February 2022 | Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives | Manitoba

State of the INNER CITY

PLACING COMMUNITY AT THE HEART OF THE RECOVERY FROM COVID

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First Steps Towards a Just Recovery

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IN SPRING 2021, the first waves of the pandemic were still fresh in people's minds. With the vaccine rollout, it seemed possible that Canada would soon be entering a post-pandemic recovery period. At that time, two meetings were held with leaders of community-based organizations (CBOs) from Winnipeg's inner city to decide on a focus for this year's *State of the Inner City* report. These leaders raised concerns about the impact of the pandemic on people who were already struggling, the injustices in pre-pandemic government systems, and the likelihood that a recovery would focus primarily on getting middle-class people back to "normal." They discussed ideas for a just recovery: making sure that funding goes to people and organizations who need it most, that investments go to community health rather than just physical infrastructure, and that visions and plans for the inner city centre reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. These conversations provided the jumping off point for this report.

During the first waves of the COVID-19 pandemic, CBOs in Winnipeg's inner city responded to urgent needs that had intensified due to the pandemic and resulting health regulations. Last year's *State of the Inner City* report described how CBOs were filling gaps relating to shelter, food, harm reduction, basic needs, internet access, social connection, and safety from violence.[1] Much

of the inner city's vulnerability to these crises has been created through policies and practices that marginalize some while privileging others.[2] The federal government's emergency infusion of cash and resources to address the pandemic was greatly needed, but also highlighted how government systems have long failed individuals and communities living in poverty.[3]

The 2020 *State of the Inner City* report concluded that reducing vulnerability to crisis requires attention to the social determinants of health. It also noted that "within CBOs there is an incredible amount of knowledge and expertise that should be centred in the political decision making that shapes the conditions they are operating in."[4] CBOs in the inner city have long identified the inclusion of the needs and priorities of inner-city residents and communities as central to the social and economic recovery from the pandemic and to building resilience for the future.

The next few years offer a critical opportunity to increase community resilience in Winnipeg's inner city for at least three reasons. First, at the beginning of the pandemic, governments found all kinds of money to address the crisis. This reminds us that when there's political will, anything is possible. Second, momentum is building to address worsening inequality, climate change, and the ongoing impacts of colonialism. There is increasing awareness of these issues among the general public, and recognition that we cannot solve one problem without also addressing the others. Third, governments are developing plans to move towards a recovery phase from the pandemic.

As public debates shift from emergency responses to safe re-opening, the widespread economic impacts caused by the pandemic have sparked conversations about the role of government-sponsored supports and programs aimed at recovering from this profound disruption. Across Canada, advocates have called for a just recovery that addresses the crises created by the pandemic, as well as pre-existing socio-economic inequities and the increasing impacts of climate change.[5] A just recovery will require funding from all levels of government, but it will also require the leadership of local communities who have the knowledge and expertise needed to create truly just outcomes.

This chapter of the *State of the Inner City* report explores possibilities for a "just recovery" for Winnipeg's inner city. It identifies and analyses themes and focus areas from CBOs' published plans and reports for a collective visioning process about community recovery priorities. Primary themes that emerge include Indigenous self-determination, intersectional equity, and the social determinants of health. It also examines past funding models in the inner city to identify learnings for future investment. This chapter argues

Access to Basic Needs

It is clear from the work that CBOs were doing before and during the pandemic that returning to a pre-pandemic normal would not address the gap in access to basic needs.

- In 2015, 30 percent of the 126,000 people living in the inner city fell below the after-tax low-income poverty measure, compared with 12.6 percent in the rest of Winnipeg.[1]
- Twenty-three percent of non-senior households in the inner city lived in housing that was in poor condition, too small for the household, or that cost more than 30 percent of household income. This number jumps to 39 percent of non-senior renter households.[2]
- Perhaps most shockingly, from 2012 to 2016, there was an 11-year difference in female life expectancy between the inner-city Point Douglas South neighbourhood cluster (the lowest in the city, at 72.5 years) and the Winnipeg Region as a whole (at 83.4 years).[3]

1 City of Winnipeg and Statistics Canada, "2016 Census Data Inner City"; City of Winnipeg and Statistics Canada, "2016 Census Data Non-Inner City."
2 Manitoba Collaborative Data Portal and Statistics Canada, "% Households in Core Housing Need."
3 Cui et al., "Winnipeg Health Region Community Health Assessment 2019."

that any plans for the inner city must keep the concerns and priorities of inner-city communities at its heart.

This year's *State of the Inner City* report should be considered as part one in addressing the question of what a just recovery should look like in the inner city once the pandemic finally calms. Part two will require community engagement to develop a vision and a process to implement that vision.

What is a Just Recovery?

A just recovery is about moving beyond the pandemic through a transformation towards a more equitable and inclusive society. The concept is gaining attention both globally and locally. 350.org, an international climate justice organization, articulated five principles for a "just recovery and transition to a better future."[6] The Council of Canadians published a list of six principles to guide a just recovery. This list builds on 350.org's five principles by adding a focus on Indigenous rights. The Council of Canadians principles have been endorsed by over 500 organizations from across Canada.[7]

Other organizations have expanded on the collective vision published by the Council of Canadians: for example, Just Recovery Ontario has its own list

TABLE 1 Elements of a Just Recovery as Defined by Three Canadian Organizations

Council of Canadians (2021)	Just Recovery Ontario (2020)	David Suzuki Foundation (2021)
1. Put people's health and well-being first, no exceptions.	1. Create adequate and accessible income supports.	The David Suzuki foundation endorses the six principles listed by the Council of Canadians and adds these three pillars to ensure that the just recovery is also a green recovery:
2. Strengthen the social safety net and provide relief directly to people.	2. Ensure decent work with fair pay and benefits in safe workplaces with stronger employee protections.	1. Protect and restore nature.
3. Prioritize the needs of workers and communities.	3. Expand and preserve safe, adequate and affordable housing.	2. Act on climate.
4. Build resilience to prevent future crises.	4. Invest in access to basic services like childcare, transportation, digital access and eldercare.	3. Transform the economy.
5. Build solidarity and equity across communities, generations and borders.	5. Establish tax policies that make sure people pay their fair share.	
6. Uphold Indigenous rights and work in partnership with Indigenous Peoples.		

that makes the principles more tangible, and the David Suzuki Foundation adds three additional principles to ensure that a just recovery is also a green recovery. The principles from these three groups can be seen in *Table 1*.

These three sets of principles have a common focus on meeting people's basic needs and increasing resilience. The movement for a just recovery recognizes that the crisis of poverty existed prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. The recovery is a once-in-a-generation chance to make our societies stronger and more just to protect against future shocks. Within this common framing, these three sets of principles take different approaches to defining the details. The Council of Canadians offers high-level principles to guide a just recovery,[8] while Just Recovery Ontario focuses on more specific policy suggestions.[9] The David Suzuki Foundation adds consideration for climate and environmental factors which are important for mitigating the severity of future climate disasters and reducing the risks to humans and the natural world.[10] While the list from the Council of Canadians is widely recognized and endorsed, the additions from these other organizations show that the concept of a just recovery is broad enough to respond to different contexts.

It is important to note that any kind of just recovery will be a long process, not a quick, short-term action. As such, the concept of a just recovery can be understood as both process and goal: it addresses both the end goal of a change, and the question of "how" a change might take place. Likewise, the principles of a just recovery are enacted in both processes and end goals. For example, "prioritize the needs of workers and communities"[11] can be taken as both a guiding principle for the initial stages of policy design and as a statement about desired

social values. "Expand and preserve safe, adequate and affordable housing"[12] references both immediate actions that need to be taken and an overarching goal for everyone to be housed. This dual nature of a just recovery aligns with the idea of prefiguration as strategy: the idea that *how* we work towards justice is as important as the goal.[13] Conceptualizing a just recovery as a prefigurative process frees it from rigid time constraints and ideas of success or failure: it is a continual process of striving towards equity and resilience.

> "*How* we work towards justice is as important as the goal."

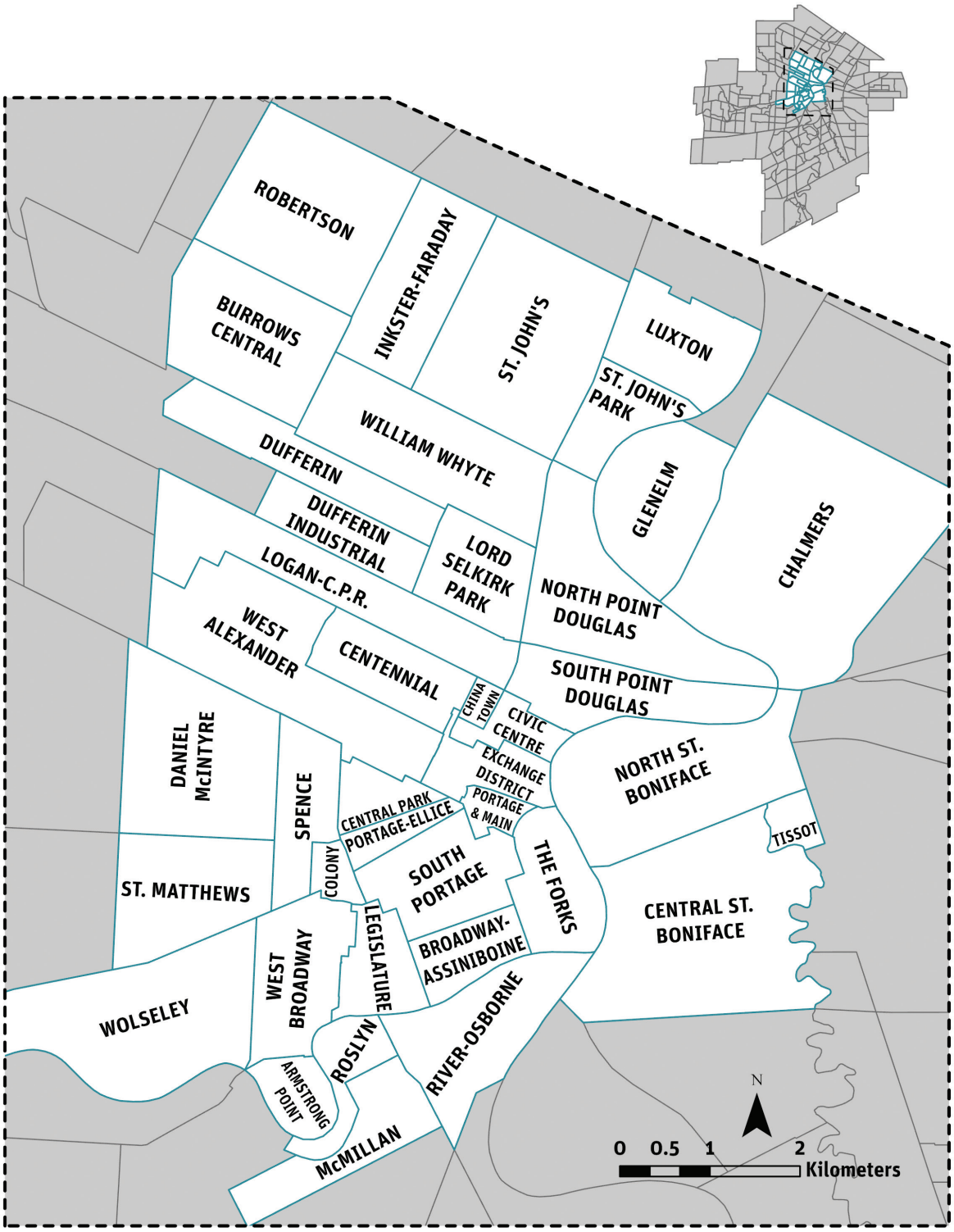
In Winnipeg's inner city, the leadership of CBOs is an important element of both the process and the goal of a just recovery. CBOs have substantial knowledge and expertise about their work and about what is needed to address the issues that arise in their work. Their staff and volunteers are often from, and accountable to, the communities they serve. The priorities that are evident from CBOs' work speak to a goal of meeting everyone's basic needs, even in times of crisis. The leadership offered by CBOs emphasizes the importance of localized, community-based power structures as in leading a just recovery.

What are Inner-city CBOs?

Community-based organizations, or CBOs, are non-profit organizations with a primarily local focus to their programs. Though some social enterprises qualify, CBOs generally are not businesses or companies. CBOs are not institutions that are part of municipal, provincial, or federal governments. In contrast to national or international non-profit organizations, CBOs deliver programs to a specific geographic area, such as a city or a particular neighbourhood within a city. CBOs provide services to address basic needs of area residents and are often staffed by people who live within or close to their service area. This ongoing interaction with community members gives CBOs a uniquely nuanced understanding of the needs within their community.[14]

Inner-city CBOs serve Winnipeg's inner-city neighbourhoods, shown in *Figure 1*. While there are neighbourhoods outside the inner city that also experience significant poverty,[15] the inner city is characterised by "a particularly intense concentration of poverty-induced social and economic problems, and also a myriad of innovative, community-based, anti-poverty strategies" to address these problems.[16] CBOs working in the inner city have long-established programs and networks, as well as close relationships with the communities they serve.

FIGURE 1 Map of Inner City Neighbourhoods within Winnipeg*



* Created in ArcGIS with neighbourhood boundaries from City of Winnipeg data.
Source Dietz, "NeighbourhoodsWpgMB"; City of Winnipeg, "Inner City & Non-Inner City Boundaries."

CBOs' Priorities in the Inner City

This year's *State of the Inner City* report draws on publicly-available published documents from 79 CBOs[17] in inner-city Winnipeg to identify important themes and common areas of work. The findings from this document analysis form a foundation rooted in the ongoing work of CBOs that can be used to develop a robust vision of a just recovery. The final list of documents included 14 strategic plans, 35 annual reports, and 30 websites (in cases where no strategic or annual report was available). Publication dates range from 2018 to 2021, including both pre-pandemic and current documents. For a detailed overview of the methods used in this research, see Appendix 1.

Three major themes emerged from CBOs' published documents: Indigenous self-determination, intersectional equity, and the social determinants of health. Under the umbrella of social determinants of health, CBOs' work can be further grouped into seven focus areas reflecting basic needs: housing, food security, education and employment, healthcare, justice and safety, the built environment, and supports and connection.

As many inner-city CBOs acknowledge, accessing basic needs is substantially more difficult for individuals and households facing poverty and racism. CBOs are often instrumental in meeting inner-city residents' immediate needs. However, capitalism and settler colonialism result in long-standing, multi-generational experiences of exclusion. These socio-economic structures create systemic injustice where even the most robust network of services will still fall short of meeting everyone's needs. For this reason, many CBOs advocate for change to the systemic and political conditions that create and exacerbate the problems they work to address.

The following three sections detail the work that CBOs have been doing before and during the pandemic in relation to these three themes. They are not meant to be a comprehensive list of everything that all CBOs are doing, merely to provide some examples of how each of these themes and priorities are actualized. It is important to note that while there are numerous programs that fall under each theme, they each address the distinct needs of different populations and communities.

Theme 1: Indigenous Self-determination

Many inner-city CBOs are Indigenous-led and grounded in Indigenous values and Indigenous communities. Indigenous-led organizing has a long history in Winnipeg: Anishinaabe, Cree, Oji-Cree, Dakota, Dene and Métis peoples

fought hard to keep their territories from falling to Canadian expansion in the late 1800s and have continued resisting ever since.[18] Inuit and people from other First Nations have also come to Winnipeg and joined the Indigenous communities in the inner city. Notable developments in Indigenous inner-city organizing in the twentieth century include the establishment of the Indian and Métis Friendship Centre in the mid-1950s[19] and the Neeginan Vision of the 1970s, a community-led planning effort for an Indigenous neighbourhood in Winnipeg. This vision had a community centre as its hub, with space for educational programs, temporary housing, and other community activities close by.[20]

Indigenous-led CBOs in the inner city today build on this legacy of self-determination and community-building. Thunderbird House,[21] which opened in 2000, is a community centre drawn directly from the plans in the Neeginan Vision.[22] Many of the other goals in the Neeginan Vision are carried on by Indigenous-led organizations as well: Eagle Urban Transition Centre provides housing and supports for Indigenous people moving to the city;[23] Ikwe Widdjiitiwin and the Indigenous Women's Healing Centre provide shelter and support for Indigenous women and their children escaping situations of domestic violence;[24] CAHRD and Urban Circle Training Centre provide job training;[25] and Wahbung Abinoonjiiag, Ndinawe, and the Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre host community programming and provide housing supports.[26] Additionally, Indigenous-led CBOs address issues of health and safety that are important to the community, with the Aboriginal Health and Wellness Centre providing healthcare based in Indigenous teachings,[27] Bear Clan Patrol and Mama Bear Clan leading non-violent street safety patrols as an alternative to the police,[28] and Manitoba Moon Voices and Ka Ni Kanichihk advocating for the safety of Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQIA+ people and providing support services to relatives and friends.[29]

Self-determination is not only expressed by individual organizations, but also through collaboration and partnership. The leaders of Indigenous-led CBOs come together through organizations like the Winnipeg Indigenous Executive Circle and Indigenous Vision for the North End. The Winnipeg Indigenous Executive Circle facilitates collaboration among 21 Indigenous-led organizations in Winnipeg. Its goals include the furtherance of self-determination and restoring Indigenous governance and lifeways to achieve systemic changes such as the return of land and true reconciliation.[30] Indigenous Vision for the North End has a steering committee of 11 CBOs. Together, they work to promote leadership from Indigenous residents of the North End in community development projects and further the principles from United

Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action.[31] This explicit framing from the Winnipeg Indigenous Executive Circle and Indigenous Vision for the North End illuminates the ethic of self-determination that runs through the work of many Indigenous-led CBOs.

Many CBOs that are not Indigenous-led have a focus on respecting Indigenous rights and providing tailored services for Indigenous communities. For example, Food Matters Manitoba compiles a map of where to find traditional foods in Winnipeg.[32] The North Point Douglas Women's Centre runs a Women's Warrior Program for healing based on traditional teachings and drumming and hosts the Mama Bear Clan, a community safety patrol.[33] The Spence Neighbourhood Association and the Gang Action Interagency Network (GAIN) both discuss the impacts of colonialism on the populations they serve and the importance of reconciliation and respecting self-determination.[34] Immigration Partnership Winnipeg lists building connections between Indigenous and newcomer communities as a top priority.[35] These examples point to growing respect and support for Indigenous self-determination.

Theme 2: Intersectional Equity

CBOs serve a variety of demographic groups along lines of Indigeneity, race and immigration history, age, disability, and gender. The impacts that people face from settler colonialism, racism, ableism, and patriarchy depend on the variety of identities that each person holds. These impacts are further complicated by the intersections of these systems of oppression with capitalism and poverty.[36] Some CBOs discuss these structural conditions explicitly in the background sections of their reports. For example, Resource Assistance for Youth (RaY) describes how colonialism and mental illness contribute to homelessness experienced by youth aging out of care from Child and Family Services.[37] West Central Women's Resource Centre describes how housing and shelter needs differ by gender, including women needing housing options that provide safety from intimate partner violence, and trans, two-spirit, and gender non-conforming people needing shelter spaces that are explicitly welcoming so that they can be assured of their safety.[38]

Intersectional equity is implicitly built into many CBOs' programs. Their poverty reduction programs and initiatives are not one-size-fits-all: they cater to the specific situations and challenges faced by their clients and participants. For example, SEED Winnipeg operates a helpline to offer

support and guidance for applying for the Canada Emergency Response Benefit and Employment and Income Assistance benefits, and teamed up with IRCOM (Immigrant and Refugee Community Organization of Manitoba) to ensure that support workers would be able to answer questions specific to newcomers.[39] CBOs providing housing are keenly aware of how housing needs vary for different age groups. Three examples include Rossbrook House, which has a 24/7 safe space where children can sleep overnight,[40] the Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre, which provides housing for youth aging out of care,[41] and Main St Project, which offers shelter and transitional housing for adults.[42] Further examples of targeted programming include employment opportunities designed for people with disabilities, such as those run by Inclusion Winnipeg[43] and New Directions.[44]

Approaches to improving health and wellbeing also focus on the specific needs of different demographics. Many CBOs offer supports specific to Indigenous communities, informed by Elders and traditional healing practices. These include the Aboriginal Health and Wellness Centre,[45] Eagle Urban Transition Centre,[46] and the John Howard Society's Healing Program for Indigenous Men,[47] among many others. Primary care providers including Mt. Carmel Clinic and Klinic design for inclusivity, particularly for Indigenous, newcomer, and trans communities.[48] Responses to gender-based violence prioritize safety and healing for women and children at the North End Women's Centre,[49] the Indigenous Women's Healing Centre,[50] and many other CBOs. Additionally, mental health programs designed for newcomers are offered by Aurora Family Therapy Centre[51] and ACOMI.[52]

Moreover, the demographics that CBOs target for their programs can be quite specific. Focusing on specific groups means that fewer people will fall through the cracks of broader-scope programs with barriers to entry. For example, ACOMI's job skills training for visible minority newcomer women addresses multiple barriers to employment including racism, sexism, immigration status, and adjusting to language and culture in Canada.[53] The Deaf Home Services provided by New Directions are designed to provide support to children who are Deaf or hard of hearing and who are involved with CFS.[54] Ka Ni Kanichihk, Nine Circles, and other partner organizations collaborate to provide care for people with sexually transmitted and blood-borne infections through an Indigenous lens and specifically for Indigenous communities.[55] These are just a few examples of how CBOs provide programming for specific demographic groups in the inner city and address intersectional equity in their work.

Theme 3: Social Determinants of Health

CBOs' programming provides supports that inner city residents need to be healthy and safe. CBOs generally recognize that health depends on far more than healthcare. Factors such as housing, food, and safety have significant impacts on health, and employment and education influence people's income and ability to access basic needs. Social connection is also a key element of mental health and well-being. These issues are interrelated; for example, kids need nutritious lunches to focus at school,[56] which can impact educational attainment and employment opportunities, and then unemployment and low income limit people's ability to access food.[57] Over time, the cumulative impacts of marginalization result in measurable differences in health outcomes and mortality.[58]

Our analysis identified seven focus areas for CBO programming relating to the social determinants of health. These are: housing, food, education and employment, healthcare, justice and safety, the built environment, and supports and connections. *Table 2* shows how many of the 79 organizations in our sample had programs in each of the seven focus areas, though most CBOs have programs spanning multiple areas as these social determinants of health overlap and interact with each other.[59] The rest of this section provides examples of programs and best practices from CBOs in each focus area. These examples are not exhaustive; they simply illustrate the variety and complexity of programs and resources offered by CBOs. See Appendix 2 for the full list of organizations counted in each focus area.

TABLE 2 Number* of CBOs Providing Services Within the Seven Focus Areas of Social Determinants of Health

Focus Area	Number of Organizations
Housing	33
Food	19
Education and Employment	43
Healthcare	25
Justice and Safety	18
Built Environment	7
Supports and Connection	57

* The numbers add to more than 79 because many organizations have programs in multiple categories.

Housing

Stable, safe housing is a key social determinant of health. Housing must be affordable to low-income households, including those receiving Employment and Income Assistance, and should accommodate diverse family sizes.[60] CBOs advocate for more affordable housing, including West Broadway Community Organization at the neighbourhood level,[61] and End Homelessness Winnipeg at the city-wide level.[62] Many, including RaY[63] and Accueil Francophone,[64] help people connect to housing options. CBOs also make clear that wrap-around supports should accompany housing for people exiting homelessness or those at high risk of experiencing homelessness, such as youth aging out of care.[65] They provide both transitional housing, such as the John Howard Society's Four Healing Roads Lodge,[66] and permanent supportive housing, such as the Main St. Project's Bell Hotel.[67] Housing solutions also address the specific needs of different demographics, such as emergency shelters with trauma-informed care for people who have experienced gender-based violence,[68] support for newcomers[69] and people moving to Winnipeg from First Nations and smaller communities.[70]

Food Security

Having sufficient, nutritious food is vital for health. CBOs approach this issue from a variety of angles. Harvest Manitoba coordinates supplies for food banks and distributors across the province, including many organizations in the inner city.[71] Food is part of the support provided by many housing programs, including RaY[72] and Main St Project.[73] West Broadway Community Organization's Good Food Club,[74] community gardens run by Spence Neighbourhood Association,[75] and cooking classes from Food Matters Manitoba[76] contribute to meeting immediate need for food. During the pandemic, many organizations including IRCOM, A&O Support Services for Older Adults, and ACOMI provided emergency food hampers, even though that is not their usual focus.[77] CBOs also have an understanding that food options need to be culturally appropriate[78] and that good quality grocery stores need to be accessible within inner-city neighbourhoods.[79]

Education and Employment

Financial stress can be detrimental to health in addition to making it harder to access housing, food, and other basic needs. CBOs help people find income by providing employment opportunities, job training, assistance accessing benefits, and support for people throughout their education from early childhood through adulthood. Having a strong educational foundation

is important to succeed under current economic conditions; CBOs provide specialized schools and afterschool programs to reach kids who are struggling[80] and advocate for early childhood education.[81] The Community Education Development Association (CEDA) provides support through high school graduation,[82] and Spence Neighbourhood Association[83] and Youth Agencies Alliance,[84] among others, host internships and job-training programs for youth. Adults can also find educational programs through CBOs, ranging from literacy programs at the John Howard Society[85] and the Elizabeth Fry Society[86] to job certification programs at Urban Circle Training Centre.[87] Job readiness programs include broader life skills, such as SEED's financial education and support,[88] and CAHRD's wellness programs.[89] Another key set of educational programs are language classes for newcomers, such as those provided by Mosaic Newcomer Family Resource Network and IRCOM.[90] CBOs also provide opportunities for employment, such as at North End Women's Centre's UpShoppe[91] or with social enterprises including BUILD Inc[92] and Sscope.[93]

Healthcare

Access to healthcare is another key social determinant of health. This category includes all forms of healthcare and health-related services, from primary care and counselling to harm reduction programs and health education. There are several community health clinics in the inner city that provide this wide range of services, including Mount Carmel,[94] Klinic,[95] and the Aboriginal Health and Wellness Centre.[96] Many CBOs including Ka Ni Kanichihk, West Central Women's Resource Centre, Ikwe Widdjiitiwin, and New Directions provide trauma-informed counselling and group sessions.[97] Indigenous organizations in particular often focus on holistic methods of healing.[98] CBOs also emphasize the importance of healthcare for issues that are often stigmatized or deprioritized, such as the programs at Nine Circles for sexually transmitted and blood-borne infections,[99] and Manitoba Harm Reduction Network's peer responders and needle exchanges for people who use drugs.[100]

Justice and Safety

Many CBOs acknowledge that the carceral system needs reform and that in the meantime, there are localized ways to reduce its harms in the inner city. Being incarcerated or experiencing police violence can take a serious toll on physical and mental health, and past incarceration can make it harder to access basic needs. GAIN focuses on providing alternatives to youth who

are involved in gangs or at risk of becoming involved.[101] The John Howard and Elizabeth Fry Societies provide supports to people who are incarcerated and help them as they transition back into society.[102] The Bear Clan Patrol and Mama Bear Clan are dedicated to ensuring safety and security on city streets through community patrols that prioritise non-violence and provide support rather than punishment.[103] As noted in the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, the justice system adds to the violence experienced by Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQIA+ people.[104] Manitoba Moon Voices advocates for greater safety for Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQIA+ people[105] and Ka Ni Kanichihk provides counselling and support for impacted relatives.[106] Additionally, the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg and ACOMI advocate for reforms to policing and the carceral system.[107]

Built Environment

The built environment, including the buildings, streets, green spaces, and infrastructure of the city, can have impacts on health. The six inner-city Neighbourhood Renewal Corporations advocate for safer, greener, and more accessible spaces as part of their mandates[108] and Make Poverty History Manitoba also makes key recommendations on these topics.[109] The clearest impacts relate to physical safety. The West Broadway Community Organization and Daniel McIntyre-St. Matthews Community Association advocate for better bike lanes and pedestrian infrastructure to reduce the risk of traffic collisions.[110] The North End Community Renewal Corporation advocates for safety through design and better lighting to discourage violent crime.[111] Access to green space can improve mental health, and Spence Neighbourhood Association, Central Neighbourhoods, and Chalmers Neighbourhood Renewal Corporation advocate for more parks and community gardens.[112] Make Poverty History promotes accessible transportation, both in terms of cost and ability, which is important so that people can get to their jobs, to the grocery store, and to other services.[113]

Supports and Connection

As the pandemic harshly illustrated, social isolation is detrimental to mental health. The ways in which this is felt vary by person and across age categories. Before the pandemic, CBOs provided a wide variety of programs for all ages, ranging from recreation to parenting classes to 1:1 mentorship, and they have continued to do so during the pandemic as much as possible. To give just a few examples, the Broadway Neighbourhood Centre provides recreation

and arts programs for kids and youth,[114] the North End Women's Centre has sharing circles and drumming groups for adults,[115] and A & O Support Services has programming and classes for seniors.[116] Individual supports include mentorship and case work such as GAIN's youth mentorship programs,[117] Main St. Project's 1:1 case work for people in transitional housing,[118] and New Directions' in-home support services for people with disabilities living independently.[119] There are also supports for parents and families such as childminding from Wolseley Family Place,[120] daycare from Ka Ni Kanichihk and CAHRD,[121] and parent and tot programs from Wahbung Abinoonjiiag.[122] The resources offered by CBOs provide a place for community members to come together and build connections and mutual support.

Beyond the Inner City

The three themes that emerged from the analysis of CBOs' documents are not only present in Winnipeg's inner city. The work being done by CBOs is reflected in theories and practices of community organizers, advocates and scholars across Canada and elsewhere. Indigenous self-determination, intersectional equity, and the social determinants of health are systemic, cross-cutting concepts that offer important insights into equitable community development and resilience. Connecting to these broader movements emphasizes the importance of the work being done by inner-city CBOs at not just a local, but also regional and national scales.

Indigenous Self-determination

Self-determination is defined by the United Nations as the inherent right of Indigenous peoples to "freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."[123] Indigenous scholars and activists emphasize that Indigenous peoples have self-determination whether or not they are acknowledged by settler governance structures.[124] Throughout centuries of colonialism by Canadian governments, Indigenous people and Nations have continued to care for their communities and lands.[125] Indigenous peoples have exercised their right to self-determination through the recovery of culture and teachings and assertion of claims to land and resources through resurgence movements.[126] Resurgence and self-determination are directly antithetical to settler-colonial power structures.

Nevertheless, settler colonialism still shapes many aspects of life for Indigenous people, including experiences of homelessness and housing

need,[127] education and employment opportunities,[128] interaction with the justice system[129] and experiences of violence and safety.[130] Inadequate funding for health services and the marginalization of traditional healing methods significantly worsen health outcomes for First Nations people.[131] Because of these persistent impacts, self-determination for First Nations, Métis and Inuit is a key element of a just recovery. Any recovery plan that is designed based on settler colonial assumptions and structures rather than honouring Indigenous self-determination will continue to replicate these harms to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities and will therefore be fundamentally unjust.

In Winnipeg, self-determination takes many forms. Indigenous residents of Winnipeg have long exercised their self-determination through organizing and planning, such as with the formulation of the Neeginan Vision for a self-determining area of Winnipeg in the 1970s.[132] Indigenous-led CBOs provide culturally appropriate supports and resources, and often work in collaboration with each other and with non-Indigenous organizations to advance community goals. Many use traditional governance practices, including leadership from Elders, women and residential school survivors.[133] Perhaps most importantly, Indigenous-led CBOs, along with First Nation, Métis and Inuit community members, create visible, vibrant, active and supportive spaces and communities in Winnipeg: collectively they offer what Heather Dorries called "a vision for Indigenous flourishing."[134]

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Intersectional Equity

The intersections of racism, sexism, ableism and other forms of systemic discrimination and oppression with capitalism mean that poverty impacts people differently and unequally based on their identities.[135] These inequalities are often manifested through spatialized, racialized concentrated poverty.[136] No single-issue lens is enough to fully address these systemic challenges. The concept of intersectionality, developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw to describe the double burden of racism and sexism that Black women navigate,[137] is useful for understanding the unique challenges that people face depending on their identities. People who are marginalized along more than one axis face not only the impacts of each axis added together, but specific oppressions unique to their subgroup.[138]

Equity in health means "the absence of systemic disparities in health… between social groups who have different levels of underlying social advantage/

disadvantage."[139] In other words, equity means that all people, regardless of race, gender, ability, class, or other category of identity, can equally live full and healthy lives. Globally, inequities in health result in thousands of lives prematurely lost.[140] Equity matters in areas beyond health too, such as education, employment, and housing. For equity to be intersectional, it must address the overlapping impacts of different systems of oppression. This means that even people who are currently marginalized along several axes would not suffer any disadvantage.[141]

In Winnipeg's inner city, CBOs have developed programs, policies and plans to use resources for the benefit of the local community.[142] These programs, plans and policies are grounded in the complexities of the specific neighbourhoods and communities that make up the inner city. They seek to address ongoing inequality and structural vulnerability by meeting basic needs for people facing multiple forms of oppression and by advancing a vision for a more equitable city than decades of government retrenchment have afforded.[143] The intersectional equity approach embraced by CBOs ensures that no one is left behind.

Social Determinants of Health

There is widespread recognition of the negative impact that poverty, racism, colonialism, and the resulting social inequality have on health outcomes.[144] There is also a long list of tangible, material factors including and beyond medical care that shape health outcomes. These factors include access to good quality housing, healthy food, and green space, as well as safety from violence, pollution exposure, poverty and resulting stress, and community connectedness.[145] The social determinants of health are mutually reinforcing rather than independent: poverty shapes access to basic needs; the stability of having those needs met influences employment and education; in turn, this affects income and poverty.[146]

Social determinants of health are not neutral; having basic needs left unmet is the result of political choices and deliberate underfunding.[147] Poverty and racial injustice have harmful impacts on health[148] and are the product of racial capitalism.[149] Throughout its development, Winnipeg has been shaped by these same systems of racial capitalism and settler colonialism.[150]

Improving the social determinants of health has long been identified as a concern in the inner city. Past *State of the Inner City* reports have examined housing,[151] poverty,[152] education and employment,[153] safety,[154] and transporta-

tion equity.[155] Housing needs, homelessness, hunger, and poverty are forms of manufactured vulnerability and they have intensified the impact of the pandemic.[156]

Toward a Power Shift

The three themes of Indigenous self-determination, intersectional equity, and the social determinants of health have direct impacts on community resilience. They are specific to the local context of inner-city Winnipeg and relevant more broadly as they connect with the work of practitioners and scholars across Canada and beyond. Furthermore, they align well with the elements of a just recovery identified by Canadian organizations and advocates.[157]

> "A truly just recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic would both rely on the leadership of CBOs and provide them with sufficient funding to carry out their programs."

As this section has shown, CBOs are already working on these three themes. A truly just recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic would both rely on the leadership of CBOs and provide them with sufficient funding to carry out their programs. The next section will look at the history of funding for inner city development to identify possibilities for future funding.

A History of Government Funding in the Inner City

Winnipeg's inner city has long faced challenges. After the second World War, many of the middle- and upper-income households living in Winnipeg's city centre and the North End moved to the suburbs, followed by businesses and employment opportunities. The City of Winnipeg's focus on suburban development reduced investment in the inner city, especially in the North End. As a result, the households in the inner city were generally poorer, and the relative affordability of housing — despite often being in need of repair and owned by absentee landlords extracting as much income as possible — resulted in a spatial concentration of poverty.[158]

First Nation and Métis people moving into Winnipeg in the 1950s and 1960s often moved into the inner city, because of the affordable housing and the growing community of Indigenous people there. In the 1990s and early 2000s, newcomers and refugees arrived and also settled in the inner city because of the low cost of housing. The result, from the 1950s to today, is that "globalization, suburbanization, internal migration, and immigration" combined to create a "concentration in Winnipeg's inner city of poverty and,

> “As University of Winnipeg Professor Emeritus Jim Silver noted in 2003, “one way of looking at the issue is to say that the past 20 years have been a practical experiment in determining what works and what doesn’t in re-vitalizing inner cities.”

to a considerable extent, racialized poverty.”[159] Although CBOs have worked hard to address the challenges resulting from such spatially concentrated and racialized poverty, much work remains.

Beginning with urban renewal in the 1960s, a variety of strategies have been used to address the complex poverty and related issues in the inner city. As University of Winnipeg Professor Emeritus Jim Silver noted in 2003, “one way of looking at the issue is to say that the past 20 years have been a practical experiment in determining what works and what doesn’t in re-vitalizing inner cities”[160] and the experiment has continued since then. This section provides a timeline of funding in the inner city and identifies benefits and limitations of each approach.

A Timeline of Significant Funding Initiatives

1960s

After the Second World War, many cities in Canada had dire shortages of good quality, low-cost housing. Urban renewal, a federal program cost-shared with municipalities and sometimes provincial governments to address “slum housing,” resulted in entire neighbourhoods being demolished and replaced with public housing.[161] In Winnipeg, the Salter-Jarvis neighbourhood in the North End was bulldozed and replaced by Lord Selkirk Park.[162] Although it responded to a bricks-and-mortar need for low-cost housing, the urban renewal program did not address resident concerns or provide social supports. As a result, it did little to address poverty in the inner city. It did, however, highlight the impact of federal funding in programs to address poverty and low-cost housing.[163]

1970s

In 1973, the National Housing Act was amended to create the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP), which focused on federal, provincial and municipal short-term investments for the rehabilitation and conservation of existing neighbourhoods.[164] In Winnipeg, six neighbourhoods — North Point Douglas, North St. Boniface, Centennial, Brooklands, William Whyte, and West Alexander — received about $22 million of NIP funding between them.[165] Although the NIP’s focus was rehabilitation rather than demolition, it still focused primarily on changes to the built environment. In the end, evaluations concluded that it “essentially was a single-dimensional approach to

what were multi-dimensional problems."[166] As such, it had limited success in addressing complex poverty.

1980s

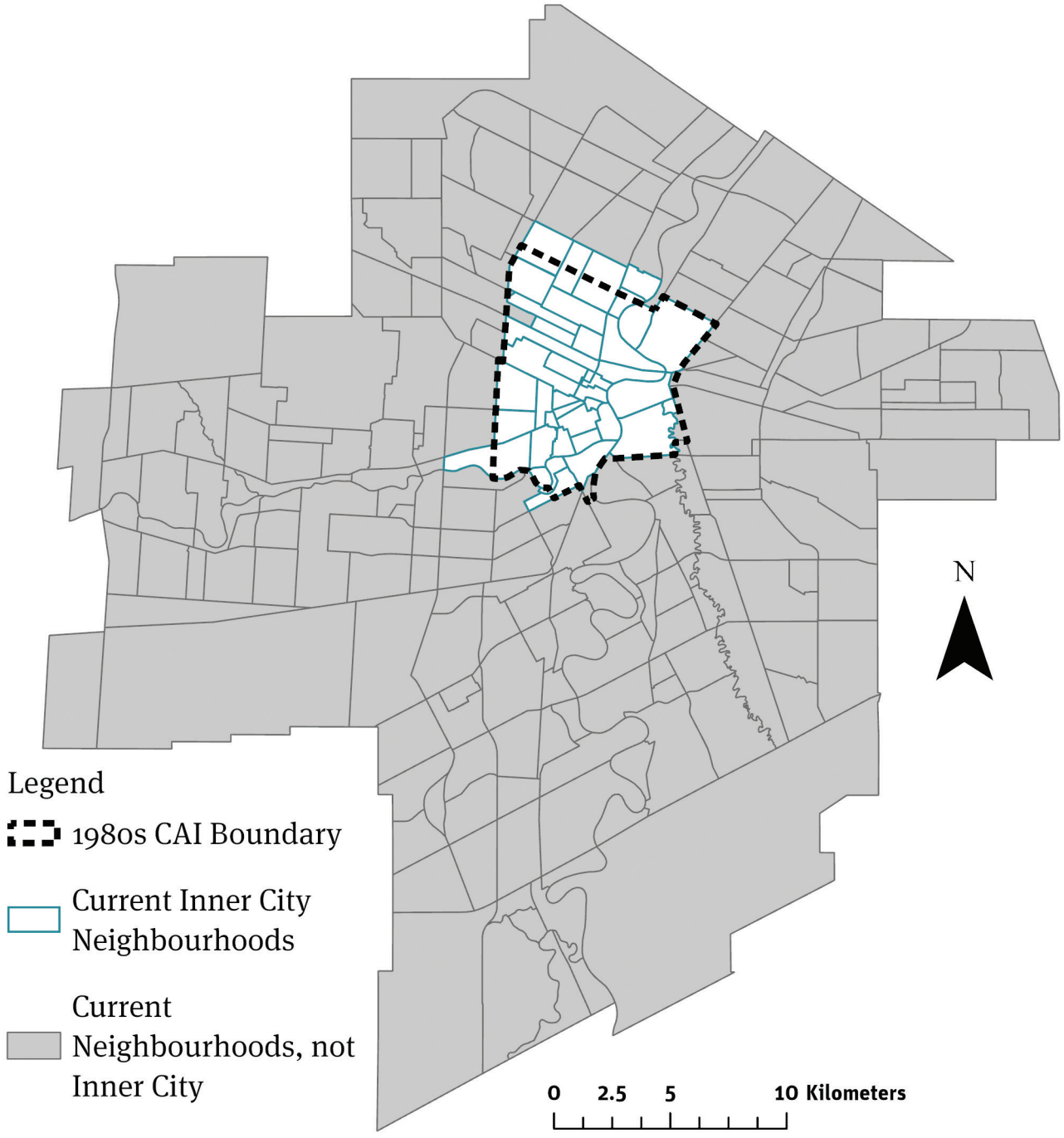
In the 1980s, a new model, termed an Urban Development Agreement, was launched as a way to tackle long-standing, deep-seated, complex, and intersecting social and economic problems in Winnipeg's inner city.[167] The Urban Development Agreement model was developed in response to the growing recognition of the role that cities play in a country's economic growth and the inadequacy of previous pan-Canadian policies in addressing site-specific urban issues.[168] Its multi-level governance structure challenged "established decision-making routines,"[169] and enabled coordination between federal, provincial, and municipal governments in setting urban policy and providing funding.

Winnipeg's Core Area Initiative (CAI) was established in 1981 with a mandate to revitalize the inner city's physical, social, and economic conditions through programs related to "housing, neighbourhood improvement, community services, education, training, employment, business development, heritage building recycling, and large scale mixed-use commercial development."[170] It showed promise as an ambitious and comprehensive response to the deteriorating social, economic, and physical conditions of Winnipeg's inner city. Signed by a Liberal federal government, a New Democratic (NDP) provincial government, and Winnipeg mayor William Norrie, this five-year urban regeneration initiative brought $96 million into Winnipeg's core area, with each level of government contributing $32 million.[171] The area covered by the initiative spanned 25 square kilometres in the inner city (see *Figure 2*) and was home to 100,000 people at the time.[172] It covered roughly the same area as Winnipeg's inner city does today.

In 1986, the agreement was renewed for another five years with a total investment of $100 million.[173] This time, the agreement was signed between a Conservative federal government, an NDP provincial government, and Winnipeg mayor Norrie. However, halfway through, a Conservative provincial government was elected and when the renewal period ended, it was allowed to expire.[174]

The two CAIs offered some innovative solutions to some of the inner-city's issues. These primarily arose through the funding and support of grassroots community movements. Silver and Toews suggested that "this network of CBOs and grassroots leaders emerged as a creative, empowering source of inner-city revitalization."[175] As they have grown and developed their expertise,

FIGURE 2 Winnipeg's Core Area as Delineated in the 1981 CAI Map,[i] and Winnipeg's Inner City Today[ii]



i Stewart, "The Winnipeg Core Area Initiative: A Case Study in Urban Revitalization," 88.
ii City of Winnipeg, "Inner City & Non-Inner City Boundaries."

these organizations have developed innovative and effective strategies to address the complexities of poverty in the inner city.

These successes are somewhat overshadowed by the CAIs' failings. The CAIs aimed to balance poverty relief efforts with commercially-oriented development projects, including Portage Place and The Forks[176] (for more on Portage Place, see Toews chapter on page XX of this report). However, large bricks-and-mortar development projects took precedence over social spending as the CAI grew to be more heavily influenced by corporate business, crowding out community participation. Despite having a Core Area Initiative Office as a public access point, later evaluations showed limited interactions with the community.[177] The business influence was so significant that in community inquiry hearings, it was said that the corporations "essentially created a fourth level of decision-making and bureaucracy."[178]

1990s

After a three-year break, a new agreement was created in 1995 as the Winnipeg Development Agreement under a Liberal federal government, a Conservative provincial government, and Winnipeg mayor Glen Murray. This $75 million new agreement no longer focused on poverty reduction in the inner city; instead it focused on the city as a whole and emphasized the labour market and the private sector.[179] While the inner city and downtown were not forgotten, they were no longer the main priority.

2000s

In 2000, one of the newly-elected NDP provincial government's first action items was to bring an influx of investment into the inner city through the Neighbourhoods Alive! (NA!) initiative.[180] Administered solely by the province, NA! was a long-term community-led strategy to support the physical, social, and economic revitalization in designated older neighbourhoods in Manitoba.[181] NA! recognized the unique needs and priorities of each neighbourhood and that often the best solutions and ideas come directly from communities themselves.[182]

The first neighbourhoods in Winnipeg to receive NA! funding were Spence, West Broadway, William Whyte, Point Douglas, and Lord Selkirk Park; later St. Matthews, Daniel McIntyre, Centennial, West Alexander, North Portage, Dufferin, St. John's, Central Park and Chalmers were added. At first, NA! provided planning and project funding for community-led projects, but quickly expanded to providing multi-year core funding for neighbourhood renewal corporations through the Neighbourhood Development Assistance

Program.[183] Neighbourhood renewal corporations continue to provide resources and services to their local areas, and often undertake neighbourhood planning processes to ensure that their work is led by community priorities.

Also in 2000, the Winnipeg Housing and Homelessness Initiative (WHHI) was established. A tri-level, "one-stop shop for community organizations to access information on government-funded housing and homelessness programs," it focused on housing and revitalization in the inner city.[184] Between 2000 and 2012, almost $185 million was committed from the federal, provincial and municipal governments to improve housing quality, build new housing and address homelessness.[185]

In 2004, under the leadership of a Liberal federal government, NDP provincial government, and Winnipeg mayors Glen Murray and then Sam Katz, a final five-year tripartite agreement was signed and named the Winnipeg Partnership Agreement.[186] This time, the focus on community-led projects and inner-city development was brought back by the provincial NDP government. This agreement invested $75 million through four key programs: Aboriginal Participation, Building Sustainable Neighbourhoods, Downtown Renewal, and Supporting Technology and Innovation.[187] In keeping with principles of community-led practices and decision making, each component had an advisory committee led by community representatives to oversee and make recommendations on funding allocation.[188]

The provincial NA! initiative, tri-level WHHI and Winnipeg Partnership Agreement addressed many gaps left by the earlier Urban Development Agreements. They provided secure long-term funding, and increased citizen participation. Through the neighbourhood renewal corporations, NA! provided local expertise and coordination of programs. Although it was a relatively small program, it signalled a renewed interest in inner-city revitalization, which had been lost under the previous provincial government.

2010s to Today

In 2010, unable to create a successive tripartite agreement, the NDP provincial government established a five-year Winnipeg Regeneration Strategy. The Strategy concentrated on three focus areas: Indigenous capacity building, downtown renewal, and inner-city resiliency.[189] The federal and municipal governments signed memoranda of understanding and collaboration with the Province to support the Strategy, but their financial contributions were limited.[190] NA! continued to be supported by the provincial government, and its funding to neighbourhood renewal corporations and other CBOs was able to build greater capacity for resilience and advocacy. Along with the

Winnipeg Regeneration Strategy, NA! continued the work of the Winnipeg Partnership Agreement by funding community-based organizations and creating a policy environment that supported CBOs' work.[191]

However, in 2016, a Conservative provincial government was elected and immediately began implementing an austerity agenda. It cut funds for infrastructure, social housing and Rent Assist, education, and social assistance.[192] In 2019, NA! was folded with other programs into the Building Sustainable Communities program, which is not targeted to high-need communities.[193] It also limits what funding can be used for and requires that grants requested be matched with funding from other sources (more on the Building Sustainable Communities program in Chapter 2 on page 57).[194] These changes have resulted in uncertainty for CBOs and increased vulnerability for inner-city communities in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic as there is little government attention being paid to the concentration of social and economic challenges facing the inner city.

Future Investments

The many agreements, projects and investments over the past 60 years in the inner city illustrate several important lessons for future investment in the inner city. First, the tri-level agreements allowed senior governments to spend their money more efficiently and with greater impact, and for municipal governments, they provided resources that were desperately needed to programs where the impact could be "eight to ten times larger than anything remotely attainable unilaterally."[195] And while there has been significant criticism of the tri-level agreements, they showed that when the federal, provincial, and municipal governments work together, substantial change is possible.

Second, particularly in the early agreements, an emphasis on brick-and-mortar development projects overshadowed social spending. While partnerships with corporations leveraged millions of additional dollars for the physical revitalization and business development in the downtown, they did little to stimulate and address the actual socio-economic problems of inner-city residents.[196] Perhaps most importantly, the overwhelming business influence crowded out community participation. Even Lloyd Axworthy, champion of the CAI, noted in 2003 that Winnipeg's inner city tri-level agreements had missed the opportunity to "leap forward by extending to these inner-city groups the right to share in the decisions that will help shape their lives."[197]

Third, the tri-level funding agreements from the CAI onward provided funding and support for grassroots community movements which turned into the networks of CBOs operating in the inner city today.[198] Later tri-level agreements and provincial funding through NA! and the Winnipeg Regeneration Strategy strengthened inner-city organizations and provided policy support to address social and economic issues. The focus on the inner city and partnerships with CBOs made it possible to develop locally-relevant programs, resources, and strategies to address complex spatialized poverty.

These three lessons suggest that future investment in the inner city should have funding and support from all three levels of government; they should balance bricks-and-mortar and social spending, based on the priorities of inner-city residents; and they should build on the expertise and experience of CBOs in the inner city. In short, what is needed is a large-scale, geographically targeted investment developed with and guided by inner-city communities.

Next Steps for a Fully-Funded Just Recovery

As shown in this report, the work that CBOs do every day in the inner city suggests that a just recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic must uphold Indigenous self-determination, address intersectional equity, and focus on providing for the basic needs of inner-city residents in line with the social determinants of health. These priorities align with the principles for a just recovery put forward by the Council of Canadians[199] as they focus on health and well-being, upholding Indigenous rights, and building resilience, solidarity, and equity. They also overlap with the focuses of Just Recovery Ontario[200] such as housing, employment, and services for people of all ages. However, since the priorities discussed in this report stem directly from the work of CBOs, they are also specific to the local context of inner-city Winnipeg.

> “Since responsibility for these systemic inequalities lies with governments rather than with CBOs, change will have to come from governments to address the systemic issues that continue to create inequality.”

Addressing the fractures and inequalities highlighted by the COVID-19 pandemic will require significant investment and policy changes. Addressing the impact of the pandemic also requires action to address the inequalities present before the pandemic. Since responsibility for these systemic inequalities lies with governments rather than with CBOs, change will have to come from governments to address the systemic issues that continue to create inequality. The Council of Canadians’ call for a just recovery explicitly includes strengthening the social safety net and

providing relief directly to people.[201] CBOs also highlight the harm done by government institutions such as the carceral system[202] and Child and Family Services.[203] These are government responsibilities and will require substantial systemic policy change.

This moment is ripe to finally gain large-scale government support: the pandemic spurred governments to think big in terms of the funds mobilized for crisis response and, more recently, about economy-wide recovery planning. Activists and a growing proportion of the general public are pushing for responses that address inequality, colonialism, and climate change through the movement for a just recovery.[204] But this moment also contains tremendous risk for "shock doctrine"[205] policies, where austerity policies are pushed through while the public is distracted by crisis. These factors suggest that there is an opportunity to advocate for funding and investment in the inner city through community-based leadership and that doing so is crucial to counter the forces of neoliberalism.

To take advantage of this opportunity and move towards a just recovery, CBOs would benefit from explicitly coordinating their efforts and stating their priorities collectively. There are already many collaborative networks and connections between inner-city CBOs to activate; given their enduring work to provide and expand services during the pandemic in addition to the challenges presented to gathering and organizing during a pandemic, a collective vision and proposal for a just recovery has not yet been articulated. This chapter provides a summary of the themes from CBOs' work and a history of funding initiatives to inform new possibilities; it concludes with three next steps to develop a collective vision for a just recovery in the inner city.

Step 1: Community Engagement

Any plan for the inner city must keep the community's priorities at its heart. This can only be achieved through substantial community leadership in the creation and implementation of the plan. As Sherry Arnstein argued, "It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future."[206] Ensuring that those who have been marginalized through social, economic and colonial processes have the power to create new strategies and structures to improve their living conditions is essential.

When CBO leaders first discussed the idea of a just recovery as a focus for the *State of the Inner City* report, it was envisioned as a two-year process. This year's 2021 *State of the Inner City* is the first instalment, providing

a foundation for future community discussions. The second part will be based in community engagement about a just recovery and the themes identified here. Are these priorities accurate and current? What else might the community want to include? This process could start with a meeting of the CBO leaders who originally met back in Spring 2021 and new additions to that group. They could decide how to involve community members in the process and what resources they might need to educate and influence government decision-makers to support a just recovery.

Step 2: Government Funding

While communities and CBOs should lead the development and implementation of a process for a just recovery in the inner city, substantial investment and cooperation is needed to make such work possible. Federal, provincial and municipal governments have financial and other resources, including expertise in making and coordinating policy, navigating complex bureaucracy, and making connections across various policy and finance programs. Bringing these resources to the table would create a new playing field for the inner city and would greatly support the work already underway.

> "There should be community representation at all levels of decision-making in relation to funding, and funding must be provided to compensate CBO staff and community members for this higher-level planning and advocacy work."

Past experience has shown that tri-level agreements can work as a way to leverage resources. Intergovernmental collaboration would allow federal and provincial governments to have a greater impact through more efficient investments and would enable the municipal government to achieve a much larger impact than could be achieved unilaterally.[207] Each level of government provides programs and services in different areas; where there is overlap, or where the intersectional nature of an issue requires more than one intervention, coordination between departments and levels of government is essential. It would reduce duplication and enhance efficiency and, when combined with leadership from CBOs, result in more effective solutions to complex poverty.

However, a new federal, provincial and municipal funding agreement for the inner city must be more than a tri-level agreement: it must have a fourth level of community leadership and accountability. This can be achieved by ensuring that the community leads the planning process for a just recovery. There should be community representation at all levels of decision-making in relation to funding, and funding must be provided to compensate CBO staff and community members for this higher-level planning and advocacy work. In particular, the leadership of Indigenous

CBOs must be highlighted and supported. Reconciliation requires resources and funding at the community level to ensure that First Nation, Métis and Inuit priorities and self-determination are elevated and addressed. A just recovery therefore requires participation and accountability from all levels of government, following the lead of First Nations, Métis people and Inuit as well as Indigenous CBOs.

Step 3: Supportive Policy Changes

It is important to note that there are limits to what CBOs or funding alone can achieve. Too often, government policies exacerbate poverty and inequality. The broad failures and withdrawal of the social welfare state (including inadequate social assistance, healthcare, education and social housing), the child welfare system and the carceral system cannot be addressed at a local level; they must be dealt with through public policy at a government program level. Barriers also arise from colonial and capitalist structures that shape the opportunities available to different groups in society.[208]

Changes to these policies and structures from all levels of government, as well as from civil society, are needed to make a truly just recovery possible. These are complex challenges and will require complex, long-term solutions. Substantial research has been completed on the issues and potential solutions; inner-city CBOs and communities can develop principles to guide government policymaking and provide input and advice to ensure that changes in policy will address the root causes of structural inequity.

Conclusion

CBOs in the inner city are building community resilience through their work on Indigenous self-determination, intersectional equity, and the seven focus areas aligned with the social determinants of health: housing, food security, education and employment, healthcare, justice and safety, the built environment, and supports and connection. The COVID-19 pandemic has revealed, complicated, and worsened many pre-existing issues in the inner city. Any plan for a recovery from COVID must consider not only recovery from the current pandemic, but also resilience for future pandemics or crises resulting from the ongoing climate emergency, the impacts of which are already being felt. As the impacts of climate change intensify, equitable

climate adaptation and consideration of best practices for mitigation must be integrated into all plans for recovery from the pandemic.

Change in policies and practices is needed to create equitable social and health outcomes for inner city residents and communities now and into the future. Funding and support provided through an agreement between federal, provincial, and municipal governments, guided by community priorities and leadership offers one way to leverage significant targeted funding to address manufactured vulnerability in a substantive way. This report was written as waves of COVID-19 continue to affect residents of Winnipeg's inner city. The idea of recovery, let alone a just recovery, is still elusive and changing. While this may be daunting, it is also a reminder of a new reality: future pandemics, climate change and other potential crises are inevitable. Planning for the long-term wellbeing of inner-city communities by their members is key to the work ahead. It's time to do this work together with all the wisdom, skills, and gifts that exist in the inner city.

Appendix 1:

Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

THIS REPORT ANALYZED published information from 79 CBOs in inner-city Winnipeg. Community-based organizations are defined as non-profit, non-governmental, advocacy or charitable organizations that have a mandate to address and represent community needs. Organizations were selected using purposive sampling techniques.[209] Twenty-eight organizations were included because of pre-existing relationships with the State of the Inner City report process and CCPA-MB. From there, the list was expanded using snowball sampling to capture organizations that partner with those already on the list and those who had endorsed the same policy measures. This list was refined according to the following criteria:

- Organizations based within the geographic boundaries of the inner city and serving the inner city community;
- Organizations with sufficient information available online to review.

This list is not comprehensive as to all organizations working within the inner city and on issues facing the inner city. Notably, grassroots groups such as Justice4BlackLives Winnipeg and Budget for All did not surface in

the snowball sample. These groups are doing important advocacy work in the inner city, and their contributions and those of others not included in this report are not discounted by their omission.

Once the list of organizations was established, documents were selected for each organization. The final list of documents included 14 strategic plans, and 35 annual reports, and 28 websites in cases where no strategic or annual report was available. Publication dates range from 2018 to 2021, including both pre-pandemic and current documents.

The documents were analysed using a multi-step coding process.[210] First, the documents were sorted by the organizations' main focus area. Then, the documents were reviewed again to further refine the high-level categories, identify areas of overlap or intersection, and gather more details on the specific programs of each organization. Each document was reviewed at least three times to ensure that the analysis was consistent.

While this approach provides a high-level overview of the work of inner-city CBOs, its reliance on textual analysis rather than interviews or other forms of data collection means that the relationships and dynamics on the ground in the inner city are not visible. Practices of day-to-day decision-making in CBOs may be different from the written documents. For this reason, future research and work to advance a just recovery for the inner city must engage more directly with local communities and organizations.

Appendix 2:

Table of Organizations and Focus Areas

AS NOTED IN Appendix 1, this data is based on analysis of publicly available documents from CBOs. This table is not meant to serve as a directory or a comprehensive list of who is providing what programs. Some organizations may have programs that are not included here if those programs are not mentioned in their published materials; some organizations may have discontinued programs since their most recent report and those changes would not be reflected in this data. It is intended to provide more detail about the counts shown in *Table 2*.

TABLE 3 Table of Organizations and Focus Areas

CBO Name	Housing	Food	Education / Employ-ment	Health-care	Safety / Justice	Built Env.	Supports / Connection
1JustCity	yes	yes					yes
A & O Support Services							yes
Aboriginal Health and Wellness Centre		yes	yes	yes			yes
Aboriginal Senior Resource Centre							yes
Accueil Francophone	yes		yes				yes
African Communities of Manitoba		yes	yes	yes	yes		yes
Andrews St Family Centre							yes
Aurora Family Therapy Centre				yes			yes
Bear Clan Patrol					yes		
Boys & Girls Club of Winnipeg			yes				yes
Broadway Neighbourhood Centre			yes				yes
Build Inc [social enterprise]			yes		yes		
CAHRD			yes	yes			yes
CCEDNet	yes	yes	yes				
Central Neighbourhoods	yes		yes		yes	yes	yes
Chalmers Neighbourhood Renewal Corporation	yes		yes		yes	yes	yes
Community Education Development Association			yes				
Daniel McIntyre / St. Matthews Community Association	yes	yes			yes	yes	yes
Eagle Urban Transition Centre	yes		yes	yes			yes
Elizabeth Fry	yes		yes		yes		yes
End Homelessness Winnipeg	yes						
Ethnocultural Council of Manitoba			yes				
Fearless R2W	yes						yes
Food Matters Manitoba		yes					
Gain			yes	yes	yes		yes
Harvest Manitoba		yes					
Ikwe Widdjiitiwin	yes			yes			yes
Immigration Partnership Winnipeg			yes				yes
Inclusion Winnipeg							yes
Indigenous Family Centre							yes
Indigenous Vision for the North End							yes
Indigenous Women's Healing Centre	yes		yes	yes			yes
Innovative LIFE Options							yes
IRCOM	yes	yes					yes
John Howard	yes				yes		yes
Ka Ni Kanichihk	yes		yes	yes	yes		yes
Klinic				yes			
Knox United Church		yes	yes				yes
Local Investment Toward Employment			yes				
Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre	yes	yes		yes			yes

TABLE 3 Table of Organizations and Focus Areas (con't)

CBO Name	Housing	Food	Education / Employ-ment	Health-care	Safety / Justice	Built Env.	Supports / Connection
Main St Project	yes	yes		yes			yes
Make Poverty History Manitoba	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Manitoba Association of Newcomer Serving Orgs	yes		yes	yes			
Manitoba Harm Reduction Network				yes			
Manitoba League of Persons with Disabilities			yes				yes
Manitoba Moon Voices Inc			yes		yes		yes
Mawa							yes
Mosaic			yes				yes
Mount Carmel Clinic (including Sage House)				yes			yes
Native Addictions Council of Manitoba				yes			
Ndinawe	yes		yes				yes
New Directions	yes		yes	yes			yes
New Journey Housing	yes						
Nine Circles				yes			
North End Community Renewal Corporation	yes	yes	yes		yes	yes	yes
North End Women's Centre			yes	yes			yes
North Point Douglas Women's Centre				yes	yes		yes
Ogijiita Pimatiswin Kinimatwin					yes		yes
Oshki-Giizhig	yes			yes			yes
Peaceful Village (MSIP)			yes				
Rainbow Resource Centre			yes				yes
RaY	yes	yes	yes	yes			yes
Right to Housing	yes						
Rossbrook House	yes	yes	yes				yes
SEED			yes				
Social Planning Council of Winnipeg			yes		yes		yes
Spence Neighbourhood Association	yes	yes	yes			yes	yes
SScope Inc			yes				
The Winnipeg Boldness Project			yes				
ThunderWing (Block by Block)							yes
Urban Circle Training Centre Inc			yes				
Wahbung Abinoonjiiag	yes	yes					yes
WASAC							yes
West Broadway Community Organization	yes	yes	yes		yes	yes	yes
West Central Women's Resource Centre	yes	yes	yes	yes			yes
Winnipeg Housing Rehabilitation Corporation	yes						
Winnipeg Indigenous Executive Circle	yes		yes	yes	yes		yes
Wolseley Family Place							yes
Youth Agencies Alliance			yes				yes

Chapter 1 Endnotes

1 Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-Manitoba, *Covid-19: The Changing State of the Inner City*.

2 Grift and Cooper, "'We Work in Crisis All Day Long': Rethinking Emergency Planning in Winnipeg's Inner City"; Hilhorst and Bankoff, "Introduction: Mapping Vulnerability."

3 Mackinnon, *Breaking Barriers, Building Bridges: State of the Inner City Report 2012*; Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-Manitoba, *Covid-19: The Changing State of the Inner City*.

4 Dobchuk-Land and Maier, "Concluding Remarks: Crisis, Interdependence, and Solidarity in the Inner City and Beyond," 75.

5 The Council of Canadians, "A Just Recovery for All"; Hennessey, "A Just Recovery: The Pandemic Is a Call for Personal and Collective Change."

6 350.org, "Open Letter: Principles for a #JustRecovery from COVID-19."

7 Just Recovery for All, "Endorsers."

8 The Council of Canadians, "A Just Recovery for All."

9 Just Recovery Ontario, "5 Steps for Just Recovery."

10 David Suzuki Foundation, "Green and Just Recovery."

11 The Council of Canadians, "A Just Recovery for All."

12 Just Recovery Ontario, "5 Steps for Just Recovery."

13 Maeckelbergh, "Doing Is Believing: Prefiguration as Strategic Practice in the Alterglobalization Movement."

14 Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-Manitoba, *The Promise of Investment in Community-Led Renewal: State of the Inner City Report: 2005 Part I: Policy Considerations*.

15 City of Winnipeg, "Geographic Areas of Higher Poverty."

16 Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-Manitoba, *The Promise of Investment in Community-Led Renewal: State of the Inner City Report: 2005 Part I: Policy Considerations*, 2.

17 For the purposes of this report, CBOs that are *not* primarily located in the inner city or targeting inner city neighbourhoods for service provision are not included. Additionally, the list of inner-city CBOs included in this report (see Appendix 2) does not include every CBO within the area.

18 Toews, *Stolen City: Racial Capitalism and the Making of Winnipeg*.

19 Manitoba Association of Friendship Centres, "History."

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