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Searching for Aboriginal/indigenous self-determination: urban citizenship in the Winnipeg low-cost-housing sector, Canada

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Abstract. Theorists concerned with processes of urban citizenship have not accounted for their connections to a changing national citizenship regime and their internal dynamics, notably as they relate to evolving Aboriginal/indigenous rights. Using transformations in the low-cost-housing sector in Winnipeg, Canada as the empirical basis, I examine how changes in the trajectories of social and Aboriginal citizenship have intersected at the urban scale. This is done by combining document and policy analyses with data from thirty-seven semistructured personal interviews with Aboriginal and nonAboriginal housing actors. Following changes to federally driven social-housing policy in 1993, housing stakeholders in Winnipeg self-organised to engage all sectors of society in processes of urban citizenship around low-cost-housing goals. Aboriginal citizenship pursuits have not been interwoven with the pursuit of these social goals. There is a role for the federal government in ensuring the coupling of Aboriginal with urban social citizenship.

Many indigenous people in settler societies like Canada, Aotearoa/New Zealand, the United States, and Australia live in urban centres (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002; Statistics Canada, 2003a; Statistics New Zealand, 2002; United States Census Bureau, 2002). Of the nearly one million people in Canada who identified as Aboriginal in 2001 (over 3% of the Canadian population), 49% resided in urban areas (Statistics Canada, 2003a).(1) The corresponding figure in Aotearoa/New Zealand is higher where 83% of people of Māori descent were living in urban areas in 1996 (Goodwin, 1997). The notable presence of indigenous peoples within the urban landscape contrasts with the low level of attention given to their citizenship pursuits. As Andersen and Denis (2003) argue in the Canadian context, the privileging of nation-based and land-based models of Aboriginal citizenship, normalised within federal-government discourse, has had the effect of marginalising urban Aboriginal communities.

Growing urban indigenous populations present opportunities for economic and cultural growth as well as diversification in cities. At the same time, indigenous peoples face some acute cultural, social, and economic challenges such as disproportionate housing hardship in comparison with nonindigenous populations. Recent figures from Canada and Australia show, for example, that indigenous households in urban centres are much more likely than nonindigenous households to live in rental housing and in homes that are crowded or in need of major repair (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002; Statistics Canada, 2003b). Aboriginal homelessness in large Canadian urban areas ranges from 20% to 50% of the total homeless population (Privy Council Office, 2002 as cited in Graham and Peters, 2002).

(1) The term 'Aboriginal' peoples' is used to refer to descendants of the original inhabitants of Canada. It refers to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples, as per the Constitution Act of 1982. The term also refers, in this paper, to indigenous people generally in other countries. The term native is used at some points in conjunction with the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation's discontinued Urban Native Housing Program. Native, in this sense, encompasses all Aboriginal peoples.

Using transformations in the low-cost-housing sector occurring in Winnipeg, Canada as the empirical basis, in this paper I begin to examine how changes in the trajectories of social and Aboriginal citizenship have intersected at the urban scale [see Walker (2006) for a continuation of this examination].(2) I argue that, following dramatic changes in federally driven social housing policy in 1993, local housing stakeholders in Winnipeg have self-organised to reengage all sectors of society in low-cost-housing production. Aboriginal citizenship pursuits have not been interwoven, however, with the pursuit of these housing (social) goals. By this I mean predominantly the pursuit of self-determination, a right that has been reasserted by indigenous peoples in settler societies around the world, very noticeably since the 1970s (Sandercock, 2004; Walker, 2004).

In the next section I provide an orientation to changing theories of citizenship, serving as a conceptual basis for the paper. This is followed by an empirical examination of the creation of urban citizenship in the low-cost-housing sector and the degree to which Aboriginal actors were involved. I conclude with a discussion of how the interplay between Aboriginal and urban social citizenship might be improved.

An orientation to changing Aboriginal/indigenous, social, and urban citizenship

Citizenship is a concept that centres on a set of rights and responsibilities associated with membership in a common political community such as the nation-state. Citizenship can also be understood as a set of state – society relations that are organised according to agreed-upon values about the division of responsibility between the state and other sectors of society (that is, voluntary and private). Aboriginal/indigenous citizenship within settler nation-states is understandably complex. As Wood (2003, page 374) notes, "there is citizenship within the Aboriginal nation (and 'citizenship' is a word some nations employ) and there is citizenship within the modern nation-state that has claimed jurisdiction over the former." Although the territorially bounded nation-state is the most common and arguably hegemonic way of characterising national citizenship, scholars have argued that indigenous nationalism is not necessarily directed at statehood at all (Alfred, 1999; Simpson, 2000). This opens the door to possibilities for reconciling the duality of Aboriginal/indigenous citizenship.

Scholars have argued that the concept of rights, so central to citizenship, is a colonial construct (Alfred, 1999; Turner, 2001; Webber, 2000) and must be reimagined when applied to Aboriginal/indigenous nationalism. Maaka and Fleras (2000, page 89) write about the emergence of 'indigeneity', for example, referring to the "politicisation of 'original occupancy' as a basis for entitlement and engagement". Mercer (2003), writing on the Aboriginal experience in Australia, points out a fundamental disconnection between rights emanating from membership in a sovereign liberal democratic state and rights inherent to Aboriginal/indigenous peoples. He argues that liberal democracies give precedence to individual rights and their universal applicability over the basic collective right of Aboriginal/indigenous political communities to self-determination.

There is widespread acceptance that the (collective) right of self-determination is central to Aboriginal citizenship within the nation-state context. Scholars argue that a single nation-state is capable of accommodating indigeneity in its corporate identity and bringing together the duality of Aboriginal/indigenous citizenship by facilitating self-determination and forging relationships with indigenous peoples based on mutual recognition and respect with meaningful political consequences (Durie, 2003; Green, 2005; Maaka and Fleras, 2000; Mercer, 2003). Self-determination encompasses cultural, economic, political, and legal content (Green, 2005) and refers to the inherent

(2) The term 'low-cost housing', following Skelton's characterisation (2000), denotes nonmarket approaches to affordable housing provision in Canada.

right of indigenous peoples to continue governing their own affairs through the reform of relations within the settler state in which they are located (Daes, 1996). The *Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (United Nations, 1994), the most influential international covenant on indigenous rights, firmly asserts the right of indigenous self-determination in a general sense, but also within the housing and human-service sectors specifically. In practice, at least in the Canadian context, self-determination has amounted to the right of self-government (Green, 1997) that has been evolving at the federal scale since the 1970s and affirmed in the 1995 Inherent Right policy (Wherrett, 1999) and *Gathering Strength: Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan* (Government of Canada, 1997).

Self-government typically refers to the delegation—through negotiation—of administrative authority from the state to Aboriginal/indigenous institutions (Ekstedt, 1999), providing a measure of autonomy, while in the process preserving state power over the terms of Aboriginal/indigenous development (Alfred, 1999). In an attempt to maintain state control over the terms of Aboriginal/indigenous development, the right of self-determination has been resisted by national governments at international forums such as the United Nations in favour of concepts like self-government (Canada) and self-management (Australia) (Mulgan, 1998). In this paper, the term self-determination (rather than self-government) is used to acknowledge that the internationally held right of indigenous self-determination is displacing the concept of self-government among scholars (if not yet in government policy). The right of self-government is subsumed, in any case, by the more basic and fundamental right of self-determination.

It is the pursuit of self-determination at the urban scale that is of central importance in this paper. Although urban self-government has been examined by some scholars (for example, Graham, 1999; Peters, 1992; 1995), a general weakness of most discussions of Aboriginal citizenship is that they rarely refer to urban Aboriginal circumstances. There is growing international recognition (for example, Andersen, 2005; Barcham, 2000; Durie, 1998; LaGrand, 2002; Weibel-Orlando, 1991; Williams, 2004) that panindigenous cultures have developed in urban areas, incorporating the diversity of indigenous peoples within associational communities and common institutions (for example, political, cultural, social, and economic).

The content of self-determination is associated with political community, arguably self-defined, and in this sense constitutes a form of citizenship (Green, 2005). The definition of a political community is a process, shaped and maintained with appeals to such things as history, contemporary social interaction, and collective future aspirations (Simpson, 2000). Arguments for basic common elements among the histories, cultures, and aspirations of the diverse Aboriginal/indigenous populations that coexist in urban areas are well established (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996; Walker, 1990). The commonalities are particularly pronounced as new generations of urban-born Aboriginal people identify with a common 'native' culture in the city (Andersen, 2005). Wilson (2000) argues that embracing pan-Aboriginal identities in urban areas provides a means for maintaining relationships to the land without necessarily having access to it. The 'status-blind' political community that developed largely out of the Friendship Centre movement starting in the 1950s is still a primary basis for Aboriginal organisation in Canadian cities. The common colonial history and particularly racism by mainstream society has not been structured according to the nations of origin of Aboriginal people in urban areas, constituting in itself a basis for cultural collectivism (Pahl, 1973). The implementation of self-determination in urban areas has been challenged, however, in instances where the state has seen fit, along with certain Aboriginal/indigenous political interests, to recognise tribal or land-based political communities as the *only* legitimate vehicles for self-determination.

Barcham (2000) provides an account of how in past decades the official authentication of *iwi* (tribal) groups—that existed at the point in 1840 when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed—as *the* legitimate descendents of Māori societies in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been paired with a view toward the 'inauthenticity' of contemporary, largely urban, associational forms of Māori political community. In the Canadian context Andersen and Denis (2003) argue that recommendations in the 1996 final report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples served as a tool for further entrenching the land-based nation model of community, one more easily reconciled with the territorially bounded Canadian nation-state than notions of associational communities.

Despite the challenges of legitimisation for associational urban communities in the eyes of the state and some Aboriginal/indigenous political organisations, these communities have persisted for decades (for example, Gale, 1972) in their pursuit of self-determination, many with considerable success. The most common model of urban self-determination to date has been based on communities of interest (associational communities) creating a system of self-governing urban institutions to serve the housing, health, educational, cultural, spiritual, and economic needs of Aboriginal/indigenous peoples in urban areas, without regard to tribal origin (Maaka, 1994; Peters, 1992; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). Having said this, it is understandable for Aboriginal/indigenous identity groups to want to consolidate their cultural and economic strength in an urban area through programs directed at a specific tribe or nation where population numbers warrant. For example, the Métis and First Nations peoples in Saskatchewan have a history of pursuing separate initiatives in some areas of urban programming, such as housing (Walker, 2003). Different frameworks for self-determination will emerge in different places based on local histories and relationships. Arguably these frameworks for self-determination should be facilitated by the state rather than tightly circumscribed by static definitions of Aboriginal/indigenous political community.

Different frameworks for self-determination also need to be accommodated because the urban scale itself is reproduced in different ways by different people. Although many Aboriginal/indigenous peoples in urban areas maintain little connection to rural and reserve communities, many do. As Norris and Clatworthy (2003) have illustrated, the most prominent mobility pattern with regard to Aboriginal urbanisation today is less a net migration to urban areas than it is the movement back and forth between urban and reserve or rural communities. Work on Māori mobility in Aotearoa/New Zealand suggests a similar emergent trend between rural and urban centres (Barcham, 2004). Exploratory studies of residential mobility among Aboriginal single mothers in Winnipeg, for example, have shown that having a home in Winnipeg and a home in northern Manitoba (reserve or rural community) was a common occurrence (Mochama, 2001; Skelton, 2002). At home in Winnipeg participants periodically accommodated friends and relatives who were in the city for medical services, a finding supported by a recent study of Aboriginal mobility in Winnipeg (Distasio and Sylvester, 2004). Time in the city could be punctuated by periods up north for employment or caregiving (Skelton, 2002).

Durie (1998) moves the debate on the relative importance and authenticity of tribal versus associational communities forward. He notes that the legitimacy of both must be respected within the potential space for self-determination, and argues that a "dual focused approach" is needed that "regards both elements as legitimate and places greater emphasis on the relationship between them" (Durie, 1998, page 227). In this paper I take a first step in examining the extent to which an evolving Aboriginal citizenship—centred on the exercise of self-determination within the Canadian nation-state—is intersecting with changing social citizenship in the low-cost-housing sector.

Housing has been referred to as one of the pillars of the social democratic welfare state since the end of the Second World War (Kemeny, 2001). A right to adequate and affordable housing for all citizens was the basis of housing policy in Canada until the mid-1980s (Hulchanski, 2002). Social citizenship in the housing sector has changed considerably, however, between what Skelton (2000) refers to as the 'co-operative and nonprofit period' (1973 to 1993) and the 'emergent period'. The cooperative and nonprofit period was an era of high involvement by the state in program planning and implementation as well as long-term commitments (that is, between thirty-five and fifty years) to program funding. The 'emergent period', which began after 1993 when the federal government discontinued most of its involvement in the production of social housing (Skelton, 2000), is characterised by a reluctance of governments to get involved in large-scale housing programs.

Changes in the housing sector during the emergent period coincide with a general shift in the national citizenship regime away from basic social entitlements (Jenson and Saint-Martin, 2003). This shift is underpinned by a different kind of state – society relationship. Giddens (1998) argues that this new relationship is one where citizen-right claims or social goals are pursued in the midst of partnerships between a 'social investment state' and an 'active civil society'. Giddens (1998, page 110) notes that conventional programs for alleviating social disparities, such as social housing, must move beyond "leaving people mired in benefits" that tend to "exclude them from the larger society". It is argued that these programs need to capitalise on an active civil society, particularly the voluntary sector, and adopt community-focused approaches that are more effective as well as more democratic (Giddens, 1998; Turner, 2001). This in turn leads to the development of "support networks, self-help and the cultivation of social capital" (Giddens, 1998, page 110).

New models of citizenship are emerging that discuss the relational character of struggles over social welfare issues like housing at the local level, with interplay between the public, private, and voluntary sectors (for example, Clark, 1994; Marston and Staeheli, 1994; Staeheli, 1994). This less-hierarchical form of state – society relationship has been theorised at the urban scale in terms of 'urban citizenship', the articulation of local-right claims and their substantiation through engagement with the state and other sectors of society. Holston's (2001) urban citizenship thesis provides a means with which to examine what an active civil society looks like under conditions of state retrenchment in areas of social welfare.

> "As people struggle over the conditions of urban life, they mobilise around right claims that address the inequities of these conditions. In the process, they become active citizens, developing new sources of rights and new agendas of citizenship. In this way, the lived experience of cities becomes both the context and the substance of emergent forms of citizenship. I will refer to these forms as urban citizenship (1) when the city is the primary political community, (2) when urban residence is the criterion of membership and the basis of political mobilisation, and (3) when right claims addressing urban experience and related civic performances are the substance of citizenship" (Holston, 2001, page 326).

One of the weaknesses of Holston's work is that he does not account for changes in higher order citizenship regimes (for example, national), changes that would arguably act as catalysts to local citizenship creation. Also, in his case studies he did not explore the alternative views within these processes. As Mahon's (2003) study of urban citizenship in the Toronto childcare sector suggests, there is much to be gained from an understanding of the competing narratives occurring around the creation of urban citizenship. The expansion of Marshall's work (1950) on national citizenship by scholars such as Isin and Wood (1999) has revealed tensions between cultural politics and

universal citizenship. In this paper I examine the extent to which urban citizenship is produced equally by Aboriginal and mainstream actors in the low-cost-housing sector.[3] Are the social goals or right claims articulated and pursued from the local level reflective of a general consensus, or are they the product of a particular group of actors, exclusive of others?

Urban citizenship theorists have also implied that citizenship produced at the local level will be a better relationship between state and society than when forged at the national level. This taken-for-granted view is challenged in this paper and a first step is taken in examining the extent to which an advancing Aboriginal right of self-determination—institutionalised mostly at the federal and international scales—is intersecting with the creation of urban social citizenship around locally articulated low-cost-housing goals. Walker (2004) concludes that when both trajectories of citizenship were evolving at the federal scale, Aboriginal self-determination was coupled with the social right to housing through the Urban Native Housing Program which began in 1970 and was discontinued after 1993.[4] Given that the federal government has relinquished its leadership role in the low-cost-housing sector since 1993, in this paper I investigate whether Aboriginal self-determination is being realised in practice as state–society relations around low-cost-housing provision are negotiated at the local (urban) scale.

The creation of urban citizenship in the low-cost-housing sector

Urban citizenship created at the local level was a response to changes in the national social-citizenship regime (that is, filling a void left by federal government retrenchment) as well as a driving force in determining the type of social investment that would mark the reengagement by the state in low-cost-housing policy. Unlike with past federal government-led social-housing programs, this time it would be the provincial and municipal arms of the state that would invest first, followed by the federal government in 2002, a couple of years after a new welfare architecture began taking shape in the Winnipeg low-cost-housing sector.

Urban social citizenship presents a new challenge given that the trajectories of Aboriginal rights and social citizenship are now occurring at different scales. Although Aboriginal rights continue to be negotiated and institutionalised at the federal and international levels, the terms of social citizenship are increasingly negotiated between state and civil-society actors at the local level. In the following sections I provide an anatomy of the two principal processes of the urban citizenship that has been created during the emergent period in the Winnipeg low-cost-housing sector. The first is the Inner City Housing Coalition. The second component is the creation and activity of neighbourhood-based housing and development corporations that have emerged in Winnipeg during the same period. By examining the internal dynamics of urban

[3] Juxtaposing Aboriginal with mainstream is a purposeful simplification of Canadian multicultural society. It is not meant to imply that there is either a homogenous mainstream society or a homogenous Aboriginal society.

[4] The Urban Native Housing Program was one of the social-housing programs created under the leadership of the federal government that in effect responded to calls from Aboriginal organisations for greater self-determination in service design and delivery to meet the needs and aspirations of Aboriginal peoples in urban areas (Walker, 2004). Operated by primarily Aboriginal boards of directors and staff, urban native-housing corporations provided appropriate housing in both a physical and sociocultural sense. In an evaluation of the federal government's urban social-housing programs, for example, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (1999) found that the Urban Native Housing Program outperformed other programs (that is, mainstream nonprofit and rent-supplement housing programs) on several indicators of emotional well-being. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) highlighted the importance of the Urban Native Housing Program in addressing the need for culturally appropriate affordable and adequate housing.

citizenship, it is demonstrated that mainstream and Aboriginal actors have not been equal contributors to these processes.

Methods

The analysis presented in this paper derives from a larger study examining changing social and Aboriginal citizenship in the low-cost-housing sector. The empirical basis is an in-depth case study centred on the city of Winnipeg, Canada, and combines a document and policy analysis with semistructured personal interviews with seventeen Aboriginal and twenty non-Aboriginal housing actors. The data were collected in 2002. Participants were wide ranging in their involvement and areas of jurisdiction, and included government and voluntary-sector housing providers, advocates, and planners. A preliminary list of participants was drafted to start the interview process and then a snowball technique was used to locate other prospective respondents. Most active housing stakeholders were interviewed and none refused to participate. None were deliberately excluded from the study.

Interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed, and analysed with the assistance of NUD*IST qualitative data management and analysis software. To build up an analysis systematically (Jackson, 2001) interviews were first coded to reflect categories of data that would be meaningful (for example, history of neighbourhood organisation) and to reflect concepts that were being discussed by participants (for example, inclusion or exclusion). Material coded to reflect particular concepts was then analysed for variations and nuances in meaning (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). The narrative excerpts chosen to demonstrate the research findings are associated with the attributions consented to by each participant.

Winnipeg has maintained a relatively stable population size over time (Kuz and James, 1998). The population of the Winnipeg Census Metropolitan Area (that is, the urban core and adjacent urban and rural fringes) in 2001 was 671 274 (Statistics Canada, 2001). Winnipeg was chosen as the case-study site because it has the largest urban Aboriginal population in absolute terms (55 970 identified as Aboriginal in 2001) and the second largest in relative terms (at 8.2% of Winnipeg's population in 2001) when compared with other large Canadian metropolitan areas (Peters, 2005). Winnipeg also has one of the most well-developed sets of urban Aboriginal institutions in Canada (Peters, 2000), including a variety of social, cultural, economic-development, political, and housing-service organisations.

Finally, Winnipeg is a city with a history of innovation in the low-cost-housing sector (Skelton, 2000). This is at least partially related to the housing market in the inner city. Given the slow-growth nature of the Winnipeg market, the cost of housing in the inner city is low (City of Winnipeg, 1995) when compared with other cities of comparable size in other provinces (Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 2001). Much of the inner-city housing stock is in need of significant repair (Stewart, 1993). These conditions make the rehabilitation of existing housing stock an effective way of meeting the housing demands of low-income households (Federation of Canadian Municipalities as cited in Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 2001). Winnipeg was chosen as the study site because it was felt that it offered a high potential for learning about the intersection between Aboriginal rights and social citizenship in the low-cost-housing sector, a criterion that is sometimes superior to representativeness (Stake, 1994).

The Inner City Housing Coalition as a means for creating urban citizenship

In 1999 the City of Winnipeg launched its Housing Policy and Implementation Framework following the municipal election in 1998. Two months after the provincial election in 1999, the Province of Manitoba launched its Neighbourhoods Alive! program.

Both the new municipal and provincial housing programs are delivered out of the Winnipeg Housing and Homelessness Initiative (WHHI) launched in 2000.

The WHHI is a single-window access point for the housing programs delivered by all levels of government that assist with housing renovation and allocation by way of a rental-to-ownership model. In this section it is argued that the neighbourhood-based low-cost-housing programming through the City of Winnipeg Housing Policy (1999), the Province's Neighbourhoods Alive! (2000), and the WHHI owe much to the work of the Inner City Housing Coalition (ICHC). The ICHC is a coalition of housing stakeholder groups that emerged to reinvigorate low-cost-housing activity as a tool for community development in Winnipeg's inner city following the vacating of this policy area by governments after 1993.

The rationale behind the beginnings of the ICHC in 1997 was that a coalition of inner-city community-based organisations involved in housing was needed in order to "develop and promote more effective housing policy for the inner city" (Inner City Housing Coalition, 2000, page 1). There was an overriding concern present in Winnipeg's inner city that governments had to reengage more aggressively in housing programs. This concern had become particularly acute following the federal government's exit from the development of new social housing in 1993. A change in the national citizenship regime thus served as a catalyst for urban citizenship. The ICHC represented the emergence of a local welfare regime (Cloke et al, 2001) organised around the conditions of urban life (Holston, 2001, page 326) in its community. The ICHC advocated for a full partnership between the voluntary, private, and public sectors, stating that the voluntary and private sectors alone would not be able to achieve results at the scale needed in the inner city (Simms, 2000).

One of the first and greatest achievements of the ICHC in forging new state–society relations was its development of housing-policy platforms—the substance of its new citizenship agenda—during each of the municipal (1998), provincial (1999), and federal (2000) elections. Political candidates for each level of government were asked to sign a pledge to implement the policy recommendations. The policy platforms and pledges attracted significant media attention. The ICHC felt that this would be the most effective way to translate local housing concerns into specific policy recommendations, and to then transmit these recommendations directly into the policy and program decisionmaking machinery at all levels of government. Prior to each election, the ICHC formulated a list of specific items it felt should be addressed by a particular level of government. One of the ICHC members who worked on the policy platforms noted that while several neighbourhood groups and community development corporations were developing concurrently with the ICHC in the late-1990s (for example, North End Community Renewal Corporation, West Broadway Development Corporation, Spence Neighbourhood Association) to serve the needs of particular neighbourhoods, there was a recognition of common housing concerns that would best be addressed as a group. These concerns were mainly with the three levels of government and financial institutions and their (in)activity in the low-cost-housing sector, as well as their inaccessibility to housing stakeholder groups.

> "In '97 we set up the [West Broadway] Development Corporation, and shortly after that the North End Community Renewal Corporation got started, and so did the Spence Neighbourhood [Association]. So they all kind of emerged around the same time, for different reasons, for different goals. And we all had common housing issues. So even though we were all sort of dealing with housing issues at our neighbourhood level, there were a certain number of things that were common to all of us. And those were primarily the barriers that existed at the three levels of government: municipal, provincial, and federal, as well as financial institutions,

> around housing. So we set up a chart and listed them all out, point by point at each level of government and the financial institutions … on one sheet. And we started addressing them. At that time, none of the three levels of government talked to us. So that's why we created a coalition" (interview, non-Aboriginal, no attributions).

Active citizens were mobilising around neighbourhood concerns but needed at the same time to combine their efforts on a larger scale to articulate their new agenda for social citizenship.

The ICHC's municipal policy platform (Inner City Housing Coalition, 1998) contained eighteen specific policy items under three headings: (1) zero-tolerance policy for boarded up housing; (2) zero-tolerance policy for outstanding code violations; and (3) promoting inner-city housing revitalisation. The mayoral candidate who won the election was among those who signed the pledge to implement the eighteen recommendations in the ICHC's policy platform.

The policy platform drawn up by the ICHC in 1999 for the provincial election had twenty-five recommendations arranged under three headings: (1) strengthen existing housing policies and programs; (2) new tools for inner-city housing revitalisation; and (3) new programs for target populations and groups (Inner City Housing Coalition, 1999). The New Democratic Party—the party that won the election—made a commitment to implement twenty-one recommendations, some in modified versions.

The policy platform drafted prior to the 2000 federal election included ten specific recommendations. One of the recommendations was that the federal government commit to participating in an Inner City Housing Foundation in Winnipeg. The Inner City Housing Foundation was a concept initiated by the ICHC and designed in partnership with representatives from the voluntary, private, and public sectors (including all levels of government). It was never implemented, but a compromise of sorts was, which will be discussed further on. The concept was designed to target low-income households (Inner City Housing Foundation Working Group, 1999). The Liberal Party, which won that election, had committed to implementing two of the ten policy recommendations.

As a means of following progress made toward the commitments pledged by elected politicians, and to continue the pursuit of its citizenship agenda, the ICHC maintained a regular dialogue with them and issued annual report cards that assessed progress made toward policy implementation. The issuing of report cards, particularly at the municipal level, were significant media events that politicians were invited to attend (that is, to 'receive' their report cards). This dialogue saw new policy drafted, implemented, and critiqued. For example, the City of Winnipeg's Housing Policy and many of the specific policy statements therein are directly linked to the ICHC housing-policy platform. The ICHC also responded to the Winnipeg Housing Policy in its draft form, by pointing out its strengths and weaknesses (Inner City Housing Coalition – Blake, 1999).

For the first time, the City of Winnipeg had established a specific housing policy and dedicated millions of dollars to directly fund housing development. The ICHC policy platform (or citizenship agenda) and pledge also had a significant effect on forging new state – society relations with the provincial government. One of the most significant developments that served to implement several of the policy recommendations from the ICHC platform was the introduction of the Neighbourhoods Alive! program in 2000. It was clear in written correspondence between the provincial minister responsible for housing and the ICHC that progress was also being made in other areas beyond the implementation of Neighbourhoods Alive!. The connection between the urban citizenship agenda and formalising state – society relations following

the federal election to address items on that agenda was less apparent than in the case of the provincial and municipal governments.

The establishment of the neighbourhood-based housing policies and programs and the WHHI owe much to the work of the ICHC. These developments represent the two most significant outcomes of the new set of citizenship relations in the Winnipeg low-cost-housing sector. The following narrative from an early member of the ICHC who had a direct relationship to the design of the WHHI discusses the failed attempt to have the Inner City Housing Foundation idea implemented. She describes how the federal and municipal governments could not bring themselves to become involved in a housing foundation that they would not have political control over. She also describes how the provincial government saw value in the idea, but found that the concept could not be implemented at that time. What emerged from the housing foundation idea was a compromise that amounted to the establishment of the WHHI. From this single window, millions of dollars from all levels of government flowed into inner-city housing.

> "We [Inner City Housing Coalition] took it [Inner City Housing Foundation Business Plan] to the three levels of government. Basically [name of the senior federal minister for Winnipeg] said: 'Over my dead body would I ever set up an endowment for housing'. And the municipal government said: 'We love the idea, but we want Winnipeg Housing Rehabilitation Corporation to control the funding'. We said no ... we just didn't trust the political framework within which it sits. So the Mayor shut his door to us [on the housing foundation idea]. And the only people who opened their door was the province. So we ended up writing like three stages to this business plan, to try to respond to things that were being told to us [by the province]. Anyway, the province said to us: 'We like the idea, but you're about two years ahead of us. We're not there yet. But where could we be now? Where's the common ground that we could do something now, so we can get money flowing on the ground?' And we said we want a single window … so that these community organisations that don't have the time to go and apply for multiple funding programs will bring their business plan forward to you based on what's happening in their neighbourhoods. You will then figure out, the three levels of government will figure out, how to fit their programs into that business plan and just flow the money. We actually sat down with the province and drew out that model, and out of that came the WHHI. And millions of dollars started flowing into the inner city as a result" (interview, non-Aboriginal, no attributions).

The ICHC created a new citizenship agenda according to housing goals common to an urban (inner-city) political community. It also formalised this agenda in a new set of negotiated state – society relations manifested in policy and program outcomes. The Aboriginal community was not an equal contributor to the process of creating urban citizenship. I now shift my analysis to some of the internal dynamics concerning Aboriginal and mainstream contributions to the process creating of urban citizenship.

A review of minutes taken at ICHC meetings revealed that Aboriginal organisations were absent from most meetings. On occasion, the names of Aboriginal organisations and their representatives appeared present at meetings, or associated with documents produced. For the most part when an Aboriginal group was mentioned in meeting minutes, it was in the context of a non-Aboriginal ICHC member taking responsibility for consulting with Aboriginal organisations on an idea and then reporting back at the next meeting.

Interview participants who were or had been involved in the work of the ICHC were asked whether they thought that Aboriginal organisations were involved with the ICHC and the developments that arose from the ICHC's work. It was felt that,

although Aboriginal organisations were invited to participate and did so occasionally, they were not regularly involved. One participant pointed out that the neighbourhoods served by the ICHC, however, had a high proportion of Aboriginal residents.

> "I don't believe that the Aboriginal community was at that table, sort of planning with them [referring to the ICHC policy platforms]. I think that they were invited to the process, but not necessarily leading the charge. [B]ut it isn't excluding Aboriginal peoples. Those neighbourhoods where the Inner City [Housing] Coalition is based all have a fairly high representation of Aboriginal peoples" (interview, non-Aboriginal, neighbourhood planner, City of Winnipeg).

Participants affiliated with Aboriginal organisations confirmed, for the most part, that the ICHC was not a group that they were involved with, or in some cases even had much knowledge of. Participants discussed work underway with other Aboriginal organisations, pointing to the existence of partnerships to determine the course of Aboriginal initiatives in housing.

> "Well, you know what, I really don't know a whole lot about the Inner City Housing Coalition, in regards to what they are doing. Most of my efforts are concentrated here at Aiyawin Corporation and with the Aboriginal Centre [Centre for Aboriginal Human Resource Development]. We're working toward certain initiatives, and that is, you know, what I consider primary. And that's how I'd rather use my time" (interview, Aboriginal, urban native housing provider).

This participant commented that the process of 'doing for' Aboriginal people had been the norm and was ongoing in local processes. He felt that an Aboriginal group (similar to the ICHC) would be better at addressing Aboriginal housing goals, once again revealing a preference for self-determination in the low-cost-housing sector.

> "I think it [a group focusing specifically on urban Aboriginal housing] would be a lot better. A lot of Aboriginal people have always had everything, you know, have never been involved, more just told: 'This is how it's going to be.' And it's still ongoing" (interview, Aboriginal, urban native housing provider).

A past president of the Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg noted, however, that the Council had been a member of the ICHC when she was in office. Her rationale was that there were many Aboriginal people (inner-city residents) being served through the work of the ICHC that did not necessarily affiliate themselves with particular Aboriginal organisations. She felt that the Aboriginal Council had a role to play in participating in processes that had influence over the lives of these Aboriginal people.

> "[W]hen I was at the Aboriginal Council we belonged to the [Inner City Housing] Coalition. Well, some of the Aboriginal organisations didn't want to belong. But as an Aboriginal Council, we felt we needed to be part of whatever is going on, because like I say, there's a lot of Aboriginal people served by the Coalition. And, because a lot of Aboriginal people don't necessarily want to be involved with Aboriginal organisations. Because they've lived in the city all their lives, and they don't identify with being a First Nation or Métis" (interview, Aboriginal, chair, Circle of Life Thunderbird House).

When asked why she felt that some Aboriginal organisations did not want to join the ICHC, she explained that it was partly because they felt it might "water down their status" by joining a mainstream group.

In this section I began an evaluation of the extent to which urban social citizenship around housing is intersecting with Aboriginal citizenship, particularly the right and aspirations for self-determination. I demonstrated low Aboriginal participation in the ICHC. I also provided evidence to suggest that Aboriginal actors are pursuing or envision pursuing their own housing initiatives.

Neighbourhood-based housing and development corporations as a means for creating urban citizenship

The examination of urban citizenship in the Winnipeg low-cost-housing sector will now be extended by looking at the emergence of three organisations that formed much of the core constituency of the ICHC. These neighbourhood-based housing and development corporations emerged concurrently with the ICHC. They developed to address housing and community development goals articulated in different neighbourhoods and were also instrumental in designing the neighbourhood housing programs that are central to low-cost-housing activity in Winnipeg. As principal actors in the ICHC, they contributed to the development of the new policies and programs comprising new citizenship relations around low-cost housing and increasing the scale and longevity of housing activity that had previously been undertaken independently by each group. There are three of these corporations in Winnipeg's inner city: (1) the Spence Neighbourhood Association, (2) the West Broadway Development Corporation and Community Land Trust, and (3) the North End Housing Project.

The catalyst for the North End Housing Project (NEHP) appears to have been the community perception of the need for such an organisation, facilitated by a developed community leadership base. There was also a sense among the organisers that housing was a good focal point for achieving broader goals associated with community development and revitalisation. During 1995–96 local community leaders in West Broadway started to gather together all manner of resident associations, organisations, institutions, and individuals interested in seeing the West Broadway neighbourhood revitalise. The West Broadway Alliance, as it had come to be known, included 50–60 members by one account. Soon after its initiation, it sought to incorporate a legal entity that would professionalise the work of revitalising the neighbourhood by seeking and administering funds and operating programs staffed by paid workers and volunteers. The West Broadway Development Corporation (WBDC) was created to be that legal entity. In similar fashion to both the NEHP and the WBDC, the Spence Neighbourhood Association (SNA) grew out of a coalition of neighbourhood residents in the late 1990s.

These neighbourhood corporations have created housing plans. In consultation with neighbourhood stakeholders, the board of directors of each corporation brings housing proposals, compliant with the neighbourhood housing plans, to the WHHI for review and approval. The development of the neighbourhood-based housing and development corporations reveals a process of community activation to improve the urban experience. It shows the consolidation of local voluntary sector resources in order to engage the private and public sectors in these efforts.

Urban citizenship centres on an active civil society that develops a capacity to engage the state as a partner in its locally driven citizenship agenda. It is a departure from the more hierarchical state–society relations of social-housing policy and programs during the cooperative-housing and nonprofit-housing period prior to 1993, where the federal government pursued a policy to ensure adequate and affordable housing for all Canadians. The preceding discussion has shown that individually the NEHP, WBDC, and SNA were able to demonstrate the capacity to articulate and address local social citizenship agendas. Collectively and concurrent with their individual organisational development they were able to negotiate a new set of state–society relations around the production of low-cost housing through the ICHC.

As with the ICHC, Aboriginal participation in these neighbourhood-based corporations has been limited, even though the neighbourhoods where they operate have some of the highest concentrations of Aboriginal residents in the city, ranging from about a third to over half of the neighbourhood population (Statistics Canada, 2001).

There was general agreement that Aboriginal residents and organisations were underrepresented in neighbourhood housing-planning processes, as well as the more frequent processes of governance such as sitting on neighbourhood housing committees. This was also true at the highest level of administration, the Board of Directors. The number of Aboriginal board members at the three neighbourhood corporations in the summer of 2002 was two out of twelve in one organisation, and three out of fifteen in the other two.

> "So there probably hasn't been a lot of Aboriginal people directly involved [in neighbourhood housing planning and administration processes]. The proportion of Aboriginal people that live in those neighbourhoods are probably not represented in the group of people that we typically would work with" (interview, non-Aboriginal, Winnipeg Housing and Homelessness Initiative Coordinator, City of Winnipeg).

The housing coordinator for the SNA discussed the composition of her Housing Committee, the primary advisory body for the neighbourhood corporation's housing programs. She noted that out of around ten to twelve in attendance there would typically be one or possibly two Aboriginal people. A participant from one of the neighbourhood corporations described the process they had undergone to design their community housing plan and the degree to which Aboriginal residents had participated. While they were present, they were underrepresented.

> **Participant:** "[W]e had a housing forum day, with a bunch of displays and initiatives and presentations and stuff like that. And there were some in-house housing stakeholders, different kinds of people from [different] walks of life, including residents and agencies and everything, were involved. So it was like a three-piece plan. And then we had a housing forum in the end which was a whole day thing, where we had over 100 people show up for the whole presentation thing, big schmoose between the government and the audience, back and forth, which we do here. And out of that we hatched a, you know, a six-part plan, six components, where one is to target special needs individuals, or people, or groups, or cultures, and [that's] where Aboriginals fall into place.
>
> **Author**: And were there many Aboriginal residents coming out?
>
> **Participant**: Yeah, well not lots. Just a few that are already involved in the social development. They were wondering why they weren't being considered for housing" (interview, non-Aboriginal, West Broadway Development Corporation).

There have been initiatives taken by mainstream neighbourhood corporations that specifically attempted to account for the perspectives and needs of Aboriginal residents and strike partnerships with Aboriginal organisations in the city. The WBDC, for example, attempted a housing development in the neighbourhood to cater specifically to the needs of Aboriginal people moving from reserves to the city for educational and medical purposes, or simply to live in low-cost housing. It would have been a 48-unit apartment block specifically for Aboriginal residents. The WBDC attempted to reach a partnership arrangement with Aboriginal groups in Winnipeg and with some of the reserve communities in Manitoba who had a large number of members living in the neighbourhood. A participant involved in that project expressed his frustration with its failure and the lack of response from the urban Aboriginal organisations and reserve communities.

> "Well it was a dismal failure. I got no response from any of the Aboriginal housing groups in the city and no response by any of the Aboriginal reserves and their housing committees. We shouldn't be banging their doors to say we have 40% Aboriginal people, can you help us out? Do you want to be a part of a partnership? What am I doing telling them this?" (interview, non-Aboriginal, West Broadway Development Corporation).

Housing coordinators for the City and Province at the WHHI noted that Aboriginal organisations in Winnipeg were eligible to access funding through the WHHI, provided that they received the approval of the mainstream neighbourhood corporation in the area where the properties were located. One referred to conversations she had had with two of the Aboriginal political organisations in Winnipeg over whether or not they could access funds through the WHHI, noting that they had wanted to undertake an Aboriginal housing initiative.

> "[T]hey [Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, Manitoba Métis Federation] wanted to do some kind of Aboriginal housing initiative and they wanted to know if they could get support through the WHHI. So, I mean, the answer was yes, but you need to work with the neighbourhood groups. You need to go and talk to the Spence Neighbourhood Association [for example] and be a part of what they're doing out there" (interview, non-Aboriginal, Winnipeg Housing and Homelessness Initiative coordinator, City of Winnipeg).

The Aboriginal right of self-determination, in other words, is not embedded in this most central mainstream low-cost-housing initiative.

The other explained that meetings run by the neighbourhood-based corporations were used by staff at the WHHI as a means of ensuring that their work had broad community support.

> "[O]ur process is, any funding we provide, and the city's in the same position, has to be community supported. So we use these stakeholder meetings that are run by the neighbourhood renewal corporations as sort of a reference to ensure that what we're doing has broad community support" (interview, non-Aboriginal, Winnipeg Housing and Homelessness Initiative, Province of Manitoba).

This is problematic given that Aboriginal participation is low in these neighbourhood processes. The concept of 'broad community support' overlooks the conspicuous absence of Aboriginal community residents.

In this section I have extended the argument that the Aboriginal community was not highly involved in the processes of urban citizenship that advanced an agenda for citizenship and forged new state–society relations manifested most tangibly in programs delivered out of the WHHI. Aboriginal organisations are effectively excluded from the new low-cost-housing initiatives because the WHHI works only with neighbourhood-based corporations and not Aboriginal organisations that operate across the city. As a result, an estimated 97% of low-cost-housing funding from the WHHI has gone to non-Aboriginal neighbourhood-based groups (Simms and Tanner, 2004). Aboriginal organisations that operate across neighbourhood boundaries need to seek the approval and sponsorship of a neighbourhood-based corporation in order to advance a new low-cost-housing agenda, which runs counter to the pursuit of self-determination in the sector. Although initiatives have—on some occasions and with varying degrees of success—been undertaken by mainstream organisations to incorporate Aboriginal perspectives and needs, they appear to have been attempts to 'do for' the Aboriginal community. They do not appear to have been the product of Aboriginal self-determination embedded in mainstream neighbourhood agendas of urban citizenship.

Conclusion

Through this examination of the work by the ICHC and neighbourhood-based housing and development corporations, it has been argued that a new set of state–society relations in the low-cost-housing sector was negotiated through processes of urban social citizenship. In this paper I have demonstrated that the virtual absence of housing policy which occurred following a shift in the national citizenship regime that led to a discontinuation of most social housing programs, resulted in the creation of an urban

citizenship in Winnipeg in an attempt to reengage the state—first municipal, then provincial—in new low-cost-housing initiatives. It also showed how, in the process of negotiating these new state–society relations, local actors contributed to setting the terms of how an emergent social-investment state (Giddens, 1998; Jenson and Saint-Martin, 2003) would participate in new housing activity.

Aboriginal and mainstream actors were not equal contributors to these processes of urban citizenship. Addressing another gap in the urban citizenship literature, the analysis began to expose the internal dynamics of producing urban social citizenship, and more specifically the extent to which Aboriginal citizenship pursuits intertwined with these local processes. It was argued that the Aboriginal community—whether organisations (at the ICHC) or individual residents (at neighbourhood-based planning processes and corporate governance structures)—was not an equal partner.

The pursuit of the Aboriginal/indigenous right of self-determination that has advanced considerably at the national and international levels (Ekstedt, 1999; Government of Canada, 1997; Jenson, 1993; Maaka and Fleras, 2000; United Nations, 1994) was not evident in the products of urban citizenship in the low-cost-housing sector. This necessitates a critical evaluation of the capacity for local welfare regimes to internalise, of their accord, the right of self-determination that is central to Aboriginal/indigenous citizenship within nation-states. There have been attempts by neighbourhood-based organisations to 'do for' the Aboriginal population residing within their boundaries and expressions by Aboriginal participants to undertake self-determined housing initiatives. These expressions by Aboriginal participants coincide with efforts that have been underway in the urban housing sector for a few decades, evident for example in the genesis of Kinew Housing in 1970 in Winnipeg (Walker, 2004). This development grew out of the perception at the urban scale that social housing would be most effective for Aboriginal people if it was designed, delivered, and governed by Aboriginal people. A similar phenomenon occurred in Metropolitan Sydney during the 1970s when an Aboriginal housing company took legal title over a block of housing in Redfern to run as an Aboriginal housing cooperative (Anderson and Jacobs, 1997). At the provincial level in Canada, organisations such as the Aboriginal Housing Management Association (British Columbia), Corporation Waskahegen (Québec), and the Manitoba Urban Native Housing Association exist to advocate for, design, and deliver Aboriginal housing. The National Aboriginal Housing Association advocates on behalf of its membership for self-determination in nonreserve and predominantly urban housing (National Aboriginal Housing Association, 2004).

Urban citizenship as a set of community-based processes has not revealed that Aboriginal self-determination is embedded such that Aboriginal and mainstream actors can work together toward a common goal of affordable and adequate housing while accommodating a degree of Aboriginal self-determination like the Urban Native Housing Program did under an earlier social-citizenship regime. This is particularly troubling given that Aboriginal people are the main consumers of low-cost housing in the neighbourhoods discussed in this paper and that housing run by Aboriginal organisations to serve the Aboriginal population have yielded better outcomes than mainstream programs in the past (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1999; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996).

Another issue emerges when all levels of government then negotiate the terms of their policy and program interventions to comply—uncritically—with the designs yielded through the local processes described here. In September 2002 this problem surfaced when the Canada-Manitoba Affordable Housing Agreement was signed committing the federal government to a reentry into the low-cost-housing sector, a development long awaited since its departure after 1993. There were four target areas

for this new program, and most of them complied with the priorities of the provincial government and notably in the urban context, the goals pursued in the local processes described here (that is, through the ICHC and neighbourhood organisations). The federal government did not take this opportunity to add urban *Aboriginal* housing as another target area, choosing instead to invest additional resources into those priority areas negotiated between an active civil society and provincial and municipal governments through processes of urban citizenship.

This exploration of the processes of urban citizenship fills a significant gap in this emerging body of theory, particularly as it may be applicable in settler societies such as Canada, Aotearoa/New Zealand, the United States, and Australia. There is a role for the federal 'social investment state' (Giddens, 1998; Jenson and Saint-Martin, 2003) in mediating the internal dynamics of local citizenship to ensure a dimension of policy and programming that gives substance to the right of self-determination. Consideration will also need to be given to what constitutes an 'authentic' urban Aboriginal/indigenous political community and the concern that both the state and powerful Aboriginal/indigenous interest groups have tightly circumscribed the terms of legitimacy. As Durie (1998) suggests, an approach is needed that regards both associational and tribal political communities as legitimate in urban areas and emphasises the relationship between them. In real terms, this could mean supporting urban self-determination through self-governing institutions which serve associational communities as well as supporting the development of Aboriginal/indigenous services in urban areas by tribal governments that are based on a reserve or rural community but have large urban constituencies. Self-determination also implies that 'housing' interventions might only be a part of a broader community-development initiative. Aboriginal/indigenous development aspirations often do not align perfectly with mainstream programmatic silos that tend to compartmentalise areas of social welfare (Durie, 1998).

Scholars have argued that the federal (central) government has a responsibility for leadership in urban Aboriginal policy and programming (and housing in particular) by virtue of its historic relationship with Aboriginal peoples (for example, Graham and Peters, 2002; Walker, 2003). The responsibility of the federal government and the principle of self-determination are also firmly embedded in the guiding principles of current urban Aboriginal housing advocacy (National Aboriginal Housing Association, 2004). Ultimately, the potential for Aboriginal/indigenous citizenship, within the framework of the nation-state will be constrained if the right of self-determination is not given effect in areas of social welfare.

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