

CHAPTER 4) SPACES OF INCORPORATION – CONDITIONING

The preceding chapter examines spaces of incorporation in the three case neighborhoods – Olneyville in Providence RI, Spence and parts of the West End in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and Nørrebro in Copenhagen – paying particular attention to relationships between the location of affordable and accessible housing and new immigrant resident settlement patterns, and drawing on residents narratives about the experiences of life in these neighborhoods. This chapter examines the multi-scalar processes shaping and conditioning the spaces of incorporation discussed in the previous chapter. Here the focus is on the ways in which shifts in state actions, and state-non-state relationships – shifts described as neoliberalization – are impacting the material outcomes in terms of urban and housing development. In particular I examine the changing role of community development organizations as intermediaries between states and immigrant communities.

Section 1 of the chapter specifically examines the changing roles of government policy and programs at various scales in terms of housing and settlement, examining shifting resources as well as governance and organizing opportunities, along with organizing niches being created. These macro shifts have also resulted in new roles and conditions for community development actors and organizations. This has resulted in changes in the levels of support available to these organizations, as well as the addition of competencies, and changes in the expectations around the work, particularly in terms of evaluating programs and organizations. In section 2 I examine the role of local housing and community development organizations in processes of incorporation. Here the focus is particularly on the role of community development actors in mediating and translating between states and communities under shifting circumstances. I examine the ways in which these organizations are adjusting to new policy and resource

conditions, ask how these organizations are interacting with government frames, what are the governance role of these organizations, their place in political communities, and finally what are the roles on offer to immigrant residents for participation in the negotiations over space in each neighborhood.

Section 1: STATE ACTIONS

Preexisting Policy and Institutional Trends and Patterns

US

a focus on private homeownership

US state engagement in housing has seldom been particularly active or visible. Instead policies and programs have focused on support for the private sector, along with tax expenditures and limited, means-tested direct support to residents. Additionally, an homogenized notion of what makes for good housing and a good home space has been at the heart of most government intervention into housing, and led to a focus on the production of single-households units, and support for homeownership above other tenure types (Hayden, 2004).

HUD (US Department of Housing and Urban Development) was established in 1934 with a mission to increase homeownership and support low-income renters. Section 8 of the Housing Act of 1937 introduced the housing voucher program that is still active today, providing rent supplements for low-income families by directly transferring public funds to private landlords. By 1949 HUD's mission was to support “A decent home and suitable living environment for every American family” (HUD, 1996: pi) with the Department adding work around physical and social improvements in cities. In this post-WWII period housing development in the US focused heavily on suburban growth and the production of single-family houses. In *Building Suburbia* Dolores Hayden (2004) chronicles the various actors and elements involved in suburban production from realtors and developers, to those that lobbied for the

construction of the interstate highway system, and insurance companies involved in the production of the suburban mall. Hayden further chronicles the billions of public dollars that were funneled into suburban development. Additionally, and along with others, Hayden examines the ways in which this material development shaped and conditioned various social relationships, particularly in terms of race and gender (Hayden 1984; Leavitt and Saegert 1990; Wekerle 1993; McDowell 1999; Williams 2004; Wright 2004). This included the spatial isolation of some women in suburbs, and the general segregation of white from non-white, and particularly Black, households with both private and public investment following the predominantly white households to the suburbs (Manning Thomas, 1997).

restricted access

The ability to achieve, and the experience of, the American Dream of owning a single-family home in the suburbs was highly contingent on race, religion, gender, household-type, sexual orientation, and class. Restricted access to suburban homeownership was not only based on informal, social or cultural practices and biases, but also imbedded in formal or institutionalized practices. For example redlining limited access to investment capital and other resources in neighborhoods with high rates of African American and other minority residents; while restricted covenants limiting housing access to certain areas with owners agreeing to not sell to particular groups primarily non-white and non-Christian residents. These are just two examples of the mechanisms that led to deeply segregated cities in the US.

In the 1960s there were uprisings in various US inner-cities including Los Angeles, Detroit and Chicago with residents of predominantly African American neighborhoods protesting deteriorating urban living conditions. The 1965 McCone report – focusing primarily on events in the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles – largely dismissed the uprising as

meaningless, and tied to the particular characteristics of marginal individuals (Fogelson, 1967). However, by 1968 the Kerner Commission Report identified factors such as police practices, inadequate housing, poor recreation facilities and programs, disrespectful white attitudes, and the inadequacy of federal programs and municipal services as the factors leading to uprisings in Newark and New Brunswick New Jersey, and Detroit.

The Fair Housing Act of 1968 was in part a response to these uprisings and the Kerner Report. The act prohibits discrimination in the processes of renting and selling homes, and in the administration of various housing services. While the act was passed in 1968, changes in 1988 gave HUD stronger enforcement powers. Additionally, the Community Block Grant (CBDG) program began during this period. CDBGs and funds transferred to municipal governments based on population, which municipalities further distribute to non-governmental organizations for work primarily around housing development, business development and employment programs. CDGBs are also part of the expanded social role of the Department.

dispersal and displacement

The American Dream narrative, along with the conflation of people and place, has led to a type of environmental determinism that uses physical design solutions to address structural, political and social questions (Soja, 2001; Purdy, 2005). This also leads to a focus on the need to change the people in a place, rather than changing a place for the people residing there (Vale, 2002; Right to the City, 2010). As such, deconcentration, dispersal and displacement are often key features or outcomes of US housing policies, with low-income residents, residents of color, and immigrant communities moved out of their neighborhoods, and in some cases with new higher income or white residents enticed to move into these same neighborhoods after they have been revitalized. This pattern of removal has been seen in programs such as Urban Renewal in

the 1950s and 1960s – a program that James Baldwin described as Negro-Removal – The Gautreaux Program in the 1970s, and Moving to Opportunities and HOPE VI both of which began in the 1990s (Goetz and Chapple, 2010).

Canada

social housing as a series of compromises

In Canada government approaches to the housing sector have developed in fits and starts, swinging between various programs and ideals. While government support was generally limited to supporting homeownership before WWII, from the 1940s up until the early 1990s the federal government was directly involved in various aspects of housing through its support of the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation's (CMHC) mortgage programs, as well as actively supporting land-acquisition and construction of new public and social housing as mandated through various iterations of the National Housing Act (NHA).

As with much Canadian social policy, government engagement in housing was heavily informed by liberal ideals coupled with a focus on the political expedience of government actors. This combination has often led to a willingness to shift policy and absorb ideas and initiatives from various political perspectives to maintain order or power (McKay, 2005). To take the case of public and social housing, in the post-WWII period there were demands for government supported housing made by actors from a wide range of groups including the Canadian Communist Party, and other socialists, along with social democrats who envisioned housing as a right rather than a commodity. Veterans' groups called for housing support for returning veterans, and business interest groups focused on the need for housing as part of a strategy to stabilize and modernize the workforce (Purdy 2003). In spite of the diversity of voices involved, the first public housing sites were justified by state actors to the population-at-large as a means of

modernizing people and places simultaneously, and through liberal notions of charity and citizenship (Purdy, 2003). However, by 1969 the Hellyer Report – which heavily influenced major changes to the NHA – described these same developments as "ghettoizing" people (Milner, 1969). For a brief period in the 1970s governments took on the idea that the problem of public housing was neither the people nor the places, but a lack of control by residents (Canadian Welfare Council, 1970). This perspective helped to support a strengthened social housing sector, which includes non-equity housing owned or operated by private organizations, including resident cooperatives. However, by the 1980s the presence of particular populations – including unemployed people, and visible minority or First Nations residents – were again described as the cause and definition of ghettos (see Murdie, 1994). As such, and often mimicking US approaches, the focus of recent policies and programs have increasingly shifted towards dispersal, and – once again – an increased emphasis on privatized housing solutions (Simpson, 2008; Silver, 2011).

Denmark

state interventions for choice and variety in housing

The larger share of social, public and collective housing in Denmark as compared to the US and Canada is in large part a result of the active interventions of governments alongside the advocacy of various groups of residents. Housing has long been a key element of social, and indeed economic policy in Denmark with social housing production beginning as early as the 1920s, and growing throughout the post-WWII era. Production of social housing peaked in the 1960s when large government-supported social housing sites were built both in suburban areas and central cities. By the early 2000s the social housing sector was twenty percent of the total housing stock in Denmark.

As the welfare state developed there were strong supports for both housing production

and resident subsidies, both 'bricks-and-mortar and human beings' (Kristensen, 2002, Kristensen, 2007). There was also a focus on universal, rather than means-tested, access. In addition to the direct spending of this double subsidy for housing (for both buildings and people), generous tax expenditures for the purchase of private property was also available. For some time the private rental market was the one sector not heavily supported by governments. Even in periods such as the 1960s when liberal politicians argued against strong government involvement in housing markets, they generally focused attacks only on the support for development, while continuing to support subsidies of individual household costs. In addition to the more ideological support for social housing, there were also pragmatic concerns that increased political support for these programs. The 1960s were a time of general housing shortage in the country, and into the 1970s the large-scale production of housing was regarded as a means of buttressing the economy through support for construction and other ancillary industries (Ball, Harloe, and Martens 1988).

Social housing in Denmark is also notable as it is made up of several different sectors including private non-profit and cooperative housing alongside government-owned units. The private non-profit (*alemebolig*) sector is unique in many ways to Denmark. The literal translation of *alemebolig* is some thing to the effect of 'housing for all', and so this is universally accessible non-profit housing, managed by private non-profit companies. Each housing area is funded through resident rents, and governed through a so-called resident democracy including regular area-wide votes, and a resident board. Finally, each area also pays into a national building fund (LBF), which has traditionally supported large-scale construction and capital repairs. This sector is also supported indirectly by governments through capital funding grants and rent subsidies available to residents in any housing tenure in Denmark. In spite of the relative economic independence of the non-profit housing sector it is still heavily regulated by the Danish government. As staff at the

national advocacy organization for the sector describe people talk about the complexity of regulations in the sector by saying that the *alemebolig* law books are the second largest after the tax law books. This is no small feat in a country with tax laws as notoriously complex as Denmark's.

The 1970s saw important shifts in the governance of social housing, along with several other competencies as municipalities gained a wider range of responsibilities. The local government reforms of 1974 reduced the number of municipalities from 1200 to 275, with the goal of producing municipalities with the capacity to effectively govern (Kristensen 2002). Additionally, inflation and the start of a change in the population of social housing residents led to slowed production, and raises in rent that were politically damaging for the governing Social Democratic Party (Ball, Harloe, and Martens, 1988). By the 1980s a variety of economic and demographic shifts caused the beginning of troubles in social housing and particularly in the larger estates built in the 1960s. This started with technical problems such as leaking roofs etc that might be expected from older buildings, but this was coupled with higher income residents leaving social housing to take advantage on new housing options, often as homeowners (Kristensen 2002). This reduced the income of social housing estates and has disrupted the finances of the properties, and made regular maintenance and capital investments more difficult.

Distinct Histories but Converging Policies

Each of these three countries represent different patters of government engagement with housing development, and each has developed distinct institutions, resources and expectations around housing. In the US the submerged nature of government action have disguised the politics of housing to a great extent, creating a false image of two separate groups of residents: those who are independent and successful within the market, and those who have failed and as such are dependent on others for their housing. In Canada and Denmark government actions

have been more active, additionally in both cases the ideals for housing have been more varied, producing more diverse housing landscapes. However, in Canada much of that diversity has been suppressed by government actions that actively absorb and neutralize counter-narratives around housing, prefacing liberal economic and political ideals, while in Denmark, housing has been an active aspect of democratic participation and social welfare.

In spite of these distinct histories, since the 1990s housing policy and government-supported programs in each case have converged in many ways with devolutions of responsibilities, a renewed emphasis on the private sector, along with a focus on choice and competition in housing. Further, government actors, particularly at the federal or national scale, have not been shy about the aim or scope of their work, instead proclaiming their intent as no less than “the very redefinition of government itself” (Martin, 1995:6). However, the distinct histories and existing institutions in each case necessitated different strategies and approaches to the work of redefinition (Davies, 2004; Christopherson, 2011).

The Redefinition of Government: Housing Policies and Programs 1990-2010

In the remainder of this section I examine housing policy and programs in each case between 1990 and 2010, to build a stronger understanding of the ways in which the ideas supporting neoliberalization have been operationalized in terms of material resources, frames and narratives, and governance arrangements. Throughout I also attend to the question of incorporation and settlement, paying attention to the ways in which ideas about immigration and new migrant residents are mobilized – if at all – in policies and programs. In each case I focus on a combination of institutional and programmatic shifts impacted by policy during this period. In the US I examine the restructuring of HUD, along with the HOPE VI program, and urban focused programs of the 2010 federal stimulus bill. In Canada I focus on the devolution of social

housing responsibilities from the federal to provincial governments, and the impact of this shift on CMHC, and subsequent work of provincial governments in Manitoba including the Neighbourhoods Alive! (NA!) housing and community development program. In Denmark I focus on the impact of institutional shifts within and between governments around housing and immigration competencies, as well as the Kvarterløft program of the 1990s and 2000s, and various housing related integration policies and programs introduced during the study period.

Examining these programs provide information on the resources and incentives created or reduced for example, new administrative capacities and financing. Additionally these programs provide data on the information and meaning made by government policies and programs. This meaning making is demonstrated through the frames employed, the interests evoked. These are the resource and interpretative effects referenced in policy feedback frameworks (Pierson, 1993). Additionally these documents provide information about the types of governance arrangement or political communities governments are promoting through the strategies and types of participation promoted, the stakeholders to which governments appeal, and the ways in which divisions of political labor are prescribed.

US

narratives of government failure

In 1996 Democratic President Bill Clinton signed into law the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), declaring an 'end to welfare as we knew it'. PRWORA was part of sweeping changes made in the mid-1990s to US government provisions around social services and benefits. Reforms in housing benefits, provisions and production were a part of this change. These shifts included a significant restructuring of HUD, along with the introduction of programs such as HOPE VI (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere) in

1993. HOPE VI has supported major transformations in public housing, leading to the loss of 100,000 public housing units between 1990 and 2010 – approximately seven percent of the total stock – this even as the number of housing units in the country grew by nearly thirty percent (HUD, US Census, CLPHA).

The changes at HUD were heavily informed by a narrative of government failure. Even within HUD there was a strong narrative of scarcity along with an ambivalence over HUD's own work and performance. Early in the document *HUD Reinvention from Blueprint to Action* there is a discussion of the need for reform that states: “HUD recognizes that the Department is in need of reinvention. It has allowed itself to evolve into a bureaucracy far more attentive to process than to results, characterized by an uncritical loyalty to nonperforming programs and insufficient trust in the initiatives of local leaders” (HUD, 1995: 1). Discussing public housing specifically the reader is told that “Since 1937, the Federal Government has invested some \$90 billion in the public housing inventory. The legacy of this investment is mixed” (HUD, 1995:7). In the first HUD annual report after these renovations the Secretary's address begins:

In Fiscal Year 1996, audits for the first time since the Department began performing annual financial audits under the Chief Financial Officers Act of 1990, the Department received a qualified audit opinion. While this is a step forward, we recognize that there are still many serious problems remaining within our internal control environment and financial management systems, and we are committed to solving these problems.
(HUD, 1996: I)

Here the focus is on the question of past fiscal irresponsibility, along with the idea that the Department continues to suffer from mismanagement.

housing as an economic tool

In terms of the role for housing generally, during this period we also see a move from a more holistic notion of housing, towards a focus on the economic role of housing at various

scales including its influence on national economic growth. Earlier in the study period documents are explicit that market failures produce the need for HUDs work. For example documents address the idea that “The private market alone will not meet the basic housing needs of homeless, frail elderly, and disabled people and those suffering the ravages of HIV/AIDS, because of that housing must be linked to specialized service” (HUD, 1995:2); or with reference to public housing residents specifically: “For those households, public housing provides a real tangible response to the failures of the private market to provide sufficient housing at affordable rents” (HUD, 1995:7). This idea of market failure falls away in later years, and the focus on homeownership, which is also present in earlier documents, becomes more expansive and more directly tied to economic stability as the period continues: “Homeownership helps build financial security, strengthens families and promotes citizenship, fosters individual commitment to community, and stimulates economic growth and generates jobs” (HUD, 1995: 1), and “homeownership is critical to creating and nurturing the fabric of a community, the conditions for healthy family life, and the long-term economic well-being of the Nation” (HUD, 1995:3). By 2000, the annual report speaks about the role of homeownership by saying:

Through homeownership, an individual or family makes an investment in the future. A home is an asset that can grow in value and provide capital to finance future needs of a family, such as college for children or financial security for retirement. Additionally, homeownership helps stabilize neighborhoods, strengthen communities, and stimulate economic growth.
(HUD, 2000: 11)

Here we see an expanded economic role for housing both for individuals and households, and in larger economic processes in the neighborhood and community. By 2010 we see the “recognition that affordable housing and a healthy mortgage market are critical to America’s continued recovery, as well as the long-term health of the U.S. economy”

(HUD, 2010: 2), this quote, captures the focus of the Department during this period, and concerns over macro-economic recovery following the collapse of the housing bubble, and the high rates of foreclosures, job loss and general economic depression that followed. The quote is also characteristic of the move even further away from housing as shelter, highlighting its economic and financial character, importance and impact. A focus on housing as a financial product is however, also the same perspective that drove much of the speculation that led to the housing bubble and subsequent collapse in the late 2000s.

continued ambivalence

Throughout the study period HUD's focus in terms of staff and expenditures remained primarily in the areas of supporting homeownership through Ginnie Mae, and rent supplement through the Section 8 voucher program, a 15,999 million dollar program which represented forty-eight percent of HUD's grant activity in 2000. While programs such as the Community Development Block Grants (CDBG) continued to be funded during the period the focus on economic and workforce development became more explicit. Throughout the period documents present a tone of ambivalence around HUD's work and performance. As an example, in the 2010 report the Secretary's introduction includes this less than ringing endorsement of his Department: "I can also provide *reasonable assurance* that the performance data in this report is *reliable and complete*" (HUD, 2010: 3 emphasis added).

Additionally, and in spite of the focus on improving the function and fiscal efficiency of HUD, reports and plans throughout the time period are still vague in terms of the actual work and contribution of the Department. For example in the strategic plan for 2006-2011 past achievements are described with statements such as "families that

otherwise could not afford homeownership are helped in achieving that part of the American Dream” (HUD, 2006: 3) with little sense how HUD helped these families or what exactly constitutes that dream. There is also little sense of how the work or products of the department change during the period. Instead, the focus of most reports are on the Department itself, and on organizational restructuring including staff reductions, described as necessary to make HUD more efficient and less bureaucratic.

competition and economic development

One significant shift in HUD's work that is evident in the documents is the shift described as a move from supporting “capital to people” (HUD, 2000), and the increasing promotion the idea of a need for greater competition around housing for low-income residents. This entailed increases in Section 8 funding along with reductions in grants and supports for local housing authorities, which made up just nine percent of grant making in 2000. Housing authorities were meant to somehow become increasingly financially independent, and be able to compete with private housing.

While it received little mention in HUD documents during this period HOPE VI was a key strategy in this move, with a focus on the revitalization or demolition of public housing sites along with the introduction of mixed-income residents on old public housing sites. While revitalization grants make up the majority of the 6.7 billion dollars spent on the program between 1993 and 2009, slightly more demolition grants have been made, and with no requirement for replacing units 100,000 units of public housing were lost between 1990 and 2010 (HUD). In conversation with staff at the Providence Housing Authority (PHA) they describe the direct impact of these shifts on their organization. For example, in the 2000s PHA changed the focus of programs from service delivery to coordination, and had to seek new

funding sources and partnerships to accomplish its mandate, as HUD funding was reduced. Additionally, PHA experienced staff reductions, saw staff moved over to contract work, or shifted to partner organizations that are now providing services on a contract basis that PHA previously performed internally.

Finally, the 2010 federal stimulus bill introduced a set of urban focused programs including the Sustainable Communities Initiatives and Choice Neighborhoods program. This focus specifically on urban development and particular neighborhoods is another shift from the new Democratic administration after decades of specifically placeless economic development programs. However, the programs do continue many general trends from this period particularly with the focus of shifting public funds to private actors, including non-profit CDCs, it is also a selective program that will deliver funds to a select number of neighborhoods across the country. Finally, in terms of the Choice Neighborhood program it is explicitly described by government actors as building on the successes of HOPE VI, with success described through factors such as redevelopment itself, along with increases in the local tax base (Zielenbach, Voith and Marino, 2010). Olneyville has been named a choice neighborhood, and as I describe in further detail below funding from the program has already been used in large-scale development projects in the neighborhood.

relative silence on immigration and settlement

In terms of the intersections between immigration, immigrant residents and housing, HUD documents – in common with other actors in the federal government – are largely silent on the question of immigration and immigrant residents during this period. In the appendix to reports in 2000 and 2010 in a section on demographic change there is a note that the growing 'Hispanic' population includes some new immigrant residents. However, for the most part HUD's

attention to difference is primarily filtered through the Fair Housing Act (FHA), and so a focus on 'minority' and 'disabled' households and residents. In 2000 'Hispanics' were included along with African Americans in terms of protected minority groups, and in 2010 Asian American and Pacific Islander residents and households were also included. While the FHA is meant to apply to all housing tenures, HUD documents highlight work that attempts to increase rates of homeownership for protected minority groups, and programs aimed at compensating for what documents described as the lack of experience, skills, and language ability in these communities.

The question of eligibility for housing benefits for immigrant residents also evolved during this period. In 1996 PRWORA introduced the idea of “qualified aliens,” and extended welfare chauvinism with new divisions of non-citizen residents who were or were not qualified to receive federal public benefits. However, even within this category Legal Permanent Residents were banned from accessing federal means tested benefits for five-years. Some emergency programs were exempt from these provisions. In 2000 HUD was able to increase accessibility to programs by publishing regulations stating that none of its programs were means-tested, and as such at least partially exempt from some of the more stringent eligibility requirements including the five-year ban (Siskin and McCarty, 2012). However, eligibility for various programs remains unclear, and as an additional complication PRWORA also shifted much of the responsibility for determining eligibility for benefits to state governments.

local government responses to immigration

State and local governments have also taken up increased responsibility in terms of immigration, settlement and incorporation generally, and with mixed results. In many cases, state and local governments have proposed legislation that targets undocumented immigrant residents

specifically. Governments have proposed and enacted provisions that put entire communities under high levels of surveillance, and deny access to public and private spaces and services necessary for survival including attempts to regulate relationships between renters and landlords that would penalize landlords for renting to undocumented residents (Martinez, 2011). At the local scale there have also been various political and bureaucratic initiatives aimed at creating welcoming spaces for immigrant residents (Clavel and Kudva, 2004; Jones-Correa, 2008; Marrow, 2009; Carpio, Irazábal and Pulido, 2011).

In Rhode Island and Providence government actions towards immigration and immigrant residents represent the full range of responses seen in the US from hostile, to welcoming, to indifferent. In 2008 an Executive Order called for the use of E-verify in hiring for government agencies and contractors, as well as establishing an agreement between state police forces and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). While the order was never fully enacted, it did spark debate around the issue, and also encouraged police practices such as stopping residents in particular areas of the city, including Olneyville, to use minor traffic violations to check status. In 2011, the newly elected Governor – a long-time Republican politician who ran as an Independent at least in part because of his views on immigration – repealed the 2008 order returning to a neutral stance in terms of Rhode Island government involvement in immigration.

On the other hand the municipal government has taken measures such as providing much of its printed informational material in Spanish and English, embedding multilingual translation on the resident information portal on its website, and publishing a guide for newcomers to Rhode Island listing relevant services and organizations.

At the same time city planners are paying scant official attention to the rise in immigrant residents or the rise in ethnic diversity in the city, and specific neighborhoods. In 2010 the

planning department completed its most recent land use plan, which was produced through a series of neighborhood-based planning exercises. These included charrettes, and public meetings, and finally the publication of a series of neighborhood plans that helped to build the city-wide plan. In the neighborhood plan that includes Olneyville immigration is mentioned only four times, twice as a nod to the immigration of the late 19th and early 20th century, once as an aside that increasing numbers of immigrant residents have made housing less expensive for artists and artisans, and finally, in the section on neighborhood concerns and safety, a fleeting mention of the idea that immigrant residents may be resistant to reporting crimes to the police (Providence, 2009). In conversation with planners involved in the process there is a back-and-forth between wanting more involvement of new residents, and a sense that there is simply nothing more that can be done to capture these voices. In particular planners expressed the idea that undocumented residents will simply not come out to events under any circumstances.

summary

Throughout the period between 1990 and 2010, particularly at the federal scale, we see an example of a primarily roll-back model of neoliberalization with respect to housing. This included the reduction of various government supported resources, coupled with a continued focus on homeownership, and individualized, competitive responses to the housing question, along with the promotion of economic self-sufficiency. At the same times narratives around housing, and so the work of housing organizations, became further tied into housing as an investment and economic resource. HUD in particular saw several waves of revitalization aimed at making the organization more fiscally efficient and accountable. What has been lost in all of this is the question of housing as shelter, and as a social resource. HOPE VI has been shown to

disrupt as much as assist in many cases (see Manzo, Kleit and Couch, 2008), immigrant residents, along with members of ethnic and cultural groups associated with immigration, and especially Latino residents, are experiencing a re-territorialization of the boarder that adds additional barriers to accessing housing. Finally, as HUD's secretary suggested in 2010 housing needs continue to grow in the US:

“More than 70 percent of HUD’s budget funds rental assistance programs, serving about five million families. Though it is a highly income targeted effort, only about 25 percent of eligible families are served. Expansion and preservation of these units recognize the unmet need and challenges that remain, especially while the national economy continues to recover. (HUD, 2010: 3)

Canada
devolution and dismantling of social welfare institutions

When foreclosures were at the highest rates in the US in 2008 and 2009, politicians and the media in Canada were quick to explain the relative stability of the Canadian housing market through a combination of higher regulations of the banking system, and the work of CMHC in stabilizing the mortgage market and promoting fiscal responsibility. However, Canadian governments had been systematically dismantling many of the supports and institutions regulating these markets including repeated discussions about the possibility of fully privatizing CMHC.

In the early 1990s the Progressive Conservative (PC) government began a process of devolution of social housing production by shutting down the CMHC cooperative housing program in 1992, and cutting funding for CMHC's low income housing programs. These cuts were continued by Liberal Party governments as part of a larger shift in approaches to funding social and welfare programs. The 1995 budget produced drastic changes, including an overall push to reduce government expenditures by cutting the budgets and staff of federal ministries,

altering transfer programs and increasingly pushed sole responsibility for many programs to the provincial level, including funding for social housing. Additionally, since the 1995 budget CMHC has floated between federal ministries reporting to variously the Ministry of Public Works and Government Services, the Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Transportation, Ministry of Labour and Housing, and the Ministry of Human Resources and Skills Development.

In the 1995 budget speech, then Finance Minister, Paul Martin described the devolution of social welfare competencies not as a simple austerity measure, but also as an opportunity for increased control on the part of the provinces (Martin, 1995). In CMHC documents the changes are described by saying that “the provincial and territorial government will be given the opportunity to take over management of existing federal government social housing resources” (CMHC, 1996: 3). While "The federal government characterized the budget and its implications for social security programming as an appropriate balance between affordability and flexibility, Provincial governments actors including the civil service regarded the budget as a deficit reduction exercise that would transfer costs to provinces" (Warriner and Peach, 2007, 45). In 2001 another Liberal government reengaged with housing policy (Leone and Carroll, 2010), however, the involvement mirrors pre-WWII support with a focus on homeowners, and private production. That pattern of support continues into the current moment, for example with CMHC's focus now primarily on mortgage insurance, and administering programs promoting homeownership, with its research and affordable housing programs now quite limited.

CMHC's continued optimism

However CMHC has responded in a very different fashion from HUD. Instead of ambivalence or handwringing CMHC reports and documents consistently focus on the importance of their work and programs. From 1995 onwards annual reports were given titles

such as *Today's Opportunities Tomorrow's Successes*, *Opening Doors*, *Leading the Way Home*, and *50 Years of Success*. Reports focused on specific achievements and programs, often with some hyperbole in terms of the importance and impact of the work. A quote from the 2010 report provides an example of this hyperbole with assertions around one project in the Yukon:

Access to housing improved significantly for families in Whitehorse, Yukon with the opening of the Ingram sixplex, a \$1.9 million affordable housing project funded under CEAP for Northern Housing. (CMHC, 2010: 14)

While Whitehorse is a small metropolitan area, even there the addition of six units represents far less than a tenth of one percent increase in housing.

Even within discussions around the reduction of staff and organizational funding the focus is on the success of this work with references to streamlining, efficiencies, and successful endeavors. In 1996 the Chairman's message speaks about reforms to the organization in glowing terms, he is “pleased to report the CMHC has embarked on a course of renewal,” and that organizational renewal “will further enhance the efficiency of its operations and the quality of its service.” Finally noting that “Canadians can be confident that the steps taken in 1996 will ensure that CMHC continues to be a dynamic and flexible organization responsive to their evolving housing needs” (CMHC, 1996: 2).

Additionally, throughout the period the role of housing – and by extension CMHC – is described in ever expanding terms. In 1994 the report of the President begins:

Housing profoundly affects us all. It provides thousands of jobs in the construction industry and creates a demand for products and services that indirectly leads to many more jobs in other sectors. But the effects of housing go much deeper than economic impacts – our overall well-being as individuals and communities is critically influenced by the quality of our housing. (CMHC, 1994: 8)

By 2010 CMHC was also noting its role in economic recovery and deficit reduction:

Moving forward, we also recognize that as stimulus measures draw to a close governments around the world are taking steps to manage the fragile recovery and to reduce deficits. CMHC has contributed to reducing the federal deficit – some \$14 billion between 2001 and 2010 – and is fully compliant with cost containment measures as outlined in the Government of Canada’s 2010-11 Budget. (CMHC, 2010: 10)

mixed social and economic frames around housing

The expansive role of housing described in these documents points towards the ongoing

mixed frames around housing in Canadian policy and government programs more generally.

Housing is recognized in individual and broader economic development and investment, as a tool

for economic stimulus and job creation, along with the continued recognition of housing as an

aspect of well-being for individuals and communities, and for creating particular types of social

arrangements. Rather than government involvement or not, this mixed role of housing is the

main ambiguity in Canadian housing policies and programs in this period. In spite of this

ambiguity over the role of housing, the role of Canadians in terms of housing crystalizes

throughout the period with a stronger focus on housing responsibilities, on the need for flexibility,

and on the desirability of home ownership over other types of tenure.

The Newcomer's Guide to Canadian Housing published by CMHC (1999) brings together a number of different elements described above, and highlights the ways in which federal government and quasi-governmental actors attempt to balance housing as a social and an economic tool. Described as a “book to help you [newcomers] find a comfortable place to live in a friendly neighbourhood” (CMHC, 1999: 1), the guide lays out a very particular vision of Canadian life explaining to new immigrant residents what they should expect, as well as what is expected of them. Throughout, the guide dictates certain behavioral norms in Canada, along with additional expectations for new immigrant residents. New immigrant residents are

admonished to “Be positive but not too choosy” (CMHC, 1999: 11) in their housing search; newcomers are also informed that Canadians expect people to be on time for appointments, that they take care of their homes and yards, that they don't appreciate people stopping by without an invitation, and that they prefer to handle disputes outside of the legal system (CMHC, 1999). While this is just a sample of the behavioral norms expressed in the document, it gives a sense of the issues that were deemed important in the document, and in particular the types of participation and membership they attempt to condition new immigrant residents towards. New residents are told that Canada is a country where you must be invited into social networks, even though these are the networks you will need to be successful in the country, and on top of all of this you are responsible for your own success, but must not be too choosy, impatient, impolite or confrontational in trying to achieve your goals.

In terms of the material and economic aspects of housing new immigrant residents are taught in this booklet to consider their home as an investment: “Buying a home is more than just buying a place to live. It is probably the biggest investment you are likely to ever make” (CMHC, 1999:27). Additionally, they learn that most Canadians would prefer to buy their own homes, and not just any home as they are told that they “don't want to buy a house in a neighbourhood where housing prices have been steadily falling” (CMHC, 1999: 27). Additionally, the guide explains that apartments are a good stopping point while one prepares to buy a home, and that subsidized forms of housing are for people without a lot of money, and that they need to be supported by municipal governments and charities. As a note along with public housing, all social housing including co-operative and non-profit housing are simply described as subsidized housing; this in spite of the variety within these housing types from mixed developments including rent-g geared-to-income and market-rate or above units, to developments that favor one

type of unit or the other.

growing importance of provincial governments

In spite of claims made in CMHC documents, the role of CMHC in housing in Canada continued to shrink throughout the period, particularly in terms of its impact on low-income and social housing. While the organization continues to play an important role in framing the narrative around housing in Canada, its material and resource impacts have significantly diminished. Leading into the period the federal government had already made significant cuts to the affordable housing budget at CMHC beginning in the 1980s with cuts to CMHC's budgets in 1985, 1986 and 1989. Continuing into the 1990s 14% reduction of the social housing budget in 1991 cut 411 million dollars over five years, and in 1993 a further 660 million dollar cut was announced (Cohen, 1997). Additionally, the direct transfer of social housing to provinces and territories in 1995 makes that scale the key in terms of understanding both the resource effect of housing in incorporation, and in terms of understanding the development of supporting- or counter-narratives to the frames at the federal level.

Since the devolution of housing, along with other social housing competencies, to the provinces there has been a strong divergence in policies and programs between regions. A handful of provincial governments, including Ontario and British Columbia further downloaded social housing responsibilities to the municipalities, but most provincial governments retained the competency. The New Democratic Party (NDP)¹ Manitoba provincial government in particular has re-asserted its engagement with housing, as well as positioning housing at the center of its efforts around community development and poverty reduction. In 2000 the Department of Housing was shifted into the Department of Family Services and Housing, and in 2010 the

¹ The NDP are Canada's left-of-center or nominally social democratic party.

Department of Housing and Community Development. Additionally, a 2000 amendment to the Housing and Renewal Corporation Act reasserted that the ownership and property management of public housing would remain within direct provincial control and oversight.

The focus of housing policy was on the maintenance, modernization and improvement of public housing and affordable housing generally. The Deep Refresh program, a series of major renovations throughout the system is one example of this type of program. Another key program is Neighbourhoods Alive! (NA!), launched in 2000 with just 419,000 dollars in funding for community-based housing projects in two neighborhoods in Winnipeg. Over the next ten years both the funding and scope of the program expanded so that 13 neighborhoods were eligible, and approximately 45 million dollars had been spent on the program by 2008 (Manitoba, 2008). Funding is given to various community-based NGOs with a preference for Neighborhood Renewal Corporations (NRCs). Twelve NRCs are supported through NA! including core operational funding, and funds that they can further disperse in grants to other organizations and groups for projects and events, and to homeowners and landlords wishing to make exterior repairs to their properties. Additionally, several new NRCs were formed through NA! funding and program support. The province also introduced the *HOMEWorks!* program in 2009, making a commitment to further invest in repair and new builds for social housing units that would be owned and managed outside of the public portfolio. In the first two years of the program 17,887 units were renovated and 707 new units were built. This period in Winnipeg and Manitoba is characterized by limited success in terms of new production, but significant efforts in terms of the repair and maintenance of existing social housing, and the maintenance of a variety of options in the sector.

province as key actor in a housing political community

The provincial government became the key member of housing political community during this period. Provincial government actors were able to maintain some connection with the federal government beginning with the Canada-Manitoba Affordable Housing Agreement in 2002, which was renewed and extended several times over the next decade. This differs significantly from a province like Ontario where even the largest municipality, Toronto, was unable to secure ongoing federal support for housing (Simpson, 2011). However the key governance arrangement during this period was the relationship between the provincial government and community organizations, and particularly NRCs. The Manitoba government described NRCs as “democratic organization[s] that could put residents' priorities into action and co-ordinate the efforts of many organizations working on issues such as housing improvement” (Manitoba, 2002, p. 4). Additionally, the provincial government used its relationship with these organizations to by-pass the municipal government, particularly towards the end of the study period when municipal frames and goals turned more towards development, and attracting private capital whenever possible.

government success and collective gains

In common with CMHC, actors in Manitoba Housing – the provincial housing agency – framed the province’s engagement in the housing sector around its own successes. This frame was mobilized in spite of only modest gains in units of housing. As an example, for three years in a row the annual report of the Ministry included a chart presenting the number of families in core housing need, defined as housing that is overcrowded, in need of major repairs, or costing households more than 30% of their income. The charts were based on the five-year Canadian census and so the data presented was the same for all three years, but by repeating this chart the

report highlighted the reduction of core housing need from 1996 (14.7%) to 2006 (11.3%), and reminded readers that Manitoba sits below the Canada-wide average for core housing need of 12.7%. Additionally, while the information did not change the title did. In the first year the chart is titled 'Addressing the need for safe, affordable and appropriate housing,' and in the next two 'Impact of Manitoba Housing Program Activity on Provincial Rate of Core Housing Need.' Through this shift, Ministry staff appear to assign direct responsibility for changes in core housing needs to their own work. As another example, announcements around expansions of NA! were framed as proof of the program's success rather than as an example of expanded need.

Another main frame was the description of investing in social housing, as an asset not only for people living in social housing, but also in terms of general poverty reduction, community development and the health of neighborhoods that benefit the province as a whole.

The Manitoba government's NA! programs provide community-based solutions on issues that not only affect individual neighborhoods, but affect the overall health of our cities. By building healthy neighborhoods and providing people with opportunities for the future, we are helping build strong, successful cities. (Manitoba, 2002: 8)

Good quality housing has a positive impact on the overall health of people and contributes to the safety of neighborhoods. It also helps shape the identity of a community. The physical condition, location and availability of affordable housing influences the development of communities and helps reduce poverty. (Manitoba, 2009: 4)

Immigration and New Canadians are referenced throughout provincial documents as part of the steady demand for housing in cities: “Good economic conditions, developing industry and increased immigration have created a steady demand for rental housing in Manitoba’s urban centres” (Manitoba, 2009: 8). As well as in terms of the role of housing in the process of integration, which is described as part of a “core economic strategy” (Manitoba, 2009: 13). New Canadians are often described as a population in need of specific assistance, but never as a

liability, and always in terms of the potential that comes along with this new population.

summary

At the provincial level there is again a co-mingling of economic and social ideas around housing, as well as an expansive role for housing as a tool to address poverty, improve the health of a neighborhood and the province as a whole, and as a tool in the integration processes.

Different from the federal perspective is a focus on the material aspects of housing, so not just investment and not just information, but supporting maintenance and a wider variety of housing types including private, and social housing. At the federal level in some ways the devolution of housing competencies, along with the defunding of CMHC represented a more complete neoliberalization of this sector than was seen even in the US. This was in many ways facilitated by the strong liberal tendencies and characteristics already present within Canadian policy, politics and government institutions. These tendencies and characteristics include the organization of CMHC as a crown corporation rather than a government ministry, and the tendency to formally engage or enlist private charitable and non-profit organizations in social welfare provisions. However, what has been described as Canada's incomplete federation also means that governments at other scales, with substantial fiscal and political power, have been able to resist, at least to a certain extent, neoliberal-supporting ideals. In this way these governments are able to provide counter- or alternative- frames, resources and governance arrangements. Although, even here support is certainly not universal, and to a certain extent the situation could be described as one of a variegated state, where the resources and access to the state are increasingly determined by location, identity and the characteristics of local institutions and organizations.

Denmark

immigration as a key question in housing policy

If governments in Canada acknowledged new residents in policies and programs around housing, and US federal governments generally left settlement and incorporation question up state and local governments, after the election of a Venstre-led² government in 2000, immigration and immigrant residents became a key aspect of housing, urban development and economic growth policies and programs in Denmark. However, while Canadian governments during this period tended to describe immigration generally as an aspect of economic growth, and where US governments moved between either adding to or subtracting from the costs of settlement and incorporation, the Venstre-led government embarked on policies that specifically divided immigrant residents between those from Western countries (expats), and those from Non-Western countries. While expats are referenced from time to time during the period, usually as an asset and economic resources, residents from Non-Western countries and their descendants are described as disrupting Danish society and become a key focus of policies and programs during the period.

liberalization and uneven development

The liberalization of the housing sector began in the 1990s, and was continued and amplified during the 2000s. In the 1990s authority was further devolved to municipalities, including the power to set quotas and regulate the types of social or non-equity housing that could be produced in a city (Skifter Andersen, Andersen and Ærø, 2000). The uneven spatial distribution of non-equity housing in the Copenhagen Capital Region (*Hovestad*) – described in Chapter 3) and ranging from sixteen to sixty-nine percent non-equity housing units – is in part a result of the quotas set by specific municipalities. Politicians in suburban municipalities

2 while *venstre* translates into 'left' the Venstre Parti is currently Denmark's Liberal, or centrist right party

responded to the perceived political gains to be made in excluding certain types of social housing – such as non-profit housing (*alemebolig*) – and the residents they associated with them (Skifter Andersen, Andersen and Ærø, 2000), including immigrant residents. This housing and these residents were increasingly described as a liability to the municipality as a whole. Jan Hjarnø (1997) uses the Lord Mayor of the suburban municipality of Ishøj as an example of the trend in politics towards linking immigrant residents and housing for immigrant residents with a new expense and a new type of disorder. In 1976 the Mayor is quoted in a local newspaper as saying “Those Danes who are most against immigrants are those who themselves have the greatest difficulties in coping.” The Lord Mayor goes on to describe immigrant residents by saying that in addition to admiring the fact that they:

work hard to make a living ... One must also admire their family life. They do not go out with strange women. They send their children to school every day clean and nicely dressed. They look after things, they pay their rent on time. ... (as quoted in Hjarnø, 1997:123).

However by 1986 the Lord Mayor is quoted in the same newspaper saying:

We feel that most of the 30-35,000 kroner which each immigrant child costs us actually is wasted, because of the patriarchal system of immigrant families prevents them getting acquainted with Danish society and stops any form of development. ... (as quoted in Hjarnø, 1997:124).

Hjarnø (1997) interprets the shift in dialogue not in terms of changes in immigrant resident behavior, but instead in terms of the changes in the Danish political landscape, and the increased political expedience of othering immigrant residents.

urban disorder and development

The Venstre-led government also introduced institutional and policy changes that directly linked the question of immigration and housing, and in particular framed non-Western immigrant residents as a problem that needed to be solved. The first Venstre-led government

started by abolishing one of the oldest ministries in parliament the Ministry for Urban and Housing Affairs (*By og Bolig*), and introducing the Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs (*Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration*). While clearly not a one-to-one replacement, the new Ministry of Integration did inherit some competences from Urban and Housing Affairs, including, importantly, the administration of the Kvarterløft ([Quarter Lift] Urban Renewal) program.

Kvarterløft was initiated in 1997 and designed to address some of the gaps in housing support along with the housing shortages developing in Danish cities at the time (Kristensen, 2002; Skifter Anderson, 2007). The program began by promoting general place-based renewal including social programs, along with physical improvements, and support for private landlords to make needed modernizations to their properties it was a program design as “aid for people and place” (Skifter Anderson, 2007: 307). Kvarterløft targeted particular cities and areas, with 11 initial areas in 1996 and 8 more added in 2000, including three in Copenhagen (Skifter Anderson, 2007), and in addition to physical development was meant to provide “spaces – in which there were concrete opportunities to build better social integration and interactions between vulnerable resident-groups and the local residents and central institutions³” (Gamst, Møller and Sieling, 1997: 26). The program description of Nørrebro, which explains the need for work in the neighborhood, describes the fact that there are high numbers of youth in the area, as well as social benefits recipients, and many new immigrant residents. Cooperative (*andlseboliger*) rather than non-profit (*almenebolig*) housing were described as the major concern during this period: “The standard of housing is good in the newer non-profits, but right across from these you will find older cooperative buildings with small apartments lacking modern conveniences⁴”

3 author translation

4 author translation

(Kvaterløft Secretariat, ND), with for example 40% of units in the neighborhood not having their own toilets.

Whatever the program's overarching goal it was subject to competition within the formal political sphere, as well as to general development trends. As such areas in the municipality of Copenhagen were under represented in both rounds of funding at least in part due to conflicts between the Social Democratic municipal government and national governments. By 2000 when Kvarterløft support in Copenhagen was significantly increased the program had entered its second phase with a greater focus on contracting out and “outdoor regeneration” (Skifter Anderson, 2007: 308), a focus more in keeping with neoliberalizing development priorities around growth rather than redistribution, and an increasingly outward looking perspective in terms of urban development (Larsen and Lund Hansen, 2008), and the aesthetics and perceptions of the city (Lovering, 2007; Rousseau, 2008).

In Copenhagen the program, and particularly the focus on modernization of buildings, became a precursor to further speculative development and resident displacement in Vesterbro, the neighborhood where the most work took place (Larsen and Lund Hansen, 2008). The program also introduced the idea of the importance of integration between mainstream residents and institutions, and vulnerable residents including youth, benefits recipients and new immigrant residents as examples (Gamst, Grove Møller and Sieling, 1997).

The modernization schemes undertaken through Kvarterløft allowed for individual units to be combined increasing square footage and value particularly in cooperatives (*andelsligboliger*). At the same time regulation of the cooperative housing sector (*andelsligbolig*) was also being overhauled to allow for greater equity in the sector, bringing cooperatives more completely into the investment/private housing market. This combination of physical improvement and

economic liberalization made this housing-type an increasingly middle class, rather than mixed-income, housing choice during the period (Larsen and Lund Hansen, 2012).

Changes in the cooperative sector also followed a more general liberalization of the housing market. In 1992-93 legislation relaxed regulations of mortgage loans setting the value at 80%, and increasing terms to 30 years. In 1996 adjustable rate mortgages were reintroduced, and in 2003 interest-only-mortgages were approved. By 2008 46% of mortgages were adjustable rate, and 48% were interest only, making Danish housing owners the most indebted in the OECD (Lunde, 2009).

linking immigration and urban disorder

In the 2000s government policy would become more explicit in defining vulnerability through ones status as an immigrant resident, and the simple presence of non-Western immigrant residents would become a defining characteristic in identifying areas in need of regeneration. Throughout the 2000's The Integration Ministry produced policies and reports with titles such as *A New Chance for Everyone* (2005), *A Common and Safe Future* (2009), and *From the Ghetto Back to Society* (2010). In all of this government frames shared four common elements: 1) a strong definition of what Danish society is with a focus on democracy and a functioning economy including the welfare state. Additionally, the notions that Danish society is both well respected internationally, and welcoming or open to diversity. 2) Reports highlight the threat to Danish society from non-Western immigrant residents, for example with the notion of the need to address the supposed widespread radicalization of Muslim youth. 3) A concern over settlement patterns and the notion that immigrant residents and their descendents were over-concentrated and isolated in particular areas. 4) Governments documents highlighted the need for immigrant residents to take more personal responsibility around their actions. The report for the 2005

integration plan gives example of these themes beginning:

The Government has the clear goal of improving integration. The fundamental values of society, such as democracy and equality between the sexes, must enjoy general recognition. More immigrants should have a job, the young immigrants and descendants of immigrants should become as well educated and trained as young ethnic Danes, and the ghettoisation problem should be addressed. (Denmark, 2005:1)

These frames construct a distinct division between “us” and “them” highlighting the strong society, including the welfare system, that had been built by Danes, but that is now described as being under-threat from foreigners who would variously undermine the free culture of Denmark by creating disruption, or simply taking advantage of what had been built. These distinctions are another example of liberal political actors absorbing often disparate ideals for political gain. In this case, including policies and programs hostile towards immigrant residents helped to maintain a coalition with the nationalist Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti). The coalition maintained the government, allowing it to put forward supported policies and programs that moved towards a focus on growth rather than redistribution, and a stronger business attitude towards urban development (Larsen and Lund Hansen, 2008). At the same time the rhetorical spilt – with subsequent policy and programmatic impacts – between immigrant residents from non-Western and Western countries demonstrates the difficulties in simultaneously sustaining conservative, increasingly ethnic notions of citizenship and membership, and neoliberal, individualized and economic growth oriented notions reliant on attracting foreign capital. And so at the same time that immigrant-residents from non-Western countries were being vilified, expats – migrants from Western-countries – were held up as an example to show that Denmark was still an open, global place and economy.

impact of general economic and policy trends

These frames also necessitated various omissions, chief among them the great variety in

terms of the economic success of immigrant residents of all backgrounds, the general downturn in the Danish economy, and the structural barriers to participation including employment and housing choices. These barriers include general issues such as language and social differences, as well as more specific issues such as the differential access to the labor market of EU vs non-EU citizens, and the Danish restrictions on property ownership which require non-Danish residents to gain special permission to purchase a home in Denmark, and the methods of gaining access to housing, which in some sectors rely on personal connections and internal wait lists.

To take the example of employment in greater detail⁵ employment for ethnic-Danish residents fell below 80% for the first time since 1993 in the last half of the 2000s. Additionally, while the average employment rates for all Western and non-Western immigrant residents are 63% and 49% respectively, within that there is a great deal of variation with employment for immigrant residents from the top non-Western sending countries ranged from 33% to 64%. Finally, these trends come together if we look at the employment numbers for 2011 where the average rates of employment have dropped for immigrant residents from Western countries to 60%, and held steady for immigrant residents from non-Western-countries. The rates of employment continued to vary, however, within both groups. For example, rates fell for individuals who had immigrated from Norway and Sweden and the Philippines, and employment was as high as 60% and as low as 35% for immigrant residents from the top non-Western sending countries. For immigrant residents from Western countries employment varied from 74% to 49% for immigrant residents from the US. The employment numbers for Americans were notably lower than the numbers for immigrant residents from EU countries, and there was also an eight percent difference in the employment rates for American men and women.

⁵ data from Statistics Denmark reports on Immigrant Residents in Denmark 2007, and 2011/2010

In terms of housing, Danish government frames supported policies and programs that limited social benefits and promoted the dispersal of immigrant residents through plans around the potential demolition of large-scale non-profit housing sites, and encouraging certain residents, for example families whose children have criminal records, to move to new neighborhoods. While Danish government funds were allocated for various short-term projects to be carried out by non-governmental organizations, there was also a push towards using private and municipal funds to support services that had been provided by or in partnership with the Danish government in the past. In 2010 approximately eighty housing sites were officially designated as ghettos, defined as sites where more than fifty percent of residents had immigrated from or were the descendents of people who had immigrated from non-Western countries, where forty percent of working age residents were unemployed over a five year period, or where more than 270 residents had been convicted of major crimes, again calculated over a five year period (Denmark, 2010). New social programs were developed during this period including the *helhedsplan* ([holistic plan] comprehensive) program. This program will be discussed in greater detail in the next section but in brief it created a new set of social and community development programs for areas designated as ghettos. The program was also specifically designed to function without additional Danish government funding.

a safe and inclusive city

At the same time that the Danish government promoted frames that were increasingly hostile, and contentious towards immigrant residents, staff in the Copenhagen municipal government were moving in the opposite direction. Staff in the Employment and Integration Administration (Beskæftigelses-og Integrationsforvaltningen) have worked to promote a shift

from a focus on integration to narratives of inclusion, engagement and mixing. Municipal integration plans focus on programs for children and youth, vulnerable individuals and areas, labor market inclusion, and a safe city, free of discrimination for all residents (Copenhagen, 2010; Copenhagen, 2011). Practically the work of staff in the department focuses on engaging ethnic-non-Danish organizations, through program funding, and encouraging the organizations to become more engaged politically. The department also runs workshops around anti-discrimination issues for businesses and housing management companies, and coordinates work within the municipal government around integration and inclusion.

Staff in the Ministry are particularly proud of work to shift towards equity rather than simple equality. In conversation with staff they highlight this shift noting the strong commitment to absolute equality or sameness in Danish culture and policy, and the distaste for any differential treatment. In discussing the differences in the municipal approach as opposed to the national government, staff identify both party political and pragmatic explanations. In the first place they highlight the history of Social Democratic governments in Copenhagen, but they also point out that it is the municipality that has to deal with the day-to-day needs of residents' lives, and so the wellbeing of all residents is ultimately the municipality's concern.

summary

The trend in the Danish housing sector has been towards rapid liberalization with increased opportunity for equity in sectors such as the cooperative housing sector, and the devolution of responsibilities to municipalities. Additionally, urban development programs have shifted away from large-scale public projects, through to funding private development, and now simply legislating private expenditures. All of these shifts have resulted in uneven development, and particularly in terms of housing there is the suggestion of increased divisions in terms of

tenure type and the class and national origin of residents. Finally, Danish governments during the period explicitly linked urban disorder to immigrant residents from non-Western countries increasingly separating out integration programs from general social welfare programs. Since at least WWII universalist social welfare programs have supported the notion that one had a right and responsibility to use and contribute to the welfare state by virtue of residence rather than by naturalization or nativity. This universalist approach has also supported a strong sense of solidarity, high levels of trust in governments (Esping-Andersen, 1990). By separating out welfare and integration, there is a break in solidarity, where social welfare – and by extension other economic, political and social rights – are seen as something for us (Danes), to which they (immigrants) shouldn't have access. Further this division has the potential to create the notion that “we” shouldn't have to pay for “their” problems, or more generally that one has to earn or pay their way into the system.

Homeownership Through Debt and People as Problems

In spite of the differences in strategies in each case, there are still convergences in terms of the general outcomes in all three cases. Broadly there is an increase in the use of housing as an investment, or an object of speculation and exchange rather than as a use object, as shelter or homes. There is in each case a proliferation of what Michael Stone (2006) refers to as the "illusion of ownership through the reality of debt," (83) and – and this is particularly important considering the promise of the promoters of neoliberalization – a reduction in choice for workers, and for less wealthy residents, in particular including low-income immigrant residents.

There is also a convergence in the ways these strategies are being framed, particularly in the US and Denmark in terms of frames that identify people as problems. These frames lead to spatial fixes such as an obsession with dispersal as a key element in policies and programs in each

case. Policies are also promoting individualized solutions and self-sufficiency, and specifically disciplining new residents in terms of those individualized solutions. Finally, there is the promotion and framing of the role of the state as primarily that of another booster, and an educator endorsing privatized solutions. This is particularly true in the Danish and Canadian cases where government actors, especially at the federal or country-wide scale, are active in promoting and producing the conditions for neoliberalization. While there is certainly variation between scales of government, at the country-wide level – the scale with the highest level of legislative and fiscal power in each case – there has been a strong move over the past two decades to reduce the resources that support access and participation. Simultaneously there is a promotion of the notion that low-income, working class and immigrant residents are unwilling to join in or become self-sufficient. In each case this has also led to a stronger role for private market-based and non-profit actors, and in the next section I examine the role of housing community development organizations in translating these policies and programs explored in this section into everyday and vernacular experiences, and spatial negotiations around incorporation and membership in each case neighborhood.

Section 2: LOCAL HOUSING NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

In this section I examine the contemporary role of housing community development organizations, as intermediaries in processes of incorporation. I examine the extent to which government actions are shaping and conditioning the work of these organizations. The section also reviews organizational reactions to and relationships with governments, examining how the work of organizations are variously contesting, accepting or amplifying state narratives. I address these issues by asking about 1) the impact of the rescaling of social and economic welfare on the resources and strategies of these organizations – the ways in which these shifts are conditioning

the work. 2) The responses of community development organizations – the ways in which they may or may not engage in political work and the direction, tone and timbre of that work. 3) The relationships of community development organizations and immigrant residents – thinking more specifically about negotiations over spaces of incorporation, and the roles on offer to migrant residents in community development.

The focus of this chapter are eight community development organizations⁶. In Olneyville I focus on the Olneyville Housing Corporation (OHC) the neighborhood CDC, and Olneyville Neighborhood Association an organizing group in the neighborhood that has worked on questions of gentrification and immigration. In Spence and the West End I focus on the Spence Neighborhood Association (SNA) the area NRC, IRCOM (the Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba) a transitional housing site for immigrant residents, and New Journey Housing (NJH) and information center providing counseling and education around housing for immigrant residents in Winnipeg. Finally, in Nørrebro I focus on Rabarberland a social service organization operating within Blågården a large non-profit housing area in Nørrebro, and the Mjølneparken and Mimerskvarter *helhedsplaner* (comprehensive/holistic plans).

Resources and Interpretive Effects

In each case these non-profit organizations are balancing shifting government support with the availability of private resources, the changing needs in their neighborhoods and communities, and organizational capacity and inclination. In all cases, no matter the amount, government support is increasingly targeted and tied to standardized selection and evaluation processes described by state actors as increasing efficiency and accountability. For organizational staff, however, these new criteria often reduce their ability to experiment, or target and adapt

6 see appendix A for a detailed discussion of methods for this stage of research including the selection and general descriptions of organizations.

their work to fit the communities they serve. Additionally, outcomes-based evaluations do not always acknowledge the interconnected challenges that are being faced in the work around community development, housing and settlement.

Winnipeg, Spence and the West End

In Winnipeg, staff at various organizations described these changes through differences in government and organizational priorities and perspectives. Staff at SNA for example described the ways in which “City Hall just looks at buildings” (Winnipeg, s1) noting the ways in which increased property values seemed to be enough for municipal politician without concern for where residents displaced by rising housing costs will go. Staff at a women's center in the city described the ways in which shifts in funding and evaluation did not always take in to account the need to the “honor successes” (Winnipeg, s2) of their clients, including the seemingly small successes that might fall outside of new outcomes-based evaluation metrics. They went on to describe the wish that governments could “just see the expertise at the community level,” (Winnipeg, s2) calling for organizations to have greater control over the scope of their work.

In spite of differences in terms of goals or perspectives, the relationship between governments and non-profit organizations in Winnipeg and the West End are not confrontational. As examined in the last section provincial government actors have placed local non-profit organizations at the center of governance relationships around poverty alleviation, housing and community development. As part of prioritizing this relationship the provincial government also made new funding streams available – such as the Neighbourhoods Alive! program – as federal funding was reduced. Even with the limitations, this funding has helped to stabilize housing and settlement organizations in Manitoba, and staff at several organizations pointed to the connection between the levels of funding and support available and the ability of

organizations in the city to cooperate with each other. Housing and immigration coalitions share information, help in referring clients to each other's services, and work in areas of education and advocacy around the importance of these sectors and the need for greater support. Finally, the ongoing funding and governance relationships have supported a more porous relationship between governments and non-profit organizations in terms of staffing, with several key non-profit actors in the city moving into various administrative and bureaucratic positions in the provincial government.

However, the ongoing advocacy of non-profit organizations in the city is important because the funding still does not match the need these organizations address. Again staff at the same women's center point to the fact that the non-profit sector is the third largest in the province, but at the same time most organizations “can't afford to give what they need” (Winnipeg, s2). Additionally, a move from core to program funding since approximately 2005 has also meant that organizations are dealing with the possibility of losing funding altogether. Jim Silver (2011) describes the situation quoting staff at a resource center in the public neighborhood Lord Selkirk Park in Winnipeg's North End:

... each of these funders, generous though they have been, provides time-limited, project-based funding that has to be applied for over and over again. And there are limits to how long project funders will support any given initiative. Community organizations are told to become “self-sustaining.” For most of those doing outstanding work, including our Resource Centre, this is simply impossible. “We have almost exhausted the sources available to us to continue this patch work process. We need core funding” (Silver, 2011: 129-130)

Again, and in spite of the increased difficulties in gaining and maintaining funding, along with the increased restrictions attached to government funding, organizations are choosing to remain engaged with governments accepting funding, and engaging as members of a congenial political community. This choice can be explained through three main factors, first organizations

have developed scale-sensitive analyses of government actions, second organizations have maintained a certain optimism around ideal roles for governments in housing and settlement, and finally there are limited alternatives in terms of private funding for the work, and this certainly motivates these organizations to say engaged.

scale-sensitive analyses

At the same time that organizations are advocating for their own needs, they analyze the shortfall in government support, at least partially, through resource limitations for governments at lower levels, and the need for greater federal government engagement.

- *Part of the problem is in the need for more income. Property taxes have been frozen for thirteen years straight, while people are also complaining about the infrastructure.* – NRC staff
- *I think they hear us, but their hands are tied too.* – women's center staff talking about provincial funders
- *But there's also the question of the constraints on the province as well.* [the organization's funding has increased recently and they recognize they're not going to get a whole lot more in the near future] *But we'll still ask* – LGBTQ* resource center staff

These quotes, drawn from my field notes, give a sense of the sentiment around provincial funding expressed by various organizations throughout Winnipeg. Focused on the limitations of provincial and municipal capacity and the need for federal reengagement. Looking specifically at housing, staff at NJH expressed that “The province supports housing, but not enough, but at least it's something. And they [provincial government actors] say that they can't do more without the feds pitching in” (Winnipeg, s3). In many ways this analysis mirrors provincial government actor's analysis, and comes not just from observation on the part of organizational staff, but also from direct conversation between government and non-profit organization staff and leadership.

The scale sensitive analysis of government capabilities also support particular forms of action and advocacy focused on general education, and advocacy directed at the federal governments. NJH staff described the work of a city-wide housing rights coalition, and

specifically their work advocating at the federal level: “realistically nothing is going to happen in the next few years [with a Conservative-Party federal government], but we are trying to raise awareness, so [housing]’s something people should do something about, or make a part of the campaigning” (Winnipeg, s3). Again, and typical of the work of organizations in the Canadian case, the work is to remain connected through collegial engagement within political communities.

optimistic ideals for the role of governments in housing and settlement

The ideals organizations hold for governments go beyond their own self-interest in terms of funding. Instead there is a focus on the potential for government actors to serve a coordination role, enabling further interactions between actors in various scales and spheres, and supporting resident welfare again in areas where large-scale interventions or coordination is necessary. Staff at all of the focus organizations emphasized the need for governments to subsidize more housing. Staff at NJH expressed the idea that “It’ll take the leadership of governments, or at least that’s what I’ve seen” (Winnipeg, s3). In this conversation we also discussed the need to better coordinate between housing and settlement. Manitoba has one of the first Provincial Nominee programs in Canada, a program that allows provincial governments to attract so-called economic migrants outside of the federal immigration system. Staff at NJH describe Manitoba’s immigration policies as aggressive. Going on to lament that while they enjoy the greater diversity in the city, that some new residents feel as though they have been lied to as the limited coordination around immigration, employment and housing results in immigrant residents often having to live through difficult times when they first arrive in Winnipeg. This is in contrast to the promised opportunities provincial recruiters describe.

limited alternatives

Finally, continued engagement with governments is also predicated on the limited,

somewhat sporadic and still quite personality-driven nature of private funding for non-profit work. When speaking about private funding, staff at many organizations told some variation of a story of a landlord becoming a patron, or having the wife of a local businessman who took a liking to an organization. Of the three focus organizations sixty-one percent of SNA's revenue in 2009 came from governments, with thirty-four percent of the total budget coming from the provincial government. IRCOM's revenue is sixty-seven percent government and fifty-eight percent provincial. NJH is an interesting exception as it is funded entirely through a private foundation set up by donors who had hoped to fund an immigration or settlement project. The unique arrangement with consistent private funding has meant that NJH is not, as staff put it "forced to be dependent on sometimes precarious government funds" (Winnipeg, s3). However, private support is generally uneven with funders attracted to particular types of projects. Youth, arts organizations, environmental causes are all attractive issues to private funders. Additionally, staff at various organizations identified that projects for immigrant residents are also increasingly appealing to funders. As one person put it "immigrants are sort of warm and fuzzy to some funders" (Winnipeg, s4), particularly as compared to other residents living in poverty and Urban Aboriginal residents in the city. While many did so reluctantly several staff in both administrative and direct-service roles identified these responses from funders as being to a certain extent racist, both in the ways that immigrant communities are prefaced over Urban Aboriginal communities, and in the ways that funders and other supporters mobilize ideas of immigrant residents, casting these communities as deficient and in need of particular assistance, rather than supporting these programs as part of more general social welfare.

Providence and Olneyville

Government funding available for organizations in Providence has become more targeted, narrow – and similar to the Canadian case – focused on a particular and limited set of outcomes. In this case private funding has become increasingly important both for program innovation and stability. In spite of funding constraints organizations are still working to be selective and match funding with their own missions. Staff at an umbrella organization for community development corporations (CDCs) in Rhode Island describes the situation by saying that CDCs are not just chasing new funding opportunities, instead it is “more like them having a wish list,” (Providence, s1) and being ready to take advantage of funding opportunities when they arise. Staff went on to explain that while CDCs across the state are collegial there is also some competition, and throughout my research it became apparent that a handful of organizations were recognized as leaders in the group.

OHC is one of the organizations that has garnered a great deal of respect from other organizations, along with new funding for core housing development and new community building initiatives, with a particular focus on the economic health of the neighborhood. In 2011 and 2010 the rate of government funding for the organization hovered around seventy percent, an increase in both rate and amount over the preceding years. OHC has recently attracted government funding through funds made available through the 2010 federal stimulus bill, including Choice Neighborhood funding, for larger-scale developments including a partner project that involved the restoration of a riverside park and the production of rental and owned townhouses along the park, the production of a mixed-use complex along one of the main roads in neighborhood that will house offices, and community organizations, along with ongoing work purchasing and repairing individual properties in the neighborhood.



Figure 1: Townhouses Adjacent to Renovated Riverside Park, source: LISC, 2010



Figure 2: OHC Mixed-Use Development

In addition to these successes, as OHC's work has also expanded to include more community

building, education, and coalition building staff identify the increased importance of private funding. Without private funding some staff felt certain they could do little beyond housing production and maintenance.

As part of OHC's community building the organization has taken on a leadership role in neighborhood-based coalitions. OHC is the convening organization of the Olneyville Collaborative which brings together about a dozen organizations to coordinate events and activities such as neighborhood clean-ups, and festivals and a neighborhood newsletter. The organization also conducted a Rhode Island LISC (Local Initiatives Support Corporation)-sponsored neighborhood planning process. The LISC-sponsored plan took place at the same time as, but in parallel to the municipal planning process described above, and was an example of competition with some of these community building activities and municipal planning efforts. Additionally, staff work on direct leadership development, working closely with a core group of residents.

However, an examination of the private funders of CDCs in Rhode Island presents an interesting conundrum. In addition to sponsors and supporters such as national coalitions like LISC, and local foundations and businesses, organization such as Bank of America along with other banks and financial institutions are also supporting the work of CDCs. These are also the institutions whose practices have played a key role in past disinvestment in these neighborhoods, and continued to play a direct role in the current round of foreclosures and instability in neighborhoods like Olneyville across the country. The difficult balance in the relationship between funders – from large foundations, to financial institutions and governments – and non-profit organizations is an old question in US community development. Particularly in the contemporary moment, each organization has to make decisions about the funding it will pursue

and accept, balancing pragmatic needs, core missions and long-term strategies.

ONA's position, as a much smaller advocacy and activism organization, has allowed it to make very different choices as compared to OHC. ONA currently receives no government funding; and while early funding came from more traditional and Rhode Island-based funders, ONA is currently only pursuing support from funders who support expressly progressive, left-radical and critical initiatives. This shift in funding has also supported a more outward looking perspective in terms of coalition building for the organization. ONA is part of national coalitions such as Right to the City that put the staff and members in contact with organizations with similar political perspectives around the country. Additionally, while the choices around funding have meant that ONA's budget has shrunk in the past few years, it also means that the organization can pursue an overtly political, protest-based, and insurgent style of community organizing. The reduced budget also means that ONA, in common with many organizations working in Olneyville and Providence, are more reliant on volunteer and community member efforts to accomplish the organization's mission. In addition to shifting to a more collaborative and rotating leadership structure in recent years ONA continues to engage in activities like door-knocking in the neighborhood to try and reach what it sees as its base.

Copenhagen and Nørrebro

In sharp contrast to the US case during the 2000s non-profit organizations in Copenhagen and Nørrebro were able to access new funding sources and resources to carry out work around housing and settlement. However, for much of the 2000s support was primarily in the form of short-term project-based funding, private funding, or as in the case of *helhedsplaner* (comprehensive/holistic plan) support from the municipality as well as a the National Building Fund (LBF) a trust paid into by residents.

In conversation with staff from various non-profit organizations throughout Copenhagen and Nørrebro people repeatedly expressed that they wanted to make sure that their work wasn't just a *project*. Staff were reacting to funding schemes from the early 2000s allocated through the Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs (*Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration*) that supported a flurry of short-term projects that would appear and then disappear, often abruptly. Other new funding for programs around housing and settlement also came from increased support from large often multi-national foundations and charitable organizations. However, as staff at a neighborhood cultural organization in Nørrebro described many of these organizations are “designed to go out and save people, they bring that model to the table here as well. But people here don't need saving” (Providence, s2). Going on to describe the perspective of many organizations as a focus on residents, and particularly new immigrant residents, as a problem rather than focusing on the possibility of these residents being assets in the neighborhood.

The *helhedsplan* program was launched in 2007. In contrast to the project funding that had proceeded, *helhedsplaner* were designed to be longer-term programs, and from the perspective of staff at various levels they should also be designed with an eye towards sustainable change even if the funding disappeared. *Helhedsplaner* exist only in non-profit housing sites (*alemeboligselskaber*), and each program is attached to a particular housing area. There are seven key themes for the programs: families, education, workforce development, health, engagement and democracy, vulnerable groups, and culture and leisure activities.

In many ways these programs represent a new sector within community development in Denmark. These programs break with the tradition of general and universalist social welfare through their funding, and the selective or needs-based allocation of program funding. *Helhedsplaner* are funded through support from the private non-profit housing corporations that

manage the housing, as well as support from the municipalities that might take the form of professional support and expertise, but in most cases two-thirds of program budgets come from the National Building Fund (LBF). The LBF is a trust or reserve paid into by each housing estate through resident rents. Traditionally the fund was allocated for new construction, property acquisition, and major repairs in the non-profit housing sector. In spite of the relative financial independence of the non-profit housing sector it is also heavily regulated by the Danish government. In the past that regulation had been used in part to ensure that the sector remained affordable and accessible, but it was also used to support the construction sector with regulations mandating growth, and even construction materials within the sector. In the 2000s government oversight was used to create the new mandate for the LBF to also fund social programs. as such funding for *helhedsplaner* come primarily from the residents of non-profit housing, rather than from public funds.

The design of the program and its funding were top-down, imposed to a certain extent on the housing areas and the sector as a whole. Many of the first plans were written by outside consultants, and the staff hired to work in the programs were often new to the area, and did not necessarily work with or even know about existing initiatives including the resident governing boards. As a final quirk to the program staff were not generally social workers, or those with previous community development experience, instead coming from more academic backgrounds, business, or the consulting firms that wrote the initial plans. Additionally, the program and funding scheme came from what one staff member described as “a quite negative political place” (Copenhagen, s1). *Helhedsplaner* were designed as part of the larger Danish government programs around integration that – as described in greater detail in the first section of this chapter – focused on immigrant residents as the key problem. The criteria used to evaluate need in funding

applications are quite similar to those the government would use to define 'ghettoes', including a count of non-Western immigrant residents and their descendants.

For some of the staff involved the funding of the program makes the programs in some ways an additional taxation on the residents of non-profit housing. The program also comes with the strong expectation for residents to do volunteer work within the program, what one staff person referred to as volunteer commercialization, something being called mandatory to save the welfare state. The funding scheme also means that staff at smaller organizations find themselves “wanting more muscle” (Copenhagen, s2) as the reliance on volunteer work and limited budgets means they are unable to accomplish all of their goals. The funding scheme also represents a breakdown of the solidarity that has supported the Danish welfare system. As staff at in one program described it seemed as though “people in the provinces [are] looking and asking 'why am I giving half my earnings in taxes for someone to just consume,' there must be an opportunity to produce, as well as to get involved” (Copenhagen, s3), In many ways this refers back to an older notion of belonging in Denmark where engagement in the welfare state both through work and contribution and through using services was considered a responsibility and right afforded simply through residence. This staff's comments highlight the impact of frames that describe immigrant residents as only taking from and not contributing to the welfare state.

In spite of all of these challenges staff in these programs are working to carve out positive niches and, opportunities for residents to produce or contribute through work, education and more general engagement. Staff at LBF in particular are interested in the sustainability of the programs, but also the possibilities for the programs to engender democratic engagement, and importantly to try and encourage more systemic change at the level of the municipalities and the non-profit housing corporations.

While the new funding for *heldhesplaner* has connected some housing sites and residents to these new and ambitious ideals for community development, not all of the programs are following this model. Rabarerland provides an important counterexample to the Mjølneparken and Mimerskvarter programs. At the time of my research Rabarerland was the program of an independent non-profit organization that had been contracted by the housing management corporation to deliver social and community development programs in the Blågården housing site. As such, and distinct from most of the sites where *heldhesplaner* were started this meant that there was already an established social service organization within the housing site before *heldhesplaner* funding. Rabarerland's parent organization applied for and gained the *heldhesplan* funding for the Blågården housing site, but this does not represent the entirety of its funding, and did not fundamentally change the ways in which the program operated. So while the organization is doing strong social service work it has not been a part of the growing conversations and engagement to encourage change within the housing corporations and municipality.

The growth of Rabarerland, with added funding from the *helhedsplan* program, is also important as it mirrors the trend within OHC and SNA. Even as general government funding has shrunk the budgets and programming at each of these organizations have grown, as each organization has been able to align their work with government goals around community development, housing and settlement. Additionally, these organizations are increasingly acknowledged by government actors as key democratic, but also non-bureaucratic, members of political community in these neighborhoods. However, community organizations should not be conflated with community, and community should not be conflated with democracy. In the final portion of this section I discuss the actions and programs of these organizations in further detail

with a focus on their interactions with immigrant residents, keeping in mind this question of the relationship between organizations, communities and democratic membership and incorporation.

Strategies, Politics and Participation housing production, management and information

In both US and Canadian cases organizations are heavily involved in the physical production and maintenance of housing. OHC was founded with the specific mission of increasing the availability of housing in Olneyville, and that continues to be its core mission. OHC in partnership with other non-profit organizations, including a youth-job training program, produces and repairs new housing with a focus on both rental and ownership properties. As staff explain OHC is “not into dragging people into the neighborhood just to up the homeownership rates,” recognizing that “while a lot of people rent because of lack of options, also a lot are just not at that point yet” (Providence, s2). Further owned homes are held in a land trust with restrictions on resales designed to keep these properties within the pool of housing available to low- and moderate-income residents. Additionally, OHC's work has helped to stabilize the neighborhood housing market and stock through both a period of high speculation in the early 2000's and foreclosure during the late 2000's and into the current period (Morales, 2012).

In Winnipeg SNA's work around production is fairly limited. Instead, and with funding from the Neighbourhoods Alive! (NA!) program and other government and private grants, SNA provides funding for repair and maintenance available to both homeowners and landlords. Owners have to apply for the funding, and housing program staff will do regular mailings to residents with information about the program along with applications and reminders about upcoming due dates. SNA also works with renters, particularly those who are in a precarious

position: for example rooming house residents, residents facing evictions, residents with lower cognitive capacities and mental health problems. Here the work can be a simple one-time interactions helping people fill out a form, make a complaint to the tenant commission, providing more secure locks or information about bedbugs. In many cases though the work is more personalized, with staff working with residents to get them from one apartment to another, or helping them cope with more chronic problems. Additionally, the SNA housing program works with non-profit housing developers in Spence and the West End, partnering around innovative projects including a series of pocket suites, intended as an alternative to rooming houses, and engaging with a church with a shrinking congregation that is working to convert its large building into residential properties.



Figure 3: Pocket suites, developed as an alternative to rooming houses, contain multiple small units each with separate entrances available to low-income, and high-need residents

Staff would like to do more around direct development, and toyed with the idea for example of starting a land trust, but ultimately there was the sense that the organization structures –

including the types of funding the organization can access – was not appropriate for that type of work.

In the Danish cases none of the focus organizations are directly involved in physical housing production or maintenance, instead the non-profit housing companies that host – or in the case of Rababarland contract with – these organizations are also charged with the physical upkeep in the non-profit (*alemenebolig*) sector in Denmark. However, and as I will discuss further below, these companies are meant to be responsive to resident needs and so there is a potential role to be played by the *helehedsplaner* in terms of reinvigorating the tenant democracy in this sector. For privately rented buildings the property owner is in charge of physical upkeep, and in all other sectors whether cooperative or privately owned residents are charged with managing upkeep sometimes by hiring an outside management company. As mentioned above non-profit housing was not always synonymous with 'ghettoes' or disorder in Danish discourse. In much of the 1960s and 1970s the non-profit housing sector was seen as preferable to many as compared to other options within the social and private housing sector with a general impression of higher quality housing at lower costs. Today non-profit housing management companies are focused on the importance of maintenance and modernization within their sector to try and revive the impression of their sector and attract new residents.



Figure 4: During an interview with staff at a non-profit management company we went out on the rainy rooftop so that they could point out these two buildings. On the left a slightly rundown building with some maintenance issues, and on the right a newly renovated and modernized building. The staff person went on to explain that the building on the left was privately owned and the one on the right was one of their non-profit properties. Continuing to explain that most residents of Copenhagen would probably assume the opposite.

Finally, in terms of the direct production, and management of housing IRCOM is a unique example as a non-profit housing site that serves exclusively as transitional housing for new immigrant residents. Residents of IRCOM can stay for three years and have to have been in the country for less than three years before moving into IRCOM. The mid-rise building can house up to sixty-seven households at anytime, and IRCOM is currently working to construct a second property to house an additional sixty households. The buildings are owned by Manitoba Housing, but managed independently by IRCOM, and as administrative staff describe strong leadership has meant that the organization works in partnership with funders as equals, including public funders rather than having funders “lord over” them. In many ways IRCOM is a distinctly Canadian project combining two major trends seen in that case. On the one hand it is a means-tested and temporary social welfare measure, but it is also focused on integration through official

notions of difference, in this case new immigrant residents, and a method that sees a benefit in – even if only temporarily – concentrating these residents.

There are two other social housing sites in Winnipeg that serve immigrant resident, but both are exclusively for residents who enter Canada under the government sponsored refugee class. IRCOM is meant to provide housing for any new immigrant resident. According to staff the ideal mix for the organization would be to have approximately three quarters of the residents be from refugee classes, and one quarter from economic immigrant classes. However the mix is generally closer to ninety percent refugee class, and at one point in my research staff were surprised as we looked through the registry to find that just two households fell into economic classes. Additionally, there is an approximately nine-month wait list for households to move into an IRCOM apartment.

As the wait time for IRCOM suggests, in spite of the work of these organizations, in each case finding a home that one can afford continues to be a major challenge in each of these neighborhoods. In Winnipeg, NJH is a unique resource focused primarily on providing information to help residents find affordable housing, as well as acting as a support for other housing and immigration organizations in the city. NJH conducts two classes to introduce New Canadians to housing in Canada and Winnipeg, one class for new renters and one for potential homeowners. The classes cover the language of housing in Canada going over terms such as subletting, leases, mortgages and amortization. These classes emphasize the transactional or contractual aspect of housing, with a focus on the relationship between landlords and tenants, or banks/credit unions and mortgage holders, on the rights and responsibilities on both sides. This is as opposed to a focus on either the affective and emotional, financial, or political aspects of housing. Additionally, housing advisors provide one-on-one counseling helping people to fill out

applications for housing benefits and public housing, or helping to make a first call to a landlord, bank or credit union. In all of the work staff hope that they can “set [clients] up for success” so that they will “stay and be part of a community for a long time” (Winnipeg, s3). NJH also does some outreach with landlords, and while the larger corporate management companies are not interested in partnerships, some smaller landlords have been responsive. On the one hand – staff feel – these landlords appreciate having someone to come to if there is a problem with a tenant a guarantee of sorts, on the other hand landlords have expressed an interest in “helping a family like that,” (Winnipeg, s3) and there are now landlords who will let NJH know when they have a vacancy.

NJH is free to serve any resident that considers themselves a New Canadian. However due to the limited staff time and resources they often need to prioritize clients with the most immediate needs, whose English language skills are least strong, who are without income, or whose current living situation is precarious. In all of this work staff also see the education they provide as critical, both in terms of direct housing needs, and in terms of introducing new residents to Canadian and Winnipeg society generally. As an example of this general education staff share a concern over the misconception and misinformation of clients. For example one staff member described a common situation where a client will come in and say something to the effect of “I will live anywhere as long as it's St Vital” – a suburban area in the south of the city, or when people come in and express that they do not want live next to Aboriginal households because they cannot be trusted. Staff feel an obligation to express the “idea that this [prejudice towards Aboriginal communities] isn't ok. It's a reeducation in a way. It's not necessarily about housing, but it impacts housing” (Winnipeg, s3), for example in the case of a household choosing to not take housing because it was next door to an Aboriginal household, or in a particular

neighborhood. As a final note about the question of information around housing, while NJH's work is unique among these organizations, in Denmark similar work is done through the municipality's Social Service Ministry for those in crisis or greatest need, and through the Resident Services Ministry for others. However – and not dissimilar to the case at NJH – it is unclear how accessible services are to immigrant residents who may not be perceived as in greatest need.

economic development

Given state priorities, and the available resources it is not surprising that most focus organizations are involved in various economic development activities in each of the three cases. The exceptions are organizations receiving no government support or receiving significantly less support – ONA, NJH and Mimerskvarter. For those organizations engaged in economic development their activities are divided between business and neighborhood development, as well as work around individual job training, and individual and household asset building.

Examples of this work include OHC's programs repairing storefronts along major commercial streets in Olneyville, and SNA's granting program to small businesses. Youth employment programs at Mjølneparken, and through SNA provides short-term and first-time work experience for youth in those neighborhoods. SNA also hosts a Job Bank which aims to connect neighborhood residents for small or odd jobs. Rabarberland's parent organization Åskov also runs an employment program for youth at Blågården – the housing site that hosts Rabarberland – and the Mjølneparken housing site. The program partners with a large tech company in Copenhagen that was looking for a social responsibility opportunity. The program is a multi-year apprenticeship that leads to a guaranteed job if youth complete the training. Finally, at IRCOM and OHC residents can take part in asset training programs. IRCOM has partnered

with a Manitoba credit union for its program which include courses as well as a savings matching program.

In each case the target and the tone of the programs vary. OHC's work is focused on the general population of the neighborhood. As the Executive Director describes it their plans are “looking at ways to make sure that there are development opportunities here in Olneyville that lead to jobs that low-income or new immigrants can access, because those are the people that have populated Olneyville for a long time” (Providence, 2006). The two groups are generally synonymous in the work, and although most services and information are provided *de rigueur* in Spanish and English there is little sense of the ways in which the needs of 'new immigrants' might differ from other 'low-income residents.' In stark contrast the work in Denmark is expressly directed towards immigrant resident integration. Individual staff at some organizations echo the discourse around the idea of unemployed and uneducated immigrant and descendent youth being a “strain on the welfare society” (Copenhagen, s4). Other individuals describe their work in terms of the need for greater opportunity for youth or other residents to have the same opportunity for education and employment. Either way there is a sense that these programs are necessary because immigrant residents and ethnic non-Danish residents more generally, need to catch up with ethnic-Danish residents, including making connections to mainstreamed institutions and organizations.

advocacy and political engagement

Interestingly there is little explicit connection between economic development work and the direct costs of housing for residents. Instead the relationship between housing costs and resources is taken up in the political work of organizations taking the form of advocacy, formal political engagement, or community organizing and direct political contestation. Most

organizations are engaged in some sort of advocacy around housing and/or immigration.

Advocacy features in the work of all organizations with the exception of ONA with work around new production, planning more sensitive to the needs of low-income residents, and – particularly in the Canadian and Danish cases – needed increases in social benefits for housing.

Organizational advocacy is often the congenial participation in political community for example with meetings between organizational leadership and political and bureaucratic political actors.

At IRCOM advocacy also takes the form of general education around immigration and the experience of immigrant residents, with staff and resident ambassadors sharing their own experiences with audiences in Winnipeg and other centers around the province.

However, this advocacy is not always tied to work around formal political engagement and participation among community development housing organizations. The US case is where we see the highest amount of support for formal political participation. During the 2012 election cycle OHC launched Olneyville Unidos as a project to register voters, and to do non-partisan education around the election, and a state-wide ballot referendum question supporting greater funding for affordable housing. The project was partially modeled on efforts at other CDCs in the region, and on work that staff had done informally in the past. However, one staff expressed that the work was challenging to do in Olneyville because of the question of disenfranchisement in the neighborhood, either because of residents being undocumented, non-citizens or because of what this staff member perceived of as a lack of a history of political engagement in the neighborhood. Additionally, expressing the idea that the organization has only fairly recently begun to engage the community. This staff member went on to talk about the need to let people know that there are other ways to be involved. However, turning to the work of ONA suggests that some residents have already found some of those other ways.

ONA has engaged a shifting variety of residents in its political actions and community resource provisions, and this has constantly included immigrant residents, and particularly the Latino community. ONA started as a basic neighborhood association during the early 2000s a period of large-scale development and speculation in the city and in Olneyville. ONA also came out of what one early organizer described as a period of “weirdo partnerships” where communities throughout the city were being politicized over development and speculation, and where there was a sense of possibility around “a cross-pollination of community” (Providence, s3). This included young artists and artisans as well as working class residents and new immigrant residents, connecting the dots between their own conditions.

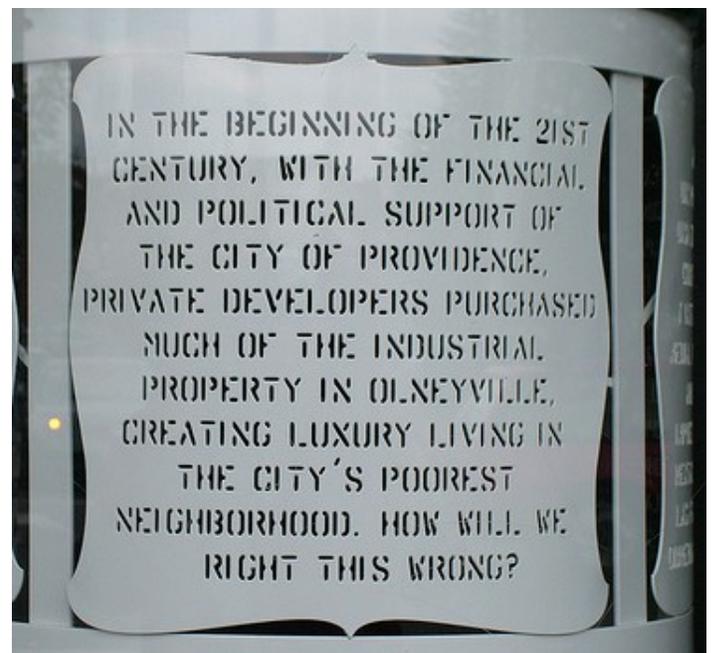
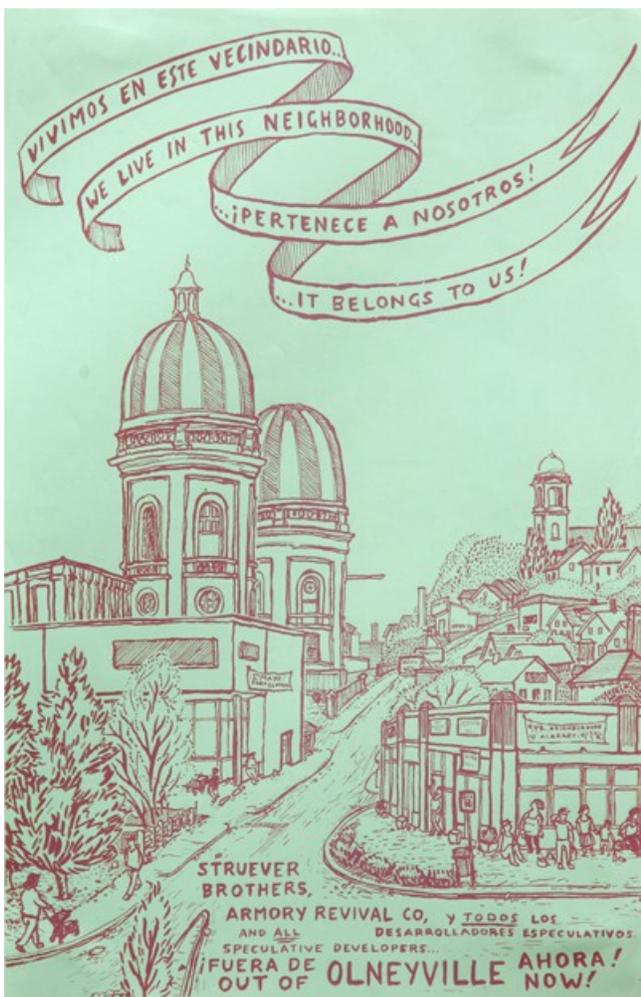


Figure 5: left – poster, Ian Cozzens. right – detail. set of public art and infrastructure installations, Lu Heinz

Throughout its existence ONA has perused a community organizing and confrontational politics approach. In the early 2000s the focus was primarily on questions of development and gentrification, and the idea of a right to the city. However, in 2008, as the housing and development bubbles began to burst, but legislation against immigrant residents was increasingly hostile, ONA turned its work towards immigration and immigrant residents, still with a right to the city lens. As organizers describe the work of ONA "Shifted overnight to a focus on immigration because that's what the neighborhood needed" (Providence, s5). ONA also continues to focus on a confrontational style of community organizing, coordinating rallies, and actions at the state house, coordinating a Cop Watch in the neighborhood, and a hotline for people to call if they are stopped by police. In addition to this work ONA is also continuing to respond to the needs of its members through programs such as a small computer lab, the Digital Barrio, Spanish language classes, and conducted an oral history project with immigrant residents in the neighborhood to capture their stories.

Particularly at the beginning of my research ONA was described by many in planning and development circles quite negatively, as simply disruptive, a nuisance or dismissed as a bunch of college kids rather than real Olneyville residents. In discussing this reaction with an early ONA organizer they reflect that the tactics of ONA – as opposed to say artists independently – were not that different. The difference though might be in the ways the claims made by these two groups would be received. “With artist finger pointing you're being called greedy, with ONA finger pointing you're being called racist. ... people weren't ready to feel that [pause] sting.” And while ONA continues to use many of the same tactics and make the same claims, as my research continued ONA began to come up as a resource for residents and community members within immigration and immigrant support workers in the city, even as those in the planning community

continued to describe them as a nuisance.

CONCLUSIONS

In each case there is a division between political and social work, or between external and internal governance questions. This is seen most clearly in the Danish case with organizations throughout Nørrebro using their work in housing, as well as education, arts and culture, legal aid to contest the negative state frames around immigration and immigrant residents. However, with few exceptions, organizations in Nørrebro are not engaging immigrant residents directly in their contestations. Further, within *heldhedsplaner* the work and energy of residents is being directed towards the internal politics of the non-profit sector, to the tenant democracy with *heldhedsplan* staff coordinating with resident boards and helping to organize regular resident meetings, but seldom connecting this work back to the politics of the city or the country. Resident engagement is most common in these internal negotiations with residents as board members, or on resident leadership committees, helping to plan social and community events, or consulted in neighborhood plans.

This division between the social and political, and internal and external governance present two lost opportunities. First, is the lost opportunity to re-recognize the political in community development work generally. The importance not just of the loud contestations, but ways in which everyday work in community and around material need can be a part of building the necessary geographies (Mann, 2008) for more direct actions and membership definition (Staehele, 2010). Second, is the lost opportunity to connect the material and practical resources provided by these organizations to possibilities for wider and strategic participation of immigrant residents and communities in the negotiations over their homes, and for greater accountability of neighborhood-based organizations to the residents of a neighborhood. We see this work on a

limited scale with ONA and some of its partners, but most organizations are not successfully making these opportunities available. In the next chapter I turn these questions over to immigrant residents in each of these case neighborhoods, analyzing the reflections and evaluations from a set of in-depth narrative interviews with immigrant residents in the case neighborhoods on the roles of housing, the work of governments and non-profit organizations, their suggestions and ideas for further opportunities for participation and membership, and examinations of their own actions in negotiations around spaces of incorporation.