphasizes local self-sufficiency, local decision making and local ownership, as a strategic response to assist communities in taking up the opportunities and meeting the challenges created by the transition to a New Economy.

The Research Alliance brings together academic researchers from the universities of Manitoba, Winnipeg and Brandon; senior government policy makers; and practitioners active in Manitoba's dynamic CED community (and elsewhere). The lead organization is the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives–Manitoba, a community-based research institute uniquely positioned to make such community-university connections. The team's Principal Investigator is Dr. John Loxley, Professor of Economics at the University of Manitoba. The Research Alliance was launched in late 2002, and it funded and oversaw more than 40 individual research projects chosen to help meet the larger project's overall goals. This research was conducted by academics, students and community researchers, in many cases working in teams. These projects have been successful, not only in their particular research findings, but also in providing opportunities for students and community researchers to receive practical research training. And they have bridged the gaps between academic disciplines, and between the university and the larger community. While focussing primarily on Manitoba, the composition of the Alliance has enabled it to draw on experiences from across Canada and beyond.

This publication is one of ten summary publications prepared by the Research Alliance. These publications, which we have come to call "kits," describe the results of our research, and the kits are organized by audience or by theme. It should be emphasized that we are not — nor could we be — comprehensive in addressing these themes. Rather, we have identified a wide range of research results based on the specific research projects that we undertook. The themes and audiences for the kits arose out of the research, as we think these themes are the most effective way to organize the results.

* We are pleased to acknowledge the generous financial support of the Initiative on the New Economy of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council; via the Manitoba Research Alliance on Community Economic Development in the New Economy. For further information please see: http://www.manitobaresearchallianceced.ca.

The complete list of kits is as follows:

1. The impacts of the New Economy
2. The potential of Community Economic Development
3. Government policy regarding Community Economic Development and the New Economy
4. The role of gender in Community Economic Development and the New Economy
5. Aboriginal issues in Community Economic Development and the New Economy
6. Business issues in Community Economic Development and the New Economy
7. Education issues in Community Economic Development and the New Economy (aimed at educators)
8. Urban issues in Community Economic Development and the New Economy
9. Rural issues in Community Economic Development and the New Economy
10. Northern issues in Community Economic Development and the New Economy

These kits, along with the rest of the publications prepared by or for the Research Alliance, can be downloaded for free from www.manitobaresearchallianceced.ca. Much of the research has also been published by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives — Manitoba (www.policyalternatives.ca/mb).

A note on sources

This kit is informed by all the research carried out, but in particular the information here has been drawn from the following individual projects:

Aboriginal Electoral Participation in Winnipeg's Inner City, by Jim Silver, Cyril Keeper, and Michael MacKenzie

Aboriginal Involvement in Community Development: The Case of Winnipeg's Spence Neighbourhood, by Jim Silver, with Joan Hay and Peter Gorzen

Aboriginal Learners in Selected Adult Learning Centres in Manitoba, by Jim Silver, with Darlene Klyne and Freeman Simard

An Analysis of Winnipeg's Information and Computer Technology Industry within a Community Economic Development Framework, by Melodie Friesen and Ian Hudson

CED-Oriented Business Development Strategies for Winnipeg's North End, by Brendan Reimer

Community Initiation of Welfare-to-Work, by Christopher Leo and Todd Andres

Economics for CED Practitioners, by John Loxley and Laura Lamb

"Government Policy Towards Community Economic Development in Manitoba," by Lynne P. Fernandez

Identifying Employment Opportunities for Low-Income People within the Manitoba Innovation Framework, by Garry Loewen, Jim Silver, Martine August, Patrick Bruning, Michael MacKenzie, and Shauna Meyerson

Social Housing, Neighbourhood Revitalization and CED, by Jan Skelton, Cheryl Selig, and Lawrence Deane

The State of Community Economic Development in Winnipeg, by John Loxley

State Policies to Enhance the New Economy: A Comparative Analysis, by Michael Mackenzie, Jim Silver, and Byron Sheldrick

Young Women Work: Community Economic Development to Reduce Women's Poverty and Improve Income, by Molly McCraken, Kate Dykman, Francine Parent, and Ivy Lopez

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Profile of Urban Communities

In the Manitoba context, "urban" communities usually refers to communities in Winnipeg. Within Winnipeg, two communities in particular are the focus of Community Economic Development efforts: the inner city and the Aboriginal community.

Winnipeg's Inner City

Conditions in Winnipeg's inner city are worse than for Winnipeg as a whole. For particular groups of people and particular neighbourhoods, circumstances are *very* bad. However, there are encouraging signs of improvement in socio-economic conditions, although the challenges — many of which are long-standing — remain severe.

"Incomes in the inner city are low"

Currently the inner city makes up just under 20% of Winnipeg's total population, but the inner-city population is shrinking. Its residents are also highly mobile — more people move more frequently in the inner city than in the rest of the city. These factors add to the challenge of revitalizing the inner city.

The median inner-city family income in 2000 was $36,411, compared with $54,724 city-wide. While inner-city incomes remain below those city-wide, the gap is narrowing. Inner-city median family incomes, as a proportion of median family incomes in Winnipeg, climbed from 61.2% in 1990, to 66.5% in 2000. Adjusted for inflation and represented in constant 2000 dollars, real median inner-city family income increased by 7.0% between 1990 and 2000, while declining by just under 1% city-wide. Census data show that inner-city unemployment rates fell from 14.8% in 1991 to 9.0% in 2001. Over the past decade, the number of employed adults in the inner city increased by almost 6.0%. This improvement is even more significant, given that the number of working-age adults in the inner city fell by 5.0% over the same period. Despite these improvements, the incidence of unemployment continues to be higher in the inner city than in the city as a whole.

"Education levels are improving in the inner city"

Improvements in educational attainment in the inner city are also emerging. According to the 2001 Census, 38.5% of residents 15 years of age and

over in the inner city had less than a high-school education, down from 49% ten years earlier. The number of inner-city residents who hold a university degree has grown by almost 23% over the same period, to more than 13,500 individuals in 2001.

The concentration of low income remains a challenge in the inner city. After peaking at 49.9% in 1995, the household poverty rate in the inner city, as measured by the Statistics Canada Low-Income Cutoffs (LICO), fell to 44.1% in 2000. This is an improvement, but the rate continues to be staggeringly high: almost double the city-wide rate of 24.7%. Poverty rates climb even higher for specific types of inner-city households — lone parents and persons living alone have poverty rates of 60% and 54%, respectively — and for particular neighbourhoods. For example, the household poverty rate in Lord Selkirk Park is an astonishing 87.8%, almost nine in ten, while in Spence and Centennial neighbourhoods, approximately two in every three households have incomes below the LICO. More than 25,000 inner-city households had incomes below the LICO in 2000, accounting for 40% of all households in Winnipeg with low income.

"Poverty rates are high, though not rising"

"Winnipeg's Aboriginal population is young and has relatively low levels of employment"

Winnipeg's Aboriginal Community[1]

Manitoba has a larger proportion of Aboriginal people than any other province in Canada. Almost 38% of Aboriginal people in Manitoba live in Winnipeg. It is by far the largest Aboriginal community in the province, and the largest urban Aboriginal population in Canada. Aboriginal people make up 8.4% of the total population of Winnipeg. Two inner-city federal electoral districts, Winnipeg North and Winnipeg Centre, have greater than 16% Aboriginal populations. Nearly half of Winnipeg's Aboriginal population lives in the inner city.[2]

The Aboriginal population is much younger than the population as a whole, with a median age of 24.7 years in 2001, notably younger than the median age of the general Winnipeg population, 37.1 years.[3] So, while Winnipeg's general population begins to age, the growing Aboriginal population will slow that aging down, and provide large numbers of young new entrants into the labour market in coming years. Although Aboriginal children represent "the economic future" of the province, the Aboriginal population in the past has been significantly underrepresented in the labour market. An remarkably high proportion of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg live in poverty — almost two-thirds, and that number rises to four out of five in the inner city.

What Is the New Economy?[4]

In recent years, a New Economy has emerged, one in which information and knowledge play a central role. The emergence of the New Economy has been credited with generating robust economic growth, new and challenging employment opportunities, new wealth-creation possibilities, and the promise of greatly enhancing the productivity, and, hence, incomes, of people in the rest of the economy. Information technology also offers new opportunities for leisure, education, lifestyle and access to government services.

Some researchers have been quick to caution that the extent and "newness" of the New Economy should not be overstated. Historically, all capitalist economies have experienced cycles of upturn and recession, with the upturns often the result of technological innovations. Information technology is, no doubt, a major innovation, but the fundamental elements of the economy remain in place. Evidence suggests that the only sectors that have experienced extraordinary economic growth in the New Economy are the computer information technology-based sectors.[5] And, since many businesses have already bought and incorporated the new technology, growth in these sectors will level off.[6]

"The benefits of the New Economy growth have not been distributed evenly"

There is also evidence that the benefits of the New Economy growth have not been distributed evenly, and the New Economy may even have hurt the most vulnerable people, creating permanent job insecurity. A "dual-segmented" labour force intensifies the split between high-paying, flexible jobs and deskilled, low-wage, non-unionized, service-sector jobs.[7]

Not surprisingly, given that there is not even general agreement about whether and to what degree a "New Economy" actually exists, there is no foolproof, touchstone definition for the term. However, a number of authors see it as being underpinned by three major structural changes: a rise in general education levels; the development and availability of new information technology; and the increase in "invisible" trade in services, mergers and acquisitions, and the flow of information. This definition was adopted by the Manitoba Research Alliance as a starting point, and was used by many of the researchers on our team.

The New Economy and Disadvantaged Urban Communities

The New Economy appears to hold real potential to counter the effects of social and economic exclusion. For individuals living in disadvantaged communities, such as those in the inner city, the benefits might be realized directly through New Economy jobs and increased productivity, or through related phenomena, such as better educational opportunities, greater access to government, and better state services.[8] That is the promise.

> "Winnipeg is facing a skilled labour shortage"[9]

Manitoba, like much of the industrialized world, is facing a labour shortage, and, in particular, a skilled labour shortage. Loewen et al. surveyed the literature on this issue. Winnipeg is especially likely to be a localized "hot spot," suffering from an acute shortage of skilled workers. The lowest rates of unemployment in the country have consistently been found in Manitoba, and specifically Winnipeg.[10] Winnipeg is a slow-growth city (increasing at an annual rate of 0.04%) in a province that loses about 1000 skilled young workers each year to provincial out-migration. Losing young people is contributing to the greying age structure of the city, where in 2001, 17.2% of residents were over 60 years of age.[11] The tight labour market and demographic aging in Winnipeg point to looming labour shortages, the beginnings of which are already being felt by employers. This underscores the importance of developing skills and employment among the large and growing section of the community represented by Aboriginal youth.

> "Inner cities lack the capacity to take full advantage of the New Economy"

The challenge is that disadvantaged communities typically lack many of the characteristics that would attract New Economy industries. For example, inner cities are frequently characterized by skills shortages, lack of education, low literacy levels, high rates of drug and alcohol dependence, lack of infrastructure and a transient workforce.

In a report prepared for the MRA, Friesen and Hudson analyzed the extent to which the IT industry contributes to or detracts from the objectives of CED. They concluded that the industry does contribute significantly to a number of CED goals, such as providing long-term, stable employment. However, they caution that, to the extent the industry does contribute to economic development in disadvantaged communities or meets other CED goals, it does so unintentionally. In other words, the sector does not *tend to* hire from disadvantaged communities, and is unlikely to do so without government intervention of some sort. This study demonstrates the enormous potential that IT holds for Winnipeg. If it were possible to connect people from target communities with jobs in IT, the benefits would be great. But this will not happen without planned, systematic intervention into the labour market by government and others. Friesen and Hudson's study provides strong support for the general conclusions reached by Loewen et al. in their work on the Innovation Framework for Manitoba.

> "The IT industry in Winnipeg does contribute significantly to meeting some CED goals, but only unintentionally"

What Do We Mean by Community Economic Development?[12]

Community Economic Development (CED) has been subject to an eclectic range of definitions. To some, CED covers any economic development initiative, be it private, public or community driven, taking place within some definition of 'community', usually a geographic one. According to this view, there is no necessary inconsistency between orthodox economics and CED. In view of the more demanding definitions of CED now coming to dominate the literature, more radical departures from the orthodoxy seem necessary.[13] These define CED as a social process in terms of decision making; they replace the individual 'consumer' with the collective community; they see the meeting of collective 'needs' taking precedence

"Some see CED as radical; others see it as more practical"

over the satisfaction of individual consumer 'demands'; they take a long view of economic activities as opposed to that of short-term profit maximization; and they see economic decisions as being inextricably linked to social, environmental, political and cultural considerations.

Within this more demanding view of CED, there are two schools of thought. The first, associated with a more radical, communal, tradition, sees CED as a form of social organization alternative to capitalism. The second has a more limited vision, seeing CED as a desirable and workable approach to dealing with particular problems facing communities. These problems are a direct outcome of the way in which capitalism differentially and unevenly affects certain communities, and CED is seen as a way to help fix them. Adherents to the first school are often found working alongside those of the latter.

The most complete set of CED principles are those underlying the Neechi model of CED. Neechi Foods Co-op Ltd. is an Aboriginal worker-owned, cooperative retail store in inner-city Winnipeg.

"The Neechi Principles offer a complete set of CED guidelines"

The idea of this approach is to build a strong, inward-looking, self-reliant economy, which is based on goods and services consumed by people who live or work in the community. In theoretical terms it is a "convergence" strategy of economic development.[14] It favours cooperative ownership, small-scale production and popular control over economic decision making. It is a holistic approach, in which the safety, health and self-respect of residents are of paramount importance.[15] The principles on which it operates are as follows: production of goods and services for local use; use of local goods and services; local reinvestment

"The Neechi Principles have been widely adopted as a benchmark in Winnipeg's large and active CED community"

of locally generated profits; long-term employment of local residents; local skill development; local decision making; improved public health; improved physical environment; neighbourhood stability; human dignity and solidarity among communities and businesses following these principles.

Notwithstanding the ongoing debates about how to define CED, the Neechi Principles have been widely adopted as a benchmark in Winnipeg's large and active CED community, and as a theoretical starting point by the MRA and most of the individual researchers working on projects under the MRA. Several researchers attempted to refine or restate a definition of CED, but all these redefinitions remained broadly consistent with the Neechi Principles. For example, Friesen and Hudson extracted components from a number of works to define CED as "placing the community at the centre of economic development — such that the community is both the beneficiary and the prime mover. By matching local resources with local needs, community members are able to realize their higher-order non-economic needs, as well as their basic material needs."[16] Fernandez adopts a definition prepared by the BC Working Group on CED, which takes CED to be "a community -based and community-directed process that explicitly combines social and economic development and is directed towards fostering the economic, social, ecological and cultural well-being of communities."[17]

"Winnipeg is becoming a national focal point for CED"

Many commentators have noted that Winnipeg is rapidly becoming a focal point in Canada for CED. In an address to the CED Gathering held in Winnipeg in 2003 on the theme of "Maintaining Momentum," Loxley listed reasons for this: CED in Winnipeg is guided by a clear set of principles (the Neechi Principles); CED activists in Winnipeg have demonstrated a willingness to engage nationally in promoting the philosophy and practice of CED; there is a strong institutional base for CED in Winnipeg, with the Community Education Development Agency, Assiniboine Credit Union, and SEED Winnipeg, among many other institutions; government support for CED has improved markedly since 1999; charitable foundations have become more active in supporting CED; there is a supportive academic environment for CED.

What Have Provincial Government Policies to Support CED Achieved?[18]

As noted above, provincial government support for CED has improved a great deal since the election of the NDP government in 1999. The most wide-ranging policy change has been the implementation of the CED Lens, a comprehensive government-wide plan to integrate and implement CED principles into its broader policy framework. The Lens was the subject of a report for the MRA by Sheldrick, who found that the notion of a CED lens as a policy tool is a good one. However, putting the lens into operation has proved to be more difficult. In particular, the integration of more participatory and locally driven approaches to economic development into existing policy frameworks has been frustrated by the realities of bureaucratic organization. (The Lens is described and discussed in detail in the MRA toolkit on Policy.) Fernandez interviewed many of the most active participants in Manitoba's CED community, and asked them to assess the government's role in supporting CED in the province. While there were a range of replies, everyone interviewed by Fernandez recognized the importance of government funding for CED. Interviewees pointed to the following list of positive changes:

- CED organizations such as SEED Winnipeg, Community Ownership Solutions and Neighbourhoods Alive! are being funded by government, and yet government has made a clear policy decision to let community-based enterprises design and run the programs.
- Changes to welfare legislation now allow a welfare recipient to borrow money to start a business.
- The new CED equity tax credit will help the start-up of social enterprises.

- Pre-employment training in job skills, life skills and addictions treatment have all been provided by government funding, channelled through community organizations.
- The government's adoption of the ten principles in the CED Lens has been significant, if only because doing so has legitimized and popularized the principles.
- The Province has implemented almost its entire affordable housing program through a community-based delivery system. Many other CED benefits have been connected to this arrangement.
- The Winnipeg Regional Health Authority has a strong commitment to community-based health-care delivery.
- The federal government is also supporting CED. For example, Western Economic Diversification is providing funding to social enterprise development, and Justice is providing funding for community-based safety programming.

The interviewees also listed several ongoing problems:

- The province has tended to emphasize projects, without establishing a sufficiently comprehensive policy framework — although there has been improvement in this regard.
- Similarly, financing for CED initiatives tends to be too project-based; there is not enough made available for core funding.
- The CED equity tax credit requires a considerable amount of legal work, which may be considered too costly for a start-up business in relation to the relatively small amounts of investments often needed.
- In general, there is a lot of paperwork and regulation required, even from very small organizations requesting small amounts of money.

Aboriginal Participation in Urban CED Organizations[19]

The focus communities for CED in Winnipeg are both geographic (most inner-city neighbourhoods) and cultural (such as Aboriginal), and when these two types of communities overlap, complications arise. A report prepared for the MRA by Silver, with Hay and Gorzen, used the Spence Neighbourhood Association as a case study to investigate how and why (or why not) Aboriginal people are participating in CED organizations. The Spence neighbourhood is in the inner city, and has a large and growing proportion of Aboriginal residents. The authors note that "Spence is, by almost any measurement, one of Winnipeg's most disadvantaged neighbourhoods." Its population has been in decline for three decades, average property values dropped by nearly one third in the 1990s, rates of residential mobility are double that of Winnipeg as a whole, and poverty levels (as measured by Statistics Canada's Low-Income Cutoff) are three times that of Winnipeg as a whole. At the same time, Spence is a site of great activity as residents work to rebuild their community. Houses are being renovated, youth centres and programs are springing up, and new lighting and fences are among the most visible signs of investment in community safety and comfort. The Spence Neighbourhood Association is playing a leading role in promoting such changes. As an organization, its main resource is the active participation of local residents.

> "Aboriginal people were not active in the neighbourhood association in a community with a very high proportion of Aboriginal people"

The authors found that most Aboriginal people were not active in the organization — despite its efforts to attract them — because they do not

feel fully a part of the community. Indeed, while the Aboriginal people interviewed think of themselves as a community, they do not think of "community" as a resource useful for advancing their interests, a finding that could call for the need to reconfigure CED along different lines. The authors recommend the establishment of a parallel Aboriginal residents' group in Spence to achieve greater Aboriginal participation in CED and the process of capacity building in the Aboriginal community. This research project preceded the establishment of Inner-City Aboriginal Neighbours (I-CAN), which is now going strong.

It should be emphasized that determining the best way to increase the participation of Aboriginal people in CED initiatives remains a source of debate and discussion within the CED community, and even those who strongly support the establishment of Aboriginal-only organizations believe that doing so is only part of a multi-faceted solution.

Government Policy Support for Urban CED[20]

CED initiatives are typically developed outside the state by small, grassroots organizations. Yet, they are frequently dependent on state investment in order to be viable. The communities in which CED strategies are employed are, almost by definition, under-resourced, and because CED is usually a non-market intervention, the role of government is crucial. (It should be noted that governments also support mainstream businesses in many different ways. For example, government assistance has been crucial for the garment industry in Manitoba, and has taken many forms, from direct grants to subsidized training programs.[21])

"The role of government is crucial"

Government supports for CED may take any number of forms, ranging from direct financing of CED enterprises or helping to secure third-party financing, through research, training and strategic planning, to comprehensive efforts such as the CED Lens developed by the province of Manitoba.

Underlying most approaches to CED is the philosophy of self-reliance and community independence. In reality, however, CED ventures have to compete with other, often monopoly, producers, many of whom enjoy much larger scales of production and often pay wages close to or below subsistence levels. Therefore, in reality, few CED projects would be viable without some degree of subsidization — either because they are non-market entities, or, as in the case of CED businesses and social enterprises, because of the heavy cost of meeting the social goals they pursue. Their scale of production is usually very small, overhead

costs are relatively high, wages paid have to be at socially acceptable levels, staff are often inexperienced and need training and they often face social problems not necessarily experienced by the general labour force. For all these reasons, CED projects find it difficult to prosper. The subsidies may take the form of volunteer labour; "cross-subsidization," in which members of a community choose to pay more for individual products in order to support jobs and income in the community; someone picking up the bottom-line losses of a project; a protected market for products at a higher than market price; physical assets at less than cost; cheap capital; a protective tariff or tax on competitors' products; or help towards meeting overhead costs.

"Most CED projects need some subsidization"

Nonetheless, MRA researchers also found that CED practitioners in particular insist that subsidies, however necessary, are not a "dead end." Especially as regards social enterprises, there are options including scaling up enterprises, more rigorous and sophisticated assessment of opportunities and closer engagement with targeted portion of the established business sector.

"Governments are generally most sensitive to the fiscal benefits of subsidizing CED"

What is the economic rationale for these various forms of subsidization? In reality, governments and politicians find a standard cost-benefit analysis hard to follow. Another, closely related, approach may be pursued. This consists of measuring the *fiscal impact* of a project and gearing the amount of subsidy to the extent to which the project improves the fiscal position of government(s). Such improvement may come from a number of different sources. First, if the project increases employment, government may reduce either Employment Insurance (EI) claims (which are expenditures in the federal government budget) or social assistance payments (usually paid by provincial or municipal governments). Secondly, workers pay EI contributions, which increase government revenue, as well as income, sales and other taxes. Thirdly, if projects reduce social problems, by tackling them either directly or indirectly — e.g. by putting people to work — then government spending to address social problems will go down. In theory, it is possible to add up all these positive fiscal impacts and justify government subsidization accordingly. Politicians can relate more easily to this approach and find it more accessible than justifications based on cost-benefit analyses. One potential problem with the fiscal approach is that net fiscal benefits are spread among the different levels of government, and the level of government benefiting most may not be the one that is most able to provide funding, for constitutional or resource reasons. This calls for greater flexibility among levels of government.

Urban Business Planning and Development[22]

The business community and government have long been assumed to have primary responsibility for business development. However, in the last few decades, a third sector has emerged (particularly in communities from which traditional businesses have disinvested) that aims to address economic and social agendas in an integrated manner.

> "The third sector aims to integrate economic and social goals, and often takes a CED approach"

This third sector often adopts, whether explicitly or not, the principles of CED.

Winnipeg contains a prime example of urban community disinvestment. The northern section of the inner city, also known as the North End, was once a thriving hub of commercial and social activity. It is now characterized by poverty and a stagnant or even deteriorating business environment. At the same time, the North End has also

> "Winnipeg's North End is an example of urban community disinvestment"

embraced the emergence of CED as a development strategy as much as any other community in Manitoba. Therefore, the North End is a rich subject for investigation. A report prepared for the MRA by Reimer examined the various business development tools and strategies currently being employed in Winnipeg's North End. The report was based, in part, on numerous interviews and focus groups with key informants.

The federal government does not deliver economic development strategies targeted at small geographic zones such as the North End. Western Economic Diversification (WD) does assist projects that may be accessible by North End business developers, but WD's is a much broader geographical and conceptual mandate. The Aboriginal community in the North End may be able to take advantage of federal business development programs. However, according to one respondent, inter-governmental initiatives have tended to complicate development strategies, especially when it is up to small, grassroots businesses to determine jurisdictional responsibility.

The provincial government has taken real and important steps to support CED business development, both directly and indirectly. These are described in more detail below. However, most of the province's business development strategies appear to be geared toward large-scale investments in industry attraction, expansion or retention.

> "Most of Manitoba's business development strategies appear to be geared toward large-scale investments in industry attraction, expansion or retention"

Hundreds of millions of dollars are invested in the creation or retention of hundreds of jobs, resulting in a very high investment-dollars-per-job ratio. Additionally, none of these large-scale efforts benefits Winnipeg's North End. While the province would not focus disproportionately on the North End, the fact that these efforts omit Winnipeg's most disinvested community altogether is disconcerting. Respondents did acknowledge the province's Neighbourhoods Alive! program, which targets disinvested communities for

CED. However, several respondents noted that, while Neighbourhoods Alive! did make a difference, it was "a far cry from the serious money approach that the province takes for locations such as Winnipeg's downtown."

"Governments need to participate in CED without trying to control it"

The municipal government has supported, to some extent, business development in the North End. The city government facilitates Business Improvement Zone (BIZ) structures in which the businesses in a zone pay an additional business levy, which is spent as the BIZ sees fit. The BIZ idea has not been very successful in the North End, in part because the tax base is insufficient to sustain any significant strategies and initiatives.

In general, Reimer's respondents see the role of government to be key to business development, but as a facilitator and enabler of community-based efforts rather than as the top-down provider of services and programs. One respondent articulated this perspective by saying, "They need to be part of the conversation, but not direct it."

The Innovation Framework for Manitoba[23]

In 2004 the Province of Manitoba released An Innovation Framework for Manitoba, which outlined a strategy aimed at ensuring that Manitobans benefit from economic development in targeted industries expected to be future growth industries. Six clusters of industries were identified, with each supported by a coherent strategy for ensuring that Manitoba will become a player in these industries.

While the preamble to the document acknowledged the importance of drawing members of disadvantaged communities into the paid labour force of those industries, it did not lay out clear strategies for doing so. A report prepared for the MRA by Loewen et al. argued that filling this gap should be an important priority for the province. The authors conclude that the government should partner with the business community, educational institutions, unions and community-based organizations to create a workforce intermediary for advanced manufacturing industries in Winnipeg. Such an organization would be charged with bringing together diverse stakeholders from across the region, organizing, supporting planning and overseeing multiple partners and funding streams toward common goals.[24] In particular, provincial government resources would be needed to enable the intermediary to become established, and then to perform the full range of employment development functions that are necessary to move low-income people from disadvantaged communities into good jobs — jobs that pay a living wage, and include benefits and opportunities for advancement.

"The Innovation Framework did not lay out strategies for drawing members of disadvantaged communities into key growth industries"

Urban CED Opportunities Identified in Our Research

Encourage use of technology by CED organizations

Computer and information technology can be used by CED organizations to enhance their own activities while also supporting community development. In particular, it is important not to overlook the benefit that CED organizations can offer to their communities by providing public-access computers. Typically, the clients of CED organizations, as well as local residents, need help applying for jobs and government services, among other things, and do not have access to a computer of their own. CED organizations need to increase their participation in the New Economy, but they should try to do so in ways that allow the members of the communities to become active participants as well.[25]

Take advantage of looming skilled labour shortage in Winnipeg

In consideration of the looming shortage of skilled labour, there would seem to be the greatest potential to realize training and employment goals in two sectors: advanced manufacturing and information technology. These should be pursued through the creation of a workforce intermediary that would help move disadvantaged people into well-paying, skilled jobs that offer security and some opportunity for advancement.

Introduce CED elements into government welfare-to-work schemes[26]

A report prepared for the MRA by Leo and Andres considered whether and how it might be possible to incorporate CED elements into government programs to move people off social assistance and into stable employment. This issue takes on particular importance in the context of a widespread reorientation of welfare measures in the 1990s from "passive" to "active." Active programs, which include "workfare" and "welfare-to-work," link qualification for benefits to participation in employment programs. Workfare programs are characterized by being coercive and punitive, leave the individual no choice about the kind of job they end up with and typically lead to jobs with little or no opportunity for skill development. In contrast, welfare-to-work programs are voluntary and focus on providing training for jobs that are of benefit to the community and that might lead to long-term employment at a living wage.

> "A few municipal welfare-to-work programs have met CED goals"

In Winnipeg in the 1990s, there was a small but successful initiative in which social assistance recipients were trained to fight Dutch Elm Disease in the city's trees. This, along with a demonstration project that attempted to move people off welfare into good jobs in infrastructure renewal, showed the potential for government training programs that meet a number of CED goals. Those municipal-government programs were discontinued and, in 1999, the province of Manitoba took over responsibility for Winnipeg's social assistance programs. However, given that the province has since adopted the CED Lens (discussed elsewhere in this paper), there is potential to incorporate CED principles into provincial welfare-to-work programs.

Aim CED programming at young women[27]

McCracken did a report for the MRA, based on interviews with young women, to guage how they

might participate in CED projects. A list of potential programs that might be used to link young women with CED is below.

Young Women's Computer Club: Build a computer lab in a family centre or local community-based organization. Create a training program that teaches basic computer skills and marketable job skills for young women at no cost.

Young Women's Web site and Graphic Design Worker's Cooperative: As a next step to the Computer Club, create a social enterprise — a worker-owned cooperative with interested young women. Local organizations could contract with this cooperative for the design and maintenance of Web sites and graphic design work.

Young Women's Home Construction Training and Building: Train young women on the job in home construction, using an all-woman crew so as to be non-intimidating for women. This could start with one house in the inner city as a pilot, and could piggyback on existing CED housing-renewal initiatives.

Childcare as a Social Enterprise: Childcare is an important support for a wide range of CED activities, in particular those aimed at low-income young women. The possibility of using the child-care sector as social enterprise should be considered and pursued. A parallel recommendation would be to provide loans for low-income young women to be trained as Early Childhood Educators. Loans would be forgivable if young women work at a childcare centre organized as a social enterprise in the inner city, and work there for two years. Additionally, continuous work would have to take place to advocate for higher wages for childcare workers.

Wherever possible and appropriate, such programming should include:

- Aboriginal cultural teachings led by members of the Aboriginal community
- Provision of basic needs such as childcare, transportation and nutritious food
- No cost to participants
- Economic literacy and career guidance
- Mentorship/role modelling

Use social housing as a CED tool[28]

Winnipeg's inner-city neighbourhoods have deteriorating housing stock: of Canada's 25 metropolitan areas, Winnipeg has the highest proportion of dwellings in need of major repair, at about 10%. Winnipeg has designated specific neighbourhoods as Housing Improvement Zones, qualifying these areas for housing program funds through the tripartite Neighbourhoods Alive! program. In order to secure government funding, neighbourhoods must adopt a legal entity, and the most common model is the community development corporation (CDC).

"Social housing could be adapted to meet CED goals"

A report prepared for the MRA by Skelton, Selig, and Deane surveyed and examined the processes of housing production as part of larger neighbourhood revitalization initiatives in several of Winnipeg's inner city areas, with an eye to determining whether the current programs — including housing initiatives and the CDCs formed to support housing projects — meet CED criteria. The authors concluded that the housing programs they studied were far from perfect examples of progressive CED, but they did contain and encourage a number of elements consistent with CED. The authors surmise that some of the gaps between CED theory and actual practice may reflect the current government policy context — in particular, in the areas of decision making, employment and training, and the disposition of housing resources. One way, in the view of the authors, in which current

housing programs fall particularly short of CED goals is in what they call "social capital development." They conclude that the development of social capital through housing programs is impeded by policies that strongly favour owner occupation. It is recommended that social housing policy be adjusted to provide support to cooperative, nonprofit and condominium models, in addition to owner-occupied. And, where owner-occupation strategies are used, they must be implemented in ways that do not appear to value owners over people in other tenures.

There are many unrealized opportunities for social housing projects to increase internal linkages, both economic and social. In particular:

- purchase more local goods and services — currently, housing organizations are only willing to do so if prices are competitive.
- increase the still-limited participation in daily decision making and in the involvement of residents in the management and running of housing projects and CDCs.

What Is Needed to Realize the Opportunities?[29]

Recommendations for Urban CED Practitioners and Supporters

Training and replacing of people

Winnipeg's CED community faces a challenge of succession and growth: to produce a sufficient number of people trained in CED to provide both for the replacement of current practitioners and for the inevitable growth in CED activities in the city. This challenge was recognized some time ago and, over a few years, provision was made for coordinating existing, and developing new, CED training programs. This was a cooperative effort involving many CED groups in Winnipeg, and a functioning training intermediary is now in place.

Stabilizing and diversifying the funding of operations

It is generally acknowledged that the success of CED in recent years in raising grant funding from the government for operations also contains the seeds of a potential vulnerability should government or government policy change. Three possibilities for addressing this issue are: a) reducing dependence on any single grant source by diversifying funders as much as possible; b) seeking to build an endowment or trust approach, which, in effect, means obtaining funding up-front for use in future years; and c) building up personal or corporate donations through the new tax credit program. Each of these presents its own challenges, but pursuing them is worthwhile, given what is potentially at stake.

Promoting social enterprises

There is a widely held view in Winnipeg that for CED to make a significant impact, the community must move aggressively into building commercially viable social enterprises. There are a number of unique opportunities on the horizon that could make this moment in history a pivotal one for social enterprises in the city. The Winnipeg floodway extension has just begun, the largest civic infrastructure project by far. A new spate of Hydro dam building is about to start in the north. Provision has been made for partnerships with local First Nations communities. There may be logical extensions to social enterprises in Winnipeg. A new wave of infrastructure spending is about to commence in the city, funded in part by senior levels of government. Each of these may present economic opportunities for social enterprises. There are proposals for building a road up the east side of Lake Winnipeg and, again, the potential spin-off benefits for companies in Winnipeg are significant. Momentum is also building for expansion of programs to provide accessible housing, especially for recent immigrants and possibly on a cooperative basis. There is a growing interest in alternative delivery mechanisms in the social service area, and these might be ideal for social enterprises.

Each of these opportunities offers the possibility of pursuing social enterprise on a scale large enough to promise viability, the possibility of decent wages and salaries, the potential of significant linkages among a number of social enterprises and a degree of stability that can only be envied by existing social enterprises that struggle for survival in the highly competitive and fickle commercial service sector.

Humanizing the management of CED organizations

If CED is to truly offer a more socially acceptable, people-centred, alternative approach to development, then the community must address the issue of management of CED institutions of all types.

CED cannot replicate the top-down autocratic management styles of the private sector, driven by the bottom-line pursuit of profit, and expect to make any meaningful progress toward its larger goals. The CED community in Winnipeg must allow and encourage democratic structures of management with genuine worker input and horizontal decision-making structures; must seek out and promote democratic, participatory, management styles; and must change the way some local CED organizations deal with staff. There should be clear, representative structures for dispute resolution and the provision for mediation. Staff should be encouraged to join trade unions. The CED community in Winnipeg should also begin to pay more attention to the provision of adequate salaries, benefits and terms and conditions of service. We should pay particular attention to working hours and pension provision. CED must not be allowed to become just another source of cheap labour.

Enhancing responsibilities of boards

Boards of directors have a crucial role to play in CED organizations. That role must be clarified and board involvement must increase if the other challenges outlined above are to be met. Boards have a responsibility to ensure that organizations are managed efficiently and that funds are spent wisely and as approved. They must ensure management honesty and accountability, whatever management system is in place. In relatively small organizations, they must also maintain contact with staff. Ideally, this could be done through having staff representatives on the executive committee and/or board. The issue of management accountability is a complex one, which, potentially, can be made more difficult with participatory management structures, but it needs to be addressed. Ultimately, it is the board that is accountable to funders, clients and the broader community for the performance of CED organizations. Given the above, a priority must be ensuring that boards have the knowledge base to match their responsibilities.

Encouraging more and better organizational partnerships

Partnerships between organizations with different core competencies can work collaboratively to provide holistic programming to this end. For example, CED organizations can work with Aboriginal organizations to build on the strengths of each.

Policy Recommendations

Increase core funding for CED organizations

CED organizations need stable, predictable core funding to allow them to create plans and to initiate applications. This is a major concern on the part of practitioners and those in the voluntary sector. Longer term, stable funding allows CED organizations to think long-term and to spend time building community, vision and initiatives that would otherwise be spent writing (and reporting on) proposals. Community change happens over years, not in 12-month blocks.

Support the creation of a workforce intermediary in Winnipeg

The provincial government should partner with the business community, educational institutions, unions and community-based organizations to create a workforce intermediary for advanced manufacturing industries in Winnipeg, in order to move low-income people from disadvantaged communities into good jobs — jobs that pay a living wage and include benefits and opportunities for advancement.

Establish and support urban business revitalization tools

- Initiate inner-city "tax holidays" (may or may not include the urban reserve concept) or tax credits. The successful New Hampshire model gives up to a 75% tax credit to corporations that invest in CED activities.
- Initiate a program similar to CentreVenture, which has helped reinvigorate downtown Winnipeg. A version could also work in the North End, Spence, or West Broadway neigh-

bourhoods. Such a program would provide publicly owned buildings to a CED enterprise.

- Create an urban Grow Bonds venture capital program similar to the programs that have been used successfully in rural municipalities. Under this program, the principal is guaranteed by the government. An individual investor may make a return, but if not, their initial investment is not at risk.
- Establish business development centres operating as one-stop-shops to provide business planning and counselling, financing or financing facilitation, networking opportunities and other such resources and technical assistance.
- Establish community development corporations in targeted communities.
- Locate more government office space in targeted communities, to occupy now-vacant properties, provide income to community-based organizations who own commercial property and locate public services in the communities that use those services.

Conclusion

The opportunities for urban CED in Manitoba identified by the MRA can be grouped into three main categories: business revitalization, employment development and housing.

While the provincial government has taken important steps to support CED business revitalization, its business development priorities remain too heavily weighted toward large-scale investment in mainstream business attraction, retention or expansion. Government is key to business development in the CED/social enterprise sector as much as any other. However, government involvement must be as a facilitator and enabler of community-based efforts, rather than as a top-down provider. The key recommendations to enhance business revitalization in targeted communities are described above and include tax incentives, stable long-term funding for CED organizations and direct supports such as business development centres.

Employment development has also been a priority for the Manitoba government, but here, too, insufficient attention has been paid to getting low-income people into secure, well-paying, skilled jobs. The key tool proposed by the MRA to meet this goal is an employment intermediary, which would make necessary connections between government, industry, community-based organizations and educational institutions. The intermediary would help address Winnipeg's looming skilled labour shortage while meeting social goals.

Affordable housing is a pressing need in Manitoba, and meaningful improvement in the availability of good, low-cost housing is essential for community development and CED. Housing also presents opportunities for social enterprise development, particularly regarding renovations. If social housing projects were to realize some of the many opportunities to increase economic and social linkages, social housing could help drive CED.

Key Goals for CED Practitioners and Supporters in Manitoba

a) Improve training and replacement of people

b) Stabilize and diversify the funding of operations

c) Promote social enterprises

d) Humanize the management of CED organizations

e) Clarify and improve the role of boards

f) Develop and strengthen organizational partnerships

Policy recommendations

a) Increase core funding for CED organizations

b) Support the creation of a workforce intermediary in Winnipeg

c) Establish and support urban business revitalization tools

d) Encourage government to support useful and effective programs, even if it did not initiate them

Notes

1 This section is based primarily on Silver, Keeper and McKenzie, and Loewen et al.

2 Mendelson, 2004, p. 9.

3 Statistics Canada, 2003b, 2003c.

4 This section draws most heavily on Graydon and Duboff.

5 Bobe, 2002; Tabb, 2001, cited in Graydon, p. 16.

6 Delong 2002; Tabb, 2001, cited in Graydon, p. 17.

7 Hudson, 2001; Yates, 2001, cited in Graydon, p. 16.

8 See MacKenzie and Duboff for fuller discussions of these points.

9 This section draws most heavily on Loewen et al.

10 Manitoba Intergovernmental Affairs and Trade, 2004.

11 City of Winnipeg, 2004.

12 This section draws most on Loxley and Lamb, Friesen and Hudson, and Fernandez.

13 See, for instance, Canadian CED Network, 2004; Loxley, 1986.

14 Thomas, 1974, cited in Loxley and Lamb, p. 2.

15 Loxley, 2002, cited in Loxley and Lamb, p. 2.

16 P. 4.

17 P. 1.

18 This section is based on Fernandez.

19 Silver with Hay and Gorzen.

20 This section is based on Loxley and Lamb, and Fernandez.

21 Ghorayshi, 1990, p. 228, cited in Wiest, p. 19.

22 This section is based primarily on Reimer.

23 This section is based on Loewen et al.

24 For a longer discussion, see Loewen et al., p. 17.

25 See Duboff, 4.3.

26 Leo and Andres.

27 This section is based on McCracken et al.

28 This section is based on Skelton, Selig, and Deane.

29 The first six items in this section are based on Loxley, pp. 4–7.

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