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Community transformation from an economic costing perspective: The link between area of residence and places of employment in a disadvantaged community

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Abstract

The location of an individual's residence may determine his/her potential and possibilities in the labour market. In this study, we investigated the correlation between area of residence and employment opportunities in a disadvantaged community, specifically the Lord Selkirk Park (LSP) neighborhood of Winnipeg, in the Province of Manitoba. The methodology involved interviewing the owners and managers at 22 local private sector firms, as well as program and management staff at 31 community service agencies in the neighborhood. We calculated the economic value of the employment of local residents as paid workers and/or volunteers in community agencies, as well as the externally-generated employment that was attributed to the agencies' services. We also gathered data on the

employment of local residents in private sector companies in the neighborhood. The empirical findings revealed that willing job-takers may be poorly connected to employment opportunities. However, access to social services has positively affected the residents' employment outcomes and generated significant economic value. We identified other positive externalities of service provision in community agencies that are not easily measured. We concluded that state-led demand side strategies aimed at employment generation may contribute to a higher level of economically active residents, as well as citizen participation in the local community. There is substantial potential for increased economic value of targeting employment opportunities to willing job-seeking residents in the LSP neighborhood.

Community transformation from an economic costing perspective:

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Introduction

The correlation between housing location and employment outcomes of residents has been widely debated by U.S. researchers (Kling et al., 2007; Wilson, 1996, 1987), as well as international studies (Aslund, Osth, and Zenou, 2010 in Sweden; Hincks and Wong, 2010 in England; Manzi, 2010 in Scotland and England). In relative terms, job proximity is an underdeveloped area of research in Canada, as well as in active labour market policy-making. The location of an individual's residence may determine his/her potential and possibilities in the labour market. Of relevance to the current study is that physical proximity to job opportunities may improve the employment participation of residents in low-income communities with a disproportionate number of income assistance recipients. The choice of whether or not to be employed is after all a demand and supply relationship, which is subject to a budget constraint. Employable residents have preferences in terms of making employment participation decisions (Hincks and Wong, 2010). Physical proximity to the job may be a factor in these preferences if they are seeking to minimize the costs of commuting, including time costs (Gautier and Zenou, 2010; Houston, 2005). If residents are highly responsive to longer-distance commuting to the place of employment, they may reduce their work hours or offer no employment hours to the labour market, in other words, substitute towards non-market activities (Hincks and Wong, 2010). Consequently, when the nature of commuting to a place of employment is too complex, then the relevant policy approach is to connect the residents with local jobs.

In this project, we investigated the correlation between housing location and places of employment in a disadvantaged community, specifically the Lord Selkirk Park (LSP) area of Winnipeg, in the Province of Manitoba. We also estimated some of the tangible economic benefits of the provision of social services in the LSP community and, more specifically, the value of employment of local residents as paid workers and/or volunteers. Moreover, we propose that access to social services has positively affected the residents' employment outcomes and generated economic value. We identify other benefits of service provision in community agencies that are not easily measured.

Literature

When it comes to poverty, few Canadian inner-city areas rival Lord Selkirk Park. Table 1 (see page 4) lists relevant 2006 Statistics Canada Census estimates, which illustrate huge disparities between the residents of LSP and the rest of Winnipeg in terms of their economic outcomes. Of the approximately 1,365 residents, two-thirds are of Aboriginal descent. Moreover, even though the Aboriginal population in Winnipeg has become actively engaged in the labour force, they are often located in deprived neighborhoods where job offers are lacking. A spatial mismatch theory was first coined by Kain (1968), who suggested that distance to place of employment contributed to the adverse labour market outcomes of visible minority populations residing in segregated urban areas. Since then, many empirical

studies have confirmed that channeling low income people into public housing in segregated urban areas restricts both housing and employment choice (Aslund, Osth, and Zenou, 2010; Zenou, 2009; Wassmer, 2008; Gobillon, Selod, and Zenou, 2007; Houston, 2005). The statistical analysis in Table 1 (next page) appears to support the literature on disadvantaged communities.

Roughly 52 percent of economic families in LSP qualify for government transfer payments compared to 10 percent of other Winnipeg families. Around 90 percent of dwellings are rented. The incidence of low income affects around 68 percent of economic families. For those individuals who participated in the labour force, the average employment income in 2005 was \$13,297 compared to \$33,518 (2011 dollars: \$14,975 and \$37,747, respectively) for other Winnipeg workers (City of Winnipeg, 2008b). There have been many recent advances in building community capacity in LSP. However, in past years, many residents have experienced social alienation because both location and lack of employment reinforce each other (Silver, 2011). The economic costs of living in a high-poverty neighborhood are indisputably high.

Table 1 also reveals poor worker mobility in LSP, since 65.5 percent of employed people use public transit, walk, or ride to work as a passenger in a private vehicle compared to 29.4 percent of other Winnipeg workers. Studies have found that willing job-takers¹ tend to be disadvantaged in a competitive sense in segregated inner city areas, since there are few jobs for an abundant supply of labour in these neighborhoods (Gautier and Zenou, 2010). A lack of transportation and long commute times often impede mobility to jobs in other areas of the city (Houston, 2005; Holzer et al.,

2004; McGregor and McConnachie, 1995). In the LSP area, labour is relatively immobile, since fewer households have a vehicle and access to transportation is limited compared to other Winnipeg residents. This suggests that a lack of transportation is potentially a barrier to entering employment.

Responding to inner city issues involves a focus on developing community capacity through public investments in educational (formal and informal) and employment opportunities, as well as other social supports and infrastructure, such as child care centers (Silver, 2011). Moreover, improvements in education levels and employment opportunities are expected to lower a number of traditional barriers in poverty-ridden communities (Peoples, 1995), which include four main objectives:

- safer neighborhoods/reduced security risks in the inner city
- positive intergenerational influences, such as reducing youth conflicts with the law
- higher personal and household incomes
- lower barriers to attracting capital investment in the area

Other regions have focused on mixed-income communities policies, such as relocating low-income families to better neighborhoods in order to improve job finding rates and economic self-sufficiency (Manzi, 2010; Galster et al., 2008; Oreopoulos, 2008; Kling, Liebman, and Katz, 2007; Johnson, Ladd, and Ludwig, 2002). They are thought of as an escape route from social disadvantage (Camina and Wood, 2009; Cheshire, Gibbons, and Gordon, 2008). However, mixed-income community initiatives may require intensive management strategies and safeguards (Manzi, 2010). They are also based on the (potentially faulty) assumption of the failure of social housing (Silver, 2011;

1 In this paper, we define willing job-takers and willing job-seekers as individuals who may or may not be officially unemployed but, when presented with an appropriate employment opportunity, they would be willing to take a job or enter the job market as a new entrant.

Table 1: Characteristics of Lord Selkirk Park residents

Based on 2006 Census Community Profiles (LSP Population: 1,365)		
Characteristics	Lord Selkirk Park (LSP)	Winnipeg
Income	\$	\$
Average employment income	13,297	33,518
Personal characteristics	%	%
Aboriginal descent	66.7	10.2
Census family structure		
One parent- female	54.2	16.2
One parent- male	6.3	3.3
Families with 3 or more children	34.1	16.8
Formal education		
No certificate, diploma or degree	58.7	23.1
College or university	11.0	39.5
Labour force (15 years and older)		
Employment rate	30.2	64.5
Unemployment rate	18.7	5.2
Income		
Government transfer payments		
Economic families	52.3	9.7
Non-economic families	60.9	18.1
Employment income		
Economic families	47.3	78.9
Non-economic families	29.2	63.6
Incidence of low-income families (after taxes)	68.2	11.1
Dwellings		
Tenure: owned	10.6	65.1
rented	89.4	34.9
Mode of transportation to work		
Car, truck, van, motorcycle, as a driver	34.5	68.1
Public transit	22.4	14.2
Walk	13.8	6.2
Passenger (car, truck, van)	29.3	9.0
Other (bicycle, taxicab, etc.)	0	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0
Mobility over a one-year period (2005-6)		
Did not move	63.7	84.9
Moved within Winnipeg	34.1	11.7
Mobility over a five-year period (2001-6)		
Did not move	32.0	59.1
Moved within Winnipeg	51.8	29.2

The figures in Table 1 were prepared using data from the Winnipeg Neighbourhood Profiles, provided by the City of Winnipeg and Statistics Canada's 2006 Census Community Profiles

Economic families defined: Economic family refers to a group of two or more persons who live in the same dwelling and are related to each other by blood, marriage, common-law or adoption. A couple may be of opposite or same sex. Foster children are included (further details are available online at: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/concepts/definitions/economic_family-familles_economiques-eng.htm)

Cheshire, Gibbons, and Gordon, 2008; Dwelly and Cowans, 2006). Moreover, mixed communities may generate a “hierarchy of privilege” at the expense of the more vulnerable families whose interests are given second-class status in the decision-making structure of community affairs (Lupton and Tunstall, 2008).

Conversely, maintaining the existing public-housing development in Lord Selkirk Park is perceived as “part of the solution” or an “asset” as opposed to an urban problem, since it provides affordable rental fees for low-income families at a time when decent quality, low-income rental housing is in particularly short supply (Silver, 2011). However, if some job-seeking residents are to succeed in the labour market, this must involve a certain kind of neighborhood management of not only physical maintenance, but social as well, including anti-poverty strategies. And since recent studies have found no adverse effects of public housing on work incentives and employment participation (Newman, Holupka and Harkness, 2009; Susin, 2005; Shroder, 2002), we argue in this paper that a state-led policy strategy should be to bring the jobs to the people who want them. This would be consistent with the strategy currently underway in LSP.

In this paper, we used a costing approach in order to assess the efficacy of spending public dollars in the local Winnipeg community of Lord Selkirk Park. The objectives were twofold. The research was aimed at examining the tangible and intangible costs and benefits of providing community social services in the area. In addition, we gathered data on the employment of local residents in private-sector companies in the local community, as well as estimating the potential economic value of providing employment in this neighborhood.

We emphasize that this study’s focus on the interaction between housing and labour market in policy-making does not fully address the complex nature of the issues. Neither is it

our intention to promote the rhetoric of self-sufficiency by encouraging the social control of resident behaviour through paid employment. Likewise, it is not our intention to suggest that the lack of market participation is a cause or consequence of social pathologies or anti-social behaviour. Economic independence is only one part of the equation in the policy proposals put forth in this study. In fact, Lord Selkirk Park residents already contribute to society in a variety of ways that do not involve employment activities, for instance, volunteer participation in the neighborhood council (Silver, 2011). But one objective of this study is to introduce the notion of how active provincial labour-market policies aimed at raising households’ economic livelihood can contribute to a higher level of citizen participation in the local community.

Methodology

To accomplish this project, we took the following steps. The primary data collection methodology for this paper was focused on the demand side of the labour market in Lord Selkirk Park. This involved interviews with employers in the private and non-profit sectors in Lord Selkirk Park, as well as the immediate surrounding areas (i.e. bordering streets). The semi-structured interview instrument allowed us to gather both qualitative and quantitative data from social-service agency management staff (e.g. program coordinators, executive directors, etc.). Additional interviews were conducted with management staff or owners at local private-sector companies. Interview questionnaires were designed to explore in detail (1) the tangible and intangible benefits that government-funded programs provide to the local community; (2) the employment participation of local residents in both social services agencies and the private sector. The diagram in Appendix A illustrates the boundaries of LSP, as defined by Statistics Canada’s 2006 Census Areas. All of the businesses and the majority

of community agencies are located in the LSP area, although a few non-profit agencies are located within walking distance in nearby neighborhoods.

The interviews were meant to be a data-gathering exercise with a view to calculating potential economic benefits of community initiatives. To the extent that data were available, this approach allowed for estimation of some economic benefits associated with employment earnings, as well as identifying intangible benefits of community services, such as the potential for reduced crime. We supplemented the primary data collection with existing secondary data, including annual reports and agency pamphlets. All earnings calculations were estimated in 2011 Canadian dollars and, where applicable, we used an inflation adjustment rate of 2% per annum (Bank of Canada, 2010) and a discount rate of 8% (Boardman, Moore, and Vining, 2010).

The interviews and data analysis were conducted over the period of August, 2010 to March, 2011. All interview responses were recorded in hand-written form. The reader should note that the structure of the research design limits the generalizability of the study results to different settings, regions, or provinces. The conclusions may or may not be limited to this study. A further limitation is that the participating firms and agencies did not necessarily collect some additional evidence-based statistics that were required to conduct a thorough costing analysis in this study. Economic analysis typically considers the benefits and costs from alternative viewpoints or perspectives – the individual, the state, the private sector and other societal actors. The methodological approach of this study was limited by the lack of data made available to

us by the participating agencies and business firms. Moreover, we did not explore the legal issues related to a policy recommendation of giving job preference to local residents.

Methodology: Private-sector businesses

We compiled an initial list of 53 local private-sector businesses in the Lord Selkirk Park area and bordering streets of Selkirk, Salter, and Main. Of these 53 businesses, the management staff of 22 firms agreed to be interviewed; 14 refused an interview; the management of 3 businesses did not return our telephone calls. We determined that another 14 did not qualify, due to the nature of the business (e.g. pawn shops)² or the operation had recently closed down or moved to another area.

The semi-structured interview instrument consisted of five questions in which we requested specific data, such as number of employees and their area of residence, employee training, and employer awareness of state-funded wage-subsidy incentives. To some extent, there was an open-ended aspect of the interviews in which we recorded the contextual details of the participants' responses. All interview participants were owners or management personnel who were in a position to comment on the qualifications or criteria of the positions at their firms, as well as whether or not they would participate in state-funded incentive programs, such as wage subsidies.

Methodology: Community-service agencies

We compiled a list of 41 agencies in the Lord Selkirk Park area and bordering streets of Selkirk, Salter, and Main. Two agencies were

2 The authors discussed at length the inclusion of pawn shops in the interviews. We concluded that, in terms of sustainable economic development, pawn shops are not known to have a positive job creation influence on communities, particularly in poorer geographic regions. These businesses are often conducted on an owner-operator basis.

located within a few city blocks of the LSP area. Of these 41 organizations, the management staff of 31 agencies agreed to be interviewed. Another 4 agencies refused an interview, and we determined that 6 did not qualify, since the operation had recently closed down or moved to another area. The interview participants, who were mostly program managers and directors, were in a position to comment on the qualifications or criteria of the positions at their agencies.

A semi-structured interview instrument comprised eight questions in which we requested specific data, such as number of employees, employment outcomes of their clients, funding from government sources, employment of local residents, and service statistics. Similar to the private sector questionnaire, there was also an open-ended aspect of the interviews, in which we recorded the contextual details of the participants' responses. Given the data that the agency staff supplied, plus a review of their annual reports and the online registered charity financial information at the Canada Revenue Agency (www.cra.gc.ca/ebsci/haip/srch), we generated a picture and value of the social-service agency contribution to employment in this community and the surrounding areas.

Empirical findings: Private businesses

The results of the interviews with participating firms are summarized in Table 2 (next page). The 22 participating businesses employed 246 people, including owner-managers. Half of the businesses provided the lion's share of the employment, and the remaining 50% of businesses employed fewer than five employees each. The top three employers provided 58.8% of the total employment.

Though all businesses were located in Lord Selkirk Park or its bordering city streets, only

23 local residents (9.4%) were employed at any one of these companies. Another 44.7% of workers resided in the adjacent North-end areas, and the remaining 45.9% resided in other areas of the city. More than half of the participating businesses reported no employees residing in the LSP area. In total, the largest businesses reported that less than 5% of their employment was comprised of people who resided in the LSP area. However, two businesses, which employed just over 100 people combined, had between 85-90% of their employees residing in the surrounding north end areas. While few workers in the private-sector businesses resided in the immediate area of LSP, 44.7% of the 246 jobs were occupied by residents in the surrounding North-end communities.

When the participants were asked whether the positions at their businesses entailed specific vocational training, such as a trade, other academic credentials, or on-the-job training, an overwhelming majority of positions (83.4%) did not involve any specific qualifications other than basic numeration and literacy skills. The employer provided the required on-the-job training. Another 15.4% of positions required particular credentials, such as training in a specific trade or prior work experience, for instance, in sales.

The list of all occupations identified by the participants included: sales, store clerk, and customer service; cashier; waiter, kitchen helper, baker, cook, cake decorator, and food handler; repair worker; manager; book keeper; teller; administrative and clerical worker; receptionist; janitor and cleaning personnel; shipping and delivery personnel (driver); general labour, such as roofer; manufacturing labour, such as cutter, sewer, upholsterer, assembly, machine operator, quality-control worker, designer, and packaging; trades, such as welder and mechanic.

One business owner discussed that few workers in this city would be willing to spend much time travelling via public transportation to his place of employment, since it offers “no advancement in life”. Though job quality is an important issue, as shown in the empirical analysis, many positions are entry level, which provide basic work experience, as well as a stepping stone to better employment.

Nevertheless, this suggests that employers in the LSP neighborhood may have access to a pool of workers that are interested in receiving entry level on-the-job experience and training. And since a high turnover rate of 2-6 months was identified as a problem for these employers, hiring local residents could alleviate some of the employee tenure challenges in these firms.

Table 2: Characteristics of firms and employment in Lord Selkirk Park and surrounding areas

	n=	%
Local firms interviewed	22	100.0
Firms employing fewer than 5 workers	11	50.0
Firms employing five or more workers	11	50.0
Total number of employees employed in 22 firms	246	
Area of residence - Employees		
Workers residing in the Lord Selkirk Park area	23	9.4
Workers residing in the adjacent areas of William Whyte, North and South Point Douglas, North Main, Dufferin	110	44.7
Workers residing in other areas of the city	113	45.9
Total	246	100.0
Employment credentials required for positions within the firm		
On-the-job training	205	83.4
Specific training or credentials (trades, sales experience, etc.)	38	15.4
Other (e.g. owner/manager operates the business)	3	1.2
Total	246	100.0
Government incentive program		
Participant is not aware of wage subsidy programs	19	86.4
Participant is aware of wage subsidy programs	3	13.6
Total	22	100.0
Participation in government incentive program		
Yes or maybe, the firm would participate in wage subsidy programs	15	68.2
No, the firm would not participate in wage subsidy programs	7	31.8
Total	22	100.0

The estimates in Table 2 were calculated from the interview data collected.

When asked whether or not the participants were aware of government wage-subsidy programs, which could encourage hiring and training of local residents, 86.4% were not aware of any state-funded programming or subsidies. A few businesses had participated in government incentive programs, such as Manitoba Works (details available online at: <http://news.gov.mb.ca/news/index.html?archive=&item=2375>). However, when asked if they would participate in a program in which their firm could access wage subsidies for hiring and training local residents in the LSP area, 68.2% of respondents replied yes or maybe. For some businesses, their decision would be highly dependent on whether or not they were looking to hire extra help, but if a state-funded program suited their business needs, they were not averse to giving preference to local residents. It was unclear whether or not there would be a skills mismatch between residents and the available jobs but, since many jobs were low-skilled, this did not seem likely.

Participant businesses were supportive of community-economic-development objectives in the local area. In fact, some firms had a stated mission to help the local community. A few businesses were family-owned operations, and while supportive of local employment initiatives, the preference was to draw their labour from immediate and extended family members. Some owners or managers expressed the opinion that entrepreneurs in Winnipeg need wage-subsidy incentives to hire additional help or establish new businesses.

For instance, one participant stated that their business would be interested in any state-led incentive program that would allow them

easy access to eager individuals who want to work and/or learn. This business would be interested in hiring anyone who came to them already trained and ready to work. Their most significant cost is labour, and they would participate in a government program because they need a competitive advantage in the marketplace. With such programs, they could generate more business at lower market prices, and this would help them compete while also lowering their input costs.

Empirical findings: Community-service agencies

For the 31 participating agencies, we estimated that funding from government sources (federal, provincial, and municipal) totaled \$39.8 million. Employment was generated internally within the agencies, but they also contributed to external employment in the community. The findings are shown in Table 3 (next page). In the interviews, the agency staff identified 153 LSP residents who were employed in these community agencies and, combined with the 23 workers in the private businesses, this totaled 176 employed people. According to the 2006 Census Community Profile, there were 300 employed people in LSP³. The workers at our participating agencies and firms represented 58.7% of employed persons identified in the 2006 Census.

In addition, of the 300 workers in the Census, 36% used public transit or walked to work and 29% were passengers in a car or truck. This would suggest a lack of mobility to the place of employment, since many local workers would not have owned a vehicle, and many individuals possibly lacked a driver's license.

Using average employment income figures in

3 Ideally, the comparative analysis of employed persons in LSP should be with 2011 Census data, as opposed to the 2006 statistics. The 2011 Census data were not available at the time of preparation of this paper. However, from 2001 to 2006, the employment rate in the Census increased only marginally (2001: 27.8%; 2006: 30.2%), though in absolute terms, there were 50 fewer workers in 2001.

the 2006 Census, a pro-ratio for full-and-part-time workers, and an inflation adjustment to 2011 dollars, we estimated the value of the agencies' salaries/wages that were allocated to LSP and other North End residents. As shown in Table 3, of their \$31.2 million paid out in salaries/wages, the participating agencies allocated an estimated \$3.3 million of employment income to LSP residents and another \$9.9 million to other North-end residents. Employment wage and salary expenditures comprised approximately 78% of the agencies' total funding revenues of \$39.8 million, which is about average for non-profit organizations. In addition, using the 2010 minimum wage of \$9.50 in the Province of Manitoba (available online at: <http://www.gov.mb.ca/labour/standards/>), we calculated that the non-profit organizations generated another \$93,461 in volunteer hours over the past year.

The participating staff estimated that their agencies had assisted approximately 1,942 people to obtain employment in the previous year. Employers reported that their agencies supported individuals who had multiple barriers to employment, some of whom were Aboriginal males between the ages of 18 and 35. The agencies focused on gang prevention and intervention by ensuring that youths obtained meaningful and fulfilling employment opportunities.

Consequently, in addition to hiring local residents in positions within their own organizations, the agencies also helped them obtain employment, such as childcare or youth care workers, home renovators, construction and trade apprenticeships. Using the average employment incomes reported in the 2006 Census (LSP, North and South Point Douglas), plus an inflation adjustment to 2011 dollars,

Table 3: Characteristics of employment and volunteer hours attributed to community non-profit agencies in Lord Selkirk Park and surrounding areas

Non-profit sector: social service agencies	N=	%	Value of earnings \$ millions (2011 dollars)
Employment - Full time	687	70.9	28.6
Part time	144	14.9	2.6
Other - contract/casual	138	14.2	indeterminate
Total employment	969	100.0	31.2
Volunteers (hours = 9,838)	406		0.9
Employee area of residence			
Lord Selkirk Park	153	15.8	3.3
North end communities	364	37.6	9.9
Other areas of Winnipeg	429	44.3	17.1
Subtotal: area of residence was identified	946	97.7	30.3
Area of residence not identified	23	2.3	0.9
Total employment	969	100.0	31.2
North end residents who acquired employment in the previous			Range:
year, which was attributed to the agency's services	1,942		Minimum \$29.1
			Maximum \$50.8

The estimates in Table 3 were calculated from the interview data collected.

we estimated an employment earnings value in the range of \$29.1-\$50.8 million. Using the minimum estimate (\$29.1 million), the value of externally-generated jobs by these agencies totaled 73.1% of their reported funding.

Table 4 (next page) illustrates another side of the equation of community transformation and particularly the societal gains associated with this approach to development. In Table 3, we showed the monetary value of the potential earnings benefits to residents from employment. On the flip side of the coin, the fiscal consequences of labour market productivity losses is a lifetime dependence on income assistance and other public services, in addition to a loss to the government from reduced tax revenues. However, as shown in Table 4, the theory of change in LSP impacts on other non-quantifiable aspects of people's lives. For instance, resident empowerment is believed to bring about an improved capacity to solve their community issues and build social capital.

U.S. studies have shown that when communities lack cohesiveness, the manner in which people deal with danger and violence in their neighborhoods is through individualized or family-specific protective measures. Citizens who manage to gain employment possibly move to better areas when their earnings rise, which may benefit those people who can afford to leave the inner city, but does not do much for the residents who remain in the neighborhood (Aos et al., 2004; Lochner and Moretti, 2004). This trend is shown in the 2006 Census estimates (Table 1, page 4). From 2001-2006, 51.8% of LSP residents moved within Winnipeg, compared to only 29.2% of other Winnipeg residents, which suggests that residents may have been keen to leave the area when their income situation improved. Arguably though, we cannot be certain whether this movement is related to an improved household income. However, the scenario of relocating when the opportunity arises may be starting to change

for LSP residents in recent times, though the evidence is anecdotal and based on interview data with residents (Silver, 2011, p. 133). With respect to youth crime, in disconnected communities, most fiscal costs are expended on the management of youth and their families after problems occur as opposed to early intervention prevention (Aos et al., 2004; Lochner and Moretti, 2004).

This picture is in contrast to collectively solving community problems (Jarrett and Jefferson, 2004), which is the current approach that is evolving in LSP. The fiscal and other economic resources expended on social services are expected to yield a lower concentration of poverty and higher citizen engagement in the Lord Selkirk Park community (Silver, 2011). As shown in Table 4, active cooperation of citizens in influencing social policy may also foster higher social capital (Cochrane, 2007). As community re-invention arises and families become more willing to help one another, more of them may be willing to remain in the community.

In Table 5 (see page 13), the employment rate of LSP residents (aged 15-64) is 30.2% according to the Statistics Canada, 2006 Census data. If the LSP employment rate matched the Winnipeg employment rate, the number of employed people in LSP would increase from the 2006 level of 300 to 493 employed workers in the area. The lifetime earnings of these additional workers would increase by an estimated \$68.8 million if we assume the average employment income of full-time, full-year workers and \$35.7 million if we assume the average employment income for all workers. Annual employment income in the area would increase between \$2.9-\$5.6 million, depending on whether we calculate the estimate based on the average employment income rate of all workers or full-time, full-year only.

Likewise, even if employment in LSP matched the overall Point Douglas South (PDS) rate

Table 4: Services provided and benefits of social service agencies to the community

Themes: individualized supports, client-centeredness, and building community capacity	% of agencies
ECONOMY AND EMPLOYMENT	
Strengthen local economy (multiplier effects); funding and support for local businesses and job creation; social purchasing programs; assistance with starting a new business	12.9
Job search assistance, pre-employment issues, employability skills and workshops; GED; mature student diploma; assist youth to get back into high school; ESL; address barriers to employment, such as transportation; breakfast and lunch programs for students; child care	32.3
Training and employment programs; funding for training programs	9.7
Employment placement services (within agency or in community); generate linkages with local businesses (provide them with workers)	87.1
Volunteering opportunities	87.1
Referrals and individualized employment follow-ups (make sure it's suitable employment); one-stop shop; networking re: employment	16.1
HOUSING AND SAFE COMMUNITY INITIATIVES	
Housing issues; assisted living; home retrofit projects to reduce utility bills (e.g. insulating homes and low-flow water retrofits)	25.8
Neighborhood renewal efforts (infrastructure; fix-up grants; storefront improvements)	3.2
Beautification of residential homes with gardens, vegetables, and flowers	3.2
Residential services for women and children, including second staging housing	6.5
Agency provides neighborhood stability, feeling of belonging, sense of community, safe haven environment; networks for safety; empower local residents; place to socialize, hang out, watch television	38.7
YOUTH SERVICES	
Youth programs in a safe environment, such as recreation, cultural, and sports activities and other resources for youth; arts and crafts; outings, such as movies and bowling; leadership development; mentorship programs; life skills; employment counseling; access to computers, libraries, and video games; resume services; after school programming, such as tutoring; gang prevention and intervention; transition housing; independent living; drop in services; healthy meals; bus passes; Aboriginal Head Start	29.0
GENERAL COMMUNITY AND FAMILY SUPPORT SERVICES	
Medical services and health resources; family violence resources; dental insurance; pre-and post-natal care; foot care; health promotion	32.3
Counseling (milestone counseling; individual and group); personal development	35.5
Individualized and family supports; parenting; life skills; money management, budgeting and related workshops; help setting up a bank account; access to computers, photocopying, and telephone; cooking classes; clothing depot, hygiene products, food banks, and community resources; personal development programs (e.g. anger management); laundry; shower; food; bus passes; workshops; services for Aboriginal elders; soup kitchen	54.8
Cultural activities, outings, and teachings; help citizens to expand social networks; community outreach	22.6
Addiction services, including harm reduction; residential, group, and outpatient treatment; recovery services; workshops	12.9
Help people with forms to fill out; general referral services for community assistance and resources; EIA services	19.4
Parenting-student support; parent-child programs; women's programs; child care	22.6
Organize community activities, meetings, suppers and other events; strategic planning in the community; advocacy on behalf of Aboriginal communities; advisory committees; build community capacity by partnering with other community agencies/schools, etc.	19.4

Table 5: Net present value of job creation in Lord Selkirk Park (LSP) and Point Douglas South (PDS) areas

2006 Census						
	Current employment	Employment rate	Unemployment	Additional jobs if matched Winnipeg or SPD areas, N=	Net present value of lifetime employment income from job creation*	Value of annual employment income in 2011. (\$mils)
	N=	%	N=			
Statistics Canada – 2006 Census in LSP	300	30.2	70	193		
Average employment income – all workers					\$35,742,478	2,890,094
Average employm. income: full-time workers					\$68,778,130	5,561,318
Statistics Canada – 2006 Census in PDS	3830	45.3	615	688		
Average employment income – all workers					\$177,825,194	14,378,734
Average employm. income: full-time workers					\$261,477,201	21,142,735
Assumption: if LSP employment mirrored the employment rate of Point Douglas South neighborhood area (holding constant average earnings in LSP)				47		
Average employment income – all workers					\$8,704,127	703,778
Average employm. income: full-time workers					\$16,749,078	1,354,305

Assumptions and data sources:

Employment and unemployment data were retrieved from 2006 Census; source: City of Winnipeg (2008a; 2008b); 70 people were officially unemployed in LSP which corresponded to the unemployment rate of 18.7% in Table 1; The unemployment rate= number unemployed/(unemployed+employed); $70 \div (300+70) = 18.7\%$; there was a small rounding error of 0.2% The employment rate = current employment/working age population in the community (300/995=30.2% reported in Table 1) Winnipeg employment rate was 64.5%

Average age of LSP residents in 2005 was 39.2 years

Inflation factor 2% per year (source: Bank of Canada. 2010. "Monetary Policy Report, January 2010." Ottawa: Bank of Canada)

Discount rate 8% (source: Boardman, Moore, and Vining, 2010, based on Treasury Board of Canada recommendations)

* For this calculation, we used the average age of 39.2 years and estimated the 2005 net present value of potential earnings to age 64 for full-time full-year workers, as well as the average employment income for all workers. The net present value in 2011 millions of dollars is \$40.2; \$77.5; \$200.3; \$294.5; \$9.8; \$18.9, respectively.

of 45.3%, the number of employed people in LSP would increase by 47 workers in the area, thus increasing lifetime earnings by \$8.7-\$16.7 million, which is based on the average employment incomes of all workers and full-time full year workers, respectively. Annual employment income would increase between \$0.7-1.4 million.

Similarly, the employment rate of PDS residents (aged 15-64) is 45.3% according to the Statistics Canada 2006 Census. If PDS employment matched the Winnipeg employment rate, the number of employed workers in PDS

would increase by 688 in this area. The lifetime earnings of these additional workers would increase by an estimated \$261.5 million if we assume the average employment income of full-time, full-year workers and \$177.8 million if we assume the average employment income for all workers. Annual employment income in the area would increase between \$14.4-\$21.1 million, depending on whether we calculate the estimate based on the average employment income rate of all workers or full-time, full-year only.

Discussion

Over the past decade, there have been considerable efforts around the development of human resources and other enabling initiatives, such as child care and life skills programs in the Lord Selkirk Park neighborhood (Silver, 2011). An ethos of generating training and employment opportunities is enormously important for integrating willing job-seekers within disadvantaged groups into the local labour market.

One question raised in the current study is whether or not there are enough jobs in the local community for the available workers. We found that labour demand in LSP firms and social service agencies is reasonably high. We estimated a total of 1,215 jobs offered in 53 non-profit agencies and private sector firms, which were available for a potential labour force of 765 workers, aged 15-64. However, the set of local job opportunities for LSP residents appeared to be limited, since a minority of agencies (45.2%) and firms (36.4%) drew their labour from the LSP community. Only 9.4% of workers in the private firms and 15.8% of workers in community service agencies resided in the LSP area. Indeed, these findings may be a reflection of a multitude of factors, such as the skills of the population and the state of the labour market in a recessionary context or reductions of funding in social services. For instance, to be employable, individuals must possess a range of personal attributes and transferable work skills.

Of relevance to the current study is that some residents may have a preference for access to local jobs, due to a need for low commuting costs and other employment challenges. As shown in the 2006 Census data in Table 1, 58.7% of working-age residents had no formal certificate, diploma or degree compared to 23.1% of Winnipeg residents. It is known that the lower a worker's marketable skill level,

the more spatially restricted her/his potential job search is likely to be. This is believed to be a problem of skills and spatial mismatches, which tend to reinforce each other (Houston, 2005). In addition, this reduces her/his bargaining power and likely results in lower paying employment. The interview participants confirmed that the residents of LSP are not necessarily isolated from social networks that enable them to access employment opportunities. However, the findings of this study suggest a lack of symmetry between potential job-seekers in the area and available employment in the local community. Willing job-takers may be poorly connected to employment opportunities.

In recent times, U.S. housing policies have focused on the "demolition of public housing and dispersal of residents to "non-concentrated" locations (usually in the middle-class suburbs) that are claimed to provide better educational and job opportunities" (Crump, 2003, p.182). Indeed, critics contend that such policies are perilous if they compel welfare recipients to accept low-wage jobs in the peripheral labour market (Crump, 2003). For example, one U.S. housing policy in the 1990s was framed as a rental voucher program for securing housing in middle class areas. The outcome was just another form of workfare since recipients were required to transition into the work force in exchange for the monetary incentives (Crump, 2003; Schwartz, 2003).

Though it is occasionally proposed that social housing is innately problematic (Manzi, 2010), it is also known that mixed communities may have little impact in tackling social-housing issues for low-income families. Such arrangements are believed to promote social control of behaviour and stigmatization of marginalized populations (Silver, 2011; Manzi, 2010, 13-14, 16; Lupton and Tunstall, 2008; Popkin et al.,

2000). Moreover, this type of policy framework lacks congruence with the many of the values shared by Aboriginal people and has further social-justice implications (Lupton and Tunstall, 2008). In the current paper, we argue that it is not a far stretch to presume that exposing Aboriginal citizens of LSP to suburban middle-class role models would be an inappropriate policy strategy for addressing joblessness in LSP and, more importantly, a cultural clash. However, as proposed by Houston (2005), the downside is that local residents may also be channeled into low-wage jobs or temporary employment contracts in the local LSP labour market.

The earlier analysis in Table 3 showed that the value to the economy of surplus job creation external to the agencies potential ranged from \$29.1-\$50.8 million over the past year. Additionally, the agencies expended about three quarters of their annual budget on internally-generated employment, of which an estimated \$3.3 million was allocated to LSP residents. The participants identified that volunteers worked 9,838 hours in their agencies over the past year. This may be the tip of the iceberg in terms of the economic benefits of job creation in this neighborhood. In fact, in Table 5 we estimated the net present value of job creation in both LSP and SPD in the tens and hundreds of millions, if such job creation generated an employment rate that matched the rest of Winnipeg. Although there is the possibility of multiplier effects from state-led investments in social services and other employment-generating incentives, these outcomes are always difficult to conclusively assess when it comes to the complex economic relationships in which causes and consequences are intertwined. However, we propose that the positive externalities of employment generation policies extend well beyond the businesses or the individual, since there are benefits for all of society.

The analysis in this study offers a significant

policy context for state-led demand-side strategies. In recent years, the provincial government has offered businesses in Manitoba considerable tax breaks, such as the Manufacturing Investment Tax Credit; a reduced general corporation income tax rate from 17% to 12%; raising eligibility and exemption thresholds for the small business rate and Health and Education Levy; elimination of the small-business income tax and the corporation capital tax by the end of 2010 (Manitoba Finance, 2009).

Further proactive strategies could involve wage or other subsidies to businesses that either locate in the LSP area or target employment opportunities to local job-seekers. Indeed, it is challenging to attract private businesses to relatively disadvantaged urban areas. Nevertheless, wage-subsidy incentives could be offered to existing businesses, as well as community agencies, for targeting jobs for residents in the local community. Currently, Manitoba Entrepreneurship, Training and Trade offer a wage-subsidy program to assist employers with the costs of hiring and on-the-job training of new employees (Available online at: <http://www.gov.mb.ca/employment/employers.html>). In fact, the Manitoba government offers a variety of programs that provide ongoing support to encourage employment (e.g. Rewarding Work). None of the wage-subsidy programs is geared to economic development initiatives in collaboration with the private sector, which would help shape an important urban labour market in Winnipeg, such as Lord Selkirk Park.

As noted earlier, employers did not seem to be aware of any existing programs. When asked whether or not the participants were aware of government wage-subsidy programs, which could encourage hiring and training of local residents, 86.4% were not aware of any state-funded programming or subsidies. A few businesses had participated in government

incentive programs. However, when asked if they would participate in a program in which their firm could access wage subsidies for hiring and training local residents in the LSP area, 68.2% of respondents replied yes or maybe. At the very least, business firms and community agencies could be made aware of financial incentives.

Moreover, a further unexplored issue that would need to be reconciled is the lack of monetary incentives for willing job-seekers to (re)integrate in the labour market due to the effects on government financial support, such as income assistance. Much of the employment identified by this study's participants is entry-level. There is little personal or societal value in having the residents fill low-paying jobs with a consequence of forfeiting their income assistance, along with other crucial benefits. The idea behind a job creation and hiring initiative would be to provide some residents, including young people, experiences in the workplace, to equip them with basic workforce training, and to provide them a stepping stone to better jobs and future opportunities for advancement in the labour market. It is only one of many potential solutions to the complex challenges in the inner city.

Loewen and Silver (2007) offer the solution of a labour-market intermediary (LMI) which could serve the LSP and/or the immediate neighborhoods⁴. In the current study, we interviewed staff at social services agencies that fulfill this role to a certain extent. Some agencies assisted local residents with employment readiness programs, as well as linking job-seekers to available employment. However, in referring to the need for a "complete continuum of services", Loewen and Silver (2007) have stated:

"Employment development organiza-

tions in Winnipeg are not networked in a strong, formalized way. The current employment development system is not so much a "system" as it is an assemblage of disparate parts. Many of these "parts" are strong; they are not, however, connected sufficiently to form a coherent whole" (p.120).

They suggest that the myriad of agencies are stand-alone services, and the area could use a more coordinated and holistic approach to linking trained workers with employment opportunities. LMIs could partner with community-based organizations, government and funding agencies, unions, educational institutions, and potential employers. Employment development networks offer a formalized solution to connecting the demand and supply sides of the labour market in the area. On the supply side, this approach should include a system of post-employment and career mentoring supports. Indeed, affordable childcare availability is another key component for ensuring that women have opportunities to participate in employment. On the demand side, LMIs could assist in raising employer awareness of available government programs that encourage job creation and hiring locally.

The current initiatives in LSP are preparing some willing residents for jobs, but the demand side of the labour market is equally as important (Silver, 2011; Loewen and Silver, 2007). State-led planned strategies or active labour market policies could potentially be aimed at promoting sustainable neighborhoods (Cochrane, 2007). In large part, the participating private-sector firms in this study did not identify any significant issues of recruitment criteria or concerns about employability in terms of marketable work skills required for their positions. In fact, 83.4% of positions in the private sector firms offered on-the-job

4 The reader should refer to Loewen and Silver (2007, Chapter 9, p. 107-22) for a more detailed discussion of concept of LMIs and employment development approaches.

training, which suggested that they employed entry level jobs, and there was little concern about a skills mismatch problem. Financial incentives, such as wage subsidies, may also help to reduce the stigmatization by employers of local residents. As proposed by McGregor and McConnachie (1995, pp.1589), with dis-

advantaged communities the idea is to create opportunities within the local community, as opposed to beyond the neighborhood. Local employers have an opportunity to tap into their labour supply from the local housing market in order to assist in the development of economically active residents.

Conclusion

In this study, we considered some wider implications of state-led support for the social and economic infrastructure in the Lord Selkirk Park area of Winnipeg. The study took an uncommonly explored viewpoint, an economic-costing approach, which compared some of the potential economic resources expended in a disadvantaged community to the potential societal gains associated with this investment approach to development. Our estimates are the tip of the iceberg in terms of the positive externalities of an employment-generating policy framework. The study also builds on existing studies of the intersection between location of residence and labour-market outcomes. This body of research is largely focused on tackling unemployment and job search problems in disadvantaged communities. Though housing-planning policies elsewhere are known to involve investments in housing developments where there is access to high-quality jobs near the worker's residential location (e.g. mixed income communities), an alternative framework may be to bring the jobs to the willing job-takers in a disadvantaged neighborhood.

Previous research has pinned some hope for inner city renewal on the preparedness of workers to bring about employment gains (Silver, 2011). This study drew attention to the idea that willing job-takers and labour-market locations may potentially be disconnected. Our findings indicate that there may be adequate demand for workers in the Lord Selkirk Park area, since we documented 53 employers offering 1,215 jobs, of which 886 are full-time (72.9%), 189 are part-time (15.6%), and another 140 (11.5%) involve casual work. The challenge is that only 14.5% of employees are drawn from the local supply of available workers. We propose that, as part of a broad effort to shape an important urban labour-market in Winnipeg, an overlooked demand-side strategy would involve wage-subsidy incentives offered to private firms and community social-service agencies, which would be directed at raising the share of local employment within Lord Selkirk Park. Moreover, a labour-market intermediary is a much needed formalized solution that would merge the demand and supply sides of the labour market in the LSP area and its surrounding neighborhoods.

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Appendix A

