

State of the **INNER CITY**

A Youth Lens on Poverty in Winnipeg



“I would change things so every family and person had a place to live and had everything they needed to live a happy life”

**A Youth Lens on Inner City Winnipeg:
State of the Inner City Report 2013**

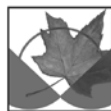
ISBN 978-1-77125-094-8

NOVEMBER 2013

This report is available free of charge from the CCPA website at www.policyalternatives.ca. Printed copies may be ordered through the Manitoba Office for a \$10 fee.

Please make a donation. Help us continue to offer our publications free online.

We make most of our publications available free on our website. Making a donation or taking out a membership will help us continue to provide people with access to our ideas and research free of charge. You can make a donation or become a member on-line at www.policyalternatives.ca. Or you can contact the Manitoba office at 204-927-3200 for more information. Suggested donation for this publication: \$10 or what you can afford.



CCPA

CANADIAN CENTRE
for POLICY ALTERNATIVES
MANITOBA OFFICE

309-323 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2C1
TEL 204-927-3200 FAX 204-927-3201
EMAIL ccpamb@policyalternatives.ca



This year's State of the Inner City Report was written by Molly McCracken, Josh Brandon (housing section) and Laura Fedoruk (photovoice methodology). The photos in the methodology section are by Sean Ledwich. The remainder of the photos are by the youth researchers, names withheld due to confidentiality.

We would like to thank the funders of this year's *State of the Inner City Report*.



**Social Sciences and Humanities
Research Council of Canada**

**Conseil de recherches en
sciences humaines du Canada**

Canada

Acknowledgements

CCPA-MB would like to thank the many people who guided this year's project, participated in various meetings and reviewed drafts of this report. *The State of the Inner City Report* would not be possible without the vision and commitment of our many community partners. Thanks to:

Kathy Mallett Co-Director, Darlene Klyne, Pathways for Education Program Coordinator and Claire Friesen, Pathways Mentor Coordinator, Community Economic Development Association (CEDA) and Lauren Paluk, Specialty Mentoring Facilitator

Jamil Mahmood, Executive Director and Elizabeth Bend, Youth Program Coordinator, and Sean Ledwich, Youth Program staff, Spence Neighbourhood Association

Dilly Knol, Executive Director, Andrews Street Family Centre

Diane Roussin, Executive Director, Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre

Maria Vigna, Executive Director, Rossbrook House

Sharon Taylor, Executive Director, Wolseley Family Place

Tanya Viner and Patty Parsons, Co-Executive Directors, Wahbung Abinoonjiiag

Jim Silver, Chair, Urban and Inner City Studies, University of Winnipeg

Clark Brownlee, Chair, Right to Housing Coalition

Brendan Reimer, Prairies & Northern Territories Coordinator, Canadian Community Education Development Network (CCEDNET)

Kelly Holmes, Executive Director Resource Assistance for Youth

Mariane Cerrelli, Analyst, Social Planning Council of Winnipeg

Bobbette Shoffner, Executive Director, Mount Carmel Clinic

Elaine Bishop, Executive Director, North Point Douglas Women's Centre

Kemlin Nembhard, Executive Director, Daniel McIntyre/ St. Matthews Community Association

Rob Neufeld, Executive Director, North End Renewal Corporation

Greg Macpherson, Executive Director, West Broadway Community Organization

Amanda Shindak, Staff, Youth Agencies Alliance

We would like to give a special thank you to CEDA Pathways to Education and Spence Neighbourhood Association who supported and gave staff time to the photovoice project, found in the

second half of this report. Thanks to Elder Ann Callahan for your guidance during the sharing circle, the youth and facilitators deeply appreciated your words of wisdom. Thank you to the youth from the West and North End neighbourhoods who participated actively in this project. Your enthusiasm and dedication to your communities is exemplified in your involvement in local youth programs and this photovoice project. Thank you for sharing your reflections and insights on your neighbourhoods and what is needed to improve the community for everyone.

Thank you to the funders of the *State of the Inner City Report*, all of whom have been long time supporters year after year: Assiniboine Credit Union, United Way of Winnipeg, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council through the Manitoba Research Alliance. Thank you to Don's Photo for providing discounts on photo materials. Thanks also to CCPA-MB members for supporting the work of the CCPA, our organization contributes in kind to the project as well. This project would not have been possible without all of you.

Table of Contents

vi	Table: Past <i>State of the Inner City Reports</i>
1	Introduction
3	A Look Back at the State of the Inner City
5	Youth, Poverty and Inner City Winnipeg: Literature Review
	Costs of persistent poverty
	Impact of poverty on education and economic outcomes
	Indigenous children, poverty and education
	Young women, poverty and education
	Housing and youth
	Impact of housing crisis on youth
	Youth transitioning from child and family services care
	Youth and safety
	Violence against young women
	We know poverty is bad for youth, now what?
	Adolescent development, families, communities and poverty
	Youth and the family
20	Profiles of Two Community-Based Youth-Serving Organizations
	Community Education Development Association (CEDA)
	Pathways to Education
	Spence Neighbourhood Association
23	Importance of Governments and System-Wide Supports
25	Youth in the Inner City Photovoice
	What is photovoice?
	Photovoice as a method of participatory research
	What we did
	Reflections on youth photovoice
	The photos
	Summary of photovoice sharing circle
	Recommendations and conclusion
42	References

TABLE State of the Inner City Reports 2005 – 2012

Date	Reports	Topics
2005	<i>The Promise of Investment in Community-Led Renewal</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy Considerations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describing inner city - Statistical overview - Housing, employment development and education • A view from the neighbourhoods: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Comparative analysis of Spence, Centennial and Lord Selkirk Park
2006	<i>Inner City Voices: Community-Based Solutions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A portrait of West Broadway and North Point Douglas • Inner City Refugee Women: Lessons for Public Policy • Bridging the Community-Police Divide: Safety and Security in Winnipeg's Inner City
2007	<i>Step by Step: Stories of Change in Winnipeg's Inner City</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building a Community of Opportunity and Hope: Lord Selkirk Park Housing Developments • Costing an Ounce of Prevention: The Fiscal Benefits of Investing in Inner City Preventive Strategies (cost to themselves and society of young women entering the street sex trade) • Is Participation Having an Impact? (how do we measure progress in Winnipeg's Inner City? A participatory approach to understanding outcomes)
2008	<i>Putting Our Housing in Order</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy, people and Winnipeg's inner city • Voicing housing experiences in inner city Winnipeg • From revitalization to revaluation in the Spence neighbourhood • Homeownership for low-income households: outcomes for families and communities
2009	<i>It Takes All Day to be Poor</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seven individuals document their experiences living on a low income budget • Tracking poverty in Winnipeg's inner city 1996 – 2006 (analysis of census data) • Lord Selkirk Park: Rebuilding from Within (how community and government can work together to make change for the better)
2010	<i>We're in it for the Long Haul</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Together we have CLOUT: model of service delivery and analysis of "the Just City" • Early Childhood Education and Care in the Inner City and Beyond: Addressing the Inequalities Facing Winnipeg's Aboriginal children • Squeezed Out: The impact of rising rents and condo conversions on inner city neighbourhoods
2011	<i>Neo-Liberalism: What a Difference a Theory Makes</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manitoba's Employment and Income Assistance Program: Exploring the Policy Impacts on Winnipeg's inner city • Housing for People, Not Markets: Neoliberalism and housing in Winnipeg's inner city • Policy and the Unique Needs of Aboriginal Second-Chance Learners
2012	<i>Breaking barriers, building bridges</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who's accountable to the community? (two way accountability government to community-based organizations) • Fixing our divided city: Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth, inner city and non-inner city and Aboriginal Elders' dialogue on breaking down barriers

Introduction

This ninth *State of the Inner City Report* builds on our knowledge of the issues facing people in the inner city and the ways community-based organizations, governments, businesses and others address poverty in our city.

The *State of the Inner City Report* is a counter-point to the State of the City and State of the Province addresses given by the Mayor and Premier at one of the Chambers of Commerce each year. These political leaders are speaking to people in positions of power about economic and social trends; the *State of the Inner City Report* is guided by those working on the front lines of the struggle against poverty. It sheds light on what can and should be done to support those at the margins to become full, active citizens and contributors to our city, province and country.

This report uses a community-based approach. The research is guided by a group of community leaders and is done in partnership with community practitioners. Research that is participatory in nature is best-suited to respond to community needs. It gives priority to people's experience and knowledge developed from this experience. The theoretical framework for this report values and respects the lived experiences of those in poverty and looks at the economic and structural forces that create the choices

and constraints they face. This is research with an action-focus: to bring to light challenges not seen in the mainstream discourse and to offer constructive alternatives that build on community knowledge and assets. Past *State of the Inner City Reports* have shown that the people living in the inner city know much of what needs to be done to fight poverty, they just need adequate investment to do so.

The topic of each year's *State of the Inner City Report* emerges from thoughtful discussions with a group of front-line community-based organizations (CBOs). CBOs are small not-for-profit organizations with mandates to address poverty and social exclusion by building capacity, participatory decision making and working for social justice. This year's report stems from 2012's *Breaking Barriers, Building Bridges* report, in which youth from inner city and suburban Winnipeg joined together to talk about racism, discrimination and building understandings across cultures (MacKinnon, 2012a). A day-long workshop guided by elders was documented in a report and a video available online (MacKinnon, 2012a).

Based on the powerful and successful *Breaking Barriers, Building Bridges* project, CBOs wanted to work with youth and present their perspec-

tive on themes from previous *State of the Inner City Reports*. This year's report begins by summarizing key themes from earlier reports that resonate in the inner city. The next section is a literature review of issues of youth and poverty as they relate to education, housing and safety. CBOs are addressing some of the key risk factors known to affect adolescent development. Challenges persist, but research shows that ongoing investment in community-based supports for youth and families is needed. The literature review concludes with a summary of some of the social welfare supports provided to youth and families in poverty. Youth for the purposes of the literature review are age 15 to 29.

The second half of the *State of the Inner City Report* is a youth photovoice research project. Youth from CBOs in the West End and North End of Winnipeg met weekly for seven weeks to learn how to take photos that tell a story about their inner-city neighbourhoods. Their photos show us the inner city through their eyes. It is a place of good and bad things. Youth have a detailed and insightful perspective on their communities. This documents their attachment to the vibrant network of community organizations that support them. The youth researcher's photos are found throughout this report. This next generation is interested in how they can work with others to make their city a better place to live for everyone.

A Look Back at the State of the Inner City

As the CBOs who guide the *State of the Inner City Report* wanted to have a youth lens on past report topics, it is helpful to see the themes that continue to emerge in this report series. The past *State of the Inner City Reports* demonstrate the tremendously complex factors that lead people to live in poverty. *It Takes All Day to be Poor* unpacks the realities of those living in poverty and counters superficial stereotypes of the poor (Brody et al. 2009). This report documents the first-hand experiences of people living on Employment and Income Assistance (EIA) to demonstrate there is no “one size fits all” explanation as to how people become poor. Disjointed government services and a patchwork of community programs take up all of poor people’s time. In addition to the formidable amount of time and energy required in the struggle to eat, be housed and clothed, the welfare system breeds a sense of hopelessness and shame, eroding people’s self-esteem. This creates a “web of despair” with people caught in a cycle of inter-related problems: poverty, racism, addictions, and violence (Brody et al. 2009).

As an overall response to poverty, advocates have long argued for higher EIA rates, to enable those in poverty to live a life of dignity. Addition-

ally, services should be centred on the needs of people and communities. Those who know best about providing people-centred services are those on the front line of the struggle with poverty in Winnipeg’s inner city. People-centred services develop programs based on needs, is holistic and supports people in various aspects of their lives. For example, many family centres offer an array of services all in one location: child minding, a low cost store, laundry, counseling, job training and support to find housing.

CBOs are central to addressing poverty. They emerge as a result of social and economic need, and are guided by the populations they serve to fulfill their socially-responsible mandates. They are accountable to their clients and funders to deliver programming to improve the lives of those in need. These democratically governed organizations build community capacity by providing volunteer opportunities locally, from the delivery of programs to the board level. Their knowledge and experience is intrinsically valuable for the delivery of successful services. In effect, CBOs step in where government services end.

Consider the Community Led Organizations United Together (CLOUT),¹ a coalition of organizations driven by the same philosophy: building

supportive relationships, facilitating growth, respecting diversity and building capacity (O'Brien, 2010). CLOUT and many other CBOs recognize the lived experience of those they serve, that someone's story is important to their identity, and that growth comes from supporting people and families to build on the assets of individuals, families and communities (O'Brien, 2010). Their flexible approach is based foremost on respect and the belief that inner city residents know how to solve their own problems (O'Brien, 2010). As the title, *We're in it for the Long Haul*, states, these well-established organizations are committed to serving the community (O'Brien, 2010). However in the current context of government devolution of responsibilities to CBOs combined with fiscal austerity, CBOs are left to deliver services with bare bones budgets.

CBOs providing important services to the community are precariously funded and subject to onerous reporting requirements. As a result, they are under tremendous pressure to do more with less. Operating based on an unstable blend of revenue from governments, foundations, and donations from businesses and individuals, those working in CBOs are under the dual stress of

witnessing the negative impacts of poverty and struggling to making sure enough resources are available to meet community need. Project funding creates uncertainty, affects continuity of services and provides a lack of job security for staff. *Who's Accountable to the Community* explains that accountability must be reciprocal: governments expect CBOs to account for funding, however governments must also be accountable to CBOs and invest in their work adequately without overly onerous processes (MacKinnon, 2012b).

The past eight *State of the Inner City* reports have brought forward these themes and more, all the while demonstrating that there is incredible power and strength in the inner city community. Through values of collective and consensus decision-making, CBOs support and complement each other's work. This collaborative approach places people at the centre, and builds complementary networks of supports to address the complex problems.

This year's *State of the Inner City Report* asks youth to provide their fresh perspectives to the persistent problems of poverty facing the inner city of Winnipeg. The next section is a literature review of youth issues in the inner city.

1 CLOUT members are: Andrews Street Family Centre, Ma Mawi Chi Itata Centre, Community Education Development Association, Rossbrook House, Native Women's Transition Centre, North End Women's Centre, Wabnung Abinoonjiag and Wolseley Family Place.

Youth, Poverty and Inner City Winnipeg

The inner city is home to a diversity of people, neighbourhoods, cultures and communities. It also has unfortunate characteristics of poverty-related conditions like lower graduation rates, higher unemployment and higher mobility rates than the rest of Winnipeg. Winnipeg's inner city, as defined by the City of Winnipeg's 1980 Core Area Initiative: bounded on the north by Carruthers Ave west of the Red River and Munroe Ave. east of the Red River; on the west by McPhillips St., Ingersoll St. and Raglan Road; on the south by McMillan Ave. and Marion St.; and on the east by Raleigh St., the Seine River and Archibald St. (CCPA, 2005). Children and youth make up a large portion of the population living in the inner city: almost a quarter, 23.8 percent, of inner city residents are 0 – 19 years of age (City of Winnipeg 2009b).

Within the diverse neighbourhoods of the inner city there is a high concentration of poverty. The City of Winnipeg's 2006 census data indicate that 32.5 percent of households in this area lived below the low-income cut-off (LICO) (City of Winnipeg 2009a). By contrast, households below LICO outside of the inner city made up 15.7 percent (City of Winnipeg 2009b), which is roughly half the inner city rate.

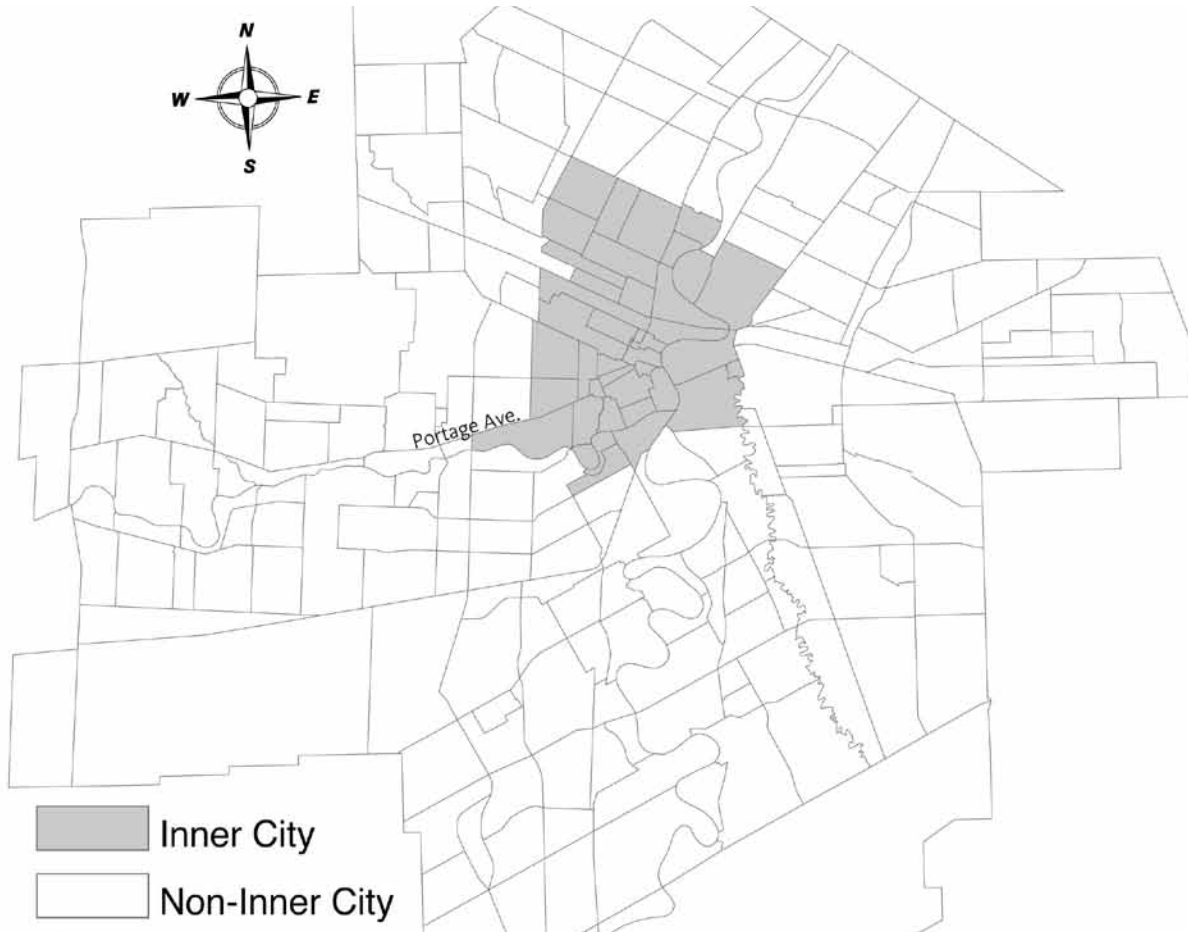
The population of the inner city is distinguished by higher proportions of Aboriginal and

newcomer populations than the rest of Winnipeg. Twenty-one percent of inner city residents are Aboriginal compared to 10 percent for Winnipeg as a whole (City of Winnipeg, 2009a). Winnipeg received 13,000 new immigrants in 2011, the inner city is a destination for newcomers because of the lower cost of housing compared to the rest of the city, and social supports (Metropolis).

Poverty in Winnipeg is disproportionately concentrated among youth. Children age 15 and under had the highest prevalence of low income at 22.1 percent in 2010, while youth ages 15 to 24 had the second highest rate at 18 percent according to the 2011 National Household Survey (Statistics Canada, 2013a). In the inner city of Winnipeg, approximately 9,420 children aged 0 – 19 lived below the poverty line (own calculations, City of Winnipeg 2009a). The Social Planning Council's annual *Child and Family Poverty 2012 Report Card* reported Manitoba has the second highest poverty rate for children in the country. Manitoba's child poverty rates have remained above the national rate since 1989 and are 6.4 percent higher than the national average (SPCW, 2012:4).

The following literature review looks at issues of youth and poverty, with a focus on three themes identified by the CBOs guiding the *State*

FIGURE 1 Map of the Inner City



SOURCE: www.winnipeg.ca

of the Inner City report as key when considering youth and poverty: education, housing and safety. Poverty has detrimental effects on child development, however with community-based supports and government investment, the negative impacts can be lessened and a childhood spent in poverty need not lead to a life-long sentence.

Costs of Persistent Poverty

The persistent poverty rate in Manitoba means we are failing our children, and also paying the consequences. One Canadian study estimates that “the cost of allowing 11,000 poor youth to leave school early over a 20-year span was \$23 billion in lost income and productivity, \$9.9 billion in lost taxes and \$1.4 billion in unemployment

and social assistance payments (McClusky et al. 2001 in Silver et al. 2002:9). Additionally, socio-economic disadvantage affects health; children in poverty have a higher likelihood of chronic physical and mental health problems (Ferguson et al. 2007: 701).

Impact of Poverty on Education and Economic Outcomes

The longer children experience poverty, the worse off they are. Persistent poverty (i.e., experiencing long periods of poverty over a large portion of one’s life course) lowers children’s educational achievement, worsens their socio-emotional development, and can have serious health consequences (Duncan et al. 1994; McLeod & Shanahan, 1993;

PHOTO 1 CEDA Pathways Building in the Evening



Front of CEDA building. I was with a group friends when I took this so I felt safe. I think the building and program are great. I feel safe inside the building. CEDA helps kids and their families. — Youth Researcher

Miller & Korenman, 1994; Smith, Brooks-Gunn, & Klebanov, 1997). Furthermore, the more time children spend in poverty, the greater their risk of being poor in early adulthood (Wagmiller & Adelman, 2009).

Poverty has a cascading effect on children's lives. Children who grow up poor are less likely to be ready for school, do well in school and stay in school. Poverty impacts child development and school readiness (Ferguson et al. 2007: 702). Once in school, poverty adversely affects educational achievements. Studies have shown that socio-economic disadvantage and associated factors like lower parental education and high family stress have a negative impact on cognitive development and academic achievement (Ferguson et al. 2007: 702).

Youth from lower income families are more likely to leave school without graduating (HRDC,

2000). A lack of a high school diploma is a predictor of lower earnings, higher rates of unemployment, poorer health, higher rates of reliance on social assistance and higher rates of teen motherhood (Backlund et al. 2007; Rumberger & Lamb, 2003 in MCHP, 2012: 2006). The Manitoba Centre for Health Policy (MCHP)'s study "How are Manitoba's Children Doing?" measures high school completion as an indicator of health status for the provincial Department of Health and the Healthy Child Committee of Cabinet. The MCHP finds that lower rates of high school completion are associated with lower income levels. For example, in 2009/2010 the graduation rate in urban centres was 55.4 percent in the lowest income quintile, compared to 98.5 percent in the highest (MCHP, 2012: 207). The MCHP found that increases in high school graduation rates were positively correlated with income level: the



This is a hoop, it's at the MERC, it is potential in a sport. I've always been interested in basketball. It is a reflection in my personality and is something I love to do with friends and family. I usually play at the MERC or the University of Winnipeg. I'd like to be scouted for a University school team.

— Youth Researcher

higher income quintiles have higher graduation rates (2012: 207).

Indigenous Children, Poverty and Education

Indigenous children have a higher likelihood of living in poverty, and struggle with the impact of intergenerational trauma. A recent study found that 53 percent of Aboriginal children in Manitoba live in poverty, compared to 14 percent of non-Aboriginal children (MacDonald and Wilson, 2013). The horrendous legacy of colonization, residential schools and the “sixties scoop” has a lasting and ongoing impact on Aboriginal people. A study of Winnipeg Aboriginal high school youth in the inner city found that 27 percent of the boys, and 33 percent of the girls in-

terviewed had at least one parent who is a residential school survivor, while more than half of students interviewed had at least one grandparent who is a residential school survivor (Silver et al, 2002: 12). Experiences of family members who are residential school survivors live on in the collective memories of many Aboriginal youth.

Residential schools caused “a loss of parenting skills through the absence of four or five generations of children from Native communities, and the learned behavior of despising Native identity” (Milloy, 1999: 299 in Silver et al, 2002:33). Schools have historically been sites of assimilation for Aboriginal people, to force them to abandon their culture and adopt the dominant culture (Silver et al, 2002:30). A study of Aborigi-

PHOTO 3 Aboriginal Mural



An Aboriginal painting is Aboriginals showing their culture. I see this mural every time I walk home from CEDA. It's an Aboriginal area. Make more paintings and make sure no one ruins them. — Youth Researcher

The Sixties Scoop and Aboriginal Children in Care Today

The child welfare system “sixties scoop” removed 20,000 Aboriginal children in Canada from their families and placed them with non-Aboriginal (white) families from the 1960s to 1980s. This cut off Aboriginal children from their birth families and culture (Rajotte, 2012). Although the First Nations and Aboriginal child welfare authorities have since been created to support Indigenous children in care, the disconnection of Aboriginal children to their families continues. Most children in the child welfare system are Aboriginal. An astonishing 86 percent of the large number of children in the Manitoba child welfare system in 2012 are Aboriginal — 8,371 out of a total 9,730 children (Manitoba Family Services and Labour, 2012).

nal students in inner city Winnipeg found that Aboriginal students experience a divide between who they are and what school is on a daily basis, from name-calling to a general feeling of lack of respect (Silver et al, 2002:30).

At the same time as Aboriginal people have lower levels of educational attainment than non-Aboriginal people, in part because of the devastating impacts of residential schools and the resultant negative perception of formal education, investment in Aboriginal education is key to ensure there are enough skilled workers to meet labour force demands (Silver et al, 2002). It is estimated that the number of Aboriginal adults ages 20 to 29 will increase over 40 percent by 2017, compared to a 9 percent growth rate among the same age cohort in the general population (Mackinnon, 2012b). These data clearly show the importance of designing training and education opportunities to meet the needs of this growing population, as well as employers.

In order to counter-act the internalization of years of discrimination, racism and colonization, Aboriginal schools and CBOs consider decolonization to be critical to the success of Aboriginal people. They have integrated cultural and historical teachings into their curriculum (Mackinnon, 2011:119). By placing understanding of an individual's challenges in the historical context of colonialism, Aboriginal people can come to see their problems as not about personal failings and more about social forces. Realizing this can be transformational for Aboriginal people (MacKinnon, 2011: 119).

Young Women, Poverty and Education

For young women, there is a strong relationship between education, birth of first child, and subsequent socio-economic status. Young women who feel discouraged about their employment and education opportunities are more likely to get pregnant (Bielski, 2013). Young women living in poverty have a much higher likelihood of having children than those from higher incomes.

In the lowest income quintile of Manitoba urban centres, the teen birth rate is 65.7 per 1,000 females age 15 – 19, compared to 3.38 per 1,000 females in the highest, almost 20 times as high (MCHP, 2012:258). Teen mothers tend to have lower socio-economic status and reduced educational and employment opportunities (MCHP, 2012: 247). This can lead to poorer health and reduced educational outcomes for children of teen mothers, which can adversely affect children into early adulthood. Supports, such as access to affordable child care, need to be in place to support young mothers to complete their education.

Housing and Youth

In addition to the concentration of poverty, there is a shortage of affordable housing in Winnipeg's inner city (CCPA, 2008). While there has always been a need for more affordable housing, the situation in recent years has become acute. Many are calling this situation a housing crisis (SPCW, 2013; Mulligan, 2008). As of April 2013, Winnipeg's rental vacancy rate was at 1.8 percent (CMHC, 2013). In particular, this lack of housing affects those living in poverty and who are least able to afford rising rents (CCPA, 2008).

Elements of the crisis include both rising rent costs as well as an absolute shortage of rental housing. On the supply side, the number of rental units in Winnipeg is at a lower level now than twenty years ago. Very low levels of rental construction over the last twenty years have been more than offset by condo-conversions and housing stock deterioration (CCPA, 2012). Despite small increases in rental stock that have been promoted by provincial housing grants in recent years, there are still nearly 10 percent fewer rental units in Winnipeg than in 1992 (CMHC, 2012); (CCPA, 2010).

This decline in stock combined with increased population and higher building costs – which cause private developers to build housing for higher-income renters - has pushed up the cost of rental accommodation dramatically. Rental

PHOTO 4 House in Street



A house with bushes beside it. A barrier between a house and bushes. Most people live in a house. The other side signifies that the homeless sleep outside. Some people don't have housing. Build more houses and shelters. — Youth Researcher

costs in Winnipeg have increased as much as 60 percent since 2000 (CMHC 2012). Meanwhile, vacancy rates have remained below 2 percent since the beginning of the twenty-first century, compared with rates that were often above 4 percent during the 1990s. Many young people must accept accommodation that is unaffordable, unsuitable, or in need of major repairs: in other words, in core housing need.

Stagnant incomes for households on EIA and for other low-income families are putting housing more and more out of reach. Although the provincial government has increased minimum wage 74 percent since 2000 (Manitoba Family Services and Labour, 2013), these increases have barely kept pace with rent increases. For households on EIA the situation is even worse. There have been no across the board increases for EIA over the past twenty years. Since 2000, targeted

increases in EIA have not kept pace with rent increases, especially for individuals.

Young people who grow up in the child welfare system and reach the age of majority often find themselves on EIA. For individuals on General Assistance the average cost of a bachelor suite in Winnipeg would eat up 91 percent of total EIA income, leaving less than two dollars per day for food all other living expenses (Manitoba Education, Training and Trade, 2012; CMHC, 2013). As a result, many youth on EIA turn to substandard accommodation, often in rooming houses, and must supplement their income with food banks.

Meanwhile, the federal government largely has abandoned its role in providing affordable housing. In contrast to the more interventionist policy of the post World War II era, the Canadian government has largely stepped away from investments in social housing since the

PHOTO 5 Empty Space



This is a bunch of mud, leaves and broken trees, but no house there. A man used to live there but the house burned down. I feel like they could do something there, build a new house there or a community garden. More people live in Winnipeg now and they don't put new houses up. — Youth Researcher

early 1990s. Over the next twenty-five years, the extent of federal disengagement from housing provision is scheduled to retreat even further with the expiration of \$1.7 billion in operating grants to social housing agencies (Pomeroy, 2011). Without significant federal investment and a national housing strategy, the housing crisis in inner city neighbourhoods across the country will only worsen.

Impact of Housing Crisis on Youth

Given the shortage of affordable housing in Winnipeg, young people are too frequently left behind. Youth may be disadvantaged in the housing market for several reasons. Youth in the labour force have lower incomes than the general popu-

lation and experience higher rates of unemployment. Also, many youth are living in families with lower incomes, especially in single parent households. Thirdly, youth may have less experience and tools for navigating available supports.

As a result of the over-representation of youth amongst those living in poverty, youth are over represented in social housing, where 50 percent are under age 20, compared with 24 percent of the Manitoba population as a whole (MCHP, 2013).

Youth in poverty living on their own often face worse economic difficulties. In 2010, the median income young people ages 15 to 24 living outside economic census families was 15,869 (Statistics Canada, 2013). Of these, 20 percent had incomes below \$5,000. At these income lev-

Indigenous Peoples and Intergenerational Trauma

Before the arrival of the Europeans, Aboriginal peoples were independent and self-governing with their own rich culture, economy, religion and ways of educating children (RCAP, 1996). Years of colonization and attempts at forced assimilation have led to the devastation of First Nations communities and cultures. The continued impact of this structural violence has been named “trauma trails,” the formation of layers of traumatic impacts transmitted down through generations (Atkinson in Comack et al, 2013:37). Dealing with the trauma of colonization has been extremely challenging since many cultural and spiritual practices to deal with distress were outlawed and destroyed by the colonizers (Atkinson in Comack et al. 2013:37).

As a result, rates of adverse childhood experiences, such as abuse, neglect and household substance abuse are higher among Aboriginal children (Blackstock Trocme & Bennet 2004; Duran et al., 2004a; Koss et al., 2003 in Bombay, Matheson and Anisman, 2009:7). Trauma is experienced through feelings of discrimination amongst Aboriginal youth. This is associated with suicidal behaviors, alcohol abuse, gang involvement, problem behaviors and symptoms of depression (Bombay, Matheson and Anisman, 2009:15).

Neuroscientists explain that the effects of trauma can be transmitted from parents to their children, just as there is intergenerational transmission of knowledge and culture (Bombay, Matheson and Anisman, 2009:7). Those who have experienced trauma may have altered ways of coping, these can be passed on to subsequent generations through parenting styles.

Culturally-appropriate supports are required to address the intergenerational impacts of trauma and prevent these from being experienced by subsequent generations of Aboriginal peoples. *The Aboriginal Children Count: A Campaign for Social Justice and Early Childhood Development* is a Winnipeg project advocating for more early learning programs developed and owned by Aboriginal people and infused by cultural values with the help of traditional Elders (Mallet, 2013).

els adequate housing is unaffordable to a large number of Winnipeg youth.

Aside from financial barriers, youth generally have less experience in negotiating with landlords to secure adequate rental conditions. Many also lack rental history to get into either private housing or into Manitoba Housing. Without government identification or rental references youth are often relegated to the secondary rental market, including rooming houses or other non-standard accommodations. Many inner city youth residents are either recent immigrants or have recently moved to the city from First Nations or Aboriginal communities. Issues of racism and discrimination exacerbate problems of access to rental accommodation.

As a result, youth too often end up in shelters, on the street or in transitional housing. Out of over 2,000 youth served by Resource Assistance For Youth, Inc. in 2012, less than half were living

either in long-term housing or with family (RAY, 2013). Many were living on the streets, in transitional housing or rooming houses. RAY also manages an Emergency Shelter and Transition program (REST) that sets aside a small number of units of Manitoba Housing for youth under age 29. This program assisted 17 youth in 2012. Clearly the resources available do little to match the scope of the crisis for inner city youth in Winnipeg.

Youth Transitioning From Child and Family Services Care

Every year, hundreds of youth in care age out of the Child and Family Services system because they reach the age of majority. In 2006, a report by the Office of the Children’s Advocate recommended that care for these youth be extended to age 25 (Office of the Children’s Advocate, 2006). Youth aging out of the system often have fewer

PHOTO 6 Light Pole



This light, wood, metal rods, the sky. The light pole keeps us safe by providing light when I walk at night with other people.

— Youth Researcher

family resources and supports than other young people. The review found them to have lower education and reduced health outcomes as a result.

In response, the Province provided an extension of care for some youth, provided they continue to attend school or a training program (Office of the Children's Advocate, 2012). In 2012/2013, there were 233 youth extension or continuations of care at some point in the year (General Child and Family Services Authority, 2013). The Province also established a \$230,000 training program called *Building Futures*. However, many young people who age out of foster care fall through the cracks and are at risk of homelessness or inadequate housing.

Youth and Safety

Safety is a major concern of inner city residents; people's sense of safety is important to quality of life (Comack and Silver, 2006). Safety is a

concept with many meanings — personal safety, safety in relationships, safety from domestic violence and abuse, safety from environmental harms and the detrimental effects of poverty. Safety goes beyond the absence of violence, it is a feeling that people have when they know they belong and are protected from harm.

Public safety is often considered in terms of the rate of crime in Winnipeg. A common image of the inner city is of a place with high crime rates; the public perception is that it is a place to be avoided. However overall crime rates in inner city Winnipeg and Winnipeg overall are actually falling (Sanders, 2013). A look at Crimestat, the City of Winnipeg's online database of crime rates, finds homicides, sexual assaults, robberies and thefts down in 2013 from 2012 in District One and Three, which comprises the inner city and northern Winnipeg (Crimestat). Youth crimes, however have increased (Saunders, 2013).

Mental Health and Youth

First Nations people's adverse childhood experiences, adult trauma and levels of perceived discrimination contribute to the likelihood of experiencing depression (Bombay et al. 2008 in Bombay, Matheson and Anisman, 2009:9). Depression in First Nations people is twice the rate of the national average (Our Voices, 2009) and 22 percent of all deaths of Aboriginal youth (age 10 – 19) and 16 percent of all deaths of young Aboriginal adults (age 20 – 44) were due to suicide (Health Canada, 2005a). Inner city Winnipeg had the youngest population in the city of death by suicide, with 72% being under the age of 44 (WRHA, 36). There was an over-representation of Aboriginal people, with 27% of those who committed suicide being Aboriginal, larger than the 20% of Aboriginal people represented by the Census (WRHA, 36).

The Winnipeg North End community is very concerned about youth suicide due to the death of a youth leader this past spring (CBC, 2013). In June 2013, a new Crisis Response Centre opened in the inner city to increase the availability of services. This is an important step, however supports are needed to prevent mental health crisis such as housing and social supports for youth.

Mainstream media use stereotypes to portray youth as the source of crime problems in the inner city (Silver and Comack, 2010). Youth are often described as troubled or misguided, suggesting they, and not the systems and circumstances in which the youth find themselves, are the problem. In fact it is quite often youth themselves who are the victims of crime. For example, homeless youth experience much higher levels of crime than other citizens, and are at higher risk of physical, sexual and emotional neglect (Gaetz, 2009:2).

Winnipeg's high proportion of Aboriginal people struggling with the legacy of colonialization and living in poverty creates a situation where avenues to achieve material and social success are far out of reach. Youth who grow up in poverty face a myriad of challenges that accompany poverty: problems at home, at school, and growing up in the foster care system all limit choices that can lead them to become involved in street gang activities² (Comack et al, 2013:9). Youth street gang involvement creates a sense of belonging and avenues to money and power.

Youth do not “choose” to join a gang. Youth are trying to do the best they can in the face of

structurally rooted problems largely beyond their control, including poverty, family problems, difficulty in school, lack of employment options and discrimination and racism (Curran et al. 2010:ii). When youth grow up in a neighbourhood with persistent poverty and its resultant challenges (addictions, violence, families in distress), these negative patterns are familiar and somewhat normalized (Comack and Silver, 2006). The challenge is to interrupt these negative patterns by supporting youth to increase their options. Young people with labels of “at risk”, “gang-involved”, “criminal” or “violent” have underlying feelings of isolation and detachment from meaningful social relationships, and therefore it is important to increase supports and options (Curran et al. 2010:14). Opportunities need to be created for young people (Comack and Silver, 2006: 36).

Among Aboriginal youth, street gangs are a collective form of resistance to the destructive impacts of colonialism (Comack et al, 2013; Comack and Silver, 2006:24). The cumulative effects of colonization continue to have an impact in the legacy of residential schools, the “sixties scoop”

² A street gang can be defined broadly as any group of young people that identifies as a group and is involved in criminal activity (Weerman et al. 2009:9 in Comack et al. 2013:9).

and the high proportion of Aboriginal children in the child welfare system. Children who grow up in the child welfare system are at increased risk for gang involvement (Manitoba Justice).

In order to counter the risk of children and youth becoming involved in gangs, a comprehensive, integrated, long-term approach is needed to support youth to develop a positive sense of belonging, with counseling, educational supports and improved employment prospects (Fast, 2013). For Aboriginal youth, cultural teachings are at the centre of developing a healthy identity and community (Mackinnon, 2011). Elders told Comack et al., a process of decolonization is needed to go forward, but starts by going back to strong Aboriginal values of cultures characterized by sharing and collective support of each other; back to traditional teachings of love, respect, courage, honesty, wisdom, humility and truth (in Fast, 2013).

The Winnipeg Gang Action Interagency Network (GAIN), a committee of over 25 organizations, consulted with 42 youth involved in inner city programs about gang issues in Winnipeg. The youth identified four reasons young people join gangs: to make money; to escape home and family problems; to be protected against bullying or the threat of violence; and for a sense of belonging (Fast, 2013:6). Based on the youth feedback, interviews with stakeholders and a review of gang exit strategies across North America, GAIN is developing a gang exit program and strategy for Winnipeg. This comprehensive strategy will address the problems of youth involvement in gangs and will require adequate long-term investment to be successful (Comack et al. in Fast, 2013).

Violence Against Young Women

When talking about issues of safety, it is important to consider the gendered nature of violence. For young women and transgendered people in inner city Winnipeg, there is little specific data on these issues. The following brief section is

intended to recognize this as a future area of research.

Women are victims of the vast majority of domestic violence and younger women are at most risk of victimization. In Canada in 2011, violent crime against women aged 15 to 24 was 42 percent higher than the rate for women aged 25 to 34 (Statistics Canada, 2013). Statistics Canada found that Manitoba had rates of violence against women in 2011 that were about double the national rate (2013). This likely can be attributed to the higher proportion of Aboriginal women in Manitoba. Aboriginal women are three and a half times more likely to experience domestic violence than non-Aboriginal women (NWAC, n.d) The Native Women's Association's *Sisters in the Spirit* initiative documented 582 cases of murdered and missing women in Canada, 79 of which were in Manitoba (NWAC, 2010a). The study found that the intergenerational impact and resulting vulnerabilities of colonization and state policies were underlying causes in the violence experienced by the murdered and missing women (NWAC, 2010b: i).

We Know Poverty is Bad for Youth, Now What?

The literature is clear: growing up in poverty has detrimental effects on a young person's education, housing and economic outcomes and creates unsafe situations for youth. The problems are complex and layered and require multi-faceted responses. Inner city Winnipeg is fortunate to have many dedicated CBOs, working with government, foundations and private donors to improve conditions for youth. This next section highlights the literature that supports the work of CBOs providing quality programming with youth and their families to break the cycle of poverty.

Adolescent Development, Families, Communities and Poverty

Adolescence is the critical period in human development after childhood and before adult-

PHOTO 7 Turtle Island



This is Turtle Island, this is where kids go after school to keep some of them out of trouble. They have a basketball court. There is a program there where young people can help clean up the neighbourhood. It's close to David Livingstone School.

— Youth Researcher

hood, characterized by physical and sexual maturation, moving toward social and economic independence, the development of identity, capability for abstract reasoning skills and acquiring skills to carry on meaningful relationships (WHOa, 2001). Adolescents depend on their families and communities to learn skills to cope with the pressures they face to transition from childhood to adulthood successfully (WHOa, 2001). Behavioural patterns established during adolescence have long standing positive or negative effects on long term health and well-being (WHOa, 2001).

A study by the World Health Organization on risk and protective factors of adolescents in 53 countries, including Canada, found several factors explain differences in adolescent development and health outcomes. The study accounted for differences in age, socio-economic status,

ethnicity and sex. Three health risks can lead to devastating health consequences for adolescents:

- 1.) early sexual initiation and early unprotected intercourse, associated with unplanned pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections.
- 2.) substance use, including tobacco, alcohol and drugs can lead to illness and even death, and is related to unsafe sex, accidents and a loss of productivity.
- 3.) depression affects the capability to function, is associated with the use of alcohol and drugs and can lead to loss of productivity and even suicide.

The health consequences of these three risks accounted for one quarter of the burden of disease among adolescents (WHOb). The risk factors are also linked, adolescents who engage

in risk behaviours of substance use are more likely to experience sexual activity at an early age (WHOB).

The study found that positive relationships in the family, at school and in the community are fundamental to building protective factors for adolescent development.

Adolescents who live in a social environment which provides meaningful relationships, encourages self-expression, and also provides structure and boundaries, are less likely to initiate sex at a young age, less likely to experience depression, and less likely to use substances. On the other hand, adolescents who live in a family where there is conflict are more likely to experience depression and use substances (WHOB, 2001:X).

Providing supports to families and youth through community-based programs can diminish the effects of poverty and support the recovery from negative health outcomes.

Youth and the Family

Young people grow up in a social context and for most youth, the most enduring and closest people to them are their family. The ability of parents to invest in their children is key to development, but parents from lower socio-economic backgrounds have less access to services and social connections that promote development and well-being (Mistry and Wadsworth, 2011: 12). Due to a lack of resources, families in poverty are more likely to have personal problems, difficulties parenting and greater incidences of mental distress (Raphael, 2007: 273). Among those who study child development, this is called the Family Stress Model.

The Family Stress Model (FSM) of child development was developed based on studies of families in the Great Depression (Elder, 1974) and the US farm crisis (Conjer and Elder, 1994). FSM specifies that high levels of day-to-day difficulties making ends meet are caused by insuf-

ficient income and high debt. This strain is a conduit to parents' mental health problems, inter-parental conflict, and disrupted parenting, which impacts children's development (Maher and Wadsworth, 2011:12).

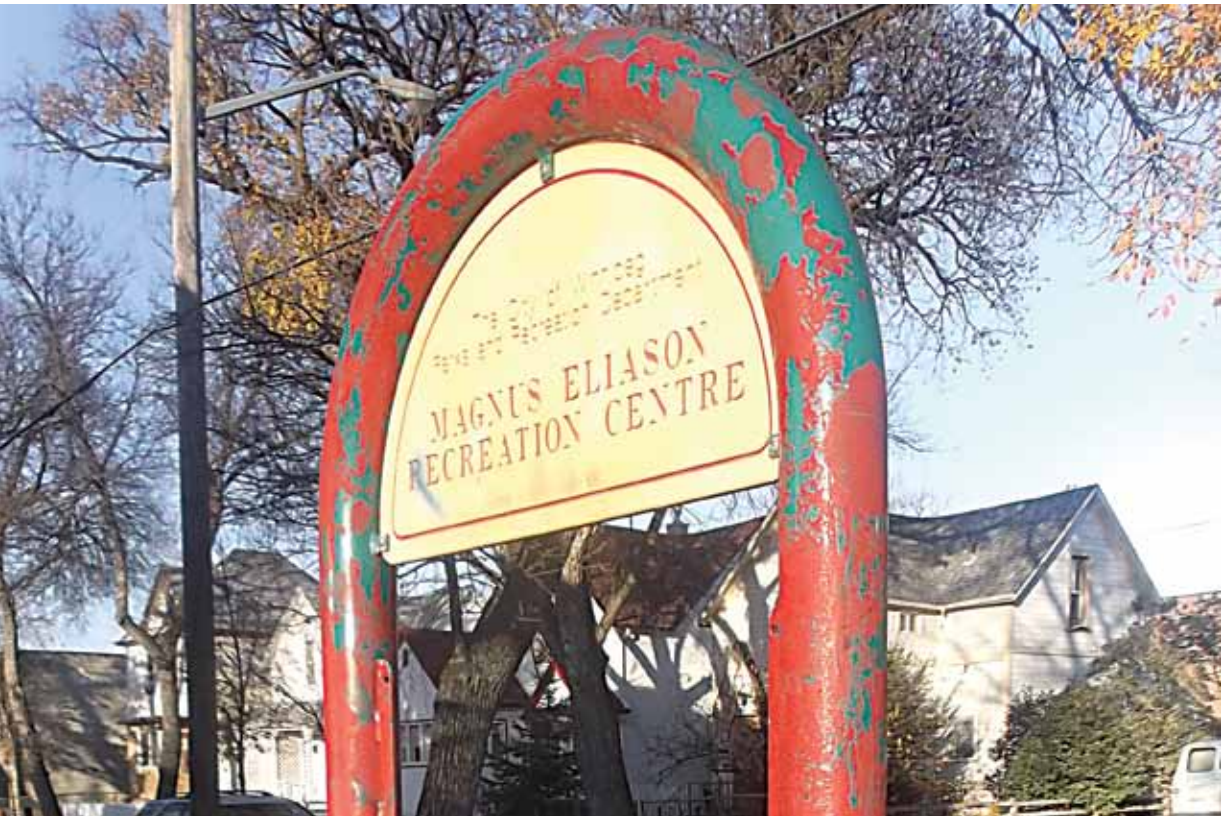
Research has shown that a parenting style that balances structure and predictability with warmth and affection promotes optimal outcomes for children, including for children living in poverty (Huston & Bentley, 2010). It must be recognized that not all families in poverty experience stress that affects parenting. But it can have an impact:

High levels of stress and family dysfunction can interfere with the ability to deliver warm, engaging, responsive parenting, leading instead to parenting characterized by harshness, inconsistency, and physical punishment. Less nurturing and involved parenting, in turn, contributes to a host of child and adolescent psychological problems such as anxiety, depression, externalizing problems, and deficits in positive behavior. It is important, therefore to have supports for families to deal with the stress of poverty and teaching child-centred parenting (Mistry and Wadsworth, 2010: 3).

The CLOUT agencies in the inner city, a network of centres working with families, parents and children, are focused on offering a range of supports including: nutrition, recreation and community-building activities with parents, children and youth. CBOs provide local supports to families that are holistic and centred on their particular needs.

For families who are already experiencing economic stress, free programs at no charge are essential to providing opportunities to youth to participate in activities they might not otherwise be able to do. These programs also offer an alternative place for youth to receive encouragement for positive behaviours and other social supports. Research shows a long-term, holistic approach is needed when

PHOTO 8 MERC Sign



The MERC sign. It's just a sign for a popular community center in my neighbourhood. It relates to our life because the MERC helps a lot of people. They offer clothing drives, food and more. I think if people stopped sponsoring us I'd feel very unsafe because without the money there would be no MERC. — Youth Researcher

working with youth to address many issues simultaneously, such as education, employment, housing, and crime prevention (Mistry

and Wadsworth, 2010). Offering supports in the community counters the cumulative impact of poverty.

Profiles of Two Community-Based Youth-Serving Organizations

The following two youth-serving organizations partnered with the CCPA on the photovoice project. They are at the forefront of community-based program delivery in inner city Winnipeg, developing and adapting programs to meet the needs of the children, youth and families. The following short profiles are examples of how two youth-serving CBOs operate.

Community Education Development Association (CEDA) Pathways to Education

The Pathways to Education program supports children and youth to improve educational outcomes and graduation rates. It began in Toronto, when a group of parents requested a local health agency help their children succeed in high school. The families were primarily low-income, visible minorities and new immigrants from a housing complex. Pathways emerged from a partnership between this community, the school board and the local health centre. In comparison to the pre-project cohort, the “drop-out” rate fell by 80 and graduation rate rose from 42 percent to 75 percent (Ferguson et al, 2007:704). In addition, 80 percent of participants went on to post-secondary as compared to 42 percent before the project (Ferguson et al, 2007:704).

The Community Education Development Association (CEDA) modified the Pathways to Education program to the specific needs of North End Winnipeg. It was developed to respond to persistent low-graduation rates amongst North End youth, the majority of whom are Aboriginal. The Pathways to Education program starts with youth in grade nine and supports them all the way to completion of grade twelve and enrollment in post-secondary education. It consists of a contract between the student, parents and project, student-parent support workers, four nights a week of tutoring, career mentoring and financial support for such things as public transport and post secondary education.

CEDA Pathways, as the North End program is known, has integrated cultural aspects to support Aboriginal students. They have adapted the Circle of Courage model, integrating cultural teachings of indigenous culture with recent adolescent development theory. This Circle of Courage is a continuum youth move through: first developing a sense of belonging, then mastery of skills, moving to independence and then being in a place of generosity, or giving back to others (RYI). By integrating cultural teachings into the supportive Pathways to Education model,

The Importance of Inter-Agency Networks

Youth Agencies Alliance (YAA) is a group of 19 after-school and community service agencies that collaborate to improve the lives of marginalized youth and their families. Established in 1995, they partner on specific projects: leader in training program, summer camp, annual art show, annual conference and training for staff. YAA developed a set of 20 best practices used by their member organizations.

Gang Action Interagency Network (GAIN) is a network of community-based agencies, law enforcement officials working together with government to develop a grassroots response to the gang problem in Winnipeg. GAIN does this by building on research of current practices and developing resources needed to prevent youth from joining gangs and to help youth get out of gangs.

CCPA has written about CLOUT, Community –Led Organizations Together (CLOUT), an association of CBOs who regularly work together (O'Brien, 2010). Networks such as these bring community-based organizations together to collaborate, share resources and knowledge. The approach of many networks of community-based organizations is to build on the strengths and assets of their collective group. If an opportunity emerges or a need exists, networks provide infrastructure and channels of communication to innovate and respond. Networks have also collaborated on action-research projects such as the *GAIN Report: Developing a Gang Exit Strategy for Winnipeg*. Additionally, networks provide much needed support for the leaders of CBOs given the minimal organizational structure of these organizations.

CEDA is helping youth reclaim their culture and develop a strong sense of identity.

CEDA has also recognized the key role parents play in the success of their children, and developed a special position, Student/ Parent Support Workers, to coach and mentor students and parents and deal with any problems that arise. It is important to support parents' involvement in their child's education:

Parents are instrumental in helping their children navigate the school years; children do better academically when parents are involved with their schooling. This includes parents' direct involvement with school staff such as attending parent-teacher conferences and more indirect involvement such as helping their child with homework, having high educational expectations, and discussing future plans with their child (Mistry and Wadsworth, 2011:12).

By building on local knowledge of the importance of integrating culture into programs with youth, CEDA Pathways is demonstrating success. They

work with 300 students in grades nine to twelve and an additional 100 students in grades seven and eight from a variety of inner city schools. CEDA Pathways is part of the national Pathways to Education organization, funded by the federal government and corporate fundraising. CEDA Pathways also receives funding from Manitoba government, Children and Youth Opportunities.

Spence Neighbourhood Association

The Spence Neighbourhood Association (SNA) has a comprehensive set of youth programs offered in the Spence neighbourhood, based at the Magnus Eliason Recreation Centre (MERC) and serve 1,500 youth annually. For the past ten years they have been developing a range of programs to meet the needs and interests of children and youth in the area. SNA's approach is relationship-based, they strive to ensure all youth are respected as individuals and build strong relationships in their lives. Restorative justice is also important, SNA provides a safe place for youth to learn how to understand the consequences of any mistakes

they might make and are empowered to repair any harm actions might have caused.

One of their most popular programs is the after school *Building Belonging* program, which helps children age 6 – 12 develop positive relationships in the community and a sense of pride and belonging. They also offer a homework club, a drop-in and other structured programming seven days a week. SNA supports a hub of sports activities, and participates with other youth agencies in the inner city soccer and basketball league.

They have also developed a cultural integration youth outreach project to prevent youth from becoming involved in gangs. Working mainly with Aboriginal youth, a wrap-around approach is used to support youth with their needs through cultural teachings to develop Aboriginal youth pride and identity.

SNA has seen an increase in newcomer youth in the past four years. To respond to this they have received funding for a newcomer outreach worker to develop supports with the youth and their families.

Additionally they offer a *First Jobs for Youth* program, that helps teens and young adults build skills and create linkages with local businesses. SNA offers a safe walk or drive home to youth and serves two meals day to over 100 youth. This is typical of many youth programs in the inner city, youth organizations know that young people need nutritious food to in order participate.

The youth programs at SNA are developed by the local community. A youth advisory committee advises the board of directors. The programs are evaluated regularly. SNA raises funds for youth programs from over 15 sources, a blend of government, foundations and corporate sources. They are constantly raising funds to ensure youth programming continues. SNA works with youth agencies across the inner city, many of whom want to see a 24 hour facility for youth to go to when they cannot go home, strong gang prevention and gang exit supports, addictions and trauma supports and transitional youth housing.

Importance of Government and System-Wide Supports

In addition to community-based supports, it is essential that families improve their economic well-being. Poverty is mainly caused by a lack of income; the response should be to improve the material conditions of children and families' lives. Increasing government transfers to low-income families is the fairest and most direct way to improve resources for families.

Government transfers are essential to reducing family and child poverty. The Manitoba Child Benefit and Canada Child Tax Benefit are paid directly to low income families. These have a positive impact on reducing family and child poverty. The SPCW finds that the rate of child poverty would be 28 percent higher without government intervention (2012:7). The current rate of these transfers is low, and ought to be increased. For example the Manitoba Child Benefit is \$35 per month per child for families that earn less than \$15,000, and costs \$4.2 million per year (SPCW, 2012: 7).

The current provincial government has made some important advances in addressing poverty. In 1999, they ended the clawback of the National Child Benefit payments, which resulted

in an average of \$48 million per year to low-income parents. The Rewarding Work strategy was launched in 2007 and extends EIA benefits to people transitioning from EIA as they transition to paid work. In 2010, the province launched the *All Aboard Poverty Reduction and Social Inclusion Strategy* to focus government efforts to reduce poverty. However those working on the front lines, directly with people living in poverty want to see more progress.

This past Spring, Make Poverty History Manitoba lead a campaign supported by 130 organizations to increase the EIA rental allowance to 75 percent of media market rates for all EIA recipients. This increase would have cost the government one percent of its budget or \$18.5 million in 2012 dollars (MPHM). However the 2013 budget responded with a modest \$20/ month increase in the rent supplement program, Rent Aid (Province of Manitoba). The response is not proportionate to the need or the community support for the issue. As we have seen throughout this report, the detrimental effects of poverty persist and more must be done.

PHOTO 9 Passageway From the University



I see a sidewalk with a few benches. It might just look like a path but it used to be an abandoned field no one used. Instead of having a big abandoned field we could remake it to be useful. It exists because they made it useful and it's a short walk from the University to the Richardson Complex. I think the students really liked this idea. — *Youth Researcher*

Youth in the Inner City Photovoice

What is Photovoice?

Developed in the early 1990s, photovoice is a form of participatory action research that puts cameras in the hands of those who would normally be the subject of a study. In photovoice, the participants are trained to be researchers. First used with women in rural China, it has become a well-known method of studying social issues by giving investigators the ability to see these issues through the lens of those living with them on a daily basis (Wang and Burris, 1997). Equipping community members with the power to show their community through their own eyes offers a much-needed viewpoint. Photographs have the ability to share a story, to convey emotion and to encourage dialogue. The photovoice method uses the power of photography to empower participants and to influence policymakers.

Wang and Burris originally developed the photovoice method and outline the three major goals for photovoice “(1) to enable people to record and reflect their community’s strengths and concerns, (2) to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important community issues through large and small group discussion of photographs, and (3) to reach policymakers” (Wang & Burris, 1997:370). Additionally, there are three major theories that influence photovoice.

The first theory is that of Paulo Freire who states that any individual when given the right tools is capable of critical thought (in Wang and Burris, 1997). The feminist theoretical concept of providing a platform for those who often do not have a voice increases participation and influence on decision-making. Lastly, the theory of documentary photography or community-based photography is crucial for photovoice, as it is this theory that supports photography as a useful tool for social change (Wang and Redwood-Jones, 2001).

Photovoice arms participants with a camera and gives them the tools to document stories, to discuss with fellow community members and the knowledge that they can be the catalysts for change. It is an effective method of community-based research.

Photovoice as a Method of Participatory Research

Because participatory research models engage communities in the design process, methods are more likely to be sensitive to historical realities and cultural dynamics that are often missed (Mertens, 2009). Participatory research creates a place for community members share their knowledge and perspectives on the issues they are facing. Photovoice is one form of this type of

research. Photovoice's approach to participatory action research "creates opportunities for those who are marginalized; it allows them to actively participate in enhancing their communities by giving them a chance to tell their stories and have their voices heard." (Palibroda and al., 2009) Photovoice offers participants the chance to identify what their community needs and have these needs be recognized and valued.

As well, the power of the photograph makes photovoice an important research tool – an image contains a great deal of power. Photovoice is a very accessible form of participatory action research, for example as Wang and Burris (1997) indicate it does not require participants to be literate, participants are taught to use a camera and the dialogue and narratives can all be done orally. Photovoice is important for its ability to ensure that researchers can see both the assets and the disadvantages of marginalized communities, when so often research focuses on the negative in these communities, photovoice offers the chance to see the positive.

The photographic images generated by participants are accompanied by discussions, dialogue and a critical look at the images. This helps participants make connections between their own experiences and larger social issues conveyed in the research. The development of this understanding is how photovoice empowers participants. When participants can relate their experiences to social issues it can "aid community members in understanding that they have a right to have a say in shaping the public policies that influence their health and the health of their family and friends." (Palibroda et al., 2009). The inclusiveness of photovoice combined with its capacity to empower participants and engage their ability to affect social change make it such an important form of participatory research.

What We Did

Based on the success of the previous *Breaking Barriers, Building Bridges* report, communi-

ty-based organizations advising on the *State of the Inner City Report* wanted to expand on this work to gain a youth perspective on inner city issues. Partnerships were established with two youth-serving organizations: the Spence Neighbourhood Association (SNA) and the Community Education Development Association (CEDA) Pathways to Education program. It was essential to work with organizations with which the youth already had established relationships of trust and capacity to assist in facilitating the project.

The staff at both partner organizations spoke to participants about the project, and posters were circulated at both locations. At the SNA, the investigators went to the drop-in program at the Magnus Eliason Recreation Centre (MERC) and spoke to youth one on one about the project. This may have resulted in a slightly higher rate of participation at SNA, of the 16 youth that attended at least one photovoice session, nine youth at SNA completed. Eleven youth participated in the first session at CEDA and six completed the project; the youth were aged 13 – 17 and were Aboriginal or newcomers.

The project was offered outside of normal program hours and youth participation was voluntary. Snacks were provided at each meeting and each participant received a one hundred dollar gift card for participating in the project. Youth were asked to complete a consent form in order to participate in the photovoice study and parents or guardians had the right to decline their child's consent. The project was staffed by research investigators from the CCPA and program staff from the youth organizations.

The project was approved by the University of Winnipeg's Human Research Ethics Board. The ethics of photovoice was discussed at length with the youth participants. It was very important to ensure the youth understood how to take photos safely and ethically. The adolescents were taught about truth in photography and that photos must not place subjects in a false light. The

PHOTO 10



Two youth researchers with their cameras

participants were provided with consent forms so that any human subjects could consent to having their image used. Youth were also provided with handouts relating to the ethics and photography skills to ensure that this information remained with them.

The photovoice project was completed over seven weekly sessions after school hours at each site for two hours a week. During the first of the seven weekly sessions youth learned about the consent form and the importance of respect and confidentiality when people are sharing information in a group. Weekly group discussions were held on the topics related to the project, including on what is research is and why it is important. A professional photojournalist trained the youth on the basics of photography and how images can convey information. The youth were trained to be photojournalists with the ability to show others what only they, as adolescents, see within their neighbourhood.

The first week, youth gave the investigators a tour through commercial and residential parts of their respective neighbourhoods. Points of interest were discussed during the tour, including why a certain spot is significant to the youth, or how capturing a photo of that place could convey a story. The youth pointed out colourful murals around both neighbourhoods, and paused to stop at a number of sites like gardens, boarded up buildings, a popular pizza shop. For the first half of the photovoice project, investigators went outside with youth while they took photos. On several occasions local people in the community paused to ask the youth what they were doing. All comments were supportive.

Each youth was equipped with a digital camera and a notebook. Two of the sessions were dedicated to retrieving the photos the youth had taken and narrowing down their photos so that each participant had selected their top five images. These sessions were also tasked with having

the youth write their narratives. Research into the photovoice method provided the “SHOWED Method Worksheet”, open-ended questions to help youth write their narrative: “What do you see here? What’s really happening here? How does this relate to our lives? Why does this situation exist? What can we do about it?” (MAPC).

The final sessions focused on creating a dialogue amongst all participants. Photos were displayed so each group could see the other’s work and have a sharing circle discussion on the project. The last week of photovoice offered the investigators a chance to discover what the youth had learned, what they thought were their neighbourhoods’ strengths and weaknesses and how they felt about participating in this project.

Throughout the project, investigators debriefed with the youth about their reflections on the issues and the subjects of their photographs. As investigators, we were acutely aware of the sensitive nature of the topic of poverty; it is layered, complex and can be personal. We found the youth were already aware of many of the issues and had ideas on how to make improvements in their communities. The advantage of the long timeframe of the project meant that the investigators and youth had time to build a positive relationship and get to know each other.

The photos and narratives belong to the youth, and they are being supported by their community-based organization to continue the dialogue and stay involved in their neighbourhoods. The youth will receive the final copy of their photo and narrative used in the project launch art show at a local youth art centre, the Graffiti Gallery.

Reflections on Youth Photovoice

While there were a few limitations to using photovoice as a method, overall it was a great approach with the youth. One of the major concerns before we started was the retention rate of participants. After the initial two weeks, a core group of youth emerged and stayed with the project. It

was helpful to have a low ratio of adults to youth when the photos were being selected and narratives written and finalized. While we did not reach a large number of youth, the youth who were involved were properly supported and resourced to participate in the project.

One of the most exciting aspects of photovoice is learning basic photography skills and the cameras helped keep the youth engaged in the project. Several of the youth have said they really enjoy taking photos and will continue to do so. Participants varied in age and some of the younger participants were challenged in making the connection between taking photographs and creating narratives related to the themes of the research. All the youth received one-on-one support to review and finalize their narratives. We were supportive of youth to take and choose photos of subjects in their neighbourhoods that interested them. With present day digital cameras, it was relatively easy to download photos onto computers for viewing, however there were minor glitches.

The project was made possible through the support and assistance of the youth-serving organizations we worked with. These organizations already have relationships of trust with the youth and the staff know the youth well. Partnering with two different youth organizations made it possible for the project to cover a larger portion of the inner city.

The timeframe of the project was helpful as there was an opportunity for the youth to take photos over several weeks. Time was provided for photos to be taken during the weekly photovoice sessions, and a majority of the final photos are from “in class” time. Even though the youth took the cameras home with them, they did not take as many photos on their free time. The several presentations and discussions on inner city issues went well however some youth were shy. The investigators provided alternate means of engaging with the youth, through smaller group discussions and written feedback.



Youth researchers and facilitators looking over photos

The Photos

The youth's photos fall into several themes within the broad assignment the youth were given which is "take photos that tell a story about your neighbourhood". We encouraged the youth to take photos of subjects that were compelling to them.

After the photos were taken and the youth viewed each other's photos, they identified the following broad themes:

- Community organizations/ places of interest/ murals
- Sports and recreation
- Housing
- Neighbourhood cleanliness
- Nature in the city

The narratives accompanying the photos are written by the youth who took the photos. The following is a sample of some of the photos.

PHOTO 12 Fire on the Boulevard



This is a sofa that is burned. They don't want the sofa anymore, maybe it had bed bugs. The smoke is not good for the neighbours. It doesn't make me feel safe because a fire like this could be started anywhere and I don't know who started it.

PHOTO 13 Medical Clinic on Main



There's garbage in the parking lot, looks dirty. People aren't putting stuff in the garbage, it's not clean like it should be because it's in front of a clinic. If I was using the clinic, I would feel like it's not clean inside, they don't do a good job, because of how it looks on the outside. The people who are around don't care. They don't think the garbage affects people, but it does. Look at how it makes me feel. The city should clean it up. I notice in this area the clinics look different compared to other areas near Henderson Hwy.

PHOTO 14 Garbage Bin the Developments, The D, Social Housing



This is a falling apart wall, TV, garbage all over, garbage bin's not full, but garbage everywhere. People don't really care about their garbage. Lazy people. If one person does this, then more people will do it. I'm concerned about the health of the people who live here. I could clean it, but if I did that, some people may think it's ok to keep throwing garbage. I could put up a sign.

PHOTO 15 City View



Winnipeg. People working. It helps us in a way and gives us an opportunity to get a job. It exists because people built it. We can work in them.

PHOTO 16 Bell Tower in the Evening



A beautiful bell tower. It's an area that catches the eye. It shows people a part of our neighbourhood. Keep this area clean and respect it.

PHOTO 17 CEDA Street BFI Bin



I see a nice street. The street isn't taken care of. Some people live on this street some always pass by. This situation exists because the city people don't look for better places for garbage (bins). Let the city people know how we don't like it.

PHOTO 18 **Boarded Up House**



Boarded up house, I don't know, looks bad on the community. Just lazy not caring people. Sell it. The city should invest in this and renovate it and make money from it because people need housing. But, instead it looks bad on the hood. It probably was a party house or crack shack. You can tell bad stuff happened here.

PHOTO 19 **Tree House**



This is a tree house with graffiti and trash litter around it. I wanted a closer look of that tree house. It's near where I live. The tree house caught my eye. Make it more safe like not having a chair at the top because it doesn't look that safe. I've seen a group of kids hang around this area.

PHOTO 20 **Abandon House**



This is an abandoned house. Probably because the guy got evicted. It's in our community. It's probably abandoned because of lack of care, repair. Fix it up. Request to the government to do something.

PHOTO 21 Birds



This is a flock of birds that I tried to take a picture of. It's in our community. The flock of birds looked so nice.

PHOTO 22 Hole in the Wall



This is a hole in the wall. The wall collapsed one day. It's where I live. Because it's an old house. I think my parents complained to the landlord and it's being fixed right now.

PHOTO 23 Bell Tower



This is a bell, I tried to get a picture of the bell. It's where people gather for Meet Me at the Bell Tower to discuss the problems of our community. I haven't personally been to one myself.

PHOTO 24 Old Warehouse Building on Stella Ave at Main



Broken windows, an old building, empty and abandoned. People broke the windows because it's a bad neighbourhood. I see a lot of broken windows and abandoned buildings on Main. A lot of mad kids who don't have anything to do they have no supports. I think our Mayor should do something about the problem.

PHOTO 25 Basketball Court



A basketball court for people in the neighbourhood. It relates to our lives because it gives you something to do. It exists because it is something fun to do. Keep the basketball going.

PHOTO 26 Art From the MERC



I see art. Children's art is being hung up. They are also learning creativity. It relates to our lives because people like making art. It exists because making art is a fun thing to do. Make more art programs and it would encourage kids to be creative.

PHOTO 27 Wooden Fence



I see my wooden fence in my backyard and a tree, my backyard and the daycare my brother goes to. I think in the background I see a leaf falling in the upper left. I also see that my fence is old and it needs new painting. It relates to my life because it represents my home, and to keep other people out of my yard, and to separate the houses.

PHOTO 28 A Mural



A mural at Sargent and Sherbrook. Two people holding hands in the mural (black female and white female). Race or colour of skin doesn't matter. [Why does this situation exist?] So people don't kill each other for the colour of the skin. Stop racism in the world.

PHOTO 29 Furby Kids Garden



It's a garden where kids garden. It keeps kids busy. It's a handy skill. It exists because there aren't many kids' gardens and it offers fresh food.

PHOTO 30 Me Dunking



You see my insane vertical. I'm grabbing on to the edge of the basket. I love the game of basketball. It's always fast-paced. Everytime you score a point it matters because it's fast-scoring. Anyone can play all you needs is a ball and a basket. There's lots of places to play. If I can I play basketball everyday in whatever gym is available, usually the MERC or the University of Winnipeg.

PHOTO 31 Dunking a Rocket



This is [name] dunking a rocket. The cloud behind him makes it look like he was dunking a rocket. It shows that the sky's the limit. [This situation exists] because the cloud and the timing. I adore the photo.

PHOTO 32 Picture of MERC



I come to the MERC mostly everyday to come play basketball.

PHOTO 33 Mural of the Galaxy



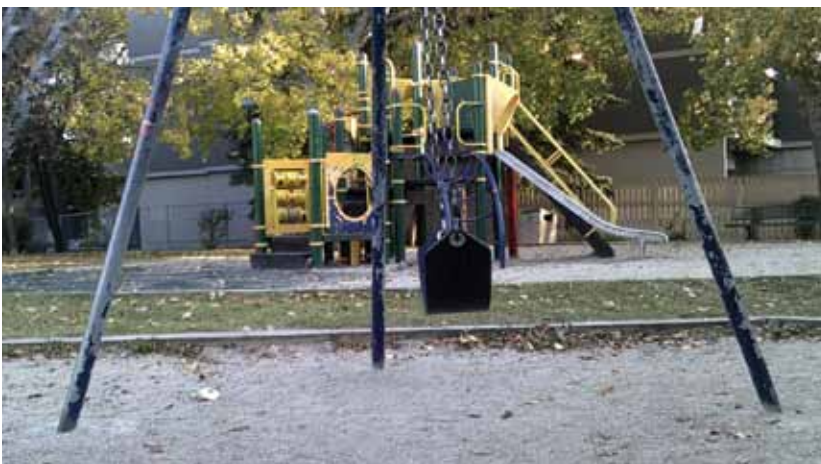
This shows the old roller rink that I used to go to as a kid.

PHOTO 34 Picture of the Back of Building



Proud of this picture, and something modern in the neighbourhood where lots of the buildings are old.

PHOTO 35 Opening



This is the beginning of friendships. As a kid it's places like this where relationships and bonds are made. It provides a place where youth can be comfortable and enjoy life.

Summary of Photovoice Sharing Circle

On the sixth week, both groups of youth met each other for the first time at the United Way of Winnipeg community meeting space. Elder Ann Callahan opened the meeting with a prayer. The youth participated in an ice-breaker game and then viewed a slide show of the photos from both groups. The youth were divided into two sharing circles, with a mix of youth from the North End and youth from the West End in each group. The following is a summary of the results from the sharing circle discussion.

The youth were asked about similarities and differences between each other's photos. They noticed that the photos of the residential streets from the two different neighbourhoods looked similar. One difference is that many of the photos from Spence were of basketball as it is a popular sport at the MERC where the West End project took place. While some youth said the photovoice project did not change how they felt about their neighbourhoods, several of the young people said that it helped them look closer at their surroundings,

It changed the way I look around the neighbourhood. Before that I would just go to school, eat, do my homework. But after, well during the photo project, I took time to look at stuff around the neighbourhood that I usually wouldn't look at.

I've seen a lot of good stuff, walking around. You don't get the chance to walk around your neighbourhood as much. Like the places you want to go, back alleys you have never been through.

Youth were asked what they liked about their neighbourhoods. Many said they liked the people, notably the people they know at the community-organizations they participate in. The youth spoke about how their CBO creates and supports their youth community. Some of the youth had been involved in local programs for

most of their lives and the community-centres serve as a hub for them to connect with others. They liked the programs they were involved in.

I like the opportunities they (the programs) give, like how they let me go to The Pas, and how they let me go to Shakespeare.

The youth liked having a place to go after school in their neighbourhoods as an alternative to home, or to "*get away from home*" as one youth put it.

When asked what they would change about their neighbourhoods, poverty and safety were the main themes:

I would change the dangers of our neighbourhood. The gangs in the neighbourhood and like all the shootings in the neighbourhood. And I would change all the homeless people without jackets outside, so people could have jackets outside in the cold. And people could not be hungry and be a better area for people in the neighbourhood like to have fun. And, that people wouldn't think our neighbourhood is a bad neighbourhood, but a good neighbourhood.

The youth talked about the perception of their neighbourhoods, about how people from outside the area think its unsafe and they want them to think good things about their neighbourhoods. One youth said people exaggerate about their neighbourhood, other than the violence, he likes the area:

Violence goes down everywhere in the city and so do drug deals. There is no specific area for drug deals. I mean a lot of drug deals happen here, I am not saying they don't, but I would change the violence about it (the neighbourhood) and that's it.

The sharing circle had two separate break-out discussion groups, however when asked about their neighbourhoods, safety emerged as the overarching theme in both groups. Youth shared what they did when they did not feel safe on the

streets and talked about how they stayed out of trouble by avoiding certain people or places. The youth from two different inner-city neighbourhoods exchanged stories of how they stay safe as a way to relate to each other. Extreme dangers exist, however they also like their neighbourhoods:

I live in (name removed), that's what they call the community in the development around there. Whoa it's good and bad, it has ups and downs. It is like weekdays, it's calm, and then once it hits Friday, ya Friday night and the whole weekend, it's people are getting drunk and getting crazy. Breaking into stuff, all you hear is people fighting, cops always around. I sleep through it, I am a deep sleeper...It is a good place too, I have lots of friends there and lots of people who are very nice and who go help.

I really like my community but sometimes I don't because of the violence. Cuz as a child I witnessed a murder, somebody getting shot right on the street while they were sitting in their vehicle. And sometimes I like it (the neighbourhood) and sometimes I don't.

The youth involved in this project referenced gangs only in terms of something to be avoided. They were concerned with their personal safety from all risks, including gangs. This could be attributed to their involvement in a local CBO.

In discussions with the youth about a follow up to this project, response is mixed. Many of the youth conveyed that they do not know what they, as young people can do to improve their communities. Elder Ann Callahan provided important guidance to the youth at the sharing circle:

There are so many challenges, temptations you know all about the gang problem...but I think we gotta look after each other you know. You young people gotta look after each other, and communicate, ok what is happening over there. When is the best time to go and visit each other and gather somewhere that is safe...It is going

to change for the better. I think the little bit of difference you make in your community will have big impacts on your neighbourhood.

The youth very much appreciated having Elder Ann Callahan share her words of wisdom. The youth do know what they would like to change about their neighbourhoods. During one of the weekly sessions the youth were asked to give a written response to the question "If I could change one thing about my community I would..." Here are some of the responses:

Close the vendors. Might as well because the Merchant's is closed. I'd rather not see drunks around on Main Street.

Try to make the community safer by getting more police to walk around the area.

I would put more street patrols around so everyone would feel more safe, provide more shelter for the homeless, open more community clubs so kids have something productive to do. Put more lights everywhere.

I would change the fact that my community is dangerous. Everytime before I got to bed I hear sirens. Another thing I'd change about my community is all the drug transactions and the violence. Then I'd feel much more safer about my neighbourhood.

Clean the streets more. Plant more trees around the area (west, central). Make more gardens.

Make it more safer. I would create many more basketball courts. I would create housing and recreation for the community. I would help the homeless and create alcohol/ drug abuse rehab centres.

I would change things so every family and person had a place to live and had everything they needed to live a happy life.

Recommendations and Conclusion

When both groups joined together at the sharing circle, we began with an ice-breaker. Open-ended questions, written on colourful pieces of paper were scattered in the circle, facedown. Each one of us sitting in the circle was asked to take a turn choosing a question, read it aloud to the group and give our answer. Some questions were fun and others serious; there were no wrong answers and the group was very supportive and encouraging of one-another. One shy youth read out his question: name one accomplishment you are proud of. He paused and struggled, he could not think of an answer. In the end, the group suggested things they knew he had accomplished and provided his answer for him. He was asked to reflect on his accomplishments and give a one-on-one answer to the facilitator of the ice-breaker afterwards.

This project is an accomplishment for the youth participants. They were already involved in their communities through their participation in local youth programs. They took a risk to try something new and signed up for the photovoice project, participating weekly with a group of youth they may or may not have known. They listened and shared their reflections. They learned how to take photos, choose their favourites and write detailed descriptions. They stuck with the project and hopefully will feel proud that they have contributed to the conversation about inner city Winnipeg: the good, the bad and what needs to change.

This project builds on previous *State of the Inner City Reports* and the literature:

1. Living with limited means causes stress. Programs offered close at hand, in the community at no charge create important alternative places for young people. This is especially important at the adolescent stage of development; when youth are developing their identity, they need a place they feel safe, where they belong and can create healthy relationships. SNA and CEDA

are just two examples of the many CBOs in inner city Winnipeg, which create a caring supportive community with youth. A long-term, holistic approach is needed when dealing with the intersecting issues faced by people in poverty, one that requires sustained investment, not piecemeal project funding.

2. Safety is the overriding concern of young people involved in this project. They take special steps to protect their personal safety. The youth involved in this project did not talk about being involved in a gang, this could be related to the preventative nature of their participation in local community organizations.
3. Education is a path out of poverty but low socio-economic family status is related to lower graduation rates. Youth and their families require local holistic supports to succeed in school such as programs like CEDA Pathways and the SNA homework club.
4. The literature demonstrates that the housing crisis in Winnipeg is having a disproportionate impact on youth. There is simply not enough housing for low income families and the impacts are being felt by young people in our city through increased mobility and displacement. Transitional housing for young adults and youth at risk is also an area of high need. The youth in the photovoice project were knowledgeable about the lack of quality, affordable housing and were very concerned when they saw vacant lots or boarded up buildings that could be better utilized.
5. Using a gendered lens on issues to do with youth, this report touched on the impact of early motherhood on young women's educational outcomes and economic status. Young women and transgendered people are also at risk of being victims of domestic violence, especially Indigenous women.

The prevalence of these trends in inner city Winnipeg should be better documented so that we may better understand how to support young women with both of these important issues. More research is needed in these areas.

6. The high number of youth in care and the high proportion of Indigenous children in care is very concerning. Research shows involvement in the foster care system puts youth at risk and results in increased costs to public services. A broad, integrated and properly-resourced action strategy to reduce the number of children in care and support foster families and children in foster care is needed.
7. In all of the above it is essential to recognize the struggle of Indigenous people with colonization and how we support a process of de-colonization. This is a recommendation of last year's *Breaking Barriers, Building Bridge's State of the Inner City Report* as well. Programs that integrate cultural teachings, guided by Indigenous Elders are key across sectors of community development such as early childhood development, education, mental health and gang prevention.
8. Government transfers should be increased to improve the material conditions of low

income families and youth in conjunction with the creation of more affordable housing. Tools like the Child Tax Benefit should be increased to provide more resources directly in the pockets of low-income families.

Inner city CBOs wisely advised that a youth lens is needed to shed new light and reinvigorate the efforts to address poverty in Winnipeg. We thank the young people involved in this project for taking a wide variety of photos from their points of view. They have looked with new eyes and with intention at their surroundings. We hope they continue to be involved in their community-based organizations, to learn new skills and learn about each other.

The photos show the inner city is a good place, but also improvements need to be made. They highlight the youths' feelings of vulnerability, giving us a glimpse of how profoundly affected they are by the lack of security that haunts so many low-income communities. If we look thoughtfully, their photos confirm many of the findings in the literature review and speak to the need for increased supports for the CBOs working on behalf of the youth.

May these photos add urgency to this work, and inspire everyone who sees them to look deeper, challenge assumptions, build connections, invest more resources and be proactive so that we may eliminate poverty in inner city Winnipeg.

References

- Bielski, Zosia. 2013. "Why teen pregnancy is on the rise again in Canada (and spiking in these provinces)" *Globe and Mail*, January 28, 2013. theglobeandmail.com/life/health-and-fitness/health/why-teen-pregnancy-is-on-the-rise-again-in-canada-and-spiking-in-these-provinces/article7927983/
- Bombay, A and K. Matheson, H. Anisman. 2009. "Intergenerational Trauma: Convergence of Multiple Processes among First Nations peoples in Canada". *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, November. naho.ca/jah/english/jah05_03/V5_I3_Intergenerational_01.pdf
- Brown et al. 2005. "Challenges Faced by Aboriginal Youth in the Inner City". *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*. Vol 14 Issue 1 p. 81 - 106.
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. 2013. "Youth leader's death raises alarm over suicide rates" May 6, 2013. cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/youth-leader-s-death-raises-alarm-over-suicide-rates-1.1374528
- Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-Manitoba. 2008. *Putting our Housing in Order: State of the Inner City Report 2008*. Winnipeg, MB: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-Manitoba.
- Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives – Manitoba. 2005. *The Promise of Investment in Community-Led Renewal. State of the Inner City Report 2005*. Winnipeg, MB: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives-Manitoba.
- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. 2012. *Rental Market Report: Manitoba Highlights: Fall 2012*. cmhc-schl.gc.ca/odpub/esub/64479/64479_2012_A01.pdf?fr=1374251605897
- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. 2013. *Rental Market Report: Manitoba Highlights: Spring 2013*. http://www.cmhc-schl.gc.ca/odpub/esub/64491/64491_2013_B01.pdf
- City of Winnipeg. 2009. *2006 Census Data – Inner City*. City of Winnipeg. winnipeg.ca/Census/2006/City%20of%20Winnipeg/Inner%20City/Inner%20City.pdf
- Crimestat. City of Winnipeg. Own calculations comparing 2012 to 2013 crime rates in Winnipeg.ca/crimestat/
- Curan, A., E. Bowness & E. Comack. 2010. *Meeting the Needs of Youth: Perspectives of Youth-Serving Agencies*. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives Manitoba. policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/

- Manitoba%20Office/2010/09/MB_needs_of_youth.pdf
- Fast, M. 2013. *Gang Action Interagency Network (GAIN) Report: Developing a Gang Exit Strategy for Winnipeg*. May 20, 2013 draft. Forthcoming.
- Ferguson, HB., S. Bovaird & MP Mueller. 2007. "The impact of poverty on educational outcomes for children". *Paediatric Child Health*. Vol 12 No 8 October, 701-706.
- Finlayson G. Smith M, Burchill C, Towns D, Peeler W, Soodeen RA, Prior H, Huq S, Guenette W., 2013. *Social Housing in Manitoba. Part I: Manitoba Social Housing Data*. Winnipeg: Manitoba Centre for Health Policy.
- Gaetz, S. 2002. *Whose Safety Counts? Street Youth, Social Exclusion, and Criminal Victimization*. homelessshub.ca/FindingHome/
- General Child and Family Services Authority, 2013. *2012-2013 Annual General Report, Winnipeg: General Child and Family Services Authority*
- Human Resource Development Canada, 2000. *The costs of dropping out of high school*. cesc.ca/pceradocs/2000/oogingras_e.pdf
- Mertens, D. 2009. *Transformative Research and Evaluation*. New York: Gilford Press.
- MacDonald, D. and D. Wilson. 2013. *From Poverty to Prosperity: Indigenous Children in Canada*. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. policyalternatives.ca/publications/reports/poverty-or-prosperity
- MacKinnon, S. 2011. *The Effectiveness of Neo-Liberal Labour Market Policy as a Response to the Poverty and Social Exclusion of Aboriginal Second-Chance Learners*. PhD Dissertation, submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba, December.
- MacKinnon, S. 2012. *Breaking Barriers, Building Bridges: State of the Inner City Report 2012*. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives Manitoba.
- MacKinnon, S. 2012b. *Increasing Aboriginal Labour Force Participation*. policyalternatives.ca/publications/commentary/increasing-aboriginal-labour-market-participation
- Make Poverty History Manitoba. 2012. *Help Increase Housing Affordability in Manitoba*. makepovertyhistorymb.com
- Mallet, K. 2013. *Investment in Aboriginal Early Childhood Development Needed*. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives Manitoba Fast Facts: August 19, 2013 policyalternatives.ca/publications/commentary/fast-facts-investment-aboriginal-early-childhood-development-needed
- Manitoba Education, Training and Trade, 2012, Employment Income Assistance for the General Income Category. http://www.gov.mb.ca/tce/eia/assistance/pubs/eia_general.pdf
- Manitoba Family Services and Labour, 2012. Annual Report 2011-2012. gov.mb.ca/fs/about/annual_reports/2011-12/fsl_ar_2011_12.pdf
- Manitoba Family Services and Labour, 2013. Historical Summary of Minimum Wage Rates in Manitoba: 1921 – 2013. <http://www.gov.mb.ca/labour/labmgt/wages/histmin.html>
- Manitoba Finance. 2013. "Budget paper E: Reducing Poverty and Promoting Social Inclusion" gov.mb.ca/finance/budget13/papers/poverty.pdf
- Manitoba Justice. N.D. "Risk Factors for Crime and Victimization" gov.mb.ca/justice/safe/crimeprevent.html
- Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC) N.D. *Facilitator's Guide to Youth Community Safety Photovoice*. Boston, MA. mapc.org/sites/default/files/Photovoice%20Facilitators%20Guide%20with%20Resources.pdf
- Metropolis. N.D. *Planning for Newcomers in Winnipeg's Inner City*. metropolis.net/pdfs/Planning_for_Newcomers_e.pdf
- Mistry, R and M. Wadsworth. 2011. *Family Functioning and child Development in the Context*

- of Poverty. tpronline.org/download-free-article.cfm?id=589
- Mulligan, 2008. *Housing Crisis in Winnipeg?* Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies.
- Native Women's Association of Canada. N.D. *Fact sheet: Violence Against Aboriginal Women*. nwac.ca/files/download/NWAC_3E_Toolkit_e_o.pdf
- Native Women's Association of Canada, 2010a. *Fact Sheet: Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women and Girls in Manitoba*. nwac.ca/sites/default/files/imce/FACT%20SHEET_MB.pdf
- Native Women's Association of Canada, 2010b. *What their Stories Tell Us: Research and Findings from the Sisters in the Spirit Initiative*. nwac.ca/sites/default/files/reports/2010_NWAC_SIS_Report_EN.pdf
- O'Brien, C. 2010. "Together we have CLOUT". *We're in it for the Long Haul: State of the Inner City Report 2010*. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.
- Office of the Children's Advocate, 2006. *Strengthen the Commitment*, Winnipeg: Office of the Children's Advocate.
- Office of the Children's Advocate, 2012. *Strengthening Our Youth: Their Journey to Competence and Independence*, Winnipeg: Office of the Children's Advocate.
- Our Voices, 2009. *Depression: A Culturally-Relevant Perspective*. aboriginalba.ca/category.aspx?catid=117
- Palibroda. P. N.D. *A Practical Guide to Photovoice*. Winnipeg, MB: Prairie Women's Health Centre of Excellence. pwhce.ca/program_poverty_photovoice_guide.htm
- Pomeroy, S. 2011. *Is Emperor Nero Fiddling as Rome Burns? Assessing Risk when Federal Subsidies End*. Ottawa, ON: Federation of Canadian Municipalities and The Canadian Housing Renewal Association.
- Rajotte, C. 2012 "Accounting for the Sixties Scoop". *Winnipeg Free Press*. December 29, 2012. winnipegfreepress.com/special/our-cityourworld/first-nations/accounting-for-the-sixties-scoop-185134321.html
- Raphael, D. 2007. *Poverty and Policy in Canada: Implications for Health and Quality of Life*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press Inc.
- Reclaiming Youth International (RYI) N.D. reclaiming.com/content/aboutcircleofcourage
- Resource Assistance for Youth, 2013. *RAY Annual Report*, 2012: rayinc.ca/my_folders/PDF/RaY_Annual_Report_2012FINALweb.pdf
- Sanders, C. 2013. "Dip in overall crime, but some stats increase". *Winnipeg Free Press* November 7, 2013.
- Silver J., K. Mallett, J. Greene and F. Simard. 2002. *Aboriginal Education in Winnipeg Inner City High Schools*. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives Manitoba.
- Silver, J. & E. Comack. 2010. *Safety and Security Issues in Winnipeg's Inner City Communities: Bridging the Community-Police Divide*. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives Manitoba. policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/Manitoba_Pubs/2006/Safety_and_Security_in_Winnipegs_Inner_City.pdf
- Social Planning Council of Winnipeg. 2012. *Child and Family Poverty 2012 Report Card*. spcw.mb.ca/files/4013/5414/7237/C2000_Child_Poverty_Report_Card-2012.pdf
- Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 2013. *Recommendations for Winnipeg Housing Policy*. spcw.mb.ca/files/9713/7402/5041/Winnipeg_Housing_Policy_Brief-July2013.pdf
- Statistics Canada, 2011. *Violence Against Women, 2011* Statistics Canada, 2013. statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/130225/dq130225a-eng.pdf
- Statistics Canada, 2013. 2011 *National Household Survey*, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-014-X2011039
- Strack, R., Magill, C. and McDonagh, K. 2004. "Engaging Youth Through Photovoice" *Health Promotion Practice*, 5(1):49-58.

Wang, C. and Burris, M. 1997. "Photovoice: Concept, Methodology, and Use for Participatory Needs Assessment" *Health Education and Behavior*, 24(3):369-387.

Wang, C. and Redwood-Jones, Y. 2001. "Photovoice Ethics: Perspectives from Flint Photovoice" *Health Education and Behavior*, 28(5): 560-572.

Winnipeg Regional Health Authority (WRHA). 2010. *Community Health Assessment* wrha.mb.ca/research/cha2009/files/ReportFull.pdf

Winnipeg Regional Health Authority. 2009. *Manitoba Adult Suicide Mortality Review: Risk Factors Associated with Mental Health*

& Substance Use Disorders. wrha.mb.ca/community/mentalhealth/files/SuicideMortalityReview.pdf

World Health Organization (WHO) ND. *Adolescent Development* who.int/maternal_child_adolescent/topics/adolescence/dev/en/

World Health Organization (WHO). 2001. *Broadening the Horizon: Balancing Protection and Risk for Adolescents*. WHO: Geneva. whqlibdoc.who.int/hq/2001/WHO_FCH_CAH_01.20.pdf

Wright, V. 2011. "Adolescents and Poverty". *The Prevention Researcher* Vol 18 (4). November tpronline.org/article.cfm/Adolescents_and_Poverty.

PHOTO 36 Cat on the Move





CCPA

CANADIAN CENTRE
for POLICY ALTERNATIVES
MANITOBA OFFICE

309-323 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2C1
TEL 204-927-3200 FAX 204-927-3201
EMAIL ccpamb@policyalternatives.ca
WEBSITE www.policyalternatives.ca