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**THE MEANINGS OF CITIZENSHIP:
HOMELESSNESS IN RELATION TO EXTRA-LOCAL CIVIC REPUBLICANISM
AND LOCAL COMMUNITY SPIRIT IN OTTAWA**

by

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A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the meaning of citizenship in Ottawa in relation to homelessness and volunteering. Processes which defend and others which destroy citizenship are revealed in the housing crisis. Attention to these processes supports a claim that in the context of rescaling, it is important for citizenship theorists to include local level processes in their analysis. The local scale has been under-appreciated in significance for citizenship. Despite trends often associated with economic globalization, ambitious and concerned local administrators working with politicians who have access to the levers of municipal power, can alter the levels of social citizenship and the attitudes about citizen obligation characteristic of extra local citizen discourse. While citizenship held little significance for research subjects who volunteer at shelters, community was of great importance. Community in the meaning systems of these volunteers is the location of shared social responsibility, which for citizenship theorists is a political aspect of identity related to citizenship. The strongly felt loyalties of volunteers are *localized* rather than national.

The difference made in Ottawa during 2001-2002, is one of keeping homeless people alive as opposed to the restoration of full citizen participation. Longer term measures to raise that standard were also begun and partially through Ottawa's encouragement, some interjections of federal support for affordable housing were regained. The weakness of citizenship entitlements the City of Ottawa is able to provide in this context, in spite of consistent and

strategic effort, informs a critique of the sustainability of a civic republican approach to citizenship. I argue that an effective definition of citizenship that captures the historical richness of the term must include dimensions of participatory process, entitlements, obligations, and a concern for economic justice.

Finally two theories from political geography are recommended as useful for the study of citizenship and the voluntary sector. The concept of the shadow state is a useful tool for politically deconstructing imagined separations between state and civil sector organizations. Active citizenship helps to reveal the ways extra-local citizenship constructions have been removing democratic powers of citizenship and placing new conditions on citizen entitlements.

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To Robert and Leona -- I am blessed to have such dedicated and loving

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CAP	Canada Assistance Program
CCAC	Community Care Access Centres
CCSD	Canadian Council on Social Development
CHRC	Community Health and Recreation Centre (Ottawa)
CHSC	Community Health and Service Centre
CHST	Canada Health and Social Transfer
CMHC	Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
CPHA	Canadian Public Health Association
CS	Correctional Service
CUPE	Canadian Union of Public Employees
EI	Employment Insurance
FCM	Federation of Canadian Municipalities
HRDC	Human Resource Development Corporation (of Canada)
HRSSC	Health, Recreation, Social Services Committee (of Ottawa)
HSSAC	Health, Social Services Advisory Committee (Ottawa)
LEAP	Learning, Earning and Parenting Program
NFB	National Film Board (of Canada)
OAITH	Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses
OHC	Ontario Housing Commission
OW	Ontario Works
PIAC	Poverty Issues Advisory Committee
RGI	Rent Geared to Income
SCPI	Supporting Communities Program Initiative
SPC	Social Planning Council (of Ottawa)
SWAN	Somerset West Action Network
UN	United Nations
VITAL	Volunteer Involvement Through Access and Leadership
YM/YWCA	Young Men's/Women's Christian Association

CHAPTER ONE

Questioning Citizenship's Meanings In The Context of Homelessness

The boundaries of citizenship have been quietly (but none-the-less very strongly) contested in Ottawa in recent years. Neither active nor participatory citizenship¹ has been fully achieved and the struggle is ongoing. Although formal definitions of citizenship rest with the national level of governance, the local context including actions of municipal politicians, other city workers, and unpaid workers shape the boundaries of social citizenship entitlements (including shelter), and of citizenship obligations. Meanings of citizenship in this context are multiple, with some people deprived of basic entitlements under extra-local policies, others continuing to experience at least some levels of social citizenship. Local government and to some extent, civil society are engaged in struggles with extra-local governments over what citizenship entails in their community.

This dissertation analyzes the discourses and processes characterizing an extra-local civic republican² vision of citizenship in contrast to the local community vision of citizenship in Ottawa with particular attention to

¹ The distinction between active and participatory citizenship is discussed in detail later in this chapter. A key factor distinguishing the two concepts is that active citizenship treats the citizen as a disinterested source of voluntary labour and participatory citizenship treats the citizen as a political decision-maker.

² Civic republicanism is a recently revived political philosophy emphasizing autonomous citizen responsibility and is normally linked to a *laissez-faire* approach to economics.

homelessness as an outcome of, and a challenge to, different meanings of citizenship for people of Ottawa. My attention to discourses, policy change and experiences of volunteers is bracketed by the time period from the amalgamation of Ottawa in January 2001 until September of 2002.³

The focus of this study is on the relationship between discourses of citizenship, policies shaping social citizenship and experiences of being citizens in the context of those discourses and policies. I narrow the discursive, policy and experiential content of this investigation of citizenship through a boundary directing attention to the processes and social constructions which are related to the housing crisis occurring in Ottawa. That includes citizen entitlement to affordable housing and temporary shelter, alongside of citizen obligations to volunteer so that shelters can meet the demands placed upon them. Volunteering is a pivotal component of different citizenship philosophies with the voluntary sector understood in ways ranging from a resource of cheap labour power to a place where democracy is practiced.

The analysis is achieved through a combination of research methods including qualitative analysis of interview data from interviews with shelter volunteers, discourse analysis of documents from: the city of Ottawa, province of Ontario and relevant departments of the federal government. This original research is supported by secondary analysis of existing literature on changes to

³ City Council Meeting Minutes were made available on the Internet. The data I analyze included all minutes from city council and relevant committees from the council and committee's origin until 30 September, 2002.

the social welfare state in Canada.

Views of people who volunteer at four different Ottawa shelters, of shelter administrators, volunteer coordinators, and perspectives expressed in literature produced by the shelters, were used as the most localized sources of insight about meanings of citizenship in relation to volunteering and homelessness. The shelters are the Shepherds of Good Hope, the Mission, a Family Shelter, and a women abuse shelter which accepted my offer of anonymity and is therefore identified in this dissertation as “Harbour”. A volunteer coordinator with a Community Health and Recreation Center is also involved in my research process as she administers the volunteer program at the Family Shelter. City council meeting minutes and minutes of council committees involved with housing and shelter service provision were used to assess municipal government perspectives. Citizenship discourses relating to volunteering and homelessness were also extracted from written documentation of relevant federal and provincial ministries. This introductory chapter proceeds with a summary of the claims of this thesis, definitions of key terms not included in that summary, and a brief outline of the chapters.

I. Claims and Contributions of this Dissertation

This thesis contributes four insights to the sociology of citizenship primarily due to an interdisciplinary approach which allowed us to learn from philosophy, political geography, political economy, and feminism to enrich the analysis of meanings of citizenship. My research on the meanings of citizenship

in Ottawa 2001-2002 also produces a methodological suggestion for studies of citizenship and contributes substantively on the topics of homelessness, volunteering and citizenship. The four claims are: local scales of processes are important for the study of citizenship; active citizenship is a useful concept for understanding the current policy context in Canada; the shadow state is a useful concept for assessing relationships between shelter organizations and extra-local governments in Canada; and civic republicanism is not sustainable as a form of citizenship in Ontario in the current social, political, economic environment.

The methodological contribution and the first theoretical claim are related. Methodologically, this dissertation demonstrates that researchers of citizenship are wise to include attention to the local context and localized processes of redistribution, social service provision, and consultation in their research design. Recent theories of citizenship have recognized multiplicity in various forms related to social structures and to citizen identities, but I add the dimension of scale to the ways in which citizenships can be multiple. Political geographers and globalization scholars have referred to scale as a dynamic socially constructed arrangement of processes.⁴ Thinking about citizenship in terms of

⁴ Marston and Smith define scale as “a produced societal metric that differentiates space” (2001:615) but this is perhaps not very helpful beyond indicating that the term attempts to refer to social structures and not merely space. The emphasis of their theorization is on the role of scale as a social product which in turn influences other processes. Scale is a socially constructed level of representation understood to be relational and dynamic. “Scale is constituted and reconstituted around relations of capitalist production, social reproduction and consumption”(Marston, 2000:221).

scale recalls the many processes through which citizen loyalties and the feeling of belonging to a politically identifiable group are created, as opposed to just the status tied to geographic boundaries of Canada as a nation-state. By bringing scale into the analysis of citizenship I introduce the question of which processes create groupings people identify with and for which they feel social responsibility as citizens. In the case of shelter volunteers in Ottawa, the felt sense of shared experience and loyalties expressed are localized to their community rather than extended to Canada. Leaders of city politics and administration build local processes that create community. However, they still seek the loyalty and support from federal and provincial governments thus generating a more traditional sense of the scale of citizen entitlement and obligation. With processes originating from local, provincial and national administrations constructing different forms of citizenship, the meaning of citizenship in Ottawa depends upon the scale to which a specific research process is attentive. This claim certainly applies to current Canadian contexts, and applicability to other contexts where a federal state has been restructuring deserves exploring.

A second claim of this thesis involves the shadow state. For other social and political contexts which have been enduring processes of restructuring and rescaling, analyzing the outcomes of these processes in terms of the creation of a shadow state is recommended by this dissertation. Political geographers (especially in England) have been observing that state agendas are carried through civil sector organizations which have become service providers. They describe this phenomena as the “shadow state”. This is an analysis that has

until now been missing in the new Canadian literature on the not-for-profit sector. As one of the substantive contributions, my analysis of the shelter sector in Ottawa shows that shadow state controls are imposed upon shelter organizations through the combination of increasing demands and tightly regulated funding processes.

A third claim of this thesis involves linking volunteering, restructuring and active citizenship in a way unique to Canadian political economy. Mouffe (1988) in philosophy and various political geographers (Marston and Staeheli, 1994; Kearns, 1992; S. Smith, 1995; H. Clark, 1994; and Brown, 1994) have recognized and warned against active citizenship in the British context where discursive promotion of active citizenship was more blatant than here. Application of active citizenship analysis to the Canadian context has been missed until now.

Unlike British politicians who tried to publicly rally people around the idea of active citizenship, Canadian politicians have much more quietly encouraged and imposed active citizenship duties. Active citizenship as Thatcher employed it is consistent with the form of citizenship endorsed by civic republicanism that appears in recent Ontario discourse. Civic republicanism is making its way into Canada largely by stealth⁵, and both the entitlements and the obligations of

⁵ Battle (1994) labels as “the politics of stealth” the technique of distracting the Canadian public from the real effects of complex clauses in new legislation by simultaneously introducing popular measures and or failing to disclose regressive aspects of new bills. In addition, my research shows that information in government press releases and some public reports over-simplifies information to the point of near-meaninglessness. Discourses describing new expectations that citizens volunteer have

citizenship deserve protection from this onslaught. The form of civic republicanism we are seeing in Canada at the turn of the millenium emphasizes the role of citizens as community service providers and demphasizes involved and informed citizen participation in political decision-making. It is a form of civic republicanism that minimizes the kind of positive potential that citizen participation can carry such as Lister discusses in relation to participatory democracy (1997:25-28). The changes towards active citizenship have happened through a series of small steps including the collapse and rescaling of numerous social programs, accompanied by a shift in discourses about social entitlements and obligations. Without the transformation ever being called "active citizenship" (or touted as something new for citizenship at all), many people have noticed only gradual change or have not noticed the change at all. The consequences however, have been cumulative for the most disadvantaged Canadians as I discuss below.

At the very least, active citizenship in Canada merits open political discussion but for this to be possible we need theoretical tools that allow us to understanding active citizenship in a critical way. This has been missing from sociological and political theories of citizenship. The prominent citizenship theorist Bryan Turner in some of his analyzes (1990, 1993, 1997), distinguishes

emphasized the continuity of this behaviour with Canadian traditions rather than identifying the expectations as new demands placed on citizens, or a new restriction of citizen entitlement to social supports. Another very good example of stealth politics is the euphemism employed by the Harris Conservatives in Ontario calling the bill which removed many vital protections for tenants, "The Tennant Protection Act".

citizenship types as active or passive. This dichotomy is problematic because it is a hierarchical one placing “active” as the superior category justified by active citizenship’s higher level of citizen involvement (than passive citizenship). He links more citizen involvement to stronger democracy. There is a lack of texture in his analyzes because citizen involvement can take both positive and negative forms. With the absence of critique, by default Turner’s version of active citizenship becomes an endorsement of the politics of Thatcher and Blair. With active citizenship defined unproblematically as the form of citizenship accommodating participation of the governed, it is seen as an entirely positive choice. It escapes Turner’s attention that coercively providing free civil labour for a state that offers minimal consultation or political involvement to citizens is far from the participatory citizenship that government discourses of civic republicanism lay claim to.

Through this analysis linking consequences of rescaling (and other restructuring processes) to citizenship, I advance an understanding of citizenship that moves towards radical democracy and away from the elitism of civic republicanism. From this position, I argue an effective definition of citizenship that captures the historical richness of the term must include dimensions of participatory process, entitlements, obligations, and a concern for economic justice. This is citizenship which embraces inclusivity and emphasizes horizontally-structured, shared decision-making processes. Citizenship of this form shares with radical democracy at best a tendency towards the betterment of all, and at worst compromises in ways that grant consideration to everyone’s

needs. Such was also the intention expressed with Marshall's citizenship formulation of 1950 but recent scholarship has demonstrated that his interpretation was insufficiently aware of gendered, racial and other inequalities which continue to characterize our political and social systems.⁶

For those who doubt the possibility of realizing radical democracy's potential through actual policies and processes, this dissertation's introduction to the idea of citizenship that acts constructively on a localized scale helps to suspend disbelief. Substantively, I offer the example of Ottawa. This thesis demonstrates that Ottawa politicians, civil servants, and community organizations strive for inclusivity in philosophy, and discourse, as radical democracy would prefer. Local people are engaged actively in a dialogue about where their best interests lie and how their housing needs can be met. Resources available to the city are juggled and stretched in the interests of those defined as "most in need". The democratic intentions (to be inclusive and consultative and to meet basic needs) are, where possible, turned into processes characterized by consultative practice and respect for diversity in shelter and housing provision. What is accomplished in feeding and sheltering about a thousand people daily is accomplished in spite of extra-local interference which has to be negotiated frequently.

To summarize, we have already discussed three substantive

⁶ Other political philosophers writing outside of the radical democracy literature have also recognized limitations of liberalism's version of democracy such as those which constrain Marshall's thinking. See for example: Young, 1991; Fraser, 1989, 1997.

contributions: 1) documentation of the shadow state in the voluntary sector in Ottawa; 2) compilation of evidence of a civic republican/active citizenship agenda in discourses of the federal and Ontario governments at the turn of the millennium. (This is consistent with but extends other political economy analysis criticizing the politics of neoliberalism and neo-conservatism which have shaped our political landscape in Canada for close to twenty years) and I have; 3) Demonstrated the efficacy of local actors in challenging the dominant extra-local attitude towards social service provision and for fulfilment of what Andrew describes as the “progressive potential” of Ottawa’s municipal government (2003:313). Despite consistent, persistent extra-local discourses of civic republicanism accompanied by the policy restriction and interference I describe above as shadow state interventions, community groups and municipal government in Ottawa reject the extra-local negligence of shared social responsibility. The same local government and community foster a localized inclusive spirit of entitlement and respect that makes Ottawa a more humane place than it would be without these strenuous local efforts.

The final claim of this dissertation is that it clearly draws the links between social policies of restructuring/neoliberalism, economic and social polarization, homelessness in Ontario’s urban centres, and our shared political identity as citizens. In doing so, it goes beyond previous analyses. Layton’s book on homelessness identifies homelessness as a political problem (2000:14), describing the presence of the problem of homelessness in all regions of Canada (65-127), and discusses the ratios of income and expenses that have

lead to homelessness for many people (132-148). Layton's book carries the intention of laying the blame for homelessness at the feet of government policy makers, but he does not systematically compile the international, regional and local factors that create homelessness in any single location. Furthermore he involves readers personally by appealing to our sympathies but he does not involve us politically by calling upon recognition of homelessness as a citizenship issue. Nor does he tackle the issue in a way that clearly undermines reliance on the civil sector for solving problems. Both the passing of responsibility across different levels of government and the myth of a non-profit sector solution are allowed to persist. Dear and Wolch (1993) draw the connections between the individual experience of homelessness, housing policy changes, and globalization, but they also do not fully politicize that dynamic by including the citizenship dimensions of homelessness in their analysis. Substantively, this dissertation integrates a series of analyses in order to forcefully (re)claim a Canadian citizenship that includes social justice.

II. Key Terms

a) Citizenship (see also active citizenship and participatory citizenship).

Recent sociological definitions of citizenship emphasize that citizenship is a social construction, treating it as a practice (or practices) rather than a collection of legal rights and duties (White, 1999:56). Bryan Turner's notion of citizenship as "that set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural)

which define a person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups” (1993:2), works effectively with my analysis of active versus participatory citizenship. My interpretation of “practices”, like Lister’s (1997) includes processes which occur in the household.

b) Active citizenship

This concept is derived from political geography (Marston, 1995; Fyfe, 1995). It refers to a neoliberal/civic republican understanding of citizenship which ties citizens entitlements to volunteering as a citizenship obligation. Entitlement to benefits of citizenship is conditional upon the performance of active citizen duties. The responsibility to be an active citizen (by volunteering time and or donating money to charities) is not accompanied by the entitlement or opportunity to participate in making decisions in relation to that voluntary activity. The best form of administration of not-for-profit organizations that provide social services would presumably be according to principles of efficiency, and under state supervision. The identity and obligations of active citizenship are individualized. For example, volunteer board members might be individually liable for the consequences of their decisions.

c) Participatory citizenship

This is a term for a more agency-oriented understanding of the relationship between volunteering and citizenship such as is found in Lister’s (1997) feminist definition of citizenship practice. Participatory citizenship

recognizes needs and obligations in terms of community responsibilities rather than individualized entitlements. People share in responsibility for community well being, with implications that their energies are needed for addressing inadequacies in social citizenship services. These energies include dialogic processes of devising solutions for and administering to concerns and well-being of community members, as well as “hands on” service work for those in need. The assumptions are that everyone⁷ is potentially a member of the community and members of the community are all deserving of having basic social needs met. The underlying assumption is one of citizen interdependence rather than the rugged individualism of liberal ideology.

d) Volunteer

Research in this project is focused on people who are not just providers of money to charity, but people who do “front line” service delivery and to a lesser extent (due to less availability of these volunteers), people with directorships on boards of voluntary organizations. Motivations for volunteering are varied and can include some elements of compulsion, and strategic instrumentalist reasons as well as altruistic or community-building agendas as my data show. In terms of compulsions, some people are required to perform volunteer duties in order to be eligible for educational or employment opportunities.

⁷In this definition, I am constructing an ideal type, which I realize is not to be found. Capitalism, racism, sexism and other divisive forces are acting on community construction so that the communities in which people feel and express shared responsibilities currently have boundaries that reflect these tensions. That is why I treat community as a category that requires grounded analysis to create an effective definition.

The Shepherd's of Good Hope, the Mission, and the Community Health and Recreation Centre (CHRC) that recruits volunteers for the Family Shelter, each oversee Ontario Works (OW)⁸ placements. The CHRC volunteer coordinator had not yet identified a task at the Family Shelter that was appropriate for an OW participant. Other tasks are completed at the Mission and the Shepherds of Good Hope by people filling Correctional Service placements for community work. In the true spirit of the term, a person is not a volunteer under the standard meaning of the word if they face a choice between doing the unpaid work of a volunteer, or losing their only source of income. Similarly, a person who cannot afford a court imposed fine and can choose only between paying such a fine and doing community work does not really volunteer to serve their community. These roles become classified as "volunteer" because in a system that dichotomizes, the jobs the court program and OW people perform, are characterized in duration and level of responsibility more as volunteer's jobs, than as paid staff roles.

I am including among volunteer interviews any OW and Corrections Service Placements who are willing to be interviewed for two reasons. They are generally treated by the shelters as volunteers. Since freedom of choice and universal entitlement to social supports are citizenship issues, they are also uniquely placed to provide commentary on perceptions of what is happening to

⁸ Ontario Works is a provincial program that forces people receiving social assistance to perform community service work in order to receive assistance cheques. It is the only current form of social assistance or welfare in Ontario.

citizenship in Ottawa. Beck suggests “civil labour” as a term for workers of this sort: people who “make the cities fit to live in” (2000:141) and are paid the equivalent of welfare. “Civil labourer” is a more accurate term than “volunteer” for including the contributions and perspectives of those who are compelled to work at the shelters. The shelters I studied which had workers from court programs and OW did not draw sharp distinctions between these volunteers and others. Volunteers and civil labourers were integrated into the same programs at two of the shelters and both were invited (by myself or the volunteer coordinator) to participate in the research. Consequently I only became aware of research participants having been compelled to work at the shelter if they included this information in describing their motivations for doing the work.

e) Volunteer organization or not-for-profit organization

This broad categorization includes many forms of organizations with the basic criteria that they do not generate a profit and are administered by a board of volunteers. They may or may not have official charity status and may or may not employ people (Jenson and Phillips, 2000). Each of the sheltering organizations that participated in this study employed paid staff and administrators. The two men’s homeless shelters whose volunteers I interviewed are large non-profits running numerous programs in support of the homeless population of Ottawa, and employ large numbers of full-time staff. Three of the shelter organizations answer to a volunteer board of directors. The woman-abuse shelter selected is a transition house which is much smaller and has less than ten full-time employees. “Transition house”, “interval house” and “second

stage shelter” are each terms for shelters serving women who are beginning long-term processes of leaving abusive partners, or considering that process of leaving. Unlike in emergency or crisis shelters⁹, women in transition (interval or second stage) shelters and their children can live in their own space within a home-like environment, for a number of months until it is possible to find and sustain safe accommodations of their own. The Family Shelter which also serves women and children fleeing abuse is a city-run shelter, but cooperates with a non-profit community organization that supplies volunteers for programs as the Family Shelter. The family shelters have some characteristics of transition houses and of emergency shelters. At the time of the research, once families fleeing abuse had a place in the Family Shelter, they could stay until finding other accommodations or deciding to return to previous homes, and there were some counselling programs for residents there. The structural design of the family shelter is more institutional than home-like.

Non-profits are usually categorized according to the primary type of goods or services each one provides.¹⁰ Neither shelter for the homeless in general, nor for abuse victims more specifically, constitutes an independent category within

⁹ Crisis shelters are much more temporary, designed more to remove women from immediate danger (until that danger diminishes) than to help them with actually leaving their violent partner permanently.

¹⁰ The major groups are: 1) Culture and Recreation; 2) Education and Research; 3) Health; 4)*Social Services; 5) Environment; 6)*Development and Housing; 7) Law, Advocacy and Politics; 8) Philanthropic Intermediaries and Voluntarism; 9) International; 10) Religion; 11)Business and Professional Associations; 12) Groups not elsewhere classified (Hall and Banting, in Banting, 2000:8-9) * indicates categories relevant to this research.

the standard classifications. In terms of comparison or relationship with other not-for-profit agencies, the shelter issue has relevance to social services, housing and somewhat more tangentially to health.

My contention is that those forms of non-profit activity related to health, social services, education, housing, identity-based inequalities (such as relating to sex, race/ethnicity or ability) and sometimes law, have a particular status because of their relationship to citizenship rights and entitlements. Jenson and Phillips (1996) argue the provision of health care and social services via the not-for-profit sector instead of via the state, is a profound shift with implications of a change in state form. My focus is away from the level of the state. Rather, I emphasize the role of local actors in negotiation with government programs and ideologies over the boundaries of citizenship.

f) Community

Community service refers to service provision that is extra-familial, as opposed to domestic or household work that women tend to do within families. By communities in general, I am referring to groups that are possibly geographically, and perhaps culturally localized. Traditional theories of community characterized them as groups which met the three criteria of a shared territorial area, a complex of institutions within that area and a sense of belonging (Bell and Newby, 1971:15-16) but more recent theories have had to adjust to new forms of community identity. To understand the motivations for volunteers, communities must be addressed in more localized terms than at the national level or in terms of pan-Canadian linguistic groups. In the context of

shelters community boundaries are also likely to be gendered. Community is a term with many possible definitions, but another characteristic I am looking for is a self-definition as a member of a group on the part of those who belong. Many people belong to multiple communities and they are not necessarily defined by physical or geographic location. Community is a notion which in the not-for-profit sector plays a mediating role between individuals and the state (referring to any formal political boundaries: city, province, or nation). Community differs from civil society because (with respect to citizenship) it is a realm of collective rights, whereas rights in civil society are individualized. I treated the definition of community as an empirical question and develop it from the understandings of volunteers at the shelters.

g) Ottawa

For the sake of clarity, as much as possible, I based my research in the present municipal boundaries: the new city of Ottawa in existence since January 2001. The process of transition, as the new city is formed, is interesting because the province attempted to use this to force its economic and ideological agendas through the municipal level. These processes are discussed in Chapter Five, but I resist going back into a structural analysis of the previous administrations as there were 12 municipalities that became part of the new Ottawa. These municipalities had varying structures and localized procedures which render a structural analysis more confusing than useful. When the only data available is based in the former municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, such as in some of the statistics employed to demonstrate the changes in income and poverty levels, I

clearly specify that I am writing of the Rural Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton.

h) Homelessness

The United Nations called 1987 the International Year of Shelter of the Homeless. Definitions of two levels of homelessness: absolute and relative, were developed in reports by the UN (Sorenson, 2001:4; Layton, 2000:25).

“Absolute homelessness” refers to having no permanent shelter of your own which includes survival on the street, in city shelters, or with extended family members. “Relative homelessness” refers to having shelter which does not meet the basic health and safety standards including: protection from the elements, access to safe water and sanitation, security of tenure and personal safety, accessibility of employment, affordability, education and health care, and provision of minimum space to avoid overcrowding (Layton, 2000:25; Sorenson, 2001:4).

Having housing which meets basic standards of health and safety is in my view a minimal baseline for having sufficient economic security for experiencing full participation in citizenship. In-other-words, the absolutely homeless and the relatively homeless are by my definition, disenfranchised from citizenship. Our collective failure to make sure these basic needs are met is a failure to treat these people as citizens. Dear and Wolch (1993) add the qualification of permanence to their housing expectations when they define homelessness as follows:

The absence of a continuing or permanent *home* over which individuals and families have personal control and which provides the essential needs of shelter, privacy and security at affordable

cost, together with ready access to social, economic and cultural public services (299). (*emphasis in original*).

While I appreciate the politics behind this definition, it is unclear how the issue of “personal control” could be effectively operationalized by affordable housing providers. I include it here as an indicator of further stages of housing security we could strive for after resolving the current crisis.

i) Scaling processes

This term originating in political geography refers to “the hierarchical differentiation and (re)ordering of geographical scales” (Brenner, 2001:592). The meaning of scale includes a sensitization to social hierarchies as discussed earlier in this chapter.

III. Chapter Outline

Chapter Two “Theorizing the Meanings of Citizenship” establishes the claims arising from this thesis in relation to citizenship theories. The chapter take a multi-disciplinary approach to the topic of citizenship-meaning, including theories from political economy, post-modern Marxism, post-modern feminism, political geography, social psychology, sociology and political science. My review of the citizenship literature begins with Marshall (Marshall, Bottomore, 1992) and Turner (1993), and moves through more recent post-structural approaches¹¹ to

¹¹ The terms post-modern Marxism, post-modern Feminism, post-structuralism and even post-modernity are highly contested. I select the unusual concept of post-modern Marxism in specific reference to the self-identification of J. K. Gibson-Graham (1996). In the combination of terms used in this section and in my analytical approach in general, I am expressing a theoretical perspective characterized by acceptance of a

citizenship. I suggest scale as a new dimension for analyzing citizenship's multiplicities. Then I suggest active citizenship and shadow state as important constructs for analyzing the current Canadian context. Finally I argue against civic republicanism as the best form of citizenship in Canada for the current context and point to some radical democratic citizenship practices which are more encouraging.

Chapter Three discusses the methodology employed in this thesis. A combination of three research methods are used to collect data on citizenship in Ottawa: 1) policy analysis from secondary and original documentary sources; 2) discourse analysis of government texts including federal, provincial and municipal governments; and 3) qualitative analysis of original interview data. None of these research processes alone can yield a comprehensive analysis of the nature of citizenship in Ottawa in 2001- 2002. When I use them together the different data sets demonstrate the multiplicity of citizenship meanings across different scales and within the experiences citizens of Ottawa. This chapter discusses case selection issues, the ethical review process, and methods of data analysis.

Three substantive chapters build my arguments about the multiplicity of

multiplicity of positions or truths over a singularity of the same, an emphasis on the roles of individual and collective actors alongside that of structures, as well as by an approach that tends towards temporal and geographic specificity rather than universal applicability. The notion of multiplicity also applies to my perspective on power because economic and political power is not presumed to always dominate over the social and cultural, such that for many peoples lives social structures of racism and sexism have as much impact if not more than capitalism.

citizenship in Ottawa and the significance of scale for considering citizenship meanings. The first, Chapter Four, combines the discourse analyses of the federal and provincial governments which fit well together because both cases tend towards civic republicanism. The second, Chapter Five, addresses the city's response to extra-local policies and the participatory construction of citizenship which is evident in their discourses and policies relating to affordable housing and shelter. Chapter Six takes my inquiry about citizenship into four Ottawa shelters where volunteers' actions and the meaning they make of those actions reflect directly upon questions of civic republicanism and social citizenship.

Chapter Four: "Federal and Provincial Constructions of the Active Citizen" analyzes the discourses of citizenship alongside policies relevant to social citizenship. This analysis suggests that there are deliberate attempts on the part of both federal and Ontario governments to forge "active" citizens for the new millennium. After looking at neoliberalism in provincial and federal policy, I consider the impacts of these policies (and ideologies) on a population already characterized by advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Many social identities are constructed in dichotomous pairs: male/female; ethnic majority/ethnic minority; healthy/mentally ill; rich/poor, etc.. Privileging discourses make the dichotomies hierarchical rather than neutral. When neoliberalism applies its universalizing logic to people along these constructions, social polarities are increased. This ideological reinforcement of disadvantages prohibits the individual citizen's recovery from economic and social difficulties. A dramatic

rise in homelessness is one of the consequences of neoliberal discourse and policy as I demonstrate with a political geography model of the path to homelessness. I extend the model to argue that civic republicanism, rather than building strong self-reliant citizenship is actually destructive to citizenship's meaning in the current context in Ottawa.

Chapter Five "Ottawa Resists Civic Republicanism" provides the first of two parcels of evidence that the local scale of processes should be included in citizenship analysis and theorization. I begin by considering the limitations placed on the municipal politicians and department managers by extra-local policy and lack of funding. This is followed by an inventory of the local initiatives on behalf of inclusive citizenship in the forms of: proactive planning, funding, advocacy, discourses of worthiness, jumping scale, and consultation with service recipients and other citizens. The analysis is conducted using minutes and memos from city committee meetings, reports, advisory council minutes and other documentation relevant to construction of citizen entitlements and obligations.

Chapter Six "Social Constructions of Volunteering Within the Shelter Sector" offers structural and ontological analyses of the relationship between citizenship and volunteering within the four Ottawa shelters studied. The structural component considers the significance of rescaling for shelter operations and identifies shadow state processes within shelter operations. I then consider the localized meaning of citizenship with an exploratory study of the motivations and citizenship views of twenty-five volunteers who contribute

time and effort in service of Ottawa's homeless population. Semi-structured in-depth interviews show volunteers as a group of people not particularly interested in politics but dissatisfied in some fashion with the social context that surrounds them. These volunteers are motivated primarily by compassion, by self-interests, by an ethic of service (often connected with religious faith), and by appreciation for community participation. While citizenship is of minimal significance in their thoughts about their volunteer work, nourishing and enjoying a community is at the forefront.

In Chapter Seven, I review the varying extents to which the research claims of this dissertation are supported, consider limitations of the thesis, and address questions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

Theorizing the Meanings of Citizenship

In Chapter One we introduced the theoretical claims of this dissertation. This chapter deepens and extends our understanding of these claims by locating each in the various literatures relevant to the numerous and layered meanings of citizenship in Ottawa. The first literatures we examine involve the welfare state, citizenship, social movement and social constructionist theories which prepare us to understand claims about the local scale's relevance to citizenship. The insight that scale makes a difference to citizenship theories is the central theoretical contribution of this thesis. The second section of this chapter lends citizenship analysis a sharper political edge by introducing theories of active citizenship and of the shadow state to Canadian citizenship study. The applicability of the concepts of active citizenship and shadow state are my second and third contributions. Section three challenges civic republicanism's ability to provide a meaningful form of citizenship in the current Canadian context. This challenge is based upon continuity with the historical theorization of citizenship, a pragmatic consideration of the outcomes of civic republican theory, and an explanation of my own epistemological approach to social theory.

I. Adding Scale and Introducing Local Context to Citizenship Theorizing

a) Social citizenship

My claim of the importance of local processes and localized social

constructions rests at the broadest level of abstraction on the idea that social well-being is a citizenship concern. The Sociological theorization of social citizenship begins with T. H. Marshall. He offers an influential understanding of citizenship as a status through which social (if not economic) liberation can be achieved. He leads social scientists into theorization of citizenship with an historical analysis of the chronology of citizenship in Great Britain. From his perspective, citizenship begins with civil rights, progresses through political rights and obligations, and reaches its apex with full provision of social citizenship entitlements. The ultimate level, that of the social element, is defined as follows:

By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society (1992:8).

Marshall's idea of social citizenship set a standard which Canada never achieved, but to which many critical theorists have called attention since the cuts to social service programs in the 1980's.

Marshall's was a definition based upon the idea of citizenship as a status shared equally by members of a community. His 1950 essay "Citizenship and Social Class" includes a notion of community which sits in tension with his individually-based conception of rights:

Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed. There is no universal principle that determines what those rights and duties shall be ... (1992:18).

Political and social rights give members of a community opportunity to participate

in defining of the rights and duties appropriate to citizenship. My research recalls the key role of a community as the location where shared social standards are negotiated and demonstrates that in the context of rescaling, the community in question can be locally rather than nationally defined. Marshall's citizenship theory however, is inextricably linked with the nation state. For Marshall, even the consciousness of individuals is framed in relation to a national community (1992:24-25).

At the time of Marshall's writing the definition of that community to which citizens belonged was assumed unproblematically to be a nation. We know now that this aspect of the definition was never unproblematic in settler societies such as Canada in which nation for many is a very recently imposed identity without a richness of meaning tied to homogenous ethnicity, language, religion, and/or collective bargaining support. Some writers identify Canada as a state-nation in order to capture the exaggerated importance of nationalizing projects (such as education and social welfare) (Brodie, 2002:381). Citizenship theory requires more subtlety than Marshall's version offers. None-the-less he provides my understanding of citizenship with an ideal of freedom from undue restriction, as well as a concept of social citizenship rooted in equality as a social goal which can be achieved through the combination of equal political rights and redistribution of society's goods.

b) Citizenship as the outcome of a series of practices

Turner's work provides a key definitional shift in the theorization of citizenship. He published a series of writings focusing on citizenship during the

1980's and 1990's in which the central notion of citizenship shifts away from the status-definitions such as T. H. Marshall's. These explorations lead to a concept of citizenship which he describes as "broad and innovative," and in that innovation the following idea is especially useful:

Citizenship may be defined as that set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups (Turner, 1993:2).

Treating citizenship as a set of practices helps to reveal the ways in which citizenship is historically contingent and produced through political struggles. Defining citizenship as practice strengthens our comprehension of the variety of types of resources that are involved with citizenship. Attention to the potential contributions of human actors is further strengthened with a rewording from *practices* to *processes* of citizenship construction.

In an analysis which distinguishes human rights from citizenship rights, Turner includes shelter among the rights he ties to nation-state membership:

...we typically find three forms of rights: economic rights which are related to basic needs for food and shelter; cultural rights which include both access to welfare and access to education; and finally, political rights which cover the conventional area of liberal concern such as individual freedoms, and rights to expression through political means such as parliaments (1997:7).

Turner successfully shifts the emphasis of citizenship analysis to the practices which construct citizenship. The concept of citizen rights also persists for featuring processes involving the distribution of goods and opportunities within the population of the nation-state. My analysis of citizenship in Ottawa includes

the expectation that citizenship still carries the right to basic necessities such as those of food and shelter. Furthermore, since these rights by definition are linked to citizenship, the public or voluntary sector providers of services giving food and shelter can be seen as defenders or sustainers of citizenship rights.

c) Opponents of neoliberalism

In Canada over the last twenty years, there have been many changes to the redistributive practices of citizenship. Turner's definition links many of the recent sociological and political critiques of neoliberalism to citizenship, because much of the criticism of neoliberalism has been criticism of policy measures which harm social citizenship. Writers of political economy, political science and women's studies have built a rich literature on restructuring, neoliberalism, and most recently, rescaling. This is a summary of the literature aimed not at recounting all of the contributions, but rather highlighting issues most relevant for analysis of citizenship in relation to homelessness and volunteering in Ottawa such as universality, social cohesion, and inequality.

In policy and process terms, perhaps the biggest changes have come as a consequence of a fundamental reordering of social responsibility which occurred with the end of the Canada Assistance Program (CAP) as the method of distributing social service funds across the nation. Federal supports to the provinces for social (including educational and health) programs under the newer Canadian Health and Social Transfer (CHST), have been steeply reduced from the CAP levels. The CHST also changed the relationship between provinces and the federal government because unlike the designated CAP funds, it took

the form of block funding with less federal restrictions. This opened up new opportunities for provincial program changes (such as the introduction of unpaid work components to social welfare programs) which began the reshaping of citizenship that I document more comprehensively in Chapter Four (Cohen, 1997; Burke, Mooers, Shields 2000; McBride and Shields, 1998).

In Brodie's assessment, Canada shifted from a Keynesian welfare state, to a neoliberal state in the late 1970's (1997b:230). She notes a shift in state power away from social concerns and towards enforcement of the market model through privatisation, commodification, familialization, decentralization, and criminalization (235-236). Jenson and Phillips (1996) note diminished access to, and credibility of, the state for certain categories of citizens. J.S. O'Connor concludes in 1989 that the distribution of benefits in Canada's welfare system was being restructured from a citizenship basis to a class basis (1989:145). The universality of social and health-care programs shifts discursively from a "sacred trust" to an "inefficient use of resources" (Pulkingham and Ternowetsky, 1999:86).

Siltanen challenges some of the recent interpretations of changes to the Canadian welfare state as oversimplifications, because it is not the case that we are changing paradigms from a social citizenship regime to a different kind of regime. Although there has been a lot of rhetoric about social citizenship in Canada, we have never had the commitment to full employment nor sufficiently comprehensive social support to claim the status of a social democratic state. In spite of this, social citizenship is still a vital concept with which to challenge the

market as a social arena (2002:405-409).

McBride and Shields (1997) and Clarke and Barlow (1998a, 1998b) have recognized a possible threat to national unity in the changes to Canadian social citizenship since the 1980's. Brodie's extensive contributions regarding the social citizenship impacts of neoliberalism on Citizenship in Canada includes analysis of meso-discourses which links predominant political ideologies to the discursive constructions of citizenship by the state (1997b, 1999, 2002).

Those critical of regime changes in welfare states have expressed some of their concerns as the problem of social cohesion. The concept of social cohesion can be summarized as a "macro-level concept that refers to the overall state of social bonds within any society" (Jenson and Saint-Martin, 2003:78-79). The leftist concern about social cohesion is generally related to a rejection of the *laissez-faire* individualism characterizing philosophies of recent federal and most recent provincial governments in Canada. This literature expresses concerns about the exaggeration of individual citizen autonomy which can be seen in the nature of changes to various social-program. Neoliberalism entails a priority shift such that reduction of government expenditure takes precedence over keeping social services free of stigma through universality of social programs (Bakker and Scott, 1997:304).

Universal social programs define a standard for minimal citizen well-being under the Keynesian welfare state policies, but in neoliberal thinking, the responsibility for well-being sits with the individual citizen and those who can not fully support themselves are unworthy of the full dignities of citizenship. Jenson

and Phillips (1996:119) document the unequal impacts with “diminished access to the state by certain categories of citizenship” and the welfare system being restructured “from a citizenship basis to a class basis”. With the cuts to social programs, removal of market protections and the increase of transnational flows of goods and capital, the number of good quality (full time, full year) jobs was sharply reduced for women and immigrants (Luxton and Reiter, 1997:212-215; Cohen, 1997). Thus, particular groups of people including women and immigrants (who tended to be employed in the economic sectors most severely effected by restructuring and deregulation), were made vulnerable and thereby more likely to need social welfare supports precisely at the time that these supports were reduced and stigmatized¹² (Neysmith, 1999; Burt, 1996:208-210; Bashevkin, 1998:118-129). To better understand citizenship today, there are good reasons to refine our analysis beyond the nation state towards both the transnational and the micro level interactions of cities like Ottawa.

In a follow-up to her work on meso-discourses, Brodie analyses the social construction of citizenship in a manner which directs attention towards the voluntary sector. Brodie (2002: 382-388) traces a series of changes in the construction of social citizenship rights in federal government discourse. She analyses speeches from the throne to indicate that between the late 1970's and the 1990's the federal government backed away from asserting shared social citizenship entitlement as an “investment in social solidarity” (387), and instead

¹² Fraser and Gordon (1994) consider this type of constructed dependency in the American context.

redefined social programs as a drain on revenues. Brodie indicates that since the 1990's there has been some attempt to establish entrepreneurship and community volunteering as characteristic of "The Canadian Way" of enjoying citizenship (390-391).

These political economic analyses, along with feminist perspectives (which I discuss later), are the foundation on which my analysis of citizenship rests. These authors did not extend their claims to the point of saying that restructuring was causing changes to citizenship in Canada. Jenson and Phillips raise the possibility, but are hesitant to draw that conclusion (2000). I am able to go beyond their conclusions by adding my data and an analysis connecting restructuring, globalization, and specific losses of housing programs to the social outcomes of homelessness, in conjunction with analysis of the discourses of citizenship within recent federal and provincial policy.

d) Rescaling in comparative welfare state regimes

Political economic theorists working on comparative welfare state regimes have recently introduced scale as a key variable, and rescaling as a significant process for understanding such regimes. While political economy has begun to become more attentive to connections between scale and welfare, only in urban studies have we witnessed the question of scale being related to citizenship. Rescaling characterizes many of the recent changes to the welfare state. Mahon notes that rescaling is of such significance that attention to multiple scales should be incorporated into comparative analysis of welfare state regimes (2003). The implications for citizenship theory are significant because the nation

state has been both the location of key redistributive practices ensuring social citizenship and the centre of nationalism or the loyalties that are associated with membership as a citizen.

My research on citizenship in Ottawa suggests several citizenship changes are related to redistribution processes being localized and/or removed from national responsibility. First is economic polarization within the population accompanied by a rise in homelessness. In addition, we see discrepancies about the meaning of citizenship and the levels of citizenship entitlements between local and extra-local governments. Finally, we have some evidence that citizenship loyalties are focused more on the local community than on national citizenship identity.

e) Social constructions (or ontology and multiplicity)

Theories of social construction allow us to establish the links from policy through discourse to meaning in the analysis of citizenship in Ottawa. This literature addresses ontological processes of citizenship which occur in exchanges among citizens and between citizens and the state. Part of the meaning of citizenship involves the sense of belonging, self-understanding or consciousness individuals develop about being citizens. Turner notes that the politics of identity have become prevalent in recent citizenship debates: Whereas much of the struggle over citizenship in the early stages of industrialisation was about class membership and class struggle in the labour market, citizenship struggles in late twentieth-century society are often about claims to cultural identity and cultural history (1997:8).

Much of the recent analysis has been characterized by a post-structuralist perspective emphasizing the role of discourse as an important process shaping citizenship. Post-structuralism provides the frame-work enabling us to notice multiple versions of citizenship which co-exist. Insights about difference especially including gendered and racialized differences led critical theorists to expand their concerns beyond the questions of class inspired by Marxism and of organization issues arising from a Weberian outlook. Hébert and Wilkinson offer a post-structuralist account of Canadian citizenship:

Once having had a unitary, stable meaning, citizenship is now diffuse, multiple and ever-shifting. ... Situated critically within a pluralist democratic country with two official languages and a policy of multiculturalism, Canadian citizenship exists today within multi-layered belongings and complex understandings (2002:3).

This framing of citizenship leaves open questions of the shifting meanings of citizenship and processes of meaning construction. While Hébert's book focuses on differences related to ethnic origins and on questions of citizenship education, my own attention turns to the power dynamics and the sources of some of the most radically opposed understandings of citizenship which are contested in Ottawa. Civil society and community can carry many meanings. My own interpretation of citizenship as a nexus of processes related to civil society and to community means that changes in the meanings of community will effect the meaning of citizenship. Community for the Ottawa shelter volunteers that I interviewed refers not to the national collection of citizens with whom they share the political identity of citizenship, but rather to the people of their own urban center with whom they share the city streets. The volunteers' concern is for the

well-being of local people not for the status of citizenship in their country.

The meaning of citizenship includes both a shared understanding about society, and a sense that one is part of a political community. Brodie (2002:389), McBride and Shields (1997) among others from the critical theory tradition writing about social cohesion, assume that social and economic exclusions will result in loss of the feeling of belonging to the nation. This is a problematic assumption. There are also problems with citizenship theorists who assume people of varying cultural backgrounds feel the same sense of belonging to Canada's citizenship community.

In "Psychology and Citizenship: Identity and Belonging" Shotter examines the roles of language and communicative interaction in the formation of a sense of citizenship. Shotter begins with the explanation that theories of communication have moved away from notions of transmission of ideas from sender to receiver and towards awareness of influences from the receiver's context (1993:118). Instead, meanings have to be negotiated in order for communication to be effective. The philosophy of human action notes that meaning can not be read off action without knowing the actor's intended meaning. This is an essential point for my analysis of the meaning of citizenship in Ottawa. The knowledge that hundreds of people are volunteering to help with provision of shelter and soup kitchens is not sufficient for interpreting the citizenship meaning of the volunteers' actions. Their actions occur in what Shotter identifies as a "zone of uncertainty" (1993:122). Activity in this zone is said to be a negotiation of intended and unintended outcomes through which

people attempt to prove their social competence.

Shotter's concept of "social accountability" leaves room for understandings of events which are distinct from popular political perspectives of the day or from the perspectives of the most powerful members of a country. In other words, even if neoliberalism or civic republicanism is prevalent in political discourses about social welfare and volunteering, his theory suggests that social accountability could lead people within any group or dialogue to understandings of the social context which disagree with neoliberalism or civic republican philosophy:

First, states of affairs in the social world, as 'tendencies', although not wholly unspecified, to the extent that they are always ongoing and incomplete, are always open and thus require further specification within a medium of communication if they are to be made determinate; they are thus 'given' or 'lent' a shape which their previously partial specification 'grounds' or 'permits'. But this means that they can be further specified in different ways within different discourses. If, however, a dominant discourse is always used, they will be specified in a way which always leads to the survival (by its constant reproduction) of that discourse. Secondly, thus, what is allowed to count for us as our official reality is constituted in the ways in which we *must* talk in our attempts to account for ourselves and events within it, as we act from a 'place' or 'position' within that dominant discourse – where the 'must' is a *moral* must in the sense that if we do not *account* for things in an acceptable manner, we shall be treated as in some way socially incompetent and be sanctioned accordingly, that is, we will lose our first-person right to be taken seriously in our actions (Shotter, 1993:125).

In other words, if shelter volunteers in any aspect of their social lives have the opportunity to hear (or participate in) discourses about citizenship entitlement and citizenship duty which stray from the dominant discourses of neoliberalism and civic republicanism, they may give their citizenship practices meaning

differing from what the dominant discourses would have us believe. My data indicates this is the case.

This social constructivist interpretation of citizenship makes room for democracy to continue in the realm of meaning, even if democracy as the voice of the people fails in our current political context:

Hence our society's achievements, our ways of doing things, our customs and laws, our industries, our arts, and our sciences, and crucially our words, depend for their significance just as much upon the common and collective, but diverse sense of the people, as upon the refined claims of intellectuals and professionals (Shotter, 1993:133).

Shotter supplies a theoretical explanation of the sometimes puzzling lack of consistency between the citizenship which is created by social structures and that which is felt to exist. For Shotter, "society [is] an ecology of interdependent regions of different discourses" (1993:134). Meaning is created not from structural delineations, nor necessarily from dominant discourses but always as "joint formative activities, producing over time, imaginary objects subsisting in the negotiations between people" (1993:134).

This perspective helps me to explain why and how the perspectives of volunteers from Ottawa's shelters (about citizenship and homelessness) are very inconsistent with the extra-local discourses of citizenship and also somewhat inconsistent with the discourses of the City of Ottawa leaders. Whereas the extra-local government perspectives amount to civic republicanism and the local government promotes what can nearly be classified as participatory citizenship (with a return to a welfare state understanding of social responsibility), the

majority of volunteers respond to homelessness pragmatically as members of a community. Most of the volunteers interviewed do not see significance in a connection between their actions in the shelters and citizenship entitlement or politics in general.

f) From social movement theories to associationalism

My assertions of community service activity as political activity and of inclusive decision-making-practices on the part of local government (as relevant for thinking about citizenship) spring from familiarity with social movement theories. Social movement theories posited civil society as the source-point for a new kind of politics that held potential for progressive social change. Civil society includes labour organizations, voluntary organizations, cultural organizations and a wide variety of social and service groups. New social movement theory sees the new movement goals as directed not towards political lobbying but to various forms of immediate cultural change which are expected to work on the context and consciousness of society. Melucci imagined these organizations as the tip of the iceberg, representing in some sense a much larger constituency of public sentiments (1989). Habermas explains new social movements through a new dichotomy of spheres of existence termed system and life-world (1987). "System" includes the externals which shape our existence and these were the targets of early political and social struggles such as labour activism. "Life world" involves our self-understandings and cultural connections to other beings. The new social movements are rooted in life world concerns such as ecology, sexual identity, and opportunity for authentic self-

expression. An excess of structural dominance was provoking a crisis in the life world (1984, 1987).

Other new social movement theorists developed ideas that movement organizations are places where alternative interpretations of value and human interaction could be nurtured through genuinely democratic process to begin the development of a new and better social order. It is thought that participants in these groups hold more progressive views than are expressed in mainstream politics and that they lead the way toward new political directions. Based on these theories, one would expect to find volunteers as radicalized members of society with stronger ideals and more extreme political views than in current political parties and policies.

Associational democracy theory connects a thriving civil society with strong democracy as in the following description of civil society from Hirst:

In recent years, adding to and developing classical liberalism, the concept of 'civil society' has been refined and become fashionable both in Eastern and Western Europe. It is seen as a source of authentically democratic social movements separate from and oppositional to the totalitarian or the bureaucratic business-oriented state (1996:98).

The associationalist perspective celebrates the strength of democracy arising from "a plurality of self governing associations, voluntary associations, and communal groups" (K. M. Brown et. al., 2000:15). Associationalism requires a delicate balance as Hirst understands it because the aforementioned communal and voluntary associations must be free of the state, yet political initiatives are required to develop associational democracy. This is worth mentioning because

in analyzing homelessness and affordable housing in Ottawa, it needs to be explained why civil sector organizations serving the homeless and those in danger of becoming homeless in Ottawa are insufficient to prevent a loss of citizenship entitlements despite there being 80 such organizations (see Appendix One: Index of Services for Homeless People in Ottawa 2001). Ottawa's system does not work as associationalism does because our shelters and housing supporters have neither the significant financial contributions from extra-local government nor the freedom from governmental regulation which Hirst claims would help to develop a more democratic society.

II. Politicizing the Relationship Between Citizenship and Volunteering with Active Citizenship and Shadow State Analyses

a) Civic Republicanism as the Solution to Social Problems

Theorists of social cohesion who write from a conservative perspective often turn to the voluntary sector for resolution of social problems such as those stemming from poverty. These ideas have arisen in Canada in the form of what Brodie calls "the Canadian Way" as an echo of Blair's "Third Way" policies in England (Brodie, 2002:388-391). The recent political approach of federal and Ontario governments is rooted in theories of civic republicanism. This section outlines civic republican claims which are relevant to the study of homelessness, volunteering and citizenship in Ottawa.

The civic republican citizenship tradition stems back to ancient Athens and Rome. In this interpretation, citizens are understood as the elite of society

which in turn can mean free men, white men, land owners, or groups restricted in various other possible ways. Key tenets of this tradition are: that one has to earn or deserve a share in the benefits of society, that the free market should be left alone to distribute its rewards to the most deserving, and that social welfare is the concern of civil society where charity and voluntary service can help those worthy of assistance.

The dominant narrative of Canada's political history was described as "Lockean liberalism ... modified by only a strain of Tory conservatism" (Ajzenstat and Smith, 1995:1) but Ajzenstat, Smith and others have recently recovered a form of "progressive" civic republicanism as a part of Canada's political heritage. Whether new or part of an under-acknowledged tradition, civic republican discourses are here now. Certainly republicanism has experienced a recent revival, beginning in the United Kingdom and the United States before surfacing here.

Civic republicanism claims to be able to build a renewed and stronger citizen identity by meeting social needs through citizen involvement. Several papers from the Fraser Forum strain to make such claims. Benito, referring to the powerful role of fraternities within civil society early in 20th century America, extends the influence of clubs and lodges to imagine a "Fraternal society" as society itself, but one characterized by values such as self-reliance, thrift, and good moral character which "cut across such seemingly intractable divisions as

race, sex and income”¹³ (Beito, 2001:4).

In a vein consistent with Beito's, Sarlo claims:

It is a great myth of our age that private charity is simply incapable of dealing with the problem of poverty. ...Only the state, it is argued, has the resources and the political will to deal effectively with a problem as vast and complex as poverty. This claim is without merit and is as self-serving as it is flawed (2002:5).

Sarlo constructs an alternate hypothetical situation in which absolutely all government-generated (referring to all orders of government), programs contending with poverty (including all employment insurance, tax credits, income supplements, social assistance, any service for First Nations, assistance to the disabled and spending on the homelessness problem), were completely withdrawn. He hypothesizes that under such circumstances, a “voluntary group of civil leaders” in a large city could commit itself to the complete eradication of poverty “ensuring that no person in their community would go hungry, would be ill-housed, or would lack learning, recreational or cultural activities because of poverty” (2002:7). Half of the Canadian public, now free of their heavy tax burdens would, he speculates, rise to this challenge by donating as little as one third of their tax savings. Corporations, foundations and bequests would fill in the gaps. Effective charitable programs would focus on self sufficiency, and all would be well in terms of Canadian's economic and social welfare (2002:7). It is an understatement to say that great things are imagined by civic republicans in

¹³ As those from more critical perspectives might expect, Beito's imagination of “brotherly” organizations neglects the powerful presence of brotherhoods such as the Ku Klux Klan (or even the United Daughters of the Confederacy) which promoted racist agendas arising from losers of the American civil war, across North America!

Canada.

S. Smith makes the distinction that neoliberals leave social or welfare concerns to the voluntary sector, where-as for neo-conservatives, participation in the voluntary sector becomes an obligation on which citizen entitlements are conditioned. Neo-conservatives have reinterpreted the relationship between citizen and government as a two-way contract (1995:191-192). Mead's book, *Beyond Entitlement: The Social Obligations of Citizenship*, endorses obligations such as work training for welfare recipients (1986). Other key texts (also American) are Novak's *The New Consensus on Family and Welfare* (1987) and Berger, Neuhaus and Novak's second edition of *To Empower People: From State to Civil Society* (1996). According to Fraser, Mead and Giddens each argue that a central flaw of the welfare system is that it creates dependency and demotivates recipients so that they choose to become generationally dependent on welfare rather than choosing (low-level) paid employment. Such "dependency", rather than larger political and economic factors (such as the globalization of economic markets), is blamed for increased demands on social spending and is also said to be psychologically damaging to those "on the dole" (Fraser, 1997:139-140).

Civic republicanism has been reborn to some extent in the United States in the forms of communitarianism and associationalism. Communitarians, like neo-conservatives in general are very concerned with reducing government expenditure, but they place a particular emphasis on the community role in

meeting social needs. Etzioni has been credited for promoting communitarian ideas in the United States (Lister, 1997:20). The importance of doing charity work for development of your individual morality also finds clear expression in Saunders (1993).

Overall, Saunders' argument on citizenship is that a move towards a more privatized mode of consumption (specifically including housing and social welfare) does not entail an erosion of citizenship. For him the meaning of citizenship is weakened rather than enhanced by government social programs. He expresses concern (in the British context) about the opportunity for citizens to exercise their morality and finds the direct practice of charitable donation to be more explicitly moral than the indirect practices of electing governments and paying taxes which support a social welfare system.¹⁴ Saunders is convinced that collectives can not be created by governments:

The paradox of social cohesion, then, is that the more governments try to sustain it through the extension of 'citizen rights' (broadly defined) the weaker it becomes. To the extent that we fail to understand this (as many of us still do), we shall continue to reproduce the very problem of social fragmentation which our policies are intended to overcome. This unhappy state of affairs will continue for as long as we assume a necessary relation between the market and individual self-interest, and between the welfare state and collective altruism, for this dualism encourages us to attack the conditions which enable social bonds to form while extending the conditions which encourage greater fragmentation (1993:85).

Saunders reaches these conclusions by over-extending a research finding that

¹⁴ Sander's argument (like Margaret Thatcher's morality theme), follows directly from Hayek, 1967:230.

home-ownership had a positive impact on people's sense of security and willingness to participate as members of community. He could just as well have used this insight to build an argument that housing security is important for citizen well-being and political participation. Instead, he uses the idea to support the ideology of privatization and increasing individual income by reducing both taxes and social services (1993:86-88).

The expectation that it is better to work for social assistance than to receive it unconditionally is built into social policies of Thatcher's Britain, Reagan's America and Harris's Ontario. Alberta and Ontario are the first provinces to cope with reduced federal transfer payments by introducing "work-fare" which ties the receipt of social assistance benefits to performance of civil labour or retraining, even for mothers of young children (S. Smith, 1995). In Canada, discourses defending these policies have included celebration of the intention of reducing welfare rolls, and optimism about assisting the unemployed by: providing recent work experience, retraining, and boosting self-esteem with the notion of earning social security, rather than collecting welfare.

Civic republicanism is influencing political agendas and shaping the meaning of citizenship for federal and Ontario governments. We can see this most clearly in discourses of active citizenship and processes of the shadow state.

b) Active citizenship

Some of the responsibilities unloaded by the extra-local governments were transferred to the voluntary sector. Political philosophy and political

geography contribute the concepts active citizenship and shadow state as effective summaries for political analysis of changes in citizenship and in the voluntary sector. The recent combination of neoliberal citizenship's reduced entitlement, and neo-conservative citizenship's increased obligation is precisely what it known as active citizenship. Canadian citizenship as it was previously understood has been redefined in a recent convergence of neoliberal and neo-conservative philosophies. Created in its wake is active citizenship which is arguably a form of "anti-citizenship". Popular use of the term active citizenship actually originated with British Prime Minister Douglas Hurd who launched what Mouffe describes as a "moral crusade" for "active and responsible" citizenship (1988:28-29). The British Prime Minister was talking about a citizenship with a forced notion of duty or contractual form of social services. Political geographers recaptured the term, critically deconstructing the layered meanings of disentanglement and off-loading of social responsibility. Although others have begun to call the voluntarism strategy into question, the analysis of political geographers' is more satisfactory.

Active citizenship rhetoric has several components: denial of government responsibility for citizen well-being and promotion of community or voluntary responsibility for looking after those whose needs are not met through family support. Notions of family here tend to be quite conservative with assumptions of heterosexuality and strongly gendered ideas about responsibility. We have seen this happening in Canada for close to two decades. The decline of the Keynesian welfare state has been thoroughly documented and criticized,

including even the gendered implications of cuts to the public sector and elimination of social programs (Brodie, 1996; Bakker and Scott, 1997; Neysmith 1999; Canadian Council on Social Development 2000; Banting, K. et. al., 1993; Baker, 1994b). One paper even focuses on the gendered implications of the cuts to social housing (Wekerle, 1997). Some critical attention has been given to the growth of the voluntary sector (Phillips, 2001, Banting, 2000) but until this dissertation there is an absence of political economic analysis linking voluntarism and active citizenship in Canada. In citizenship theory in general, Turner has neutralized the term, depriving it of the political edge that the geographers have honed (1993, 1997).

In her 1988 article on citizenship in the British context, Mouffe pursues a democratic reconciliation between individualism and social responsibility (28). This is just one piece of her larger, radical democratic project in which she is seeking primarily a democracy which makes possible representation of the multi-faceted, rapidly changing, and contradictory characteristics of non-essentialized citizen identity. This thesis engages with this dialogue only briefly. It is notable that at one point, Mouffe recognizes and problematizes the distinction between an active citizenship in which social responsibility is down-loaded to voluntary programs and a radical-democratic citizenship in which people participate richly in creating the polity in which they live. My own version of the meaning citizenship should carry is not as deeply anti-essentialist as Mouffe's¹⁵ but it does

¹⁵ Mouffe offers a deep deconstruction of political identities as very transitory and characterized most strongly in different moments by different aspects of an individual's

emphasize participation in decision-making as she does.

Political geographers Kearns (1992; Fyfe, 1995; Staeheli, 1994; H. Clark, 1994; S. Smith, 1995; and Brown, 1994) are the primary critical observers of the phenomenon of active citizenship. H. Clark, 1994; S. Smith, 1995; Marston and Staeheli, 1994:842; and Kearns, 1992) note the use of the term active citizenship in a local governance strategy constructed by the British Conservative governments upon voluntary practices of the citizenry. Marston goes on to observe a similar philosophy preached in American welfare reform as proposed by Rose and Milton Friedman (1988) and Mead (1986). Marston and Staeheli call attention to the relational nature of citizenship and multiplicity of sites of struggle over its boundaries:

Although the legal rights and responsibilities of citizenship are assigned to individuals, they are extended on the basis of the standing of, or the relationships between, social groups in civil society. These are the relationships through which individuals are included in or excluded from the polity. Struggles over citizenship, then, are struggles to transform the state, civil society, and the terrain of participation by changing the webs of power relations in which individuals and social groups are positioned (1994:844).

Appreciation of the full dimensions of this thesis requires an understanding of the struggles over the shelter entitlements and volunteer obligations of citizens in Ottawa, as struggles to transform society, and struggles which shape citizenship. It is consistent with Marston's expectation that negotiations of citizenship may be found at small scales and in "private" or "informal" arenas that have traditionally been overlooked in political analyses.

identities (1993).

One of the most astute perceptions about active citizenship arrives in the brief commentary of S. Smith about how the meaning of citizenship is changing in the 1990's. She deconstructs the ideology of England's Citizen's Charter in a few sentences:

What both Kearns and Fyfe show, then is that active citizenship is a shift to self-provisioning clothed in the language of obligation. It replaces entitlements with charity, and it makes patronizing assumptions about the public's inclination and ability collectively and individually to maintain safety, health and welfare. ... In return for fulfilling the obligations associated with active citizenship, people may, under the neo-conservative model, expect certain standards of service from the public, private and voluntary bodies concerned with providing collective goods (1995:192).

These expectations are enshrined in what is called a "citizen's charter" but what for Smith and Kearns (1995) constitutes the formalization of an injection of market-thinking into public services.

There are a number of useful contributions from Kearns's 1995 paper, "Active citizenship and local governance". My definition of active citizenship is based largely on four characteristics of active citizenship he observes in Thatcher's Britain. First, citizenship is individualistic and constructed in opposition to collective approaches for social services:

Increasingly, responsibility for welfare is being passed over from the state to individual citizens whose compulsion to get active is to derive from their personal morality and the prospect of the approbation of others, rather than from feelings of community belonging and communal endeavour. This combination of personal effort and the exercise of moral judgements by citizens (who have been educated in the right way) has facilitated the linking of active citizenship to the longer-term project of reforming, curtailing and cheapening the welfare state (Kearns, 1995:157).

Second, the individual's attitude toward social responsibility is "fostered through

moral hectoring and mild coercion” (Kearns, 1995:158). Active citizenship is also reinforced by social recognition and civic reward for the making of individual social contributions. Third, active citizenship is selective, dual and elitist. Control of non-elected agencies that administer social programs belongs to the wealthy and professionals. In contrast, mundane activities of such agencies are performed by “ordinary” citizens (159). Fourth, active citizenship encourages belief in citizenship obligations without motivating a vocal or politically-engaged public (160).

Kearns is interested in local governance, and particularly in the democratic or liberatory potential of people being more involved in their own governance. These hopes are not realized within active citizenship. In fact, he concludes that active citizenship is not democratic in its outcomes for four reasons: its elitist character; the tendency to depoliticized not politicize; government’s “distrust of the amateur” and, government’s preference for paternalistic governance (156). I have similar concerns about citizenship discourse in Ontario and the Canadian Federal government of 2001.

c) Shadow state

Shadow state is Wolch’s term for a voluntary sector that is strongly influenced, if not controlled by, government regulation. The shadow state is built through the three processes of: selective dismantling of welfare state supports; internal transformation characterized by decentralization of service responsibility such that local organizations are directed by extra-local governments towards efficiency, productivity and out-sourcing; and externalization which includes

privatization and transfer of responsibility from government to non-profit organizations (1990:42). Civic republican philosophy leads quite naturally to shadow state construction which is rhetorically sold to the public on the merits of cost reduction, continuation of service, and opportunity for citizen involvement.

Although shadow state analysis has not been taken up in the Canadian literature, it is useful for citizenship analysis. Initial findings demonstrate that the process is not neutral in terms of social and citizenship consequences. Again, political geography has taken the lead: Kearn's assessment of the relationship between active citizenship and democratic practice is confirmed in Lake and Newman's finding that the in Newark, New Jersey, the shadow state contributes to differentiated citizenship (2002). The research in this dissertation indicates shadow state characteristics of relationships between shelters and extra-local governments, as well as of disputed meanings of citizenship in Ottawa which arise from economic polarisation and local/extra-local disagreements over social citizenship.

III. What's Wrong With Civic Republicanism?

When civic republicanism is considered within the current social context in Ottawa, it constitutes what I call an anti-citizenship rather than a genuine form of citizenship which offers solutions to concerns like homelessness. The final theoretical insight offered in this dissertation is a deconstruction of civic republicanism's claims and the development of criteria for citizenship theories

rooted in my own epistemological approach.

There is a long established notion that citizenship bestows equality and offers justice to its members. The connections between citizenship, justice, and equality are not clearly theorized under liberalism (Mouffe, 1996, 1993; Fraser, 1997, 1989; and Young, 1991). Certainly though, there is a normative component, and theories rooted in liberalism have continued to employ rhetorics of justice, equality, and fairness (see Friedman and Friedman, 1988; Mead, 1986; Broadbent 1999). Since the rhetorical strain continues despite the lack of clarity in meanings of equality and justice, it is useful to measure the outcomes of citizenship theories against substantive ideas of equality and justice. It is reasonable to expect citizenship processes to produce more equality of condition than inequality of condition. This expectation offers a normatively-informed empirical challenge to the current promoters of civic republicanism.

Civic republicanism's claim is that civil society is the more appropriate location for social responsibility than the public sector (as I discussed above in reference to the works of Sarlo (2002) and Beito (2001)). From their perspectives, the morality of individual citizens is strengthened through voluntary social contributions, social cohesion is maintained by sharing of social responsibility via the not-for-profit sector, and social needs are met.

There is an empirical aspect to this claim. My dispute with civic republicanism as an appropriate model for governance in Canada begins with a substantive dispute of their empirical claim. The needs of many citizens in Ottawa are not met through voluntary sector service provision. Restructuring of

the welfare state such that responsibility for those who cannot afford housing at market prices becomes a voluntary sector concern, measures significantly among the causes leading to a rise in homelessness in Canada's urban centers. This however, is only the first component of my critique. There are two other aspects of citizenship which are denied by civic republicanism.

While I agree with civic republican that the practices of being a citizen are an important component of citizenship's meaning, my interpretation of which practices are of primary significance differs greatly from the interpretations of particular civic republicans who have been influencing recent political discourse. While the recent strains of republican theory emphasize volunteer service, participation in political decision making is arguably a higher level of citizenship practice. Anyone can do basic volunteer tasks, but since the Athenian tradition, political practice is a human function of a higher level. For Lister, the Greek citizenship tradition is about fulfilling potential as well as about meeting obligations:

Citizenship as *obligation* has its roots in the more ancient civic republican tradition of classical Greece in which political participation as civic duty and the expression of the citizen's full potential as a political being represent the essence of citizenship as articulated by Aristotle in particular (1997:13-14) (emphasis in original).

Habermas (1993:262) and Taylor (1989) contrast citizenship models such as Lister's which emphasize the activity of collective decision-making and self-rule as a key aspect of citizenship, with those with an instrumental focus on rights and equal treatment as a significant early branching of citizenship models.

Waltzer highlights the understanding of political decision-making as definitive of human development in Greek thought as follows:

To live well is to be politically active, working with our fellow citizens, collectively determining our common destiny - not for the sake of this or that determination but for the work itself, in which our highest capacities as rational and moral agents find expression (1995:144).

This concern for the development of human beings as decision-makers and moral agents is undoubtedly a concern of greater significance than the profit-making agenda in the possessive-individualism of neoliberal thought.

I am not developing an extensive critique of our electoral and political systems with this argument, but rather a recognition that more inclusive processes offer a stronger form of citizenship than less inclusive practices. Political processes that hide the meanings of policy change and avoid transparency in decision-making such as characterize the methods of governance of recent federal and Ontario administrations, are unworthy of our human development.

Neoliberalism and civic republicanism also lead to increased economic and social polarizations, even among those who are still housed within Canadian communities. Practising citizenship is supposed to involve people reaching shared political solutions to problems. In developing those solutions citizens are expected to take other's needs and interests into account along side of their own well-being. The polarizations of republican societies work in the opposite direction. Instead of encouraging equality of opportunity and mutual respect, civic republicanism develops economic, moral, gendered and racialized

hierarchies in which some groups of people have power to make decisions and elevated moral opportunities to contribute, while others are excluded from decision-making and assumed to be morally inferior.

The substantive and theoretical claims of this dissertation are developed through conscientious research design and a combination of research methodologies which are the subject of my next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

Methods of Researching Processes Linking Citizenship, Homelessness and Volunteering

A combination of methodological tools is required to conduct the intended analysis of citizenship. This chapter discusses the methodologies chosen, research processes, and research ethics in this thesis. My first task involves developing a methodological strategy that will allow me to make a comparison of citizenship constructions at national, provincial and municipal levels. Key aspects of these constructions include both policy and discourse. Fortunately, a good deal of policy analysis has already been conducted and I have built upon this literature. What was needed in terms of original research on my part was analysis of the way discourses of social policy are reshaping the substance of social citizenship and the expectations of citizen responsibility.

The second research component required for evaluating the success of civic republican versus traditional and alternative citizen discourses involves comparison of volunteers' philosophies with the different citizenship theories. In order to include the internalized perceptions of citizenship as part of interpreting what citizenship means in the current context, I interpret social-service volunteers' perceptions of their unpaid contributions in relation to citizenship. Before I begin to detail the methods employed, I summarize the epistemological approach that informed the research questions and methods used to answer them.

I. Developing the Approach to Research and Theory

The epistemological issue in this chapter involves the relationship between discourses of citizenship, policies shaping citizenship, and the construction of citizenship identities by the volunteers in this study. Every aspect of defining (and thereby of studying) citizenship is politicized. My own approach is influenced by new left politics and feminist theories in a combination which is intended to realistically acknowledge the power of structures and of discourses without rendering agency invisible.

The processes which shape the meanings of citizenship include processes of capitalist relations and processes related to economic globalization, but as Gibson-Graham argues, it is important to not over-extend our perceptions of capitalist expansion until it obscures all non-capitalist processes (1995:2-20). Gibson-Graham builds on post-structuralist feminist and post-modern Marxist strategies to make room for perspectives which do not assume capitalism to be all powerful or globalization to be a universally dominant process. Instead they show how capitalist processes are challenged and resisted by non-capitalism. In some ways my project of analyzing the meanings of citizenship is inspired by their anti-essentialist strategy. In spite of the *laissez-faire* economic policies of successive national governments, and the embrace of such policies by the Ontario government, my perception is that many Canadians reject the privileging of markets over all other concerns.¹⁶ My research was designed with the

¹⁶ It could be argued that my perception is supported by the dramatic increase in support for the New Democratic and Green parties in the federal election of June 2004.

expectation that there is surely some evidence of alternate conceptions of social responsibility and perhaps even processes of resistance to laissez-faire economics (which researchers have neglected). Working from a definition of citizenship as the outcome of multiple-processes and from an epistemology that allows for multiple meanings made it possible to reveal processes citizenship moving in directions alternative to those of the dominant discourses.

I also go beyond the limits of discursive analysis in my assessment. Discursive changes are only effective to the extent that such discourses are believed, accepted and in the case of active citizenship duties, acted upon. Active citizenship discourses divorce notions of social responsibility from state apparatuses and down-load caring labour (including care of the indigent homeless) onto citizen volunteers and to households. Behaviour that looks like the acceptance of active citizenship duties can be seen in Ottawa but aspects of this behaviour also pre-existed active citizenship and should be credited to other motivations. There are enduring traditions of church-based, left-wing, and feminist not-for-profit groups which have served the needy in Ottawa. Many theories of citizenship as a practice (Turner 1990, 1997; Lister 1997; Waltzer 1995) and much philosophy relevant to citizenship theory that treat it as an experience and a practice of democracy (Mouffe 1993,1996; Young 1991,1997),

The Green Party despite not electing a single member, enjoyed a 458 percent increase in support between 2000 and 2004, collecting 580,000 votes in the 2004 election. Support for the New Democratic support was up by 93 percent. These increases in popularity came at the expense of the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party (in comparison with the previous Progressive Conservative plus Alliance vote totals) (Green Party of Canada website: <http://www.greenparty.ca>).

are not grounded in empirical studies of what citizens experience and how they interpret their own citizenship. This study is the beginning of such a grounding.

I choose for this beginning point the analysis of citizenship interpretations by volunteers, of their voluntary labour in shelters, because it is the most timely question I could identify in the contested terrain of citizenship in Ottawa at the turn of the millennium. Citizenship is contested in the issue of homelessness as federal and provincial governments deny social responsibility and create the context where increasing numbers of individuals and families cannot sustain and house themselves, but other individuals including city workers, counsellors and many other Ottawa residents struggle to maintain shelter as something that is included among basic social provisions in their community.

Discourses about citizenship can be very revealing. Within the range of social services provided by volunteers, looking at sheltering programs offers the best opportunity to assess resistance to neoliberalism and alternative interpretations of citizenship. There are strong ideological discourses about worthy and unworthy homeless¹⁷ involving drunkenness, drug addiction, parental obligations, youth, age, and employability. In socially conservative and neoliberal ideologies there are also strong discourses creating notions of a distinct private space for family activity and assigning women care giving responsibilities within that private domain. With neo-conservatism this terrain of women's care giving responsibility is extended into community responsibility in

¹⁷A 2001 United Way campaign challenges this sentiment directly with a series of pictures and questions asking how young 'they' have to be before we care.

addition to what is expected at home.

My operationalization of shelter initially included: men's homeless shelters, the women's homeless shelter, youth shelters for both sexes, family shelters and shelters for women and children fleeing abuse.¹⁸ I had two reasons for including women abuse shelters alongside of other shelters (although they are frequently categorized separately for analytic purposes). The first reason is empirical. It was relevant to include homeless families because families have been the fastest growing segment of the population in Ottawa during the housing crisis (Social Planning Council of Ottawa, 2001b:6). Under such circumstances it is valuable to consider families as a group of particular interest for analysis. 26.7 percent of women staying in Ottawa family shelters between 1997 and April 2000 expressed woman and or child abuse as their reason for being homeless (Lauriault, 2000: "Homelessness Reasons") so I wanted to be sure to include this significant portion of Ottawa's homeless population within the shelter selection process.

The second reason for including women abuse shelters is theoretically

¹⁸Citizenship literature suggests that the deepest divisions in citizenship identity are likely to be ideological, gender-based or ethnic. As the ideological alternatives to a neoliberal conception of citizenship were what I was seeking in my exploration of local citizen activity in Ottawa, I began with an expectation it would be fruitful to select my cases with attention to gendered and ethnic differences of the communities the shelters or transition houses are rooted in. Lack of availability of the shelters targeting particular ethnic communities to participate in a study involving their volunteers, and restrictions from the ethical review process on collecting data about people's personal backgrounds (including ethnicity), prevented me from being able to use this knowledge in my final research design.

informed. I was especially interested in the views of people working in women abuse shelters. Most shelters helping women to escape violence exist due to the activism of praxis feminists. Furthermore, women abuse shelters are often centres for feminist advocacy work¹⁹ and this can bring them into conflict with those who would describe violence against women as an individual rather than societal problem (see Kenny and Magnusson, 1993; Walker, 1990). Some vital citizenship ideas are rooted in participatory practices and inclusive theories of feminists, so there is very interesting potential in comparison of views of workers (paid and unpaid) at women abuse shelters with providers of other forms of shelter services. Unfortunately this comparison has been postponed until future research because I was unable to interview enough women-abuse shelter volunteers to make strong comparisons.

Citizenship is also contested within the motivating forces acting on individual volunteers. Are they donating time and effort because they agree with governmental discourses of active citizenship duty, or are they there for other motivations which contradict the active citizenship discourse? I answered these important questions through an exploration of the philosophies of shelter volunteers. The necessary data was gained through in-depth semi-structured telephone interviews.

The remainder of this chapter presents the methodological approaches

¹⁹ Four of the primary women's shelters in Ottawa follow an integrated model of services which includes advocacy work (interview three). The Oshki Kizis shelter was not yet open and not included among those the social worker was describing in this interview.

employed in this thesis. Section two discusses methodology for the data collection and discourse analysis as it is applied to provincial and federal government texts in Chapter Four. Section three follows with an account of the methodological decisions relevant to the discursive analysis of City of Ottawa documentation presented in Chapter Five. Section four has several components aimed at the methodological issues pertaining to collecting volunteer interview data. These components are ethical review, case selection, sampling, interviews, field notes and data analysis.

II. Studying Provincial and Federal Policy

Treating citizenship (in the fashion of Turner (1993) and Lister (1997)) as the outcome of a series of processes works well for depicting ways that people who are homeless (and in some ways those in core housing need), experience exclusions from citizenship practices. Regardless of any formal status which suggests equality, the dangerous realities of life without sufficient resources of food and shelter, is a life full of exclusion from rights and privileges which others can presume to enjoy. Formal citizenship, once achieved, is relatively straightforward²⁰ and barely needs discussion. The boundaries of genuine

²⁰ I recognize that obtaining citizenship can be a very challenging and time-consuming experience in itself, especially for refugee claimants. This is the subject of interesting literatures on immigration and refugee policy which leads me to believe also that refugees and immigrants are likely over represented among the homeless within Ottawa's population due to systemic discriminations. That expectation was supported in dialogues with shelter administrators about their perceptions of the causes of homelessness and also in research about poverty in Ottawa (Centre on Governance, 2002 VI; Gupta, 2001). My own analysis of the causes of homelessness is focused on

citizenship experience, by contrast, are unwritten and vary with social location. Chapter Four's attention to federal and provincial policy captures key dimensions of these informal boundaries of citizenship as they relate to shelter and/or volunteering, and brings them under sociological scrutiny. The methodological challenge is in identification and interpretation of relevant documents. Relevant documentary evidence indicates: the boundaries of citizenship entitlement, the borders of citizen-obligation, the discursive attempt to shift those boundaries, and the imagined relationships between citizenship entitlements and obligations.

Although formal citizenship is a status bestowed by a department of the federal government, much of citizenship as a practice depends on provincial and local policy (Marston and Staeheli, 1994; Kearns, 1992). The division of responsibility in Ottawa between federal, provincial and municipal governments is such that local and provincial policies predominate in voluntarism, shelter, and affordable housing policies.

There are two components to the analysis of provincial and federal policy. The first is based in a review of the literature, and the second component involves original discourse analysis. Provincial and federal policy impacts upon citizen equality and inequality in Ottawa are the main issues in most of this analysis. Citizenship is theorized to be a status of equality, but as Macpherson (1987) observes, capitalism interferes with citizenship. Further, sociological analysis recognizes that citizenship can also further and foster stratification

economic neoliberalism and housing at the exclusion of other relevant issues such as immigration and refugee policy.

(Marshall and Bottomore, 1992). This portion of the assessment relies on established approaches to be found in various literatures. Sociology, women's studies, political studies, philosophy and political economy have all contributed scholarship to the subject of changes since the early 1980's in Canadian social and economic policy. It is well-documented that the entitlements portion of citizenship has been steadily reduced through federal and provincial neoliberalism over almost twenty years, for those who had reasonable entitlement to social citizenship.²¹ Civic republican and neo-conservative theories also posit an "obligations" or "duty" component of citizenship. These aspects of citizenship and the relationship between obligation and entitlement are less clearly documented in the aforementioned literatures.²² Research that pays specific attention to voluntarism is a recent addition to these fields of study where it exists at all. For this aspect of my inquiry I employ discourse analysis.

Data for the discourse analysis includes provincial and federal documents available on the Internet including press releases, speeches, ministry policy statements, and reports. Several times each in 1999 and 2000, I scanned the websites of relevant ministries including Human Resources Development,

²¹ Some necessary social programs including child care, adequate accommodation for people with disabilities, and appropriate social services on reserves have never been in place so people enduring those gaps in service may not have experienced the worsening of conditions which others felt during the 1980s and 1990s.

²² British political geographers Kearns, Fyfe and Marston called attention to the concern of active citizenship in their work of the early and mid-1990's, and Mouffe briefly examines active citizenship discourse but none of them make any observations of the Canadian context in this regard.

Citizenship; Community and Social Services; and Municipal and Social Housing. I down-loaded any documents pertaining to citizenship entitlements, voluntarism, social housing, entitlement to social programs (child benefit, welfare, public housing), obligation or participation, and finally those which indicated presumptions about citizens' right to know or understand policy and citizen's right to participate in policy-making or decide on appropriate policy directions. These documents are treated as qualitative data for analysis using the assistance of the ATLAS.ti program. ATLAS.ti assisted with deconstruction of the ideas of citizenship embedded and superficially evident in the documents studied. The ideas from different sources can then be compared, contrasted, and grouped into families and networks.

As an example of this analytic process, one of the key notions emerging from active citizenship theory is the individualization of citizen entitlement, such that each adult person is held responsible for their economic/social condition as an individual rather than viewed within the collective responsibility of a community or nation. I coded the provincial and federal documents for passages relevant to individualization of citizenship. Review of the passages encoded with individualism and the attempt to construct a network that meaningfully portrayed this aspect of citizenship taught me that the category "individualism" was much too broad. I recoded these passages, finding six different ways in which responsibility was individualized. They are as follows: 1) individualization of responsibility for health; 2) individualization of responsibility for problems; 3) individualization of responsibility for family; 4) individualization of responsibility

for employment; 5) individualization of responsibility for fraud-reporting; and 6) individualization of responsibility for education. It was a very informative exercise and yielded effective data for illustrating a neoliberal current of ideas occurring in the sub-text of government policy and rhetoric.

III. Researching the City of Ottawa Role

The present City of Ottawa is the result of an amalgamation of twelve municipalities which occurred January 1, 2001. Data collection process utilized in this thesis emphasize the work of the City Council and its committees after the amalgamation.²³ Staff and administrators of Ottawa also have important influence over the social citizenship experiences in Ottawa. The opinions of key People Services and Housing Branch personnel are derived from the consistency of concern documented for inclusivity and for consultation in city policies, services and practices.

City policies and philosophies are interpreted from five sources of data: 1) city websites and news releases; 2) town council minutes and resolutions; 3) minutes of the Health, Recreation and Social Services Committee; and (after their creation), the minutes from the Poverty Issues Advisory Committee and the

²³ The work of the transition board which in-theory helped to establish the new council also becomes relevant on particular issues because the transition board was in some ways an instrument of the provincial government in promoting a market-driven policy direction. The responses of the newly elected City of Ottawa Council to the transition-board's restructuring of the city and attempt to control several years of budgets in advance, is an early indicator of the upcoming tense relationships between the council and the province.

Health and Social Services Advisory Committee; 4) city reports prepared by staff/administration of the Housing Branch, People Services, and Corporate Services; and 5) internal memos used by administrators to indicate city policy and procedure. To gain alternate insights on the information and perspectives expressed by the council and committees, I also gathered relevant news stories from local Ottawa newspapers, the Mayor's Task Force on Public-Private Partnerships for Affordable Housing, the Ottawa Transition Board and reports of the Social Planning Council of Ottawa.

IV. Researching Volunteer Philosophies in the Shelter Sector

It is one thing to recognize active citizenship rhetoric in the writings and speeches of politicians and another to see them reflected back in actions of citizens. The difficulty is that people working as volunteers in homeless shelters could be acting out of the sense of duty prescribed by the federal and provincial promoters of active citizenship, or they could be acting very much in opposition to such notions, but in support of the idea that their fellow citizens deserve shelter as a minimum entitlement of citizenship. Volunteers' actions alone are insufficient evidence. I conducted in-depth, recorded, telephone interviews with selected volunteers about their philosophies of citizenship and motivations for volunteering. The interviews lasted between thirty minutes and two hours, varying with the length of responses to open-ended questions (See Appendix Two: Interview Schedules For Volunteers). My analysis of the shelters roles and explorations of the shadow state processes also benefitted from interviews with

shelter administrators and/or volunteer coordinators.²⁴ I also visited all of the shelters except Harbour (which has a policy preventing visits by observers) at least twice and toured each on the first visit. These were important opportunities for assessing the atmosphere in the shelter, making observations of the nature of interactions among residents, volunteers and staff, plus learning about the services the shelters offered to homeless people. I recorded extensive notes immediately after each of these field visits. I also recorded my observations after all telephone calls with Harbour administrators and staff (even if they were not interviews).

Overall, case selection for the shelters with which my research would be conducted relied primarily on the existence of a volunteer program and the shelters willingness to participate in my research project at that time. Cornerstone, the city's large shelter for homeless single women was just establishing their volunteer program and not ready to participate in a research project involving that program (personal communication, May 2001). Two of the largest men's shelters expressed the necessary willingness for a study involving their volunteers. One family shelter which served women fleeing abuse along with other families, and one transition shelter for women and children fleeing abuse also agreed to participate but each of these two made fairly limited use of volunteers at the time I was conducting the research. The remainder of this

²⁴ In the case of the Family Shelter, the volunteer coordinator interviewed actually worked with a Community Health Recreation and Service Center as the shelter did not have a volunteer coordinator of their own and relied on the CHRSC for administration of the volunteer assistance that was available.

section more specifically covers processes of ethical review, sampling and case selection, interviewing, field notes and data analysis for interpreting the meaning of citizenship for shelter volunteers in Ottawa.

a) Ethical review

While conducting my research I followed the guidelines of the Tri-Council Policy Statement “Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans” (2001). The process approved by Carleton’s Research Ethics committee was as follows.

Written consent for participation in the research was obtained from all parties involved. Consent in this project operated at two different levels. The first level involved consent of the organization to have a study conducted of its current context and volunteers’ views. The second level involved voluntary consent of individual volunteers to become research subjects by participating in interviews of approximately one hour in length.

I took a collaborative approach with each of the organizations studied regarding the anonymity or publication of their institutional identity. To obtain consent, I provided each with a letter describing: the research; its purpose; the importance of consent; the procedures of consent, refusal, anonymity; and the participant’s rights (see Appendix Three: Ethical Review Procedure Documents). I discussed the participant’s rights (in person or by telephone) with the volunteer coordinator, the executive director and/or a board member, according to the preferences expressed by members of each institution. In some cases, the representative consulted with other members of the organization at a meeting of the board or with administrators before consenting to research participation.

Written consent for participation was obtained from a shelter representative after completion of this consultation process. Four shelters agreed to participate in the study. One agreed immediately to the release of the organizations name. One immediately elected not to have their organizational identity released. A third was a city-administered shelter that worked with voluntary community organizations for specific programs within the shelter, which meant information about their budget, services provided and organizational structure was already public information, but I have kept them anonymous none-the-less in order to fulfill commitments of anonymity made to shelter staff and administration as promised under Tri-Council regulations. The fourth shelter made release of their identity conditional upon reviewing a first draft of the dissertation. At that time I was given permission to use the shelter name throughout the document.

To summarize: the Shepherds of Good Hope and the Mission each agreed to have their institutional identities publicized in the thesis whereas the Family Shelter and Harbour are pseudonyms chosen to protect those organizations from any possible unwanted scrutiny. Women living in Harbour and raising children while recovering from experiences of violence share spaces like kitchens and living rooms within the building. In these circumstances outside visitors can be an additional source of stress. Administrators and staff worked cooperatively with me to allow the gathering of interview data I needed without interrupting the day-to-day lives of people living there.

Aside from contending with organizational anonymity, I was required under Tri-Council regulations to protect the anonymity of my interview subjects. I

had each of them sign consent forms (sometimes with the assistance of the organization's volunteer coordinator in distributing and collecting forms because I was living and working about 450 kilometres from Ottawa in Sherbrooke throughout this research process). A sample consent form is included in Appendix Three: Ethical Review Procedure Documents. Several shelter administrators and volunteers expressed the view that they were willing to be identified, but the Tri-Council regulations prevented this possibility. (For supplementary discussion of research issues arising from ethical review procedures see Appendix Four: Reflections on Ethical Review Procedures and Qualitative Research Processes). After conducting telephone interviews, I transcribed the audio tapes of those conversations myself. The tapes and computer files were labelled only with a coding system, not with volunteer's or shelter's names.

b) Sampling and case selection

There is great variation in the duration, size and structure of volunteer programs in or affiliated with shelters in Ottawa. There was throughout 2001-2002 a time of great demand for shelter services without increases in core funding (as detailed in Chapter Five). Shelter staff and resources were stretched to an extent that it was a challenge for me to get the necessary time and cooperation for conducting my data. In light of the problems of availability, I selected the only men's homeless shelters and women abuse shelters that were appropriate to my study and available to participate during 2001. Fortunately the available shelters represent that aforementioned diversity and variety across

their four volunteer programs. The Shepherds of Good Hope had a very large and strongly established volunteer program with volunteers performing a variety of tasks. The Mission also had an extensive volunteer program. It features coordination with other charitable and religious organizations which sponsor specific programs (such as a once-a-week hot breakfast), and provide the volunteers for that event. Harbour had a very new volunteer program which was beginning the process of integrating volunteer (or "level one") roles alongside of the roles for their unionized paid staff. Like The Shepherds of Good Hope and the Mission they also had a volunteer board of directors. The Family Shelter was a unique amalgam of city space and staff with a series community-run programs in order to meet the needs of their shelter residents. At this shelter there was an established tradition of community outreach volunteers who contributed food and clothing to shelter residents. There were also newer programs (such as a reading program for children living in the shelter) which were coordinated through a Community Health and Recreation Center. The diversity of structures for using volunteers within these shelters provides an interesting and diverse range of organizations for assessing volunteer roles in relation to citizenship.

A second selection process involved choosing individual research subjects. The volunteer coordinators of the shelters played an important role in facilitating the volunteer interviews as coordinators were needed to provide the names and contact information of the volunteers. I allowed the volunteer coordinators to do this in the various ways they found to be appropriate and comfortable given that institutions have differing regulations about access by

outsiders. Further, the volunteer coordinators had different levels and forms of contact with their volunteers. The ethical review process of collecting signed consent forms posed an additional challenge because due to my distance from Ottawa, I did not (as a rule) meet the volunteers face-to-face. In one case the volunteer co-ordinator assisted in collecting consent forms, and in other cases I requested mailing addresses from the interviewees during the preliminary telephone call in which I described the research goals, answered any questions, and scheduled an interview. I had these participants send signed forms back to me by mail.

In the cases where large numbers of available volunteers made it possible, I collected more signed consent forms than were actually needed and sampled from among the volunteers. I used a combination of purposive and random sampling. At two of the shelters involved with this research some of the people fulfilling volunteer responsibilities were actually there on Ontario Works or Court Placement Programs. These civil labourers were generally treated in the same ways as volunteers²⁵, working in many of the same tasks, and in some ways distinctions between them and other volunteers were deliberately obscured, so I encouraged volunteer coordinators to include these “compulsory volunteers” among those they approached about the interview opportunity. The

²⁵ Two distinctions in treatment emerge from my field notes: in the time that I was at the shelter in question I observed that only volunteers in work or court programs had to sign in and out to create a record of their hours contributed, and there seemed to be stronger levels of familiarity between staff and work or court program participants who were at the shelter four days a week than between staff and other volunteers who were usually there only one day per week.

small number of respondents who were part of the Ontario Works program whom I became aware of as civil labourers²⁶ were selected.

I also (in most cases not having met the volunteers face-to-face) privileged anyone with a name that suggested a non-majority ethnic origin. While names are limited predictors of ethnic-identity, I was attuned to the possibilities of racism at shelters (as anywhere in Canadian society) and without other personal details available²⁷ these clues to identity offered the best chance I had of observing ethnic or racial tensions at their shelter. The questions I asked about issues of race, ethnicity and citizenship were subtle and indirect but designed to make volunteers feel free to express their views about diversity, newcomers, and entitlement to the benefits of living in Canada. In my sampling, I also tried to represent the diversity of the different kinds of work activities performed by the volunteers by encouraging the volunteer coordinators to invite participants from different shelter programs. In most cases, four to six telephone calls were required to reach the volunteers and schedule an interview. The volunteers who were purposively chosen were put on a more frequent telephone-call rotation, then I operated on a first-contacted, first-scheduled basis,

²⁶ As discussed in Chapter One (definition of volunteer), “civil labourer” is a term from Beck (2001). People sentenced to community service work in lieu of a fine or jail term under Department of Corrections legislation are also civil labours but were not among those unpaid shelter workers who volunteered to be interviewed.

²⁷ Any possibilities of collecting such information are constrained by the ethical review process, regardless of the merits of my intentions, or the readiness of volunteers to share their personal histories. Most had a clear sense of why they volunteered and were proud of their collective accomplishments as volunteers.

attempting to finish this research in reasonable time. In the case of shelters with relatively few available volunteers and or new volunteer programs, I interviewed all of the willing volunteers and even extended the time frame for my interviews by several months in order to include as many volunteers as possible.

c) Conducting volunteer interviews

With the exception of a few hours per week that I spent teaching university classes, I conducted the interview at the time and day most convenient to the person interviewed. I had a schedule of twenty-five questions which varied slightly for front-line versus board-of-director volunteers. After a few preliminaries in which I obtained a description in the volunteers' own words of the kinds of work they did at the shelter, the questions were open-ended. I adjusted the order of the questions to best fit the flow-of-thought that was emerging in the respondents' answers. Several key questions were repeated in different ways (first near the beginning, then near the end) in case the opportunity for reflection on their contribution brought about through the interview process changed the way they answered. The interview schedule is included in Appendix Two. I tape-recorded and transcribed the interviews. A total of twenty-five volunteers with four different shelters were interviewed. Transcripts generated between three and four hundred single-spaced pages of text.

d) Field notes and interviews of staff or administrators

A shelter's environment also has relevance to understanding the volunteer program and the views of the volunteers. As part of the initial process of

selecting shelters for participation in the research I interviewed an administrator of the shelter and/or the volunteer coordinator. In all of the cases where it was possible, I visited the shelter and toured it in the course of the initial interviews with administrators which was designed to explore the possibilities of cooperation with the research. In one case where recruiting volunteers for interviews proved difficult, I worked alongside the volunteers from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. which provided access to three different shifts of volunteers where personal invitations for interviews were extended. Field notes were recorded immediately after each shelter visit to enrich data collection. One of the women-abuse shelters required a different strategy as its location is secret. In order to maximize the safety and the privacy of the families living there, arrangements with staff and an administrator were made over the telephone. I then interviewed the volunteer coordinator at a neutral site away from the shelter. The interviews with administrators and volunteer coordinators covered: a brief history of the shelter; the variety of types of programs administered there; the extent of the volunteer program and activities of volunteers; the relationship of the shelter to Ontario Works and Provincial Court programs; shelter funding; recent changes in demand for services; and the ethical review procedures I was following.

e) Data analysis

Both telephone and in-person interviews were tape-recorded, with the permission of the interview subjects, and later transcribed. I had thirty interviews, plus field notes for analysis. ATLAS.ti was used as a tool for data analysis of the transcriptions, similarly to the way it was used to analyze texts of

government documents and council committee meetings. My grounded approach to construction of questions for the volunteer interviews and to making observations at all available opportunities proved to be effective. While I had knowledge of a broad range of citizenship theories, I did not begin the shelter research with fixed assumptions that any particular theory would be the most relevant. My openness to unexpected findings was fruitful as it became evident that the shelter volunteers were generally not interested in, nor motivated by politics. This characteristic of volunteer philosophies in a sense challenged the original premise I had for talking with them. A theoretical and praxis-based concern about politics and interest in social theory on the part of the researcher, had led to the initial assumption that similar concerns would be significant if not foremost in shelter volunteer motivations. When I learned that political views of volunteers were vague and political agendas of social change were rarely mentioned by volunteers as motivational factors, I had sufficient data thanks to the open-ended nature of the questions to develop new insights about the way volunteers understand social entitlements and voluntary contributions in relation to community rather than in relation to citizenship.

The strength of ATLAS.ti as a research tool for this process is that it greatly assisted in the process of making comparisons across 30 interviews and about 300 single-spaced pages of text.²⁸ Using this program, each interview

²⁸ ATLAS.ti has been the subject of much positive critical scrutiny by the research community. See for example, R. B. Lewis "ATLAS.ti and NUDIST: A Comparative Review of Two Leading Qualitative Data Analysis Packages". *Cultural Anthropology Methods* 10 (3) pp. 41-47.

exists as an independent file, but there is an opportunity to link together specific pieces of text according to themes both within and across interviews. For each interview I could, for example, create a system of codes that allowed me to compile comments made that supported aspects of active citizenship and comments that opposed aspects of active citizenship. After coding each interview I could then easily compare all relevant codes within one interview, across all interview subjects for a particular shelter, and or across the entire body of interview texts.

The data analysis program I chose is flexible because it allows the creation of new codes at any time, and opportunity to experiment with new combinations of codes without destroying any past analysis. Another excellent feature is that at each step of each process (saving a transcribed file, creating a new code, viewing networks of codes, breaking a previously chosen code in to sub-categories etc.) the program provides the researcher with an opportunity to write memos to herself. This was important for continuity over time when working on data analysis.

ATLAS.ti was ideal for a research approach like mine that was using very open questions because I was making an initial exploration of the relationships between volunteers' philosophies and citizenship. When I found my original expectations about politics in volunteer motivations not realized, working with ATLAS.ti assisted me in recognition of themes that were present across the majority of volunteer responses (despite what I experienced as political inconsistencies in their views). This is how community emerged as a central

component of what I learned from volunteers about theorizing citizenship in Ottawa.

V. Summary

A combination of research methods were used to collect data to analyze the nature of citizenship in Ottawa. I employed secondary sources, original discourse analysis and qualitative analysis techniques in order to gather information on how citizenship is socially constructed and interpreted by citizens. The effectiveness of policies and discourses of active citizenship are tested with shelter volunteer's interpretations of their own unpaid work. Data sets I assemble include government policy and program documents, press releases, reports and internal memos from federal, provincial and municipal sources. I begin a detailed examination of these documents in the Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR

Citizenship and Homelessness Under Federal and Provincial Restructuring

This chapter discusses how discourses and policy changes originating in both federal and provincial governments have constrained citizenship entitlements and inflated individual citizen responsibilities for the people of Ottawa. It is not enough to recognize only that there are policy changes which terminate the Keynesian Welfare state in Canada, as previous writers have done (see Brodie, 1997b; Broad and Anthony, 1999; Battle, 1994; Banting, et. al. 1993; and Banting, 2000). Recent work by Phillips (2001) and Brock (2003) calls attention to the non-profit sector within the context of restructuring. It is time to recognize, as original research in this chapter shows, there has been a coordinated discursive shift away from meaningful citizenship towards individualized responsibility which is to be expressed through employment success and voluntary contributions to the community. This is civic republicanism to a degree never previously enacted in Canada. What politicians try to pass-off as appropriate or insignificant changes in the sources of support consist instead, of eliminations of supports in key areas, increases in homelessness, and further stratification between people who are categorized as “entitled to support” and those who are not.

Many people possessing formal citizenship rights were denied a significant portion of the established benefits of that formal status by the

cumulative effects of a series of policy changes. Any citizen who is neither economically autonomous nor supported through family resources now faces social exclusions so severe some have termed it a “social death” (see Ruddick in Hermer and Mosher, 2002). Landed immigrants and others without formal status are usually in an even more tenuous position in relation to social programs than citizens are, but since the focus of my attention is on the changes to citizenship, the unique concerns of non-citizens are left for other studies.

Citizenship as it has been understood in Canada includes the right to some a in benefits and resources of the society alongside the opportunity to participate in social and political decision-making. People who are denied such basic entitlements as housing still can and do sometimes make surprising social and political contributions despite their deprived circumstances. I argue this does not render insignificant the deprivations they endure or the fragmentation of citizenship. The division of citizens into two categories constitutes a denial of human interdependence and a hidden threat to all of us. Disentitlement is a collective experience which in recent years applies to different groups within the population. Citizenship is not what it once was but we are not post citizens either. It is increasingly easy, as this chapter shows, to find oneself denied social benefits of citizenship. Discourses which effectively manipulated conservative tendencies in public opinion were crucial in enabling such an offensive and dangerous shift of fundamental rights.

I begin my analysis of the federal and provincial policy context with interpretation of their discursive constructions of citizen. Once we have an

understanding of the discursive constructions of citizenship, in section two I combine that analysis with evidence of the links between social policy change and poverty. This is followed in section three with examination of the role of non-governmental organization in response to the affordable housing crisis in Ottawa. Section four documents the increase in numbers of homeless people in Ottawa in recent years. Section five analyses the relationship between the path to homelessness and citizenship.

I. Discursive Constructions of Citizens

Deconstruction of recent federal and Ontario government discourses about programs and policies through which citizenship is constructed exposes contradictions across policies and ambiguous treatment of social citizenship because of inconsistencies in the ways different segments of the population are treated. While the policy effects on individuals differ, underlying the different government responses to social concerns is a consistent and coherent active citizenship rhetoric. The rhetoric transfers the locus of social responsibility from the public sector to civil society. This represents an understated but very significant departure from the longstanding definitions of public sector responsibilities.

Active citizenship is not citizenship as the majority population of Canada have experienced it between the 1950's and early 1980's. Some segments of the population, including people of the First Nations and immigrants belonging to negatively-targeted ethnic groups, have endured a long historical legacy of

exclusion from full citizenship entitlements enjoyed by the majority (Henry and Tator 2000; Cairns, 2000). Other segments of the Canadian population who could once assume citizenship entitlements are now denied them (Brodie, 1996). Active citizenship has the very real and material impact of removing citizen entitlements from these traditionally excluded people and other segments of the population, while justifying those removals.

Neoliberal philosophies imply that citizenship and extreme social inequality are entirely compatible, as do civic republican citizenship theories. I argue that we need at the very least some kind of normative debate about how much inequality might be acceptable, because Canadians are now encountering deprivations so extreme as to be life threatening or to prohibit reasonable opportunity for participation in the life of a citizen.

a) Active citizen duties in federal discourse

A republican strain in Canadian citizenship emerges during the 1990s with endorsement of unpaid civil labour in policies of the federal government and policies of several provinces including Ontario. These measures coincide with a period of strong economic growth, deficit reduction, record low interest rates and moderate inflation. When talking about his government's economic achievements to a gathering in Montebello, Quebec, Minister of Human Resources Development Canada, Pierre Pettigrew gave a portion of the credit for this economic success to Canada's volunteers:

But what receives little recognition is the vital role played by the voluntary sector. It is my view that our ability to restructure public finances, survive expenditure cutbacks

and industrial downsizing without major social disruption owes a great deal to the voluntary sector, which has frequently stepped into the breach to meet many needs outside the purview of either public or corporate concerns (1999).

Pettigrew's complete failure to include consideration of the people sleeping on our urban streets in his analysis of what might be a "major social disruption" illustrates the invisibility of homeless citizens. The Minister places responsibility for the traditional role of the welfare state, that of assuaging the cruelties of the market, onto the shoulders of citizens. It is their duty to take care of those hurt by market forces:

With globalization, capital and investment are more mobile than ever before. Corporate structures change rapidly. Business initiatives move quickly from place to place to take advantage of new opportunities. And when they do, people can be excluded entirely, suddenly finding themselves without a job and no immediate employment prospects. As a society, we must be prepared to respond to these changes. Just as we moved to provide for the needs of business to grow and prosper, we must provide for the needs of individuals that become excluded through the process of globalization. Government cannot do it alone, nor can business. We have to do this together, as governments, as businesses - and as voluntary groups - if we are to overcome the long-term damage that exclusion can bring. And who better than the voluntary sector to help lead both government and the business sector in making these changes in our society? The voluntary sector has the ethic of caring for our fellow citizens - men, women and children. The voluntary sector has the ability to go where governments cannot, and perhaps should not, to fulfill the needs and aspirations of its citizens (1999).

The "business community" remains for Pettigrew (anticipating Sarlo, 2002), a vague partner in all of this, but volunteers, who he calls the "third pillar in Canadian society" are celebrated as the true saviours of Canada's social vision. His government assumes two responsibilities: providing a regulatory framework

for the volunteer sector, and increasing the “effectiveness and efficiency of those in the volunteer ranks, or who wish to enter” (1999).

It took until mid-December 1999 for the Federal Government to acknowledge the homelessness problem in Canada. (Municipal governments had been lobbying collectively for over a year). At that time the federal government created the Homelessness Initiative (housed in Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC)) which had the following five goals:

- 1) To ensure that no individuals are involuntarily on the street by ensuring that sufficient shelters and adequate support systems are available;
- 2) to reduce the number of individuals who require emergency shelters and transition and supportive housing;
- 3.) to help individuals move from homelessness through to self-sufficiency, where possible;
- 4) to help communities strengthen their capacity to address the needs of their homeless population; and,
- 5) to improve the social, health and economic well-being of people who are homeless (HRDC http://www.hrsdc-drgc.ca/nsh-snsa/homepage_e.html accessed January 23 2001a).

The federal governments emphasizes self-sufficiency (as though all employment problems are the fault of the people who are jobless or poorly-paid) and the role of the community. While there is merit in aspects of the Homelessness Initiative goals, the Canadian government did not directly take on responsibility for solving the problems. Rather, they rescaled the issue, stating that: “communities are best positioned to develop responses to local issues in broad-based partnership

arrangements” (HRDC, 2001a). The partnerships include provinces, territories, municipal governments, non-profit, private sector and individuals. The federal government’s role was temporary and consisted primarily of the injection of \$753 million dollars over three years.

Federal funds for homelessness were administered under the Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative (SCPI). Ottawa was among 10 cities with a documented absolute homelessness problem to which 80 percent of the SCPI funding was targeted (HRDC, 2001a). One of the expectations of this funding was that the services begun or propped-up temporarily with SCPI funds would become completely self-supporting (via the other partners) in the course of three years. In terms of citizenship responsibility, the Canadian government response is essentially that they consider homelessness to be a community problem, not their responsibility, but since communities were not coping well the federal government would temporarily intervene. On the surface it is too ambiguous to clearly interpret from this whether Canadian governments believe homeless citizens are entitled to, and deserving of, temporary shelter. It is definite that rescaling can have consequences for citizenship. When we consider the bigger picture of where responsibility for citizens rests, the termination of social housing, and federal intransigence on permanent funding for temporary shelters, the combination of federal discourse and policy says homeless people are not deserving of even the most basic level of citizen entitlements. Until the new affordable housing

construction program announced by the federal government in 2002, homeless people were treated as non-citizens without entitlement to the essentials of survival. Hulchanski's assessment of the new program is that it is designed more to convince the public that the federal government is taking action on homelessness than to substantively address the problem.

b) Ontario's interpretation of citizen

Many of the Ontario government's social policies since the mid-1980's have an indirect bearing upon entitlements and obligations of citizenship. Although provincial governments in Canada do not formally have powers to define the limits of citizenship, in pragmatic terms they significantly modify the boundaries of citizenship entitlement with ideologically-driven influence on the social and political lives of citizens. This section analyzes how citizen rights and entitlements for Ontario residents are conceptualized in a series of nineteen written government documents between 1999 and 2001. The documents include annual reports on relevant programs, press releases, speeches by the Ministers of Community and Social Services, statements and letters of the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing, Ministry website texts, and policy background documents provided on these websites.

Within the available texts the word "citizen" appears only once, in an annual report on the child benefit program:

Ontario's government believes that Ontario's children and youth

should have strong families and live in supportive communities where they grow up healthy, active and safe, succeed in school, and prepare to become responsible citizens (Baird, 2000a:1).

This framing suggests Ontario's asymmetrical interpretation of responsibility with virtually no responsibility assumed by the provincial government for healthy, active, safe, and successful children, which instead results from supportive communities and strong families. Without more numerous direct statements about citizens to rely upon, my strategy emphasizes deconstruction of the language addressing and describing Ontario residents in other documents produced by the Provincial government. The focus of my data collection for this process was on policy documents and statements relevant to social citizenship. Later in this chapter I address the material consequences of these policies.

The citizen-subjects of Ontario policies and the people they report to are described in various ways. The broad categories are: taxpayers, welfare recipients, people who defraud the system, people with disabilities, the general public, and people with barriers to finding employment. Each of these have some key characteristics and interesting sub-sets of citizen characterizations worth articulating for the insights they provide on fragmentation of citizenship.

(i) Taxpayers

Ontario taxpayers are portrayed as an exemplary group in provincial government discourse. They are usually described as "hardworking" (Ontario, 2002a; Baird, 2000b; Ontario, 2000b). They are distinct from "the public" and the "general public" whose main role appears to be to provide the government with information about suspected cases of welfare fraud (Ontario, 2002a; Ontario,

2002b: Eligibility Investigations, Welfare Fraud Hotline).

The ministers and cabinet of Ontario between 1999 and 2001 treat their province as a private corporation. One statement from a report to taxpayers on welfare reform summarizes this conceptualization: "We decided we had to build an efficient and effective welfare system based on modern business practices" (Ontario, 2000c:11). That system treats taxpayers as though they are shareholders in the province and its programs.

Taxpayers, who for the most part are treated as workers but would presumably also include the independently wealthy, are entitled to short-term assistance between jobs. Taxpayers are sometimes consulted and generally acknowledged as deserving of being heard by ministers and program designers, as the following comments from the Minister of Community and Social Services²⁹ illustrate:

Over the next few weeks I'm sure our critics will come forward with a variety of reasons why we can't implement a mandatory drug treatment policy. However, I'm looking forward to hearing from those people who refuse to give up. People who are prepared to offer constructive and meaningful advice on how this can be done. People who are willing to reach out and help others despite the opposition, and despite the size of the challenge. For me, the bottom line is if we can help just one person turn their life around, we have met with success. My job and our governments' challenge

²⁹Provincial government representatives have discursive strategies that vary with their audiences. Sometimes the writing or speaking style is formal, grammatically correct and inclined towards terms from the business world. At other times it is laden with colloquialisms, with more simple, value-laden and emotional appeals. Such speeches as this one of Baird's does, often feature incomplete sentences. This is an example of the politics of stealth because the communicative goal behind the speeches is one of appeasing and neutralizing the public rather than informing or engaging them.

is to help people move from welfare to work, and that includes those welfare recipients with a substance abuse problem (Baird, 2000b).

Honesty, hard work, and compliance with all provincial regulations are fundamental expectations the Minister of Community and Social Services holds for citizens. In return, he offers a promise of accountability to the province's taxpayers. It is the job of the government to ensure taxpayers³⁰ that programs run according to the rules set forth for them, and budgets are met as promised by the government.

(ii) People receiving social assistance

Social Assistance or Welfare, became Ontario Works in 1996 in a significant policy overhaul of the program (Ontario, 2002b:c12). The Ontario Works program is a conceptual and discursive vehicle for depriving non-workers of what were standard citizen entitlements. Consider the words used to describe people drawing welfare and the nature of their entitlement to support:

The starting point for Ontario Works is what people need to become employed. Some participants need to update or upgrade their skills. Some need to complete their basic education or training for a particular job. Others simply need help in finding a job and staying employed (Ontario 2000c:14).

Welfare recipients come in a dichotomous form: favoured recipients versus problem cases. The favoured type are "in need of a temporary hand up" (Ontario 2000b). Elsewhere they are described by Premier Mike Harris as "those who through no fault of their own were down on their luck and needing a helping

³⁰ Of all the ideas coded, across 19 different documents, the notion of accountability reoccurs most often appearing 45 different times in total.

hand” (quoted in Ontario, 2000c:iii). People who are on welfare due to temporary unemployment but are striving to get a job and will be “successful” are tolerated. Even the favoured type of benefit-recipients are subject to scrutiny other citizens do not have to endure. Mandatory drug testing for everyone on welfare was announced November 14, 2000. The Minister of Community and Social Services dichotomizes between deserving and undeserving social service applicants without hesitation: “We must continue to take steps to ensure that welfare is there for those honest folks who are upgrading their education, improving their job skills, or making the transition from welfare to work” (Baird, quoted in Ontario, 2002a). There is a great deal of repetition about this point in provincial discourse, with recipients “breaking free from the system” when they get paid work (for example see Ontario 2000c:11).

Workfare was successful if the program goal was to increase the stigma of not-working and impoverish those who refuse its indoctrinating policies. After the year 2000, the welfare case load was reported to be down by 50 percent (Ontario, 2000b). Workfare put approximately 60,000 former social assistance recipients into part-time jobs (Ontario, 2000c:19), and disentitled 15,680 more from previously-enjoyed-benefits with reassessment of their eligibility and/or accusations of fraud (Ontario, 2000b). Those who still receive welfare checks after their numbers are purged through low level jobs and fraud charges are presumed to have problems and “obviously need our help”(Ontario 2000b).

Programs were created to “help” problem-sufferers or, more accurately, to force conformity to behaviour deemed sufficiently conventional and oriented to

economic success.³¹ Examples of such problem people are “teen parents on welfare”. Their problem is identified as lack of education, leading to a generational cycle of dependence on welfare. The Learning, Earning and Parenting Program (LEAP) helps young parents to “finish high school, develop the skills they need to get jobs, and learn important parenting skills” (Ontario, 2000a:7). Other non-workers are diagnosed as needing education because they lack basic writing or mathematical skills (Ontario 2000c:16). Welfare recipients who have a substance abuse problem are apparently a terrible scourge on the system. They constitute a problem for Baird because: “It’s difficult for a person to get and hold a job if they’re addicted to drugs” (Ontario 2000b:2). these people evoke inconsistent reactions from the Minister of Community and Social Services, including being labelled in one speech as: “desperate people in a desperate situation who are crying out for help” (Baird, 2000b:2). Then in complete contradiction in another statement in the same year he says:

A caseworker here in Toronto recently told me she believes the majority of her clients would voluntarily participate in a drug treatment program. She felt welfare recipients with addictions are looking for a structured drug treatment program with strict rules and requirements (2000b:3).

and “We heard few go into addiction treatment voluntarily. That’s why our program will be mandatory, and those who refuse treatment will cause

³¹ Hermer and Mosher’s (2002) analysis of the Safe Streets Act argues convincingly that especially significant among the characteristics of squeegee kids which prompted provincial over-regulation making their means of self support illegal was their frequently- unconventional appearance (see especially the Chapter by O’Grady and Bright).

themselves to be ineligible for welfare.”(2001:5). His discourse shifts far enough from sympathy to accusation over the course of one year to remove a key basic entitlement of social citizenship from any “addict” who is not working. The basis of entitlements has mutated. Whereas once citizenship carried entitlements to basic social services which ensured survival through difficult times, now citizenship means the obligation to contribute to the provincial economy through processes of labour and taxation. Those unable to contribute are reduced citizens who must fix their problems to return to citizen practices of earning wages.

(iii) Everyone must contribute

In the social policy formulations of Ontario in the late 1990's, social benefits take the form of earned rewards for effort rather than the form of a safety net or of basic entitlements. Those who are caught cheating the system are denied welfare. Those convicted of welfare fraud on or after April 1, 2000 are permanently ineligible for welfare in Ontario under Harris's “zero tolerance” policy (Ontario, 2002a; Ontario, 2002b). One Ontario woman who fought the consequences of her 2001 welfare fraud conviction on the grounds that the policy violated her human-rights took her own life before the case was resolved. Several community groups have continued a legal campaign on the subject (HRSSC, 2002: Minutes 25, item 2).

There are some small exceptions to the premise that social supports must be earned. The Ontario Works program requires that those who can not secure waged work. make “a contribution to society” (Ontario, 2000c:14). Within the

Ontario Works restrictions requiring unpaid work, the possibility of some small concessions are made for primary care-givers: “People may have their participation requirements deferred for specific reasons, such as being a sole support parent whose child is too young to attend school, caring for a disabled parent, or illness” (Ontario 2000c:13). The policy statements do not go as far as clearly recognizing having a child or caring for family members as “making a contribution” in-and-of itself. Despite this evidence it would be an over-statement to say that full independence is expected of everyone, there are also small concessions made for people with disabilities.

Another point of special recognition is embedded in social housing program priorities. The province insists throughout the process of transferring social housing to municipalities on giving priority to “those on the waiting lists who are victims of family violence and those who require support services to live independently in their community” (T. Clement, 2000). The province has consistently recognized the greater urgency of shelter needs for families escaping abuse and for individuals with mental health challenges in terms of priorities for affordable housing. That recognition was more token than substantive as it dismally failed to initiate the building of enough affordable units to approach accommodating the need. The question in Ontario’s urban centres is not first and foremost a question of fair distribution of available affordable housing, rather it is a question of how many months or years a person in core housing need has to wait for adequate accommodation. Numerous reports available to federal and provincial governments have assessed a lack of publicly-

supported affordable housing as the root of the problem (Hulchanski, 2002; Seidle, 2002; Westeinde, 2002; Canada, Prime Minister's Caucus Task Force on Urban Issues, 2002b).

In a discursive analysis these slightly elevated clientele (of victims of family violence and people requiring independent living support services) for social housing contrast with those granted the title of "stakeholders" in social housing. The "stakeholder" application of business terminology and instrumental reasoning to social service provision completely neglects inclusion of all those for whom the services exist whether they are homeless because of loss of employment, rising rents, mental health problems, family violence or any other reason. Four of the documents discussing the transfer of responsibility for social housing from the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) to local housing managers use "stakeholder" to describe the most important people to whom the new housing providers will be accountable. Stakeholders include service managers (appointed by the government prior to downloading), representatives from the Ontario Non-Profit Housing Association, the Co-operative Housing Federation and local housing authorities (Ontario 2000d; T. Clement, 2000). It is safe to suppose none of these "stakeholders" personally need social housing. From a social citizenship analysis, we see in these discourses a very polarized approach to citizens with treatment of a self-supporting elite that is dramatically inconsistent with treatment of people who need assistance.

(iv) Taxpayer/shareholder or incompetent?

Analysis of how the people of Ontario are identified in provincial government documents illustrates my claim about the construction of an active citizen. In this discourse, the only full citizen is a taxpayer. When I analysed this role in depth, the nature of taxpayer-citizenship is that of a shareholder. To be entitled to citizenship at all, one must obey the laws. This restriction extends even as far as following the regulations of the Ontario Works program. Central to my analysis are the various notions of responsibility, as is evidenced to some extent in the “taxpayer as shareholder” interpretation of social roles. First to be considered are responsibility and entitlement to social services. Second is responsibility in terms of “duty”.

In terms of the roles set out in the beginning of this section on discursive analysis, there are sharp distinctions between the treatment of taxpayers and the treatment of the trio of: incompetent citizens, system users and cheaters. Incompetent more-or-less means unemployable, in provincial discourse referring to: people with substance abuse problems that interfere with their ability to be taxpayers, people with insufficient basic math and language skills to be employable and others with “multiple barriers to employment”. The government absolves itself of responsibility to incompetents, systems users, or cheaters and any among this trio can be deprived of their rights to receive social benefits or make free choices about employment.

(v) Responsibility is individual not attached to the public sector

The assumptions about and demarcations of responsibility in these texts reveal additional incursions upon the substance of citizenship. In the active citizen or civic republican theories, responsibility for social supports are assigned in some cases to family units and in other cases to individual citizens. The responsibility for a citizen's well-being lies with their own efforts and effective planning, and by implication the fault for social and financial difficulties therefore always rests with individuals. In its most generous definition that responsibility is extended to the family. In different instances within provincial discourse, individuals are held responsible for: their health, problems that prevent their paid employment, their family (and its needs), their employment, reporting suspected welfare fraud, and for getting sufficient education to be employable.

In some cases, such as in the aforementioned case of the Ontario citizen who is deemed to be addicted to alcohol or drugs, in effect, the person so labelled is immediately recategorized from citizen (and therefore self-reliant) to an "incompetent" who is without a choice about attending a rehabilitation program. (One is reminded of the activities of the government of Alberta earlier in this century with forced sterilization). Whereas citizens have choices how, when, and according to what goals they live their lives, as "incompetents" Ontario residents who do not meet with provincial approval are denied these choices.

The responsibility of the government to its people is minimized, except in

treating them as shareholders who deserve an accounting at the end of the year on how their money has been spent. The primary responsibility of “the corporation of” Ontario to its “shareholders” is not to serve them but to be efficient, to minimize the expenses, and to maintain “program integrity” by holding service recipients accountable to the rules of the corporate programs.

(vi) Ontario citizen duties

The duties of Ontario citizens are several. First they must be self-maintaining. This means, for example, that they must look after their health and not be substance abusers or they lose their freedom of decision-making. Parents must look after their children in ways that produce good citizens out of these children. Secondly, and perhaps equally important, citizens must contribute. This means whatever their circumstances, they must labour. If they have insufficient health or skills to be employed they are permitted to labour with community organizations without pay instead of earning a regular wage. If they have sufficient abilities for even the most menial of part-time, low-wage work, the Ontario resident must take that work or be left to starve in the cold.

Since the 1980's, unemployment insurance became a very limited program of individualized workers paying for their own support with benefits accessible only under very restricted conditions (Rice and Prince, 2000:150). If people have unmet potential for much greater employment that would benefit the society or the world but would require time and opportunity to develop that potential, it is apparently of no interest or consequence to the province.

The devastation of citizenship in Canada, particularly in Ontario in the late 1990's was not merely an unintended consequence of a series of distinct policy cuts. Study of the discursive constructions of citizens show a deliberate reinterpretation of responsibilities. The Ontario and Canadian governments no longer hold themselves or each other responsible for providing standard citizenship entitlements. Rather, they work together to transfer responsibility for social well-being away from the national and federal levels toward the individual, the family, and the community.

These changes to citizenship are terrible in a philosophical sense for anyone hoping for fairness or justice within our political community in the way that Marshall's original sociological analysis projected. Alongside that concern, and for some more important because of the immediate suffering, are lived social and economic consequences. Particularly serious among those consequences just after the turn of the millennium are dire poverty and homelessness. I now discuss poverty and the relationship between reduced citizenship and homelessness. This reveals the lived consequences of the philosophical change to which I object throughout this dissertation. It is in the life experiences of those most effected by civic republican approach that we can best evaluate its feasibility in Ottawa.

II. Poverty and Homelessness

Which came first: homelessness or the reduction of citizenship? There has always been some homelessness in Canada. The first men's shelter in

Ottawa, then called the Union Mission for Men, was opened in 1906. Research suggests that a small portion³² of homeless people prefer a transilient lifestyle, and some do not want the type of mental health care that meets day-to-day needs at the price of restricting personal freedoms. Most homeless people historically as well as in the current context, suffer severely from a lack of alternatives (Snow and Anderson 1993:69, 254). The vast majority become homeless due to long periods of financial insecurity and lack of social supports during these times of financial insecurity. Dear and Wolch (1993) identify the stage of living one difficulty (such as illness or short-term loss of wages) away from homelessness as “proto-homelessness” (see also Layton, 2000:52-53).

The discursive changes stratifying citizen entitlement and obligations do not represent the full extent of the curtailing of citizenship in Canada. People of Ontario, by 2001 when my analysis begins, had already endured deep cuts to “public”³³ social programs. I examine the impacts of these cuts more specifically in a later section.

Civic republican notions of replacing public social supports with non-governmental sector organizations that distribute charity are refuted by grounded analysis of the impacts of the cuts. Figure 4.1 illustrates the civic republican

³² Snow and Anderson’s study found 6.3 percent of homeless people perceived themselves as having in some way chosen their lifestyle, but overall, Snow and Anderson’s analysis rejects as false the claim that people choose homelessness (1993:253-354).

³³ I use “public” here to suggest government supported and administered, as opposed to private and non-profit support and administration.

model of how non-profit organizations replacing welfare state services adequately continue citizen entitlement to social supports. The theory imagines that instead of becoming homeless, people who are failing to be self-supporting

Figure 4.1 Civic Republican Model of the Non-Governmental Sector and the Path to Homelessness

are given temporary aid by non-profit community organizations in the form of personal guidance on how to be self-supporting, and charitable contributions when absolutely necessary. Instead of providing social programs, the government's role is to provide training or retraining for those who are insufficiently educated and providing some oversight to make charities accountable to donors. The combination of advice, charitable support, and

retraining is expected to be enough to restore every 'worthy' citizen to economic independence.

It is not difficult to see the discrepancy between the imagined outcome of the cuts to public sector supports and the real outcome. Job markets have fluctuated in Ottawa as elsewhere. Without nationally and provincially supported social programs, many citizens who should be entitled to better security have been plunged into proto-homelessness and homelessness. Furthermore, the specific characteristics of neoliberal policy change have caused increasing stratification within the population. Not everyone in Canada has had their income reduced or has experienced worsening poverty since the mid-1980's, but some segments of the population including immigrant women, lone parent families, members of First Nations, and people with disabilities face worsening levels of poverty in that time (Seidle, 2002:6-8, 12-14; Canada, 2002b:2-17).

Scholarly work relating homelessness to social policy in Canada is still quite new. Layton's book (2000) ideologically implicates government policy in the creation of an affordable housing crisis and a housing policy analysis by Hulchanski (2002) concurs that housing policy has been inadequate for Canada's needs. The analysis which best describes the complex and somewhat circular relationship between social policy change and the individual experience of homelessness is available from Dear and Wolch (1993:301). What they describe as "The Path to Homelessness", I replicate in Figure 4.2. Unlike the civic republic theory which is not supported by the lived experience of people in Ottawa, each of the components of Dear and Wolch's model can be observed in

Figure 4.2 The Dear and Wolch Model of the Path to Homelessness*

* (Dear and Wolch, 1993:301).

the Ottawa context.

Economic restructuring at a global level precedes and motivates welfare state restructuring in Canada and Ontario, as suggested in Dear and Wolch's model. Restructuring in Ontario had impacts on employment patterns, creating fewer "good" jobs characterized by high wages, opportunity for advancement and security in proportion to "bad" jobs characterized by insecurity, poor wages and frequently part-time hours. This context relates most specifically to my topic through a termination of any new affordable housing programs and rescaling of responsibility for existing programs which have been part of Canada's welfare state restructuring.

A pattern consistent with Dear and Wolch's model is also evident in the growth of Ottawa's affordable housing crisis. Funding for new social housing in Ontario was stopped and the combined effects of changes to income tax, goods and services tax, and provincial sales tax made new development of affordable housing too expensive for the private sector in recent years (Westeinde, 2002:"Executive Summary"). Demolition, gentrification and renewal are secondary in Ottawa to a simpler problem of increasing rents. New legislation under the ironically named Tenant Protection Act permitting higher rent increases resulted in a 25 percent rise in the cost of renting an Ottawa apartment between 1998 and 2001 (Westeinde, 2002:"Housing Need"). The city council's standing committee on health and Social Services also criticized the Tenant Protection Act for allowing unlimited conversions of apartment buildings to privately owned condominiums which are affordable to a smaller segment of the

population. In terms of opposition and zoning issues, most of the facilities serving the homeless in Ottawa are located in the downtown core and there was opposition from neighbourhood organizations when the Shepherd's of Good Hope proposed a new supportive living accommodation in the suburbs.

Throughout the late 1990's and through 2001, the proto-homeless of Ottawa faced a diminished supply of affordable housing. Details of these conditions are evident in the Mayor's Task Force on Public Private Partnerships for Affordable Housing, and the city's affordable housing strategy. Ottawa had the lowest vacancy rate in the country for rental housing in 1999 and 2000. The rate has dropped steadily from only 4 percent in October, 1997 to the nearly non-existent quantity of 0.2 percent in October of 2000 (Stewart, 2001a). Housing demand in Ottawa was forecast by the Mayor's Task Force on Public Private Partnerships for Affordable Housing to be "in the range of 6,000 new units each year for the next ten years" and nearly half of that demand will be for affordable housing (Westeinde, 2001). As illustrated in the right- hand side of Figure 4.2, the context in the city of Ottawa includes a crisis of affordability and of availability so steep that 35 percent of renters in Ottawa, 2001 are in core housing need³⁴ (Westeinde, 2002:"Housing Need"). Most of them are forced to spend a disproportionate amount of their income on rent, leaving them very economically vulnerable to difficulties.

³⁴ Core housing need is a summary measure used by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation to indicate problems in one or more of the essential criteria of adequacy, suitability and affordability of the housing for the people occupying that space.

The 51,000 households in Ottawa in core housing need (Westeinde, 2002: "Housing Need") are a relative equivalent to Dear and Wolch's "proto-homeless" as most of them have been overextending their expenditure on housing at a rate greater than 30 percent of their living expenses for a number of years, and others are forced to stay in housing that is unsafe or overcrowded. Relevant demographic patterns for understanding the rise of homelessness in Ottawa involve stratifications along the lines of gender, family type, age, ethnicity, immigration status and health (including mental health). Dear and Wolch observe that many Canadians have been living below the poverty line since the recession of the 1980's (1993:302). These conditions of uncertainty create a category of people they call the proto-homeless, who live "on the fringes of the housing market, only one step ahead of homelessness" (302).

In terms of adverse events, the proto-homeless and homeless are both in danger. The adverse events which most typically propel people into homelessness include eviction, domestic conflict, loss of employment or loss of social service supports (Dear and Wolch, 1993:303-304). Among those homeless people recently studied in Ottawa³⁵, 37 percent of the adult males, 39 percent of the adult females, and 41 percent of the adults in family shelters had been evicted from their former residence (Farrell, Aubry, Klodawsky, Pettey 1999:15). Job losses applied to 37 percent of the adult males, 24 percent of the

³⁵ Farrell et. al. have a disclaimer on the fact sheets they provided to the public through the Social Planning Council of Ottawa Carleton explaining that their samples are not representative. I include them anyway because of their consistent compatibility with Dear and Wolch's more generalized findings.

adult females, and 27 percent of the adults in family shelters, while 67, 57 and 50 percent respectively cited being unable to find a job throughout the previous year as part of their difficulties (15-16). 19 percent of the adult males, 57 percent of the adult females and 41 percent of the adults in family shelters said they had been abused by a partner within the past year (16).

There are many reasons that people who find themselves homeless once experience a later repetition of the event in what Dear and Wolch's model identifies as a "culture of chronicity". "The experience of being homeless itself perpetuates homelessness" (Dear and Wolch, 1993:304). Becoming homeless in the first place means not only a loss of housing but a nearly total loss of possessions. Except for the contribution of donations organized through churches, people starting over after being homeless in Ottawa lack everything except the few items which will fit in a small locker. The men's shelters I visited have storage lockers approximately half the size of standard five-foot school lockers, and any items stored in the Family Shelter will intrude on the family's already minimal living space. The lack of conveniences we take for granted, like the opportunity for keeping ourselves and our clothes clean or having an address and telephone number where employers can leave messages, frequently become difficulties increasing the likelihood of unemployment for the homeless and proto-homeless.

Homelessness also causes long-term threats to health. A Canadian Public Health Association (CPHA) report not surprisingly records "increased mortality and morbidity and diminished quality of life" as health consequences of

homelessness in Canada (CPHA, 1997). More specifically, dangers include frost-bite, under-nourishment, tuberculosis, HIV in some urban areas, and many stress-related illnesses including mental illness. The CPHA admits that deinstitutionalisation of mental patients can play a causal role in homelessness, whereas other people become mentally ill while they survive the deprivations and dangers of living on the street. A longitudinal study from California shows how a temporary homeless problem can have life-long consequences:

Thus, in a longitudinal study of 1,399 homeless adults in California, it was reported that while 45.6 percent had no medical or psychiatric illness upon becoming homeless, 9.3 percent of these became excessive users of alcohol, 4.4 percent became users of illegal drugs and 0.9 percent were hospitalized in a psychiatric facility within 12 months (In CPHA, 1997: Psychiatry, morbidity and change in Mental health services).

The CPHA and American conclusions are supported by very recent Canadian research which found that homeless women in Toronto aged 18 to 44 had a morbidity rate ten times higher than women of the same age who were housed (Branswell, 2004). Dear and Wolch's evidence about health concerns contributing to a culture of chronicity is supported by some preliminary research on the homeless population in Ottawa by Farrell et. al.. Non-representative samples of 52 adult men and 45 adult women showed that the men had been homeless before the current episode an average of 6 times and on average, the women had been homeless 4 times (Farrell et. al., 1999:6, 7).

III. Non-Governmental organizations are not enough

If the claim of the civic republican theorists could be realized, the persistent and concerted interventions of community groups and various types of non-governmental organizations would compensate for the loss of public social supports. There are hundreds of community organizations active in social services provision in Ottawa. Services provided directly to low-income families and individuals thanks to community organizations include: thousands of hot meals provided daily, Christmas hampers, food banks, free or reduced rate access to recreational facilities, housing cooperatives, addiction recovery supports, life skills programs, a rent bank for emergency situations, reading programs for under privileged children, a variety of counselling programs and other assorted forms of support. Ottawa's Master Contact List of Community Organizations for 1999-2000 includes 55 housing groups and 81 health and community service groups. Appendix One provides an index of community organizations serving homeless people in Ottawa in 2001.

The next chapter discusses in greater detail the extent to which the change of services is a matter of rescaling from federal to municipal or from provincial to municipal and the extent to which it is a transfer of responsibility completely away from government to the voluntary-sector. The range of services and the numbers of people to whom assistance has been provided increased during the late 1990's as the federal and provincial government supports were reduced dramatically. If sufficient supports could be provided, in theory, community organizations would be the effective last line of defence for

citizenship entitlements and the cycles creating proto-homelessness and homelessness would be interrupted as illustrated in Figure 4.1.

My analysis argues that in spite of some short-term boosts from federal and provincial promoters of the non-profit sector, the non-governmental organization solution fails to intervene in the fashion suggested by Figure 4.1. A more accurate portrayal of the non-governmental organization role is as illustrated in Figure 4.3. Patterns of proto-homelessness, homelessness and even the culture of chronicity continue in spite of the activities of many nongovernmental organizations working in support of the poor in Ottawa. The shelter and food services provided are enough to sustain life in most cases, but not enough to give people a genuine opportunity for economic and social sustainability. The loss of publicly administered social supports means permanent marginalization of significant portions of the population, and entrapment in a cycle of chronic homelessness for many. The empirical evidence supports my protest against civic republicanism. There is really no question that what is needed is public intervention to provide people with sufficient social or housing assistance before they become homeless.

IV. The Rise of Homelessness

Homelessness and shortage of affordable housing were declared a national disaster in November of 1998 by mayors of Canada's major cities (Layton, 2000:130). Significant difficulties in counting the homeless and disputes about the definition of homelessness which influence that counting,

Figure 4.3 Role of Ottawa Community Organizations in Relation to the Path to Homelessness in Ottawa, 1999-2000

create inconsistencies across jurisdictions and sources. None-the-less, with homeless shelters overflowing everywhere the mayors could see a serious, cross-Canada problem and they predicted correctly that without significant financial assistance from the federal government the affordable housing crisis was going to get dramatically worse.

Even a brief examination of who the homeless are in Ottawa, and what variations there are in their numbers since the mid-1990's provides clear indications that the proposed civic republican solution of turning social service issues over to community organizations is woefully inadequate. The patch-work of services that community groups are able to provide is inadequate for preventing homelessness. Measures need to be taken to make housing more affordable for both individuals and families, and a great deal of work needs to be done in order to make violence against women culturally unacceptable so that women are safely housed.

While not all homeless people choose to sleep in shelters, shelter usage provides some indication of the number of homeless and changes in that number over time. Over the last two years, the Ottawa shelters are exceeding their capacity even in the summer when the demand for beds is historically at its lowest. Women abuse shelters have somehow eliminated the one day previously scheduled for transitions between one family moving out and another moving in. Men's shelters have people sleeping on mats in cafeterias and chapels as a regular "over flow" place to at least keep people out of the rain and off the streets. Because some homeless shelters do not keep close records of

the number of people they assist³⁶, and because some homeless people live outside of the shelter system, the numbers we have are low estimates of the actual extent of the problem.

The available data depict a steady growth in demand for shelter services from 1996 through 2001. “Between January 1997 and December 2000 there was a 24 percent increase in the number of bed nights³⁷ for all individuals using emergency shelters” (Sorenson, 2001:9). The men’s shelters offer reasonably complete statistics based on in-take and out-take forms of their clients, as presented in Table 4.1. We also know that the number of homeless people sheltered and fed by the Shepherds of Good Hope in 2000 increased again over 1999 (from 35,019 shelter bed-nights in all programs to 40,952 shelter bed-nights) reflecting a 17 percent increase in services between 1999 and 2000. That was a steeper increase than the previous year in which the shelter bed nights increased by 9 percent over 1998 figures. Unfortunately year 2000 data for the Mission and Salvation Army shelters is not available.

³⁶ There are several reasons for not keeping statistics (although funding requirements based on numerical data of clients served have convinced some organizations to change their shelter entry and exit practices). The reasons include staffing shortage in organizations which have added sheltering to their practices without being able to add staff to administer shelter provision, and the very strong desire for anonymity that some homeless people have. Some homeless people will risk the hazards of a night on the streets rather than submit to a series of questions upon entry to and or exit from a shelter (administrator interview 1).

³⁷ A bed night is defined as one occupied shelter bed for one night.

Table 4.1 Statistics For Ottawa's Men's Shelters (The Mission, Salvation Army, and The Shepherds Of Good Hope)*

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2001
Total Number Different Clients	3,102	3,402	3,363	3,403	3,431
Total Overnight Visits	87,345	94,234	94,698	107,005	161,966
Average Length of Stay	28 days	28 days	28 days	31 days	47 days
Average Age	37	38	39	38	37
Average No. Stayed Each Night	239	258	259	293	444
Total Number of Meals Served	337,700	395,000	401,464	421,000	544,990

* statistics courtesy of The Mission website

The city's 2001 progress report on the 'Community Action Plan to Prevent and End Homelessness' says the men's shelters have been operation at over 100 percent of their capacity since October 2000:

No sooner had the men's shelters replaced single beds with bunk beds, than they began covering any available floor space with sleeping mats to deal with the overflow. In 2000 the three men's shelters collectively reported using up to 85 mats. It is by using mats that the shelters are able to extend their occupancy beyond 100 percent (Sorenson, 2001:11).

The city later observes a plateau in the demand for shelter:

Between 1999 (when the first *Action Plan* was written) and 2001, the use of emergency shelter in Ottawa grew dramatically and peaked in November 2001 when the total number was more than 1,200 people per night. However during 2002 the number of homeless people using emergency shelter has stabilized at around 1,000 people per night (Ottawa, 2002d:5).

Several women-abuse shelter administrators spoke of an increase in demand over recent years (city interview 2; administrator interview 3 and 4; Regional

Committee to End Violence Against Women, 1991:3). Needs that threaten to overwhelm the capacities of the women's shelters have put staff and administrators under relentless stress and are taking a toll (administrator interview 3). In 2001, the city of Ottawa and the Social Planning Council estimated the number of homeless in the city at 800. That estimate had increased by 200 over the previous two-and-a half years. One in every seven of those homeless individuals is a child (Andrews, 2001:16).

The women's homeless shelter is operating at full occupancy year-round (Sorenson, 2001:5). In 1998, Cornerstone Emergency had a total of 43 beds and sheltered a total of 395 people (Lauriault, 1999:1). When there is no room for a homeless woman at Cornerstone, she is referred to the YWCA or to Social Services for placement in city-funded motel space. There are no statistics (prior to 2001) of women referred elsewhere, or placed in emergency motel rooms. Nor are there records of the numbers of women turned away from full shelters. During summer 2001, there were 124 families in overflow facilities, including motels, the YM/YWCA and Canadian Forces Base Rockcliffe (Potter, 2001b). The YMCA's emergency housing program was reduced in 1999 to 20 rooms from 40 (Sorenson, 2001b:12). Women's shelter workers note that women often choose to endure substandard and or dangerous housing conditions because of lack of alternatives (OAITH, 1998:33). Measuring the actual housing need for women by the shelter use is even less accurate than for men. Dangerous conditions include living with an abusive partner, which research shows clearly is a dramatically more frequent occurrence for women than for men (Statistics

Canada, 2000:15).

A 1999 homelessness inventory by the Social Planning Council has the most complete information I have been able to find on numbers of women and children sheltered at transition houses. Their inventory is as follows in Table 4.2. It indicates a total of 744 were sheltered in Ottawa's transition houses during 1998.

Table 4.2 Homelessness Inventory: People Staying in Ottawa Transition Homes for Abused Women during 1998*

Transition Home:	No. of people	No. of beds
Harmony House	99	n/a
Interval House	281	n/a
La Présence	65	14
Maison D'amitié	153	n/a
Nelson House	146	15

* data from Homelessness Mapping Project, Social Planning Council of Ottawa.

Three different women's shelter administrators in Ottawa confirm each of their shelters had been coping with increasing demands for service and no funding increases to offset this demand (administrator interviews 2, 3, and 4). Shelters are apparently being told to focus only on housing and treat counselling of emotional needs as luxuries (Metro Toronto Committee Against Wife Assault and Metro Woman Abuse Council, 1998:103).

In recent years, more than half of the people who are homeless in Ottawa are

families, and in 2000, children made up 35 percent of that number (Sorenson, 2001:13). Shelter statistics demonstrate the growing problem of homeless families most clearly with increases to the length of homeless family stays in temporary shelters. "Between 1998 and 2000, the average length of stay in emergency family shelters increased from 50 to 110 days" (13). In a June 2001 report, a city employee commented:

When the City's emergency family shelters are full, homeless families are housed in motels (approximately 50 families) or, since January 2001, short-term housing at Rockcliffe Air Base (40 families). Between 1999 and 2000, motel costs more than doubled, to \$842,000. In the first quarter of 2001, motel expenditures are almost four times what they were in the first quarter of 2000 (14).

The social costs of neoliberal policies and civic republican philosophies include the creation of a segment of the population which is chronically disoriented from security required for healthy living. The patterns of disorientation follow previous stratifications of gender and ethnic disadvantage, widening the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged citizens by denying affordable housing and social services to people in the disadvantaged category.

V. Relating the Path to Homelessness to Citizenship

My research question requires taking the theoretical model of Wolch and Dear one stage deeper. My interpretation of the relationships between restructuring, housing programs, proto-homelessness, homelessness and citizenship status is summarized in Figure 4.4. Reduced citizenship is a consequence of both proto-homelessness and homelessness in the current

context in Ottawa. The detrimental effects of homelessness are well-known and once people are in that very vulnerable state that is proto-homelessness, survival has to become a preoccupation. People who are homeless and proto-homeless do not have access to sufficient social supports to keep themselves (and their family members) healthy and able to earn a sustainable living in a long term fashion. Because supports like unemployment insurance, family allowance and low-income housing are not available to them, these people live without the promise of a basic level of economic security which used to be part of the Keynesian welfare state understanding of citizen entitlement. Lost financial security programs are not replaced by voluntary sector organizations whom civic republicans theorize as responsible for community well-being. The housing crisis creates great stresses which pressure people to work multiple part-time jobs and engage in such a persistent struggle for survival that the opportunity to participate politically as citizens is a luxury that is not affordable. Bains (2004) observes that some poor mothers hold as many as four part-time jobs simultaneously.

The extent of the inequalities created by neoliberalism and justified through discourses of individualism varies with social location. Individualism is a goal based on a misunderstanding of human life because every individual experiences periods of "dependence" and every community has people incapable of independence (Fraser and Gordon, 1994). Babies and ill people, for example, need care givers. The opportunity to be economically self-supporting rests on unpaid labour which traditionally has been done by particular

segments of the population.

Particular groups within the population are over-represented among the poor. Critical political economy demonstrates that neoliberal policy causes economic polarization including proto-homelessness which quickly and frequently degenerates into homelessness. These policy processes stratify along established lines of inequality including: gender (Burke and Shields, 2000; Bains 2004; National Council of Welfare, 2000:Section 1; Ricciutelli et. al., 1998; Andrew, 1984:676-677; Brodie, 1995:55; Armstrong, 1995); family structure with female lone parent families being particularly disadvantaged (Social Planning Council, 2002:2, 3); age (National Council of Welfare, 2000: Section I; National Council of Welfare, 2002); health; and the combined influences of structurally disadvantaged ethnic origins and recent immigration (Fleras and Elliott, 2002:150-163; Borowy, Gordon, and Lebans, 1993; Pierson and Cohen, 1995:86-94, 127-135).

This stratification is accomplished through “hollowing out of the welfare state”. Brodie observes that this change has some unfortunate impacts on citizenship:

First, the decline of universal social programs and the welfare state has created two categories of citizen — the “deserving” and the “undeserving.” The idea here is that all able-bodied people are effectively “undeserving” of social assistance if they do not endeavour to retrain to compete in the job market or take some form of work to “top up” their social assistance incomes. ...Those who are unable to work, for whatever reason, or as is more often the case, can’t find a job, are thereby deemed lesser or undeserving citizens (1996:19-20).

Brodie makes some points crucial to the final aspect of my critique of civic republican claims. Her policy-based analysis is consistent with

Figure 4.4 The Paths to Reduced-Citizenship*

*Modified from Dean and Wolch, 1993 p.301 "The Path to Homelessness"

my observations of the discursive creation of the reduced citizen. People in need of social supports experienced becoming reduced citizens with a series of social policy changes including significant transformation of the former Unemployment Insurance to the current forms of Employment Insurance through a series of policy changes.

Part-time workers and workers at low-skill level jobs are less likely to have access to Employment Insurance under the new restrictive guidelines than they were under Unemployment Insurance. The changes to Canada's Unemployment Insurance program have had a gendered and racialized impact. Women experience more work interruptions because of our socialization into care-giving and child-rearing roles. Women are more likely to be disqualified for leaving work voluntarily because of the need to meet family obligations such as looking after very young children. Women and recent immigrants dominate the part-time employment sectors. Women who are not members of our dominant (western-European origin) cultural group are vastly over-represented among those who have the worst jobs in our country in terms of wages, benefits, opportunity for advancement, and health risks (Fleras and Elliott, 2002:150-163; Borowy, Gordon, and Lebans, 1993; Pierson and Cohen, 1995: 86-94, 127-135). Policy changes have made it nearly impossible for part-time workers to get sufficient hours and weeks of work to qualify for Employment Insurance benefits. All legitimately employed Ontario workers payed premiums of 2.4 percent of wages in 2000 and 2.25 percent in 2001 to the EI program. Instead of being designed to meet the revenue needs of all EI contributors, the program has been

designed since the early 1990s to yield a considerable profit. The surplus for 2001 was \$6.2 billion for a cumulative total of \$40.1 billion by December 1, 2001 (HRDC 2001b). The differential access to benefits from Canada's key employment security program in patterns with evident gender and racial dimensions interrupts the universality of social security in ways directly opposed to citizenship ethos. EI restricts the entitlements of general citizens and raises higher income earners (read white males) to relatively superior positions. For citizenship to be meaningful, the state should be providing consistent levels of service or progressive means of wealth redistribution rather than economically polarizing the population. This process of creating a shared social identity through universal entitlements is all the more important in settler societies such as ours in which ethnic traditions are diverse rather than shared.

Immigrant women³⁸ are particularly unlikely to have the job opportunities which would provide access to employment insurance benefits. Ng argues the occupational mobility for these women is restricted by a series of barriers including: Canada's segregated labour force; lack of recognition of education, work experience and skills gained elsewhere; lack of appropriate language training and re-training programs; and union pressures to exclude them (1996:18). These factors greatly increase the likelihood that an immigrant woman will lack job security, do work that is part-time, seasonal or piece work,

³⁸ I mean this term as it is usually understood in the social constructions of popular discourse: "immigrant woman" refers to women from third-world contexts, or are members of a visible minority group and if she speaks English, speaks with an accent (see Ng, 1996:16).

and will quite likely be in a job outside of standard labour regulations.

Recently immigrated women and families are particularly vulnerable. Across the country, poverty rates for families vary with the decade of arrival. 33 percent of immigrants with heads of families who immigrated to Canada since 1979 are poor, compared with 12.6 percent among families with a Canadian-born head (National Council on Welfare, 1998:48). There is a wide range of incomes for women of colour in the Canadian labour force, but the vast majority are underemployed and very poorly paid (Arnopolous, 1979; Abelle, 1984; Goldberg, 1991; Agnew, 1996; Macklin, 2003). Women who are members of ethnic/cultural minorities have a much greater likelihood than that of the total population to be "unskilled" manual workers and less likelihood to be managers and professionals (Statistics Canada, 1990:198). Grant and Oertel document a widening gap in earnings between immigrant and native-born workers over the last four and a half decades (1998:57).

Canadian Council of Social Development analysis of Urban Poverty using the 1996 census shows the experiences of recent immigrants, members of visible minority groups, aboriginal people and people with disabilities are very significant for understanding poverty in the city.³⁹ Table 4.3 charts the numbers of people belonging to each of these groups in Ottawa in 1996. In percentage terms, 57 percent of recent immigrants are poor. 42 percent of people belonging to visible

³⁹ This data is unfortunately based on the boundaries of the Rural Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton (before amalgamation), but it is the most recent analysis available at the time of writing

minority groups are poor. Ottawa has a diverse population, so this proportion

Table 4.3 Numbers of Poor in Ottawa belonging to Specific Sub-groups in the Population, 1996*

Group identity:	Number:
recent immigrants	19,700
visible minority	45,000
people of aboriginal identity	2,800
people with a disability	21,200

*Social Planning Council of Ottawa based on CCSD Data; <http://www.spcottawa.on.ca>

represents a very significant total of over 45,000 people. 40 percent of people who self-identify as having first-nations origins are poor, and 30 percent of people with a disability, totalling over 21 thousand people are among the poor (Social Planning Council, 2002 based on Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD) Urban Poverty Project and 1996 Canadian Census data).

The political economy critics of neoliberalism have already documented “social distress, inequality and marginalization” as “the lived consequences of such policies” (Burke and Shields, 2000:12). Two consequences of particular interest for my citizenship claims are those of stratification and extreme deprivation. The theory informing provincial and federal policy at the end of the 1990's claims that civil society is well-equipped and best positioned to contend with all of Canada's social concerns. Analysis of stratification by gender and

ethnicity, deepening poverty for those needing assistance and the rise in homelessness provides the initial support for my argument that national and provincial governments must continue to share responsibility for social services.

The proto-homeless are a product of political refusals to provide previous taken-for-granted social supports to people experiencing economic and social disadvantage. In the current context in Ottawa, the non-governmental organization sector provides enough help to allow most of the poorest people in the city to survive on a day-to-day basis. Supports sufficient to stabilize the housing crisis and dramatically reduce the numbers homeless in Ottawa are not there. Without public support, people coping with severe economic insecurity slip into reduced citizenship. The reduced citizen can not count on a social safety net, and expected to become economically independent, they do not have the luxury of time for full citizen participation in their communities.

VI. Summary

This preliminary look at the extra-local policies and discourses influencing citizenship in Canada suggest that in terms of economic survival and opportunity for political practice, much of the understanding that has characterized Canada's citizenship has already been destroyed. Discursive and policy analysis shows a division of the Ontario population into worthy self-supporters and unworthy dependents. While the self-supporters are still entitled to some level of social supports, those who are not self-supporting are not supported to the extent of sustaining their social and political entitlements.

While civic republicans suggest that civil society is the best repository for meeting of social needs within communities, the evidence in Ottawa shows that the outcome of policies enacting this philosophy is economic deprivation so severe with remedies so superficial and temporary that homelessness and hunger prevail for many. Furthermore, reliance on the voluntary sector rather than the public sector widens social divides along persistent polarities of inequality such as sex, ethnicity, country of origin, age, family structure and health. Making these differences of identity and social location into predictors of advantage and disadvantage opposes the construction of a caring citizenry which can move towards equality of political voice and opportunity.

Before laying the full blame of severe damage to citizenship in Canada at the feet of new republican philosophies, several questions remain unanswered. Chapter Five investigates the municipal role in economic redistribution, social supports and politicization. Perhaps citizenship can survive in localized ways in spite of a lack of extra-local government support. In Chapter Six I consider whether volunteers in Ottawa are living the citizenship practice advocated by civic republicans. Perhaps the failure of the civic republican solution to social needs is attributable to a lack of public spirit or social concern in Ottawa.

CHAPTER FIVE

Ottawa Resists Civic Republicanism

This chapter provides evidence that citizenship theorization now requires attention to localized contexts. All orders of government should be included in this research design for analyzing of citizenship because of rescaling. The previous chapter discussed attempts by Ontario and the federal government to construct civic republican beliefs. This chapter demonstrates Ottawa's rejection of civic republican philosophy on the part of local government and city staff. The municipal government and voluntary sector leaders who were responding to the housing crisis sometimes could not help but acquiesce to civic republican pressures exerted by other orders of government. The municipal and voluntary organizations did not however, initiate civic republican philosophy, and frequently resisted such ideology in discourse and in action. Circumstances were such that the results of an attempt to impose civic republicanism were somewhat contradictory, but ultimately civic republicanism was not achieved. The municipal government of Ottawa sustained a counter-hegemonic version of citizenship entitlements by vocally resisting civic republicanism within the provincial and federal agendas, and by emphasizing inclusiveness in their own decision-making processes. While it did not entirely thwart the political agendas of other orders of governance, Ottawa at least maintained a political culture which rejected civic republican premises. We see the impact of that political culture reflected in the

views of volunteers in the next chapter.

Jurisdiction has been an issue in Canadian politics and policy critique for a long time. Jurisdiction addresses the issue of which level of government has authority over particular programs, departments and or responsibilities. Many social programs in Canada, but notably child care, have been limited by jurisdictional battles. The debate over which level of government should carry responsibility for some programs has allowed both federal and provincial administrations to avoid taking initiative on social policy. At their most superficial level, scales parallel jurisdiction in generally having the four recognized levels of: global, national, regional and local. The term scale, refers to a richer notion than jurisdiction does because the critical understanding that scale is socially constructed tints the analysis employing this term.

Jurisdiction does not refer to the power dynamics that shape the Canadian federal government decision to devolve all responsibility for social housing to local service coordinators. Talking about the new jurisdiction of this responsibility calls to mind only the geographic boundaries demarcating the outer ranges of a single Local Housing Corporation's responsibilities. Using the concept of jurisdiction suggests that the question of where the administrator of a program works (or how many such programs that administrator oversees), is a politically neutral issue. It is much more compelling to say that social housing was rescaled because this term provides a sense of the process of the federal government evading responsibilities. Questions of scale are about social relations and power dynamics, not just spatial boundaries (Marston, 2000).

I also claim that because citizenship processes act on human bodies, theorists of citizenship are wise to work within an embodied understanding of the citizen. Such an embodied understanding would recognize gender, race and age as relevant attributes of the individual citizen. Civic republicanism is too close to enlightenment idealism and from that inheritance retains the flaw of being disembodied. Any person who walks through the core of Ottawa with compassion can see and feel how hunger and homelessness are experiences of the body. Furthermore when we look at who is poor and most in danger of becoming homeless in Ottawa we see scripts that are written upon the embodied characteristics of gender and racial⁴⁰ background.

This chapter fuels this dissertation's central empirical claim that civic republicanism "fails" in Ottawa despite its discursive promotion from the highest orders of government. It fails in the sense that civic republicanism does not accurately reflect citizenship processes as experienced by Canadians in Ottawa because regardless of policies attempting to impose a republican framework, and discourses trying to shift the expectations and obligations of citizens, civic republicanism is inconsistent with established processes and with the local political culture in Ottawa. The replacement of extra-local social programs with local voluntary sector supports simply does not happen. Civil society supports including shelters and soup kitchens expand their capacity in order to serve the

⁴⁰ I use race in Stuart Hall's sense, as a sliding signifier, by which I mean that I do not see racial differences as "real" characteristics of peoples bodies, but rather as socially constructed differences to which our culture and our institutions attach subjective meaning.

greater numbers of homeless and hungry people of Ottawa but these supports are not the equivalent of the destroyed public social programs. Rather than accepting a civic-republican reformulation of responsibilities, at the local level in Ottawa, politicians and city managers strive to resuscitate the welfare state while shouldering enough new responsibility to keep people alive.

If more could have been done in support of social citizenship in Ottawa by the city itself, that unfulfilled window of opportunity was very small. This chapter argues that the financial, policy, and legal restrictions upon the city of Ottawa's social services provision between 2001 and 2002 were severe. In spite of those restrictions and sometimes working in direct opposition to them, both city staff and politicians made superlative efforts to maintain social citizenship entitlements and practices. Andrew is convinced that Canada's large urban municipalities (such as Ottawa, Hull, Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Calgary and Winnipeg) have both the policy tools and the responsibility in the current context to create some much-needed progressive change. She draws on evidence of inclusive women's safety audits in several major centers and anti-racist potential in Toronto's Policy Framework on Immigration and Settlement as examples of progressive process deserving of some reflection. Municipalities face the opportunity of being inclusive of people who are usually marginalized (including the elderly, disabled, members of visible minority groups, and women) in a variety of social contexts, and building cities that treat everyone as deserving of full-citizenship entitlements. This is an opportunity that was often missed in the past by municipal administrations that turned to experts who favoured middle-

class concerns over the interests and needs of other members of the city's richly-diverse populations, but local activists can help to prevent that loss from being repeated (Andrew, 2003: 324-329).

To begin an analysis of the case of Ottawa's response to homelessness, I begin by considering how the city's resources and obligations structure their interactions with people of Ottawa. Section One explains why scale matters while analyzing citizenship in Ottawa. Having prepared for a localized analysis of citizenship in Ottawa in Section One, Section Two compiles evidence of ways that extra-local government regulation and neglect combine to limit the City of Ottawa's abilities to provide for social citizenship. Section Three: local initiatives, demonstrates eight substantive ways the City creates its version of citizenship (in conflict with the provincial agenda) through: proactive planning, funding, advocacy, restoring the "unworthy", jumping scale, voluntary sector support, redefining the amalgamation transition, and consultation processes.

I. Towards Theorization of Citizenship in the Ottawa Locale

At the local level contested definitions of citizenship are realized and rejected in complex patterns. While historians Ajzenstat and Smith claim that Canada does have a civic republican tradition which informs a shared sense of citizen virtue or communal virtue (1995:14), for analysis of the current context, the definition they are working with is imprecise. Their focus on recognition of a philosophy that rejects liberal individualism fails to adequately distinguish

between believing in communal virtue which is true of both civic republicanism and associationalism, and restricting public supports to only those who demonstrate that virtue as only civic republican philosophers advocate. What we see in Ottawa is more of an encouragement to participate in community support rather than imposition of compulsory citizen duties except where provincial policy strongly prevails, such as in the Ontario Works program. Despite the discourses identified in Chapter Four through which the province and country try to impose a civic republican framework (of a form characterized by apolitical citizens), we see in the practices of the municipality of Ottawa the necessity of including local processes in assessments of citizenship.

Attention to processes of rescaling helps to deepen and extend the citizenship inquiry as new questions about competing and contradictory definitions of citizenship arise. Addressing scale opens up theorization that the definitions of citizenship vary across different orders of government in any one location and time. Openness to multiplicity and contradiction is required by anyone sincerely seeking to interpret citizenship in this context. We need a range of theorisations, including civic republican, associational and social justice interpretations to effectively discuss citizenship in Ottawa in 2001. While each definition is consistent with some elements of the population and of policy, none of the definitions holds universally true across the diversity of Canadian experience, or throughout government philosophies in Ottawa, Ontario, and Canada.

Mahon writes that “comparative research on welfare regimes needs to

incorporate insights from the literature on rescaling, or the 'politics of scale'" (2003:2). A similar point must be made about critical theorisations of citizenship. Rescaling becomes a significant component for understanding changes to citizenship because it is through rescaling that many of the supports providing some level of social citizenship have been lost. Far from being neutral to citizenship, rescaling becomes the process through which higher orders of government remove citizen entitlements while evading blame for that loss. Furthermore, discursive and policy definitions of citizenship vary with the scale of the source of that discourse and policy.

Brenner defines the process of rescaling as, "the production, reconfiguration or contestation of particular differentiations, orderings and hierarchies among geographical scales" (Brenner, 2001:600). Many of Ottawa's economic challenges have evolved from neoliberal tactics such as the elimination of the Canadian Assistance Plan, and the introduction of the much smaller Canada Health and Social Transfer.

II. Limitations on Ottawa's Social Citizenship

Whatever the predominant philosophical perspective on social citizenship that Ottawa politicians and civil servants carried at the turn of the millennium, there are economic and legal limitations on what social entitlements they can provide to residents of that city. These pragmatic aspects do not affect everyone but some people in Ottawa certainly experience limited citizenship because of limitations resulting from policy outside of Ottawa. This section discusses those

limiting forces in two subsections: one emphasizing limitations directly related to costs and the second addressing other policy restrictions.

a) General expenditure issues

A net increase in the expenses for the city results from rescaling, provincial failure to meet pay equity obligations, and infrastructural demands resulting from population growth. These coincide with reductions of available income resulting from amalgamation and rescaling. The taxation options of municipal budgets encounter the spectre of economic globalization threatening employment of Ottawa residents.

The combination of rescaling and cutting extra-local social supports had severe economic impacts upon Ottawa's ability to "hold the line" on providing citizenship entitlements to the level of established expectations in Ottawa. Reductions in provincial and federal provision of health, social services and education programs which Ottawa residents deemed essential, steadily increased Ottawa's expenses throughout the time period studied. Fewer hospital and long-term care beds meant higher demands on home care services, day clinics and emergency rooms. Funding freezes and cuts to provincial services and programs of this type added pressures to city administered social and service programs. With higher use of emergency rooms and a more stressed population there was also a vicious circle because the provincial health care expenses continue to rise.

i. Project-based funding processes

Affordable housing devolution was one in a series of new responsibilities

assigned to the new city between 2000 and 2002 through rescaling. The social housing stock transferred to the city from the province in 2001 was about 24,000 units and requires annual funds totalling \$60 million (Ottawa, 2002c). This was a significant change in social responsibilities as the General Manager of Corporate Services Ottawa commented in his budget overview report to council after they became housing managers.

As Council is aware, and is outlined further in the report, local governments' traditional relationship with provincial and federal governments has undergone a major shift in the past number of years, with those levels off-loading major responsibilities to municipalities without also passing on the stable, base-line capital and operating funding for these programs. Instead, these levels of governments are offering funding for specific programs through partnerships (Kirkpatrick, 2002b:3).

The types of changes Kirkpatrick observes had been happening for many years, and represent more than a steady trickle of financial demands upon the city. For example, in 1995 the Province of Ontario eliminated cost-sharing for day program services for homeless people. In order to get support, any day programs offered in the city through not-for-profit organizations had to apply through community project competitions for specific short-term funding cost-shared by the city.⁴¹ The project-based approach as a substitute for stable provincial funding fails to consistently meet overhead costs for service organizations. Community Health Care and Recreation Centres, Community

⁴¹ One shelter director commented that this project-based funding system tended to leave gaps such that program expenses were covered but capital and facilities expenses were not. The shelter was left to struggle with regular annual expenses like maintenance and repair (administrator interview 1, 2001).

Care Access Centres, Child Care Centres, and Community Houses all turned to the city when after coping year-after-year with rising expenses and reduced or static provincial funds, their services could not be continued at the previous level.

ii. Amalgamation budgets

The main reason for creating the amalgamated city of Ottawa was to reduce taxpayer costs. The provincially chosen Transition Board was directed to eliminate at least \$75 million from the budget of the twelve smaller municipalities (Plante, et. al., 2000:4.1). Instead, the Transition Board's three-year budget reduced expenditures by \$86 million (Wheeler, 2001a; Wheeler, 2001c).

While pieces of the Transition Board's service delivery model (such as the tri-sector approach) could be rejected by the staff and elected representatives of the city, the existence of and the publication of the Transition Board Report likely influenced citizen expectations of how much could be accomplished in Ottawa without increasing taxation levels. As of 2001, the city carried a debt of \$ 570 million, and despite scheduled paying of \$44 million of old debt, the Budget Manager expected that the debt load would be approximately \$650 million either outstanding or to be issued by the end of 2001 (HRSSC 2001, Minutes 5, item 3).

iii. Child care and pay equity costs

In Canada child care is infamous for scaling challenges. While the availability of affordable child care has been a pan-Canadian concern, a history of divergent patterns of regulation and administration across provincial contexts has made development of a national policy arduous (Donnan, 1996). Child care

is an absolutely necessary support for many Ottawa parents. With escalating costs and frozen provincial contributions many child care centres operated under severe economic challenges. Several delegations from community child care agencies addressed the Health Recreation Social Services (HRSS) Committee in June of 2001 to explain that the 2.5 percent funding increase offered by the city was not enough. The biggest problem confronting the centres was that pay equity had been legislated but the provincial government was refusing to pay its portion of wage increases to the workers. The Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) Local 2204 was taking action⁴² in a Charter challenge against the Province of Ontario over its refusal to fund ongoing pay equity adjustments (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 7, item 4).

Following the recommendation of CUPE President Besharah, the city, working with the Association of Municipalities of Ontario applied to the Ontario Superior Court of Justice for intervener status as a “friend to the Court”. This measure was designed to protect Ottawa against any costs or damages should the case be lost. The Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) President explained this was not the first such court appearance for Ontario:

Ms. Besharah pointed out that this will be the second time the Province has been taken to court because of its refusal to fund proxy pay equity and cap provincial funding. After considerable foot dragging the Province funded pay equity adjustments from 1997 to 1998, with a one-time retroactive payment and a clear statement that adjustments beyond this would have to be borne by

⁴² This was a collective action including also the Ontario Nurses Association, the Ontario Public Service Employees’ Union, the Service Employees’ International Union and the United Steelworkers of America (Besharah in HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 7, item 4).

community agencies. Premier M. Harris stated this was simply the cost of doing business. Ms. Besharah said that this “cost of doing business” will result in the bankruptcy of many if not all of the community-based child care centres in Ottawa over the next two to three years. She expressed genuine concern over the future of regulated, high quality child care in the City and in the Province. Ms. Besharah expressed the view that the City has a direct and material interest in ensuring a positive outcome in this case (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 7, item 4).

A representative of the Ottawa Federation of Parents’ Day Care who also addressed the standing HRSSC endorsed the city’s historical position “that the moral and fiscal responsibility to fund pay equity rests solely with the Province”. As he suggested, Ottawa had been contributing its 20 percent share of salary adjustments required by the Pay Equity Act. E. Arnold was the city councillor who put Ottawa’s shared sense of citizen responsibility into words:

She averred this was another example of municipalities struggling to meet their obligations under various pieces of provincial legislation and being forced to accept more and more down loaded services. Councillor Arnold stated that, as municipalities meet their obligations, they expect the Province to meet theirs (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 7, Item 4).

Even as it refuses to take on responsibilities that are not and should not become their own, the city of Ottawa is limited by the negligence and irresponsibility of the Ontario government.

iv. Contending with core housing need

Understanding the financial restrictions on Ottawa City Council’s social policy options requires addressing some other aspects of the economy of Ottawa at the turn of the millennium. Most pointedly, there is need for some explanation of why raising municipal taxes are not embraced as an effective solution for

coping with the housing crisis and construction of more affordable housing.

The quantity of available and affordable housing in the city plummeted as the municipal amalgamation occurred. The rental units scenario had been particularly bleak. In the year 2000 the number of rental units gained in Ottawa totalled five none of which were within parameters of affordability. 38 new rental units of private housing were completed, but another 33 were eliminated with the combination of demolition and condominium conversion (Maxwell, 2001:6). This situation took Ottawa well below healthy rental market vacancy levels, and rental costs in the city soared.

Ottawa housing department estimates said that more than 47,000 people in the city were living in circumstances where their accommodations absorbed an exaggerated portion of their income. There was also a deficiency of space available in Ottawa for abused women who were making the transition to life away from abusive former partners. There were transition houses but with an inadequate number of spaces abused women were expected to wait-out potentially harmful situations until forced to flee for their lives. The city's crisis shelters were able to serve the abused families in only a very minimal way. The living quarters were much too crowded, leaving insufficient room for relaxation or any kind of recreation. There was also no storage room, which makes restarting an independent existence as a lone parent out of these circumstances terribly difficult. Despite the assistance offered by local community volunteers once an affordable living place did become available, people lacked many of the furnishings and housewares needed to fill it. Furthermore, when the floors of the

family shelters which are designated for women and children fleeing abuse are already full to capacity, others are “scattered throughout the family shelter system as necessary” according to Potters’s September 2001 report to council on the shelter situation. Similarly, families who are homeless are treated as “overflow” of the shelter system and housed by the city in motels provided as temporary shelter although this motel solution is well-understood to be inadequate.⁴³

There has been no significant net gain in numbers of new low-cost housing built in the city since 1995 (Westeinde, 2001). The construction of new units had been absolutely necessary to keep up with the demand but necessary government supports for housing construction were phased out in Canada since 1984 (Hulchanski, 2002:12-13). Housing construction costs were prohibitively high for the market to meet the demand without governmental supports (Hulchanski, 2002; Westeinde, 2001).

v. Context of economic globalization

Despite Ottawa’s steady growth in population over recent years, because most of that population was not affluent, any substantial tax hike would have severe impacts, particularly for the 47,000 whose housing expenses were

⁴³ The same report notes that in July/August of 2001 there were 346 individuals belonging to families (including both families fleeing abuse and other families) that were housed by the city in “overflow spaces” compared with 280 individuals belonging to homeless families housed in regular shelter spaces. As of June 29, 2001, the report continues, “the Housing Registry had 114 households registered for subsidized houses in the priority category for victims of abuse. This year, 27 percent (30) of the families in the shelter system have been assessed as victims of abuse” (Potter, 2001b, sections “Current Status of Shelter Usage” “Families”).

already beyond their means. Ottawa has an increasingly polarized population among its residents in economic terms. The federal government has traditionally been Ottawa's biggest employer, but the federal government's proportion of total employment had declined, while the high-technology sector, including manufacturing and services has recently increased its influence in Ottawa employment patterns (Hollingsworth, 1999:10). Employment figures showed the creation of 44,800 jobs in Ottawa between 1999 and 2000. 26,000 of those jobs were in the high technology sector (Gupta, 2001:5). Growth also occurred in educational services, manufacturing, health care, professional, scientific and technical service sectors. In February of 2001, unemployment reached its lowest level in 15 years, dipping to 4.8 percent (Gupta, 2001:5).

In order to enjoy the kind of economic growth that Ottawa had experienced with the high-tech sector, it was important for the city to allow corporations to keep their costs down. It is well understood that high technology production can easily move to places where labour is cheap, municipal property taxes are low, and environmental regulations are weak (see Clarke, 1997; Marchak, 1991). The vulnerability of the new economic sector to market fluctuations was quickly evident in Canada's capital city. Early in 2001, Ottawa lay-offs included 2,000 low-skilled jobs cut from JDS Uniphase and Nortel (Gupta, 2001:5). In 2001 the local unemployment rate fluctuated from a 15 year low of 4.1 percent in February to 8 percent in September, then to 6 percent in December (Urquhart, 2002:7). The national unemployment rate was 8.0 percent at the time (Kirkpatrick, 2002b).

While there was job growth and the unemployment numbers looked favourable, much of the new Ottawa employment was low wage and/or part-time.

In the last 13 years, the number of full-time jobs has shrunk and part-time jobs have increased. Many of those finding work, are only able to obtain part-time and contract (term) work. For example, between 1990 and 1997, the number of part-time employees went from 61,000 to 79,000. In the year 2000 alone full-time jobs declined by 5,000 while part-time jobs increased by 13,000. . . This means almost one quarter of the workforce is not fully employed (Bernard, 2001:16).

Growth in the business service sector was at 60 percent between 1987 and 1997 (Hollingsworth, 1999:10). Better quality jobs such as in the federal public service were in decline.⁴⁴

Despite the uncertainties, there was sufficient demand for technically educated employees to outstrip the supply and the population of the city has grown with the high technology sector expansion (Maxwell, 2001:6). CMHC said migration to Ottawa was up in 2000 to between 10 and 12 thousand people, over eight to nine thousand in 1999. As of the fall of 2001, they were expecting to need about 6,000 new housing units each year for the next 10 years, and half of that demand would be for rental housing (Stewart, 2001a).

For all of the people who were housed but were living in a situation of core housing need, keeping their housing was a steady struggle. Any increasing expense including higher property taxes from the city (which could be a reason for a landlord raising the rent) could upset the delicate economic balance

⁴⁴ Regional-Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton figures show 9,983 net federal jobs lost between 1991 and 1996. During that time period overall government employment in Ottawa dropped by 8.1 percent (Hollingsworth, 1999:10).

keeping these people housed.

vi. Infrastructure cost increases

Higher population numbers also brought higher infrastructure costs to the city if they were to keep services up to standard and transportation moving steadily. Mayor Chiarelli was quoted in *The Ottawa Citizen* saying: “The economic boom such as we’re experiencing here in Ottawa creates more of a burden than a benefit to the city’s budget” (Goff, 2001). His comment was in the context of the newly released report calling for senior government assistance for Ottawa’s infrastructure expenses. In the words of Ottawa Partnership⁴⁵ co-chair Bryden:

Ottawa needs to be recognized as a special case because infrastructure needs are growing so fast, the city has no hope of funding them through traditional methods. About \$100 million in new federal-provincial funding is needed each year over the next 10 years to deal with the population growth that will come if the city is to maintain its momentum. ... Without extra funding from upper levels of government the city with either choke on growth and loose business, or it will be forced to raise development charges and property taxes so high it will drive business away (in Goff, 2001).

This newspaper writer also repeated the popular fear that in the technology sector many of the businesses were likely to leave Canada.

Studies conducted by the Canadian Policy Research Network and by a Prime Minister’s caucus task force on urban issues support complaints of Ottawa politicians that infrastructure costs had become impossibly high. A 2002 four-part study of the federal role in Canada’s cities found that prompt federal

⁴⁵ The Ottawa Partnership was a public-private sector board which in 2000 sponsored a \$50,000 research project on growth in the city.

government intervention and cooperation across all orders of government was crucial for continued development and success of Canada's urban centres. A 2002 Task Force on Canada's Urban Centres concurred (Seidle, 2002). The Sgro Task Force argued that Canada needs an urban strategy that will provide Canada's 25 largest urban regions (among which the census metropolitan area of Ottawa-Gatineau is fourth) with sustainable long-term funding for affordable housing, transit/transportation and infrastructure (Canada, 2002b:10-20).

Even without providing new affordable housing, Ottawa's social service demands were increasing because the city was under pressure to offer more services and compensations for losses of provincial services on a regular basis. The people services department consumed about a third of the city budget⁴⁶ (Health, Social Services Advisory Committee, HSSAC, 2002:Minutes 6, item 2) even without the dramatic expansion of their affordable housing supports that truly looking after all of the basic needs of Ottawa citizens would entail. Rescaling of social programs was a significant factor in developing this context. The pressures limiting Ottawa's provision of social citizenship entitlements were not entirely due to increased expenses and or decreased resources; policy issues also deserve attention.

b) Policy Restrictions

The most significant of policy restrictions upon the enjoyment of citizen entitlement occur through rescaling processes. In addition, there are citizenship

⁴⁶ Stewart specifies the People Services Department gross budget is \$540 million, and their net budget is \$240 million (HSSAC, 2002:Minutes 6, item 2).

implications of the Transition Board measures which I will briefly discuss before proceeding with rescaling policy issues.

i. Transition Board impositions

The Transition Board pushed Ottawa towards an alternative service delivery model which relies heavily on active citizenship. Responsibilities once belonging to government departments and administered by civil servants were instead to be shared by 500 community, non-profit, and private organizations (Social Planning Council, 2000b: 4). The transition board celebrated the generous numbers of Ottawa residents who volunteer⁴⁷ and wanted to make Ottawa a “flagship community for volunteer action” for the entire country (Transition Board, 2001: Summary, Voluntary sector project). The Transition Board gave the new city extensive direction on how to make best use of their volunteers by following a model they called “Volunteer Involvement Through Access and Leadership” (VITAL) to integrate volunteers deeply into city structures and administration. See Appendix Five: A Summary of the Ottawa Transition Board’s Voluntary Sector Project Report.

City staff began following Transition Board directives regarding volunteers and some but not all features of the VITAL model described in Appendix Five persisted in the work of the Volunteer Secretariat. In June, 2001, a manager of the corporate volunteer secretariat was assigned within the community funding and development division. Some of the goals of the Transition Board were

⁴⁷ They calculate that Ottawa already had the country’s highest volunteer rate with 35 percent of residents over 15 years of age volunteering for something.

echoed by the new manager in a report made to a community consultation on volunteering organized by the Social Planning Council, but others were not fulfilled (Social Planning Council, 2001a; Tiffin, 2002).

In their first two years the new voluntary sector secretariat was concentrated on such things as: harmonizing best practices among different volunteer organizations in the city, establishing uniformity in forms (for instance application form, episodic forms, waivers, etc.), and creating one point of access for anyone interested in volunteering (Tiffin, personal correspondence June 2002).

ii. Rescaling and affordable housing policies

Rescaling also embroiled the City of Ottawa in tricky questions of responsibility and policy-contradiction. Several policy problems relevant to citizenship confronted Ottawa because of provincial government policy. The separation of responsibilities between the province of Ontario and the City of Ottawa was not always entirely clear. For example when programs were downloaded, the province frequently retained some type of regulatory power or oversight regardless of whether or not the province provided any funds in support of the program. In other cases, responsibilities were shared. During the first years of the new city, my data included three cases where the new city was witness to or somehow entrapped in legal or human rights problems stemming from Ontario policy.

Some contraventions of citizen rights and of human rights occurred because those newly charged with administering programs which originated with

other orders of government did not have any possible means to avoid human-rights abuses arising from recently acquired programs. The province had made contradictory commitments that created difficulties for Ottawa when the needs of different groups of low income housing residents clashed. Under provincial Bill 128 devolving responsibility for affordable housing, Ottawa was appointed as the Local Service Manager for social housing. The city in turn, created an “autonomous”⁴⁸ non-profit housing corporation, the Ottawa Housing Corporation (OHC) which administers public housing for the city since the transfer from the province on January 1, 2001. The housing provider mandate defined by the province said the city was equally responsible to all residents in need of Rent-Geared to Income (RGI) housing. Another regulation entitled senior citizens to live in age-designated buildings. A third prohibited use of any provincial funding for construction of new affordable housing.

Ottawa’s difficulties stemmed partially from the demographic patterns of low income seniors in comparison with low-income people of younger ages. The absolute demand for seniors affordable housing had stayed fairly steady while the non-seniors demand for affordable housing had increased dramatically. Between 1992 and 2001, 11 buildings which once housed only seniors were

⁴⁸ The city was the sole share holder for Ottawa Housing Corporation, but the corporation is generally run by an independent board of directors. The service manager, J. Potter used these words, “autonomous non-profit housing corporation” in a report to the OHC board of directors. The extent of autonomy between the OHC and the city was highly questionable as the city’s housing director is appointed as the corporation’s service manager and difficult problems (as in the case I am describing here) were taken back to a City Council committee for resolution.

converted to serve age-mixed populations while 19 buildings remained for seniors only. These conversions improved an imbalance on the waiting list which had many more non-senior singles than seniors awaiting housing, but as of 2001 there were still three times as many non-senior singles requiring housing as there were seniors. Some of the seniors in the age-mixed housing were complaining that the presence of younger tenants brought problems of security and of noise (Cullen, 2001; HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 15, item 8).

Seniors had special status under the Human Rights Code. Interpretations of this status in relation to social housing said that seniors had exclusive access to seniors-only buildings. Consultations with legal experts informed the CHO manager that Ottawa risked litigation both by seniors who wanted seniors-only housing and by non-seniors who wanted opportunities equal to those of seniors for accessing affordable housing (Cullen, 2001).

A coordinated access system described under section 32 of the Social Housing Reform Act specified OHC's process for filling affordable housing vacancies. Vacancies had to be filled from the waiting list in accordance with policies governing the social housing registry. Continuing to follow these policies without conversion of any more buildings from seniors-only to mixed residency would escalate inequality among members on the waiting list⁴⁹ (thus forcing Ottawa into a contravention of their directive that local housing authorities are responsible to equitably meet the needs of all eligible applicants on the housing

⁴⁹ Estimates suggested the waiting period for non-seniors to get affordable housing would be 12 years if any age-mixed buildings were converted back to seniors only.

list) (Cullen, 2001). The city was originally keeping nineteen buildings for seniors only, but this created inequalities on the waiting list such that seniors on the affordable housing waiting list were usually housed within a year, but other singles and families were waiting between seven and eight years (HRSSC, 2001. Minutes 15, item 8).

The Health, Recreation, Social Services Committee responded to this situation with support for the service manager's request for an extensive review. The review sought to develop a better understanding of the concerns of residents and of service providers in the age-mixed houses.⁵⁰ Regardless of the city's inclusive concern for the well-being of all its residents, the lack of affordable housing and the restrictions of provincial legislation left Ottawa positioned so that it was more-or-less impossible to appropriately meet all of the affordable housing needs of its residents. With some people waiting eight years for affordable housing, and some seniors living in fear in their age-mixed-housing units, Ottawa was unable to deliver the services the municipal council members believed that Ottawa residents were entitled to.

iii. administration of the welfare ban

The provincial lifetime welfare ban potentially created even more desperate cases within the Ottawa context than the social housing crisis did.

⁵⁰Service providers, seniors, community organizations, and non-senior residents were invited to participate in the policy review. This gave the OHC board the information necessary for them to make the best possible independent decisions on allocation of applicants to age-mixed buildings and additional building conversion (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 15, item 8).

Ontario Works regulations decreed that anyone convicted of fraud in relation to funds received (after April 1, 2000) as public assistance benefits, was automatically cut off from receiving any benefits for life, regardless of need. An Ontario Supreme Court injunction challenged the Ontario Government for imposing the ban on one pregnant Toronto woman (Kimberly Rogers) on the grounds her rights were violated by the ban, claiming the health of her unborn fetus was jeopardized as were her own dignity and human rights. She had been convicted under the lifetime ban in April 2001 for collecting both social assistance and student loans to help cover the costs of attending community college. She had no means of support after the conviction. The Supreme Court case ended when she (at eight months into her pregnancy) was found dead on August 1 in her Sudbury apartment.⁵¹ An Ottawa community organization, the Somerset West Action Network (SWAN) lobbied against the ban and brought their concerns to the HRSSC in May 2002. A total of eight representatives of community and legal groups made presentations to the HSSAC on the subject of the lifetime welfare ban.

Several city Councillors' speeches touched upon key themes of this dissertation:

⁵¹ A Toronto legal expert with the Advocacy Centre for Tenants Ontario revealed additional dimensions to the tragedy when she explained some of the details of Rodger's case during a presentation to the Ottawa HSSAC. Rogers had graduated at the top of her class in a social services program. Previous family benefits legislation had allowed single mothers to receive both Ontario Student Loans and welfare because it was recognized that \$520.00 a month was not enough for someone attending post-secondary education, and further more, that education would help them find employment (HSSAC, 2002: Minutes 25, item 2, Ramsey).

Councillor Deans stated this policy was on par with making homelessness illegal. She felt the punishment should fit the crime and the lifetime ban to Kimberly Rogers was a death sentence. The punishment does not fit the crime in any way and she felt it was very wrong the City has to carry out the dirty work for the Province and deny benefits to people that depend on these benefits for their very survival. She expressed the hope this motion would unanimously be passed by Council and the City could do its small part to change this.

Councillor Doucet spoke of the new level of responsibility that City councillors have, that has come from the Province. He felt Council had to look at ways to pressure the Province and the Federal Government to behave in more humane ways. He opined that punishment is not what government is about; rather government is about building community and this is not accomplished by making it hard for people to participate in it. He felt the City should become much more radical with the Province and with the Federal Government. He suggested the City should join the National Coalition of City Councillors for Sustainable Inclusive Cities in June at the FCM, to start to develop a national voice against this kind of injustice (HRSSC, 2002: Minutes 25, item 2).

Doucet's comments on the "FCM" refer to the Federation of Canadian Municipalities. This organization's coordination of municipal efforts helped municipalities reach out to the federal government more effectively. Just as changing scale can cause problems, it is also relevant in creating solutions for policy concerns.

The HRSSC passed a motion in support of SWAN's cause. The Council Committee directed the Manager of People Services and the City Solicitor to consult with human rights experts to advise about legal action the city could take.

They also decided the City of Ottawa:

. . . would make representation to the Provincial Government and the Association of Ontario Municipalities stating its opposition to the provincial government's lifetime social assistance ban for those convicted of fraud, as the policy is unduly harsh, unnecessarily

punitive, contrary to International and Canadian Charter rights and will have serious implications for families and children on social assistance (HRSSC, 2002: Minutes 25, item 2).

Despite these resolutions however, the city had little choice but to continue to administer the ban. At the time of that meeting there were 14 cases of people in Ottawa who were subject to the lifetime ban. The people convicted in ten of those cases were not attempting to collect social assistance at the time the ban was imposed, and at the time of the meeting, city staff were still checking to see if any of those individuals had reapplied. Among the four remaining cases, three were sole support parents (HRSSC, 2002: Minutes 25 item 2, St. Jean).

iv. Rescaling problems summary

As administrators of provincial policy in a province which disregards human rights in the name of cutting expenditure thanks to rescaling, the City of Ottawa was implicated in human rights violations, not to mention practices of elitism and social exclusion which work against citizen equality. Discourses of councillors and staff indicate these events (including neglected pay equity increases, delays in affordable- housing provision, conversion of seniors-only affordable housing to mixed-age housing, and lifetime welfare bans) occurred against the wishes of the city social planners.

These examples of policy terrain where city and province overlap offer just the beginning of my evidence that research on citizenship must attend to all orders of governance. There is little doubt that if Ottawa's municipal government had endorsed the limiting of citizenship entitlements to those citizens deemed "worthy" under provincial policy that the exclusion and marginalization of low

income people in the capital would have been even worse than it has been. I argue that the City of Ottawa, instead, took many initiatives towards continuation of social citizenship rights and others against civic- republican exclusions from service-provision.

III. Local Initiative

While they are not yet providing for the level of citizen entitlement envisioned in the city, the improvements Ottawa has been able to make for some of the least-privileged citizens must be understood within the context of a province where things would have been much worse if the City had cooperated fully with the province. For a more complete sense of the social vision for Ottawa as expressed by a group of community organizations, see Appendix Six: Our Vision For the City of Ottawa. In order to appreciate the depth and sincerity of the Ottawa Council's efforts to meet the needs of all its citizens, this section looks at the actions taken in support of the homeless in Ottawa. The philosophy, or spirit, with which those actions were under-taken revealed much about the attitudes of city managers and politicians towards preservation of citizenship. Central to my housing concern was the city's creation of a plan for combatting homelessness, so I begin my analysis there, then continue with seven other points in support of my claim that Ottawa makes an extraordinary effort to breathe as much life as possible into citizenship for their residents. My eight points address: proactive planning, funding, advocacy, restoring the "unworthy",

jumping scale, voluntary sector support, redefining the amalgamation transition, and consultation process.

I conclude that while Ottawa City Council did not have the resources to completely stem the tide of civic republican policy, it maintained processes of inclusion and consultation inconsistent with the elitism of civic republican philosophy. Furthermore, Ottawa City Council and municipal employees successfully continued an inclusive political culture which claimed as legitimate a political voice for residents in matters of direct concern to them, and basic social entitlements for all Canadians and newcomers to the country. The sincerity of Ottawa's effort to confront homelessness in their city was expressed in the extent of planning, budgeting commitments, its needs-based focus, and lobbying of other orders of government by the Council and city managers.

a) Proactive Planning

Efforts to find long-term solutions to the housing crisis were coordinated, not random, and were supported by task-force research. A "Community Action Plan to Prevent and End Homelessness" was designed in the former City of Ottawa-Carleton in 1999. Its twenty-two recommendations are listed in Appendix Seven of this dissertation. The action plan was revised annually to meet changing needs and record progress towards the city's goals for combatting homelessness. Under the Homelessness Action Plan designed by city workers and accepted by the Health, Recreation Social Services Committee, the city orchestrated use of all available resources in the effort to aid the homeless and end homelessness. The city support consisted of: accessing funding programs of

the province and federal government, maintaining economically fragile agencies such as Community Care Centres which were under-resourced under provincial jurisdiction, and assisting in provision of some services offered through not-for-profit organizations (see Sorenson, 2001).

One of the Homelessness Action Plan recommendations called for the striking of a task force on public private partnerships for affordable housing. After the task force report (issued early in 2002) and a housing branch assessment of housing need in the city, a new planning document called “The Affordable Housing Strategy” was developed to summarize needs, priorities, recommendations, tools, and work to be done regarding housing in Ottawa. A copy of the document is included as Appendix Eight.

Allocation of new funding to support affordable housing construction demonstrated the sincerity of the city’s concern and moved their strategy beyond meeting the daily sheltering needs towards eventual resolution of the crisis. The development of new housing for Ottawa was strategized in the “Action Ottawa” program. Under this program, the city provided starting funds for leveraging provincial and federal dollars for construction and services, plus kept the other orders of government well-informed about the housing and social service needs of Ottawa residents. Projected housing demand for the City of Ottawa was one thousand units of affordable rental housing per year for the 2001 to 2006 period. In the 2002 budget, the housing department planned for a million dollar investment in new affordable housing construction by setting the money aside in a housing reserve fund (Housing Branch, 2002:sections 4, 5). At anticipated

levels of federal support for affordable housing construction, Ottawa expected to be able to meet one-quarter of the demand, or to be able to produce 240 market-rent units per year. The housing branch estimated that 500 units could be constructed in the first year if the province matched contributions by other orders of government (Housing Branch, 2002: sections 4, 5).

b) Funding

The city's level of ongoing support for temporary shelters and existing affordable housing programs were maximized under provincial regulatory limits. During the years studied, funding programs for both the provincial and federal governments were often characterized by having an upper funding limit, and by a requirement that funds donated be matched by other levels of government. One such example was that the province which cost-shared per-diem funding for shelters according to a formula applied to the nightly numbers of occupied beds in the shelter, set an upper limit to the "bed-night" funds. In 2001 this upper limit was set at \$38.00, and the HRSS Committee voted to fund their shelters at this rate retroactive to April 1, 2001 (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 8, item 3).

Despite a city budget firmly pledged not to increase municipal taxes, council committed to these upper limits of funding levels, thereby maximizing the city's contribution. While avoiding tax increases, they also made some progress in immediately addressing the homelessness crisis. This was true of the city role in relation to the Supporting Community Partnerships Initiatives (SCPI) sponsored by the federal government. Similarly, a Provincial Homelessness Initiatives program and a provincial initiative begun in 2000 called "Off the

Streets and Into Shelters” were used to the upper limit available in Ottawa (Potter, 2001c: section 2). The council also demonstrated its commitment to resolving the housing crisis by agreeing that any savings found in the social housing envelope stay within that funding category for future use in “meeting the urgent housing needs of our community” (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 11, item 3).

c) Advocacy

Without a sufficient tax-base to meet the housing needs of its jurisdiction, city councillors and managers persistently advocated for Ottawa’s homeless residents and those in core housing need. The Action Ottawa plan called on the province to bridge the gap between demand and municipal/federal contributions through specific measures that copied municipal actions as follows:

If the Province provided a similar grant vehicle in conjunction with municipal incentives, it would be possible to meet another quarter of the annual target. It is expected that the remaining need for 500 units could be achieved through implementation of the following actions:

- Property tax reductions for newly-constructed rental accommodation;
- Promotion of secondary suites in existing housing;
- Acquisition of existing properties;
- Policies to promote affordability through the Official Plan and zoning by-laws. (Housing Branch, 2002: 5.0, “Action Ottawa Targets”).

The Action Ottawa program reflected Ottawa’s situation of a dire need for affordable housing, combined with the generally inclusive approach of the city’s housing branch.

Action Ottawa was a pro-active strategy constructed on a proposed, but

not yet fully specified, federal program called the Federal Affordable Rental Program. The program, based on initial indicators which were as yet somewhat ambiguous, seemed to likely require equal levels of provincial contributions before federal housing dollars would be granted. Even before the new federal program was announced Ottawa began demanding that the province of Ontario match federal contributions (Housing Branch, 2002: 5.0, "Action Ottawa Targets").

d) Restoring Worth

Among those whom federal and provincial policy-makers dismiss as "unworthy" in order to justify removing their service entitlements are those who are economically disadvantaged and women who recently left abusive partners. Ottawa policy-makers and administrators reclaimed these people as important priorities for receiving specific supports. While Ottawa did not succeed in meeting all the needs of these two overlapping groups, at least the city did not evaluate such neglect as "insignificant". I begin with housing in general, then turn to housing for survivors of abuse.

Ottawa resisted the provincial philosophy of blaming disadvantaged individuals for their difficulties and instead of shaming the needy, made specific efforts to help meet needs of the poorest people of the city. In a June 2001 presentation by Housing Branch senior administrators on progress on the homelessness action plan, the city Manager of Homelessness, Rooney indicated that city staff wanted to be doing preventative work as much as possible. City authorities were distressed that evictions happened with much greater frequency

under new Ontario tenant's regulations. Both Rooney, and Housing Director, Potter's spoke with sympathy and concern as opposed to the moral judgement and condemnation which characterize the provincial discourse. The tone of supportive concern continued in comments from councillors Cullen, Arnold, Eastman (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 8, item 4), along with Munter and Deans upon other occasions (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 11, item 3).

Councillor A. Cullen sought assurance that the Ministry of Community and Social Services (MCSS) is making the case to the Ministry of Housing that there is a more rational solution to the housing crisis than increased spending on shelters and that the 1995 decision not to provide funding for social housing cannot be sustained at this cost. ... The Councillor expressed the hope that a clear message is being sent that this crisis demands the intervention of the federal and provincial governments. ... Councillor Cullen described the situation of two women living in shelters with four children and the impact this has had on their lives. He spoke about the education community knowing that every dollar invested in a child's life will save seven dollars later in life on a host of related issues: This assertion has been substantiated by thirty years of academic research and verification. The Councillor asked that his colleagues use every avenue to deal with this matter (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 11, item 3).

The minutes show committee chair, Alex Munter also expressed particular concern about homeless families:

Chair Munter thanked Ms. Potter and the Housing Branch staff for their efforts in dealing with this issue. He pointed out that this is the first year that families represent the largest proportion of persons living in shelters and the City needs to make the investment for emergency shelters to ensure that people don't freeze out on the street. Chair Munter said he was thankful that the province is prepared to pay 80 percent of the expansion, and he put forward the view that this is the least the province can do. He called it disappointing that the provincial government is prepared to keep expanding the shelter system but not provide one nickel for permanent housing, to move people out of shelters and stop them

from growing (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 11, item 3).

Developers of a pending new federal housing program were directed by the Ottawa HRSSC to attend particularly to the lowest income quintile. The city committee adopted a short-term strategy for addressing the increasing use of emergency funds for families and individuals, but not before Councillor Deans expressed her concerns about this strategy:

Councillor D. Deans said she looks forward to the day when there is no need to build another shelter. She did not feel that this was an appropriate place for families to raise their children. She expressed the hope that more long-term solutions can be found, and that all levels of government will realize they have roles to play in the future of housing (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 11, item 3).

This council committee's discourse did not individualize responsibility by blaming poor and or homeless people for the impossible economic circumstances they found themselves in during 2001. Rather, the Committee described the responsibility as one shared by the residents needing housing, the City, the Province and the Federal Government. Some of their commentaries in this vein were especially strong during a Feb 7, 2002 meeting in which ten not-for-profit organizations, and four low-income individuals made presentations about the inadequacy of provincial support to Ottawa people in need of social assistance. Councillor Arnold vented some frustration:

Councillor A. Arnold said that poverty and homelessness are ten times worse than they were in 1987, and that she found this situation both infuriating and unnecessary. The councillor averred that the Province has the money to redress this situation and that this is a question of who gains and who pays. She suggested that these points be made at the pre-budget hearings and that the City's approach be widely publicized. Councillor Arnold posited that citizens don't want to hear the stories the Committee has heard

today and the network of those working on these issues needs to be broadened (HRSSC, 2002: Minutes 18, item 5).

Councillor Deans took to heart the city's and what she perceived as the province's responsibilities to improve the homelessness situation in Ottawa:

Councillor D. Deans said a city's greatness is measured by how well it treats its citizens. She averred that the City Council has a major role to play in bringing this analysis before the Province and changing the reality of persons living in despair in poverty or on the street (HRSSC, 2002: Minutes 18, item 5).

Ottawa Council's role of advocates for the citizens of Ottawa was employed frequently and often indicated their refusal of individualization of citizen economic and social responsibilities.

The Housing Department of Ottawa prioritized attention to low-income city residents. Housing Department statement of objectives items two through four were as follows:

- 2) To administer, in an efficient and cost-effective way, existing social housing for low and moderate income households and those with special needs;
- 3) to provide emergency shelter or long-term hostel services to meet the needs of disadvantaged residents;
- 4) To manage an integrated service system for the homeless which focuses on long-term solutions and prevention, as well as immediate needs. (Ottawa, 2002c:280).

Unlike the province of Ontario, the city did not presume that those who needed assistance would be looked after by (invisible and unmentioned) female family members, nor to be unworthy of public assistance. Rather than trying to escape shared responsibility for its citizens, Ottawa's social planners pushed to extend the margins of what-ever assistance they were allowed to provide under

individualist provincial regulations. The city's social planners pushed the boundaries both by serving those whom the province would neglect, and by strategically maximizing funding levels while accessing as many avenues of financial support as could be found.

Under provincial statutes, the Province of Ontario retained responsibility for all of the families experiencing domestic violence, although the Ministry of Community and Social Services interprets those responsibilities in a less-than minimal way.

Abused women lost out significantly when the federal government stopped funding new social housing. Ontario then responded with funding cuts for women abuse services in 1995. Provincial funding for women's shelters was cut just after the end to affordable housing. Successive basic funding cuts in October, 1995 and April 1996 totalled 5 percent towards institutional budgets that had always been insufficient for frontline crisis intervention (OAITH, 1998:29). Additionally, in December of 1995, all provincial funding was eliminated for programs for women and children in second stage (or "transition") shelters. Morrow reported that in order to stay open at all, second-stage shelters had to cut counselling and support, eliminating anti-violence education, children's programs and preventative programs (Morrow, 1996). Similarly, women's support groups, advocacy, counselling other than crisis intervention and counselling services, in other community agencies (including culturally specific social services) disappeared under the overly strict new budgets (Morrow, 1996). The Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses (OAITH) say services

were badly affected by this and by the expectations that shelters fundraise 20 percent of their basic service costs (1998:29). The suffering of abused women was also increased by cuts to: legal aid, criminal and family courts, social assistance, housing, child care, language interpretation services and services for people with disabilities (32-33).

The City of Ottawa found justification to intervene (in a limited manner) and start providing shelter for some women and children fleeing abuse in 1999 when one of the women abuse shelters in the city was temporarily closed. The city reserved space in several of its family shelters for those escaping a violent partner (Potter, 2001b). The need for abuse shelters and transition shelters had been greater than the spaces available in Ottawa for a number of years. In becoming aware of this, even after the temporarily closed shelter reopened, the city continued with its work in service of the domestically abused.

Ottawa's housing branch had extended the formal definition of the families they shelter to include families fleeing domestic abuse and their goal was to provide better assistance, instead of striving to escape obligations which were not formally theirs. People Services wanted to better serve women and children who had been abused and at the time of the "Emergency Shelters-Status and Strategy" report, were investigating the possibilities of accessing new provincial funds for facilities and services to combat the consequences of domestic violence (Potter, 2001b: "Current Status of Shelter Usage - families").

Ottawa City Council and office-holders did not expect Ottawa residents to be financially and socially independent all of the time. Their starting point rather

than rugged individualism was built on acknowledgement of both the need for social supports, and the serious consequences of failing to provide such support. Evidence of this framework of shared responsibility is substantiated in several reports from the housing branch of the People Services Department. A report by the city Housing Manager on the status of, and strategies for, emergency shelters clearly state affordable housing as a need:

The city has responsibility for providing temporary emergency shelter, on a cost-shared basis with the Province. Over the past few years, shelters are operating beyond their existing capacity and are overcrowded. While the long-term need is for more affordable housing, there is an immediate requirement to alleviate the situation for the forthcoming winter. This report proposes strategies to reallocate operating subsidies in order to provide more appropriate solutions to the increasing need for temporary shelter for men, women and families (Potter, 2001b: "Background").

In claiming and specifying the needs of "men, women and families" distinctly, Potter made room for extending the city's responsibility to provide assistance to each group and to recognize distinct characteristics of the survival strategies in each group:

A special note about shelter for women: even though there is no significant increase in the number of subsidized bed nights, this is due to the lack of space to put more beds on site, not the lack of demand. When Cornerstone Women's Services opened the overflow shelter in a church basement from February to April 2001, more than 40 of the 91 adult and young women admitted had never accessed the regular women's shelter services. These women were, and still are either on the streets, moving from friend to friend, as tolerated, or have found a male protector (Potter, 2001b: "Service History 1998-2001").

While it was acknowledged that women find their own ways to survive homelessness, this information was offered in the report in order to encourage

the city to better serve the needs of homeless women, rather than as a strategy for avoiding municipal responsibilities, or for leaving individuals to continue fending for themselves.

The housing branch of the People Services Department repeatedly claimed affordable housing as a shared rather than an individual responsibility.

They also emphasized the importance of housing for all Ottawa residents:

Having adequate, affordable and secure housing is fundamental to the well-being of individuals, families and the community. Housing is a prerequisite for full participation in our civic culture and our economy. The availability of housing affects the success of business and is a key factor in determining demands on social and health services in our City. Emerging research also shows a strong connection between affordable housing and the success of children in school and later life (Housing Branch, 2002: section 2.0).

While the previous statement asserted the importance of housing provision, it also provided subtle indications that the city's advocates of a participatory notion of citizenship faced challenges from neoliberal discourse. In order to convince neoliberals within Ottawa of the importance of housing, the city officers turned to the instrumentalist logic of business and individual success. A person who was less strategic or who was writing to an audience already convinced in favour of social justice as a concern would more likely appeal on the basis of fulfilling a human rights commitment, ending suffering, and or promoting equality of opportunity.

e) Jumping Scale

City administrators were also playing active advocacy roles in the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) lobbying the federal government for

affordable housing support (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 11, item 3). City Councillors in Ottawa fuelled FCM regard for the concerns of people with low incomes. Ottawa's support for an FCM resolution demanding renewed federal government involvement with affordable housing, and endorsement of Councillor Arnold's intervention (as cited below) emphasized the needs of Ontario's poorest residents:

Councillor Arnold said she would like to see, in addition to what staff is proposing, a statement from the City of Ottawa that says the priority, in negotiations with the federal and provincial ministers, should be on finding a solution to provide housing for people at the bottom income bracket. She reiterated what she was hearing on the Mayor's Task Force, that unless municipalities radically change the way they solve this problem, no one on the waiting lists will be touched nor those in the greatest needs (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 11, item 3).

The resolution which was approved by council specified that the program must be designed to produce units for households unable to pay market rents, in particular, for those households in the lowest income quintile.

Unable to immediately meet all of the housing needs, or even to foresee an independently financed solution to the crisis, the city repeatedly called on the provincial and federal governments to fulfill their share of responsibility for the well-being of Canadians in Ottawa. Eight of the twenty-two recommendations in the city's Homelessness Action Plan petitioned the provincial or federal government for better support in particular areas.⁵² This was typical of the council committee activities in the documents studied. Not only did they reject the

⁵² These include recommendations 2, 3, 4, 10, 12, 16, 17 and 18. See Appendix Seven: A Community Action Plan to Prevent and End Homelessness for full details.

individualization of responsibility within their own boundaries by their interpretation of needs and in their persistent delivery of the maximum possible funds, they also repeatedly advocated to provincial and the federal ministries to live up to Ottawa's expectations of shared responsibility for social services. This advocacy work was shared by city officials and city councillors. While I focus on the city's advocacy related to the homelessness situation and to issues that illustrate the city's interpretation of shared rather than individualized responsibility, this advocacy also extended to many other concerns. The political culture consistent with Keynesian-welfare state's citizenship entitlements to basic services continued in Ottawa despite a combined from federal and provincial preference for neoliberal policy and discourses of civic republicanism.

f) Voluntary sector support

The city also supported the efforts of the voluntary sector to meet needs of Ottawa residents. They did so without extending direct pressures on citizens to make Ottawa residents feel obliged to volunteer. Ottawa also provided indirect financial assistance to support not-for-profit agencies that serve the homeless population or offer affordable housing to Ottawa residents. These supports consisted of exemptions from a series of fees the city would normally collect. The exemptions were for: building permit fees (By-law 79-2000), planning application fees (By-law 80-2000) and cash in lieu of parkland fees (By-law 255-2000). In 2001, the fee exemptions cost the city \$174,000 (Potter, 2001d; HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 8, item 4).

Community Care Access Centres have played key roles in Ottawa

meeting the health needs of the homeless and the under-housed while more traditional health care⁵³ was eroded. When presented with an appeal from the local Community Care Access Centres (CCACs) for advocacy assistance, the city urged the province to increase CCAC funding by 36 percent (which was the amount equivalent to the case-load increase) and they circulated the resolution to all Ontario cities, regions and counties to solicit further support (HRSSC: 2001, Minutes 9, Item 1).

In April of the following year, some CCAC home care services to the frail and elderly were abruptly cut because they were financially unsupportable. The HRSSC learned of it through their Seniors Advisory Committee. It was explained that the centres' budgets had been frozen since 1992 and services had already been eliminated (in the previous year) to all but those in most dire need. The new loss of services would mean that some of Ottawa's fixed-income elderly and disabled population would no longer be able to survive in their current independent living arrangements. The council committee was outraged.

Councillor Eastman declared:

...this was an incredible thing to happen to the elderly and the disabled, who desperately need this care and said it should not be allowed. The Councillor also expressed his frustration with the City and the various agencies continually having to struggle to pick up the pieces, every time the Province decides to cut programs such as this (HRSSC, 2002:Minutes 23, item 4).

Councillor Cullen noted that home care was less expensive for the province than

⁵³ I refer to traditional but now more obsolete strategies such as keeping people in hospital beds until they are fully recovered from their illnesses or well-recuperated after surgery (see Maher and Riutort, 1998:71-72).

hospital or long-term care and commented this was a set-back that would undermine a lot of work that had been done recently to coordinate Ministry of Health, City and United Way programs to meet the needs of a growing aged population (HRSSC, 2002:Minutes 23, item 4).

Despite the HRSSC and People Services department work in advocacy, coordination and long-term planning they were continually opposed by a province which was detaching itself from social responsibilities. In response to this additional bad news, advocacy efforts were renewed by city officials and People Services staff increased their communications with the Community Access Centre in order to collectively seek any solutions that might allow continuation of the much-needed home care services (HRSSC, 2002: Minutes 23, item 4).

g) Redefining the Amalgamation Transition

There was a measure of the new city council's commitment to helping the homeless and to ensuring the continuation of non-profit organization services to the homeless in the willingness of the council of the amalgamated city to reject, defy and improve upon budgetary and policy limitations set out by the Transition Board. The Transition Board's over-zealous ideological commitment to "no tax increases" led them to impose a freeze on any and all expenditure increases for 2001. The HRSSC encountered consequences of the funding freeze, when many service providers informed them during a review of the Community Partnerships Capital program that demands for services had increased dramatically over the past year making it impossible to continue to provide the same level of services to all in need, without more funding. Eight of those

organizations which appealed for increased funding sheltered and fed economically deprived people. The commitment of councillors on the HRSSC and the focused ingenuity of city administrators led to the redistribution of funds no longer needed for social assistance (as caseloads had been declining and a surplus was predicted) to the community organizations (HRSSC, 2001: Minutes 3, item 5). Whereas the Transition Board's ultimate commitment (in theory at least⁵⁴), was to budgetary restraint, the new city's ultimate commitment (as expressed through the HRSSC and People Services) was the continuation of previous levels of service.

Rescaling in Canada has been especially complex because of inconsistencies between scale of policy-setting, scale of funding and scale of program administration. As we have seen in the previous section, responsibilities redistributed to lower orders of government regularly did not have sufficient accompanying funds to run those programs. To make matters worse, federal and provincial governments often retained some form of oversight or policy control over rescaled programs while they expected local governments to administer the programs. Localized compliance with or resistance to the narrowing of citizenship entitlements influences the achievement or failure of a civic republican mandate.

The Transition Board's formula for cost-cutting was an active citizenship

⁵⁴ The provincial government appointed the Transition Board to oversee the amalgamation of twelve municipal governments in to the new City of Ottawa. The transition board's economic agenda for Ottawa is ironic as the Transition Board itself went over-budget by about 40 percent.

strategy, consistent with civic republicanism. While the model did contain discursive elements for the protection of workers and unions, more prominent were the commodification, individualization and rationalization of volunteer labour practices. Through such measures, voluntary labour could easily become civil labour⁵⁵ as it is first documented, regulated and celebrated, then required. The Transition Board gave the new city extensive direction on how to make best use of their volunteers by following a model they called Volunteer Involvement Through Access and Leadership (VITAL) to integrate volunteers deeply into city structures and administration. The one very significant strategic distinction between the active citizenship approach and the VITAL model was that VITAL concentrates more on rewarding the volunteers in recognition of their contributions rather than punishing or withdrawing service from non-volunteers (as active citizenship does).

h) Consultation with residents

Political philosophies of civic republicanism were also rejected in Ottawa through consistent treatment of citizens as agents of policy which involved them. Civic republicanism expects citizens to serve without developing political knowledge or savvy. I see this in the dumbing-down of some provincial political discourse⁵⁶ accompanied by politics of stealth from both federal and Ontario

⁵⁵ Civil labour is Beck's term for unpaid work performed for the state (2000).

⁵⁶ This is true of many of the press statements and government reports regarding both workfare and welfare fraud. They employed exceptionally short, simple sentence structures and a small vocabulary.

governments of the 1990's (Battle, 1994). In comparison, the Ottawa city widely distributed information about their policy decision- making. Both staff and council committees consult extensively and strive to include all those who are affected by the decisions to be taken. Thus we see homeless people and affordable housing service providers included in decision-making regarding resolution of aspects of the housing crisis in Ottawa. Appendix Nine of this dissertation describes the consultative processes involved in resolution of issues directly related to the housing crisis in 2001-2002.

IV. Summary

Local government in Ottawa managed, despite difficulty, to offer basic social services as entitlements for their residents. While neoliberal policy and civic republican definitions of citizenship by federal and provincial governments ultimately resulted in over 1,000 people barely subsisting in temporary shelters, the cultural shift which said the unemployed, abused, poor and other-wise troubled people of Ottawa did not deserve government aid, was not endorsed at the local level. While Ottawa city concurred somewhat with the encouragement of voluntary sector social initiatives, the process and philosophy of the city of Ottawa reflected a sharing of responsibilities and decision-making with voluntary sector partners as much as possible, rather than the civic republican approach of high-level decision making and individualized contributions of labour power.

Provincial and federal attempts to impose civic republicanism upon Ottawa partially succeeded. People who were not self-supporting and did not

enjoy significant quantities of saved resources found their well-being threatened in Ottawa in 2001. More than one-third of those who rented their living space found themselves in the precarious condition called core housing need whether they were low-wage workers, full-time mothers or not employed outside the home. Throughout these simultaneously prosperous and difficult times, the City of Ottawa targeted its resources well enough to shelter and feed the homeless. The city began, although only slowly, to address the underlying social deficiencies and work towards solving the problem of affordable housing shortage.

Philosophies, discourses and practices of city policy makers and administrators rejected civic republicanism's conditioning of social benefits upon individually-measured contributions. Instead they recognized that everyone sometimes needs supports and they insisted repeatedly that all residents of Ottawa were entitled to reasonable levels of social services including housing. Overall, the City of Ottawa rejected rugged individualism. Their implied definitions of needs and entitlements (as developed through HRSSC resolutions and People Services reports) fostered a political culture in Ottawa in contradiction to provincial and federal discourses of civic republicanism. Rather than avoiding social responsibilities as the provincial and federal governments have been doing, Ottawa social planners made the most of the city's social responsibilities. Similarly they were vocal and persistent as advocates for their vision of citizenship which includes temporary shelter, longer term affordable housing plans, health care and an ongoing role for local government.

Ottawa city representatives and managers succeed in this to an extent that demonstrates a need for scholarly attention to the local context before theorizing citizenship on the basis of national policy or even national and provincial policy combined. Our understanding of the processes of citizenship must include the local level because local initiatives alter the level of social service entitlement experienced and accepted in Ottawa. Federal and provincial levels of government certainly are not insignificant in defining the entitlements and obligations of citizenship but neither are these boundaries defined exclusively at their scale.

Processes of rescaling have substantive implications for citizenship in the Ottawa context. Rescaled housing programs were not accompanied by sufficient funding to meet the needs of all low-income citizens. Furthermore, policy contradictions between orders of government and flaws created at other orders provided additional obstacles to Ottawa's provision of social citizenship and human rights entitlements.

The context of Ottawa in 2000-2002 also suggested why bodies matter to citizenship theorization. First, the citizen must survive as a living being. While the citizen may be scripted through government discourse as "consumer," "worker," or "social contributor" it of little relevance if that citizen is not able to keep breathing, thinking and acting. Citizens have material needs which must be met and although it is the beginning point for theories concerned with sustainability, civic republican theory neglects that simple fact. Second, embodied processes and bodily characteristics are significant predictors of

citizen experience. Bodily distinctions among the citizenry including differences of age, gender, and race were acted upon by a variety of social structures in ways that created advantage and disadvantage within hierarchies for each of these characteristics. Theorization of citizenship requires a recognition that the resources available to some groups within the population and the contributions they can make to their community depend upon their age, their sex and what forms of discrimination to which they are subject. With a respectful recognition of difference, diversity becomes a source of mutual advantage because resources are shared appropriately. Without such a recognition of difference, disadvantages and prejudices multiply to a point of exclusion and even social death for elderly, “foreigners”, single-mothers and others at the disadvantaged extremes of the social/economic hierarchies.

Legitimation of civic republicanism requires citizen’s belief in restricted access to social benefits. Civic republican citizens are citizens willing to condition benefits of citizenship (such as access to social welfare programs) upon performance of citizen duties. Citizen duties which Lister observes (1997:68) began with soldiering, under Canadian and Ontario definitions now specify requirements to earn incomes, to pay taxes, and suggest an obligation to serve the community. The next chapter explores motivation of those who have chosen to serve their community as volunteers. Were volunteers working in Ottawa’s shelters there to do their citizen duty?

CHAPTER SIX

Social Constructions of Volunteering Within the Shelter Sector

The central inquiry of this chapter probes the significance of scale for theorizing citizenship. Two different kinds of analysis of voluntary sector participation in providing services for homeless people of Ottawa are used to show that scale is a key variable around which crucial distinctions in the meaning of citizenship are evident. Chapters Four and Five have already shown contrasting citizenship philosophies between extra-local and local governments. This chapter completes the analysis with grounded and specific data from the voluntary sector (which has a very contested role) to investigate whether the policy and discursive creation of the active citizen is fulfilled in the work and belief-systems of Ottawa volunteers. Part one of this analysis considers the process of rescaling and the extension of the shadow state into the shelter sector. Part two addresses the social construction of citizenship in the philosophies of the volunteers.

Part one assesses the extent to which the civic republican construction of the citizen penetrated into the processes of shelter provision and into the meaning of volunteering within those shelters in terms of how it relates to citizenship. The variable of scale, and the impacts of rescaling are analyzed alongside political geography's concerns about the shadow state. In part two, using a grounded analysis, the meaning of volunteering to those assisting in the

shelter sector of Ottawa is considered. The meaning that volunteers give to their role in the non-governmental organizations sheltering homeless men or abused women, and to other issues relating to social citizenship, is compared and contrasted with extra-local and local citizenship discourses. Results of my analysis of the shelters call into question the effectiveness of extra-local government efforts to create a new sense of social solidarity around the idea of a shared social responsibility exercised through volunteering. Neither does volunteering in the shelter sector (consistently) reflect aspirations arising from civil society towards a more radical democracy characterized by greater levels of equality. What is evident is a strong localized process of community construction which has consistent and extensive significance for the volunteers. In both the structural and the social constructionist analyses, the local scale presents itself as significant for citizenship analysis.

Section one provides a theoretical introduction to this study of the shelter sector in Ottawa to further specify the location of this analysis in relation to post-structuralist, social movement, and political geography literatures. It also provides some essential background information about the shelters. Section two accomplishes part one of the analysis as described above. Section three, Shelter Analysis II accomplishes part two of the analysis described above.

I. Theoretical Analysis of the Relationship Between Volunteering and Citizenship

Post-structural theories of citizenship have opened up the possibility of

analytical recognition that there are multiple citizenships. Hébert and Wilkinson highlight the distinctions of racial and ethnic origin as significant for citizenship, and my structural analysis of poverty in Ottawa (Chapter Five) shows citizenship entitlement to be shaped by racial/ethnic origin, family structure, age and gender. There has been some recognition of a revival of ethnic identities in Canada consistent with theorized patterns of global/local change. These ethnic revivals have included Quebecois and First Nations assertions of identity. Canada is known to be a country of regional cleavages (Brodie, 1997a), opening the possibility of regional citizenship distinctions. With the presence of civic republican discourses in the current Ontario context, the established variables for observing citizenship's multiplicity are insufficient for theorizing the meaning of citizenship. Preliminary suggestions that scale is significant come from Mahon (2003). Significant impacts on the meaning of citizenship can arise in localized contexts.

Mahon shows us that rescaling can create something of a shift in the basis of power within the welfare state from the national towards the other levels of governance. Citizenship is partially an embedded creation of the welfare state. Her contribution is framed as a macro-level commentary on international comparisons of welfare state regimes, pointing the way to more precise examination of citizenship patterns. Within the comparative literature on welfare state restructuring, rescaling is identified by Mahon as a key element of welfare state redesign. Mahon acknowledges some citizenship implications for the changes in welfare state regimes but she does not focus direct attention on the

meaning of citizenship in the context of restructuring. This chapter supplements her analysis with just such attention. For Mahon,

...comparative research on welfare regimes needs to incorporate insights from the literature on rescaling, or “the politics of scale,” in the very principles of research design. The notion of rescaling calls attention to the way in which changes among scales intersect with, and have an important impact upon, welfare state redesign (2003:2).

The case of volunteering in the shelter sector in Ottawa allows me to make a claim specifically about analysis of citizenship that parallels Mahon’s insights about comparative welfare state regimes. The significance of the process of rescaling for citizenship is the first aspect of my claim to the local’s significance for citizenship.

My analysis seeks to extend the theoretical claims of Mahon into the distinct terrain of theorizing citizenship. While my analysis of multiple meanings of citizenship crosses different scales, it is a unique perspective extending Mahon’s theorizing, and it is linked by the concept of the shadow state to other analyses of citizenship’s multiplicity.

The decision to look within processes and identity constructions of citizenship at local scale also enables completion of an analysis of civic republicanism’s penetration into the Canadian context. The concept of the shadow state links the shift from welfare state provision of social services to voluntary sector service provision in a politicized way (see Wolch, 1990). The term “shadow state” serves as a critique of the cooptation by governments of voluntary sector organizations. In order to get the funding for continued

operations, volunteer organizations are pressured to conform to governmental guidelines and within the organizations accountability shifts from volunteer boards of directors to government departments. Lake and Newman bring this analysis directly into theorizing of citizenship with their observations that shadow state provision of services contribute to differential citizenship in Newark, New Jersey (2002).

While a structural analysis can provide us with many insights about consequences for the citizenship meaning of the shift from welfare state to voluntary sector service provision, it can not effectively address the meaning that citizens give to their own political and social practices. Citizenship also involves a felt experience of belonging, and Shotter's social constructionist theory is helpful in providing an explanation of how the interactive process of meaning construction can create meanings which differ from the dominant discourse (1993).

An alternate means of theorizing the role of civil society interaction is possible from another branch of critical theory. Arai (1999) offers a critical theory of volunteering which in part builds on Habermas's understanding of communicative rationality and new social movement theorists' attention to the grammar of forms of life. For Habermas and new social movement theorists, the important social contestations are no longer in the formal political arena, but take place instead in civil society interactions where individuals interactively construct new collective identities. While "community" is not new, like the new social movement identities, neither is it necessarily shaped around nationalism or the

welfare state as many citizenship theorists would have us think.⁵⁷

Habermas identifies new social movements as originating in resistance to systemic intrusions into day-to-day life. While these resistance points were historically organized around identities such as gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation or political causes such as environmentalism, a critique of growth is a shared characteristic of the new movements (1981:34) and the rise of community solidarity around shelter provision might reasonably be interpreted as resistance to capitalist or corporate priorities over human priorities even if that response is without a consistent larger political framework.

a) Structure and organization of the shelter sector in Ottawa

The contextual setting of this research is characterized by the transfer of social citizenship responsibilities from government to non-profit sectors. The reason for choosing shelters from among all of the possible non-profit organizations which provide social services in Ottawa is because of the dire necessity of services offered at shelters. Currently there is little agreement in Canada about what the level of social citizenship should be. The general concern for citizen well-being of every citizen which was once a subject of speeches from the throne has been usurped by fears of overspending in more

⁵⁷ I apply Habermas's theory outside of its original context because it is useful for rethinking the relationship between community and citizenship in a novel way. My confidence in doing this stems partially from knowledge that while he did not express a application to a localized urban community as I do in this chapter, in a more general analysis of citizenship, Habermas himself argued for analysis decentering the state and recognizing that political communities are not necessarily national communities, nor are all national communities political (1995).

recent political discourse (Brodie, 2002:385-387). Broadbent (2002) and McBride and Shields (1997) none-the-less still view social citizenship entitlements as core components of Canadian identity. It is reasonable to suggest that as an absolute minimum, citizens must be living people⁵⁸ in order for us to talk meaningfully about serving them. Nights in Ottawa are cold enough to kill during six months of the year.⁵⁹ At worst, shelters are providing the pragmatically-defined minimum of citizenship entitlement in Ottawa. This section specifies some necessary background information on the four shelters which participated in this study.

None of the organizations participating in this study were exclusively volunteer organizations. They had significant numbers of paid staff. The two men's shelters studied were each part of much larger organizations that ran programs for addiction recovery, supportive living, support services, outreach services, etc.. The Capital City Mission had a staff of fifty-five. The Shepherds of Good Hope had a staff of over one-hundred-forty. The woman-abuse shelter Harbour, managed with a minimal staff consisting of an executive co-ordinator, an administrative assistant, two children's support and advocacy workers, and a team of crisis shelter workers. The Family Shelter included space for women

⁵⁸ This framing specifically excludes treating corporations as citizens, despite the tendency to do so in recent multi-lateral trade agreements (Clarke and Barlow, 1998a).

⁵⁹ According to Environment Canada data for Ottawa 1971-2000, the average minimum temperatures are below 0 ° Centigrade between November and March, and are also dangerously low in April which has an average minimum of 1.1°C and an average temperature of only 6°C (Environment Canada, 2004).

and children fleeing abuse and space for families made homeless by other causes. It functioned under a particularly complex arrangement with an administrator and several staff members employed by the city of Ottawa, plus other workers who were employed by two different regional health and community service organizations, as well as others employed by Catholic Immigration Services or the Board of Education, each of which supplied specific staff people and conducted their own programs out of the Family Shelter location. In addition, the Family Shelter drew upon the assistance of an off-site volunteer coordinator at a community health and service organization.

The Mission and the Shepherds of Good Hope each employed volunteer coordinators for about ten years and had extensive volunteer programs, of approximately 90 and 400 “regulars” each with some seasonal variations. Shepherds used volunteers in a more extensive variety of programs and services. Harbour was in its first two years of employing a volunteer coordinator, after securing limited funds for a part-time volunteer coordinator for two consecutive years in order to create and launch a volunteer program. At the time I was collecting data they had 10 “front-line” volunteers and their volunteer board of directors. The Family Shelter had seven volunteers including six arranged through the Community Health and Service organization and one whose connections with the shelter were through a local ministry program.

II. Shelter Analysis I: Structuring the Relationships Between Volunteering and Citizenship

Canadian analyses of recent changes to the non-profit sector have not adopted the specific “shadow state” approach, but several authors have expressed concerns about: autonomy of non-profit organizations in the current Canadian context (Phillips, 2003:45-51; Pross and Webb, 2003); accountability (Phillips and Graham, 2000); and the ethical discontinuity between government and non-profit organizations (Rasmussen, et. al., 2003). There is some overlap with Wolch’s “shadow state” terrain but an overall analysis of the shadow state in Canada has not yet been published.

For my analysis the extent of shadow state intervention is worth considering because of the evidence which points to a strong ideologically-driven discursive and policy agenda of Canadian and Ontario governments. Since the extra-local governments would, if possible, make civic republican citizens out of the people of Ontario, it is worth asking if they are succeeding in advancing such an agenda through the sheltering organizations studied here. It is also helpful for gauging the significance of rescaling processes for the meaning of citizenship.

Wolch (1990:42-44) specifies three aspects of restructuring processes which build the shadow state as: selective dismantling, internal transformation, and externalization. Each of these processes have occurred in relation to affordable housing and shelter provision in Ottawa. There are several examples of selective dismantling of the welfare state noted in Chapter Four, including the

CAP, the end to family benefits and dismantling of unemployment insurance. Examples from Chapter Five include the dismantling of institutions housing and caring for the mentally ill, dismantling the supports for construction of new affordable housing and cessation of home care for elders. Similarly the province of Ontario stopped funding second stage housing programs for women and children fleeing abuse in 1995.

Wolch identifies the second process creating the shadow state out of the welfare state as “internal transformation” characterized by, among other things, the “decentralization of service responsibility (and, to a lesser extent, resources) from higher to lower tiers of the state apparatus, resulting in a shift in central/local relations” (Wolch, 1990:42). The region of Ottawa-Carleton was designated as a service system manager for homelessness in 1998 by the Province of Ontario. Through this process, the regional government became responsible for allocation of provincial funds and monitoring of projects that were funded (Stewart, 2001c). As of August 2000, the city also became the designated administrator of federal government funds to fight homelessness. The City of Ottawa witnessed (with Bill 128) the devolution between 2000 and 2002 of responsibility for almost all affordable housing from the Province of Ontario to local service managers one of which was the city of Ottawa. The backdrop of rescaled health and educational responsibilities with the change from CAP to CHST also contributed to the city's financial pressures.

Through “externalization”, Wolch continues, provision of services shifts directly from the government to private and or non-governmental organizations

(1990:42-43). This is evident in the shelter sector providing emergency-level care of the mentally ill who have been discharged from mental hospitals but are not well enough to provide themselves with shelter and/or food. Over 1994 and 1995 Ontario also made a 5 percent cut to the basic funding they provided to women abuse shelters, pushing the shelters towards (among other adjustments) fundraising 20 percent of their own revenues (OAITH, 1998:29-30). Great ingenuity and determination have enabled the transition shelters in Ottawa to keep their doors open most of the time since that loss of government support, but these strategies have limits.

All three welfare state processes which create the shadow state are evident in Ottawa's shelters. The mental hospitals and second stage shelters for women and children are an extreme example because provincial funding was eliminated without even reassigning their responsibilities to another level of government or external funding agencies.

A shadow state analysis is relevant to my question of citizenship because of the citizenship implications within these processes. We have already seen, in Chapter Four how neoliberalism contributed to a rise in poverty and increase in homelessness. Lake and Newman confirm in their study of the shadow state in Newark, New Jersey that a switch to shadow state services means creation of differential citizenship. Lake and Newman's study identifies gaps in the distribution of shadow state services in Newark which result in the negative effects of differential citizenship falling "most directly on those segments of the population that are most dependent on the services and functions that have

been transferred from the state to the non-profit sector” (2002:109). Citizenship differences arise between those whose claims to assistance are filled through non-governmental services, compared with those served by the state (119). Others, like the people in my study who end up living on Ottawa’s streets or returning to an abusive partner are further disadvantaged because they encounter gaps in the distribution of services through the shadow state: “It is the poorest, the most disabled, and the multiply afflicted who are most likely to experience the burden of differential citizenship within the shadow state.” (119).

Mahon’s attention to rescaling also focuses analysis of welfare state changes in a useful way. In fact, attention to rescaling reveals aspects of the process of change in welfare state, and I add, in citizenship, which have very significant implications for citizenship theory. Rescaling includes transfers of responsibility from one scale of the state to another as well as to other sectors such as the voluntary and private sector (Mahon, 2003:2-4). Mahon (2003) highlights rescaling as an under-analysed, yet important aspect of these processes. Impacts on the shelters include changes of process and clashes of culture or values between the shelters and government.

The remainder of this section addresses how rescaling and the presence of the shadow state in Ottawa reflect on other aspects of citizenship I am concerned with, especially the achievement of civic republican or radical democratic expectations. More specifically, which processes carry the agenda of the extra-local governments into the voluntary sector?

The combination of dismantling and rescaling created an increase in

volume of work for the shelters. While the provincial and federal governments had not been direct providers of shelters and soup kitchens prior to restructuring, they were providers of numerous other services which helped people to keep their accommodations and meet other basic needs. (See Chapter Five for the detailed documentation of cuts to social supports for Ontario residents). These cuts generate a marked increase in the demand for homeless shelters and soup kitchens. When the provincial (and federal) cessation of affordable housing construction fostered increases in the demand for affordable housing this also made the escape of women and children fleeing from an abuser more difficult for supporting organizations to sustain because available housing in Ottawa reached such dire levels.

Rescaling of affordable housing was a relatively messy process in Ottawa, without transfer of funds sufficient to meet the need for development of new affordable housing units, and with ongoing, not always appropriate, administrative ties to the provincial government. We see the impacts in terms of funding processes for the shelters, and why they were contending for so long with increasing demand for their services. The City of Ottawa Housing Department was responsible for administering grants and money recently available through several provincial and federal programs, but the city had to follow strict and extensive directives from the province and federal government. Sometimes these directives were inconsistent with or opposed to local goals. One of the most problematic of these directives was that throughout 2000-2002 none of the new funding made available could be used for construction of

affordable housing. This regulation persisted in the face of generalized agreement from city Housing Department administrators, a local Mayor's task force on public/private partnerships for ending homelessness, shelter administrators, and shelter volunteers, that affordable housing was the most urgent need.

Through SCPI⁶⁰ and other programs, grants were offered with relatively tight time-lines for application and narrow restrictions⁶¹ for funding proposals. Proposals were required to take the form of a business-plan, had to minimize use of staff (in favour of volunteer labour), and were to be for a discrete project, as opposed to being available to meet the general needs that result from a steadily growing demand for shelter services, from clients with many and varied challenges to overcome, from unexpected expenses, or from the need for capital projects including renovation or expansion.

⁶⁰ Supporting Community Partnerships Initiative was a three-year national funding program to fight homelessness. Ottawa was awarded a total of \$17.1 million over three years. Most of the funds available in Ottawa for years one, two, and three were allocated to organizations and service providers during a Fall 2000 Request for Proposals process under Ottawa's Homelessness Initiatives Funding plan (Sorenson, Limited Request for Proposals and Proposal Guidelines, June 2001b: 2).

⁶¹ Key funding criteria are exemplified in a "Request for Proposals" from 2001. They include: strict time frames for completion of the project, definitions of the "transitional" and "supportive" forms of housing which could be eligible under the program, exclusion of the "support component" of either form of housing (such that support had to be provided by the funded organization or through partnership with other organizations); sustainability of the program had to be demonstrated with letters from all involved agencies confirming their participation; the target client must be the homeless, those at risk of homelessness or a specific subset of those groups; the need in Ottawa for the proposed project must be demonstrated; the proposal had to fit with the Community Plan priorities and the organization had to have a "track record" demonstrating their ability to "deliver the project on time and on budget" (Sorenson, 2001a:3).

Research for this chapter revealed instances when local goals for provision of social supports were obstructed rather than enhanced by processes of funding distributions which the province and federal government implemented. Delays with, and ambiguities in, the SCPI program created additional difficulties for city program administrators. For example there was a misunderstanding over the portion of the funds that had to be used by the end of year two of the program, leaving the city and the service groups scrambling. Ottawa's housing department issued an additional "Limited Request for Proposals" giving service providers just under two weeks to submit their "Expressions of Interest" for additional funding to be fully spent within the next eight months. Money not spent before that deadline would be forfeited. The format for the "Expressions of Interest" to be submitted took three pages to describe and included eighteen topics of information to be conveyed in the required document. The document was issued June 7, and the Deadline was 4:00 p.m. June 22 for receipt by the Housing Branch. With the shelters regularly running beyond their capacity in terms of numbers of people, and other programs running at their maximum participation levels, this kind of additional pressure would make it very challenging for the shelters most in need of additional funding to successfully complete proposals.

Although shelters receive minimal funding support from the province, intrusions of provincial regulation were steady and difficult to avoid. The introduction of Ontario Works in 1998 (Ontario, 2000c:12) placed many community agencies in an awkward position. The Community Health and

Services Centre which regularly placed three or four volunteers at a shelter said they objected to the Ontario Works (OW) philosophy and furthermore, they worked with other community groups some of whom were actively campaigning against the OW programs. In order to resolve the situation, they held a community consultation. The feedback was that community groups did not want to be involved with OW but if they had to, they wanted a supportive agency to be administering it. They felt that the Community Health and Services Centre (CHSC) was the right administrator of the program. The CHSC staff person I interviewed added that most people in the program were willing and able to do the labour required of them, and the community benefitted from their work, but occasionally an Ontario Works labourer would not appear at the time and place they were expected. The staff person explained that the province required reporting of absentee workers, and the community centre required ongoing provincial support, so their policy became that they would very clearly warn OW participants what the consequences of absence would be, then the Community Centre would report occurrences of absence as expected by the province (staff interview 3). The extent of interaction with provincial government programs and control of the government over the non-governmental organizations was such that some organizations in the shelter sector were compelled to police the behaviour of people they worked with on terms dictated to them by the province.

Working more closely with provincial government also means adopting more bureaucratic processes. The shelters were not merely giving the same services to more people, they were also doing more administrative work. To best

accommodate all of the potential cliental (including those suffering from paranoia, or desirous of anonymity for other reasons), an administrator from one of the men's shelters explained that they had historically preferred to keep the paperwork required for admission to a minimum. However, this was no longer possible under extra-local funding regulations (administration interview 1). In order to generate the documentary proof of the numbers of people staying in the shelter, forms had to be filled out with each admission. The data from these forms including names, age of clients, length of time they have been homeless and reasons for homelessness were useful for policy makers who want to design programs and services for the homeless but the collection of statistics also makes shelters the agents of a layer of governance. This governance concern makes a shadow state analysis valuable.

Of all of the not-for profit groups and charitable organizations I observed in my study of shelter services, the CHSC worked most closely with the Ontario Ministry of Health and had the most professionalized and bureaucratized volunteer recruitment and coordination system. There was evidence from HRSSC⁶² that community centres had been beleaguered by funding difficulties with no increases to government financial supports since 1992-1993, with increasing demands on their service and with increased expenses due to inflation. The Community Health and Service Centre (which worked with the Family Shelter studied) also received support from other levels of government,

⁶² I refer here to the Ottawa standing committee on Health, Recreation and Social Services which is discussed extensively in Chapter Five.

from foundations, from corporations and from individuals (website 5/20/2002).⁶³

It serves as an example of how in the shadow state, government priorities of efficiency and accountability can be passed along to not-for-profit organizations, even if the government is providing minimal levels of support to the organization.

The CHSC works closely in relation to the provincial government including social services, Ontario Works and corrections agencies. Although the CHSC is non-profit and run by a board of directors composed of community members elected at an annual meeting, it's process of volunteering is fully professionalized and bureaucratic. There was no substantive participatory democracy there, even though it was the one organization⁶⁴ where the volunteers "right to be heard" was written in their volunteer handbook, and regulated by formal procedures for volunteer grievances. Their staff included: doctors, nurses, nurse practitioners, counsellors, community health workers, early childhood educators, child and youth workers and others (website 5/20/2002). They were funded mainly by the Ontario Ministry of Health, but also received support from other levels of government, foundations, corporations and individuals (website 5/20/2002).

Family Shelter staff, CHSC workers in the shelter and volunteers all faced additional responsibilities because of provincial under-funding and over-

⁶³ Specifying the website address would identify the specific organization which worked with me and thereby contravene promises of anonymity I made during the ethical review process.

⁶⁴ This is specific to 2001/2002, the time of data collection. Informal processes for obtaining volunteer input were practised at the other shelters and one was considering extending or expanding these process.

regulation. The CHSC had staff running programs at the shelter. Either these staff members, or other shelter staff could request volunteer support from the community centre by developing a “job description” for the volunteer requested and sending that description to the CHSC volunteer coordinator. At the time of data collection (5/20/2002), in order to become volunteers at the Family Shelter (and at other programs supplied by CHSC) prospective volunteers were subject to a six-step process by the CHSC before becoming volunteers.⁶⁵ 1) They were sent a package with an application. 2) The application was completed and submitted. 3) Then they were screened in a 60-90 minute interview with the volunteer coordinator. 4) The volunteer coordinator then assessed their suitability for different tasks. There was a risk evaluation with each of the positions.⁶⁶ 5) Once a placement was decided upon, the coordinator then explained the context and the work options to the prospective volunteers so they had the chance to consider if it met their goals (volunteer goals included work experience, wanting to contribute, etc). 6) When a new volunteer was screened and ready, shelter staff were notified and requested to contact the volunteer. There was a seventh, post-selection, step when after a few months of volunteering, the coordinator

⁶⁵ In contrast, the men’s shelters who run their own volunteer programs directly have two or three step processes for volunteers involving only filling out a form, talking with the volunteer coordinator about their interests, and in one case attending a group session introducing them to the shelter’s various programs and services to better familiarize them with volunteer opportunities.

⁶⁶ For volunteers at the shelter, screening involved issues of sensitivity to lifestyles and multiple cultures, plus having a philosophy about abused women compatible with the shelter’s philosophy. Criminal record checks were also completed (for all volunteers).

conducted a review of the position with the volunteer and staff to ensure the volunteer job was working to everyone's satisfaction (staff interview 3; volunteer handbook). This kind of process legally protected the shelter, the CHSC and the volunteer to an extent only imaginable for a government-run facility. Some of the same steps were part of the men's shelter's volunteer coordination processes but starting to volunteer there was considerably less formal and bureaucratic.

After an introduction to volunteering from the CHSC that was shaped profoundly by bureaucracy and legalities, in my opinion it would be up to the staff and administrators in the shelter to create an atmosphere of community or mutual support (if such an atmosphere was to exist) as opposed to a culture of isolated and individualized responsibilities, consistent with civic republican expectations.

There is a relationship between the volume of clientele a shelter serves and the quality of the service those shelters can provide. Shelters came to more closely resemble government social service agencies as they provided beds and served meals to more and more clients, while also expanding the number, breadth and variety of the numerous programs offered through shelter organizations. The sheer pressure of volume of demand and the need to do more, more, and more with the same levels of funding and similar numbers of staff creates a dynamic that requires efficiency, and gravitates towards more bureaucratic division of labour. The impression from talking with a staff person at one of the large men's shelters was that a shift had taken place over the organization's history. She had belonged to the original group of people who

had pooled their efforts to begin providing services to the homeless, and was hired after volunteering her efforts for many years (staff interview 1). I was left with the firm impression that the early days were simpler with a more direct or face-to-face sharing of responsibilities among the group offering the services and that in those times, my “participatory democracy” criteria may well have been met more fully. Now different services were being run, serving the varied needs of different populations, sometimes out of different locations, and frequently functioning under the supervisory eye of a granting agency which was measuring “output” of the program in some fashion or another. In the changed circumstances, casual sharing of responsibilities and horizontal organization was not going to work as smoothly as a more-strict division of labour and a vertical administrative structure. Measuring outputs of people sheltered, or successes with treatment for addictions is a commodification of care-giving processes.

The use of volunteers as front-line assistants (as opposed to only as members of boards of directors) was just beginning in the women-abuse shelters at the time of my data collection. While the creation of the transition houses was historically rooted in spontaneous civil-society organization on the part of concerned women, the services offered were professionalized fairly early on. There was a deliberate balancing act to integrate volunteers into a unionized workplace. They were proceeding with goals of respectful and supportive treatment between staff and volunteers but the process was too new for the volunteers to make confident appraisals of a good balance being achieved between paid and unpaid workers.

There is a contradiction in civic republican prescriptions that all organizations should use volunteers to the extent possible (and all people should volunteer to the extent they are able) as a cost-sharing measure to minimize the size of the state. The contradiction is that it is also stated that volunteers should not replace paid positions. This non-replacement restriction is stated in many governmental funding-proposal guidelines (HRSSC minutes 2001) and at all of the shelters, volunteers and staff specify that the volunteers are not taking over paid-staff duties but there are some doubts and concerns. The volunteer program at Harbour has a temporary grant for hiring a volunteer coordinator but the volunteer program is supposed to become self-maintaining after only two years. Volunteers are described by a Mission administrator as “invaluable”. Food could not be served to so many people at the men’s shelter kitchens, and many life-enhancing programs could not be offered at each of the shelters without volunteer assistance. Shepherds of Good Hope once included management of a community garden within one of the staff member’s responsibilities. When that supervisory role was cut, two of the long-term volunteers took over management of the garden without pay and continued to donate the food they produced to the shelter kitchen (McDonald, 2001).

Rescaling is not a politically neutral process for shelter organizations or for citizenship. Some not-for-profit shelter sector priorities such as caring, inclusivity and universal standards of service are altered by the intrusion of neoliberal priorities such as regulation, efficiency and accountability. The Ottawa shelter sector reflects three key features of the shadow state as defined in Wolch

(1990). Since the state intrusions into this sector are those of the provincial government, and the Ontario government is committed to an active citizenship agenda, shadow state characteristics are likely to coincide with active citizenship characteristics. Certainly they provide good indicators of the extent of government influence in the sector.

Recognizing nongovernmental organizations as shadow state organizations has the merit of calling analytical attention to issues of regulation, demands for efficiency, and accountability. Instead of building affordable housing, providing adequate mental health care, and directly employing more people, the province of Ontario now contributes 20 percent of the funding for each recorded bed-night of a space occupied in temporary homeless shelters (administrator interview 1). Responsibility for the other 80 percent of bed-night funding for shelters within their jurisdiction falls to the City of Ottawa. The increase in numbers of homeless in Ottawa and the difficulties for women and children fleeing abuse in finding affordable housing have each increased pressures within the shelters, and over time these pressures cause changes which can impact on the potential of the shelters to be sites of participatory democracy. These changes include: increasing levels of regulation and quantities of administrative paper work, greater segmentation and isolation of volunteer tasks and responsibilities (with the exception of board members), plus greater emphasis on efficiency, accountability and outputs. A governance aspect is even more evident in processes for application and distribution of grants.

Another of the qualities of citizenship endangered in the shelter sector, that of a standard of universal service, is hampered badly by an illogical and unjustified division of responsibilities between services for women and children fleeing abuse and services for those who are homeless for other reasons. While it is true that the violence of their former homes generates needs for appropriate counselling services and creates issues of building security and physical protection for the families, beyond these components, women and children fleeing abuse have the same need for supportive temporary shelter and affordable housing that other homeless people have. Why should their shelter be delegated to a different level of government than the shelter for other homeless people, creating an artificial distinction which has the effect of leaving the women-abuse shelter system under steeper financial constraints than other shelters? It is a purely ideological distinction with potentially terrible consequences, as an administrator from one of the shelters which did not participate in my study of volunteer perspectives explained to me:

...because homelessness is a municipal responsibility, abuse... violence towards women is seen as a provincial responsibility so for some reason abused women's shelter and women who are in those shelters, are trying to access those shelters, are not necessarily seen as being homeless. Not exactly, I mean they are homeless in my opinion. There is a huge difference; The region has put a focus on it and they got the extra funding but they also got the extra funding following a huge research and forum that they held. We are more with the provincial government who has a very different philosophy, and (pause) (administrator interview 3)

Interviewer: "Yes, very much. That distinction is very important to understand for me, certainly"

Respondent: And that's the big thing because we're, among other

things we're of course saying abused women, women staying in abused women shelters are homeless so they need those services as well. She also needs access to affordable housing. She also needs help getting affordable services. She also needs good services. Right now they are not set up for abused women (administrator interview 3).

More work is created for the transition houses and emergency shelters by forever having to remind the city and the province of the existence of women with physical security needs among the homeless population. Lack of necessary supports (directly attributable to funding cuts) create additional obstacles in the path of women trying to make a new start.

Neoliberal policy has hampered women's opportunities to escape from abusive partners and to build their lives anew after domestic violence (OAITH, 1998). Affordable housing is certainly one of the greatest needs of women staying in emergency shelters or transition houses after escaping an abusive partner. All of the grant and project funding made available through provincial and federal programs in 2000-2002 explicitly excluded the funding of affordable housing. Women are suffering and are taking beatings not just because we have a culture that condones male violence against women but also because Ontario has a government which on ideological grounds, wants to deny the realities of that violence. The same provincial government that cut funding to women's emergency and transition shelters between 1993 and 1996 has retained responsibility for these shelters while turning other homelessness responsibilities over to the city. Ottawa clearly does not need responsibility for more segments of the homeless population without suitable levels of provincial

and federal funding accompanying those responsibilities, but neither does it make any sense to segregate the bureaucratic responsibilities from abused women away from all of the other homeless people.

Abused women (like the mentally ill) need some additional services (particularly measures to provide safety and security) along with shelter and affordable housing, but in all other respects they are homeless. It is reasonable to assume that women and children fleeing abuse should be counted among the homeless and should have access to all of the resources available to other homeless people of Ottawa. The City of Ottawa seems to do this to the extent that is possible, but everything is made awkward by the segregation of formal responsibility, and the retention of a fraction of that responsibility by the province. It is particularly ironic because the provincial interpretation of their responsibility to abused women seems fully to be one of neglect. The city has managed to stretch the regulation in the case of the Family Shelter studied, because they keep one floor for sheltering women and children fleeing abuse. Through the involvement of the local community centers the women's additional needs for counseling, medical attention etc. are met as well as possible. Overall the Ottawa women's shelter situation seems to be a patch-work solution that is straining if not tearing at the seams.

In the summer of 2001 when I was interviewing shelter administrators and making case selection decisions, I observed a distinction in the dynamic of men's

homeless shelters and women-abuse shelters⁶⁷. Throughout 2001 I found communications with staff and administrators at men's homeless shelters to be prompt, lively and characterized by an air of optimism. They were talking about increasing demands, and the need for greater levels of support, but were also buoyed by recent announcements of support for new and expanded programs. In contrast, several women abuse shelters were expanding or initiating new volunteer programs, but they seemed to be truly struggling under their increasing strain. Non-emergency telephone calls were typically only received during limited portions of week days, and it took time for people to return my calls because there were so many urgent situations that had to be resolved and vast quantities of paperwork to be managed. Several women abuse shelter administrators explained they had been functioning beyond crisis levels of demand for over a year such that stress and exhaustion were mounting for everyone (women abuse shelter administrator interview 1; personal telephone communication with shelter administrator 2).

III. Shelter Analysis II: Philosophies of Volunteers and Culture of Volunteering

The research design allows moving beyond critiques of discourses and processes constructing citizenship into analysis of the meanings of citizenship

⁶⁷ I am not fully aware of the status of the women's homeless shelters in terms of this dynamic, but I was told by a representative of the women's homeless shelter that summer that they were a unionized environment which was just in the beginning stages of developing a volunteer program as a new strategy for coping with the pressures to "do more with less" (personal communication, women's shelter director, May 2001).

via comparison of volunteer's philosophies with those of the city leaders and extra-local politicians. This is not entirely straight-forward as most of the volunteers expressed a lack of interest in politics.

The volunteers interviewed made a very strong case that the decision to volunteer and the motivations for volunteering were personal ones rather than political.⁶⁸ Being self-described “not very political” tended to manifest itself in only partially-formed political opinions. When asked directly about the political versus personal nature of their voluntarism, the strongest answer in support of any political agenda was an acknowledgement by one volunteer that her reasons for working at the shelter included a “bit of both” in reference to personal and political motivations. All of the others were explicit about the personal nature of their reasons for being at the shelters.

I extracted whatever political perspectives could be constructed from answers to my questions and their commentary about: perceptions of government, private sector and non-profit sector responsibility for affordable housing; views on immigration and refugee entitlements; individualized versus social understandings of the causes of homelessness, and assessment of Canada's affordable housing programs. Only 6 percent⁶⁹ of volunteers are

⁶⁸ While “the personal is political” has been a slogan of the feminist movement in North America, only one of the volunteers adopted this perspective. The other volunteers spoke from a perspective that their volunteer actions were neither politically relevant nor politically motivated.

⁶⁹ This is a small proportion, but it is interesting that such a perspective could be found among volunteers.

consistently right-wing in their political views, while 25 percent consistently leaned towards the left. 69 percent of volunteers expressed mixed or contradictory views including a significant minority of 18 percent who expressed directly that they had no interest in politics and no opinions about the existence of a housing problem in Ottawa. Some of the contradictory views resemble the shape of social conservatism where they claim to have leftist leanings, but analyze social problems and solutions entirely on an individualized level without hesitating to hold individuals responsible for their own problems. Others are just unique or unresolved so that they are critical of the current social situation but have no theory to express about how to solve the problems they perceive in individual shelter users and in society. Several, such as one who responded with the following comment, have grown cynical about Canadian politics:

Well the problem with the politics is politics is a very, a, you know there's lot of "show casing" so every single day they're going to spend a couple of million dollars to do something but they just don't do it. They have to have a big show case about it and everybody has to make a big splash, you know. Where ever it is they have to show the government is doing it and they want this and that and then that dies down and they forget about us for a while you know, and then they come back again, you know, so it's kind of crazy actually, eh? (volunteer interview 5).

The volunteers' philosophical perspectives do not strongly echo either the extra-local civic republican nor radical democratic aspirations. Their perspectives on a number of issues are compatible with those of the city planners, if not completely consistent. What follows is a comparison of volunteer's philosophical perspectives on eight issues relating to citizenship, to the perspectives of extra-local government, and Ottawa city politicians and

administrators. In this comparison, the printed statements from the shelter organizations and the views of shelter administrators and staff are considered along with those of the volunteers, as there was consistency between these groups on most topics.⁷⁰

Belief in human interdependence and compassionate response to suffering

Volunteers and staff at the shelters shared a perception that as human beings we are interdependent: all needing each other in the difficult times of our lives. This belief about human nature is manifested in their strong inclination toward compassionate rather than blaming responses to people needing help.

The volunteer's compassion comes through in sentiments such as "there but for the grace of God go I". Many volunteers recognized both systemic and individual difficulties as reasons for homelessness:

Obviously I sort of lean to the left politically - I believe in a fair amount of government input. On the other hand, our right wing governments are saying: It's up to you, you're the citizens, you're the church goers, you're the whatever, if you are your brother's keepers, then you should be doing it. Um and I think that's sort of the American way, . . .you can't just say somebody else will do it, even if you feel the government should be involved, I just don't think that's - I think we've become very selfish. There are still lots of generous people out there and obviously lots of people volunteering give money and everything but I still think as a society we're becoming more and more selfish (volunteer interview 10).

⁷⁰ The one exception to this was of some importance although not wide-spread enough to be a concern that would merit extensive attention in this summary. When pressed, a couple of volunteers (at one of the shelters only) made two generalized comments about refugees and immigrants which, even though they were softened by some level of sympathetic concern, can be interpreted as racist. There were absolutely no such racist commentaries in the printed documentation or from the staff and administration of the four shelters studied.

In terms of social housing this respondent still looks to the welfare state solution:

Ottawa's supposed to be one of the worst, but look at Toronto, look at I guess any of the large centres, Vancouver, um. That's another thing, I believe that governments used to play a bigger role and um, and its again, what my understanding is that they played a bigger role and they've pulled out, they've withdrawn from that (volunteer interview 10).

Some shelter volunteers have a deep grasp of the personal experience of poverty, which helps them understand why not everyone shares their concern for the homeless:

A lot of people don't understand abuse, they don't understand poverty and its difficult to cross that line if they have never had to suffer it their self (volunteer interview 19).

Even when the consequences of homelessness are seen as the result of an individual's poor choices instead of the outcome of political and economic policy decisions, volunteers are content to share responsibility for solving the problems of those individuals.

The sense of interdependence emerges also from peoples' gratitude for the ways in which they were helped in the past, but in addition, the shelter volunteers are experiencing interdependence in the daily communication and camaraderie with others at the shelter including volunteers, clients and staff. Many volunteers at the shelters are in the process of recovering from personal losses or problems. I heard accounts of: the deaths of children, the death of a brother, a woman who had been assaulted, health problems and employment problems. I heard a little of the struggles of the volunteers to overcome their pain from these losses. The shelters provide a place where volunteers can talk

some of these things out while accomplishing something that feels positive. In these intimate communications and in the shared work, most people build a sense of community and some even experience a second family.

Well I mean its like being in a family you're responsible for. You're, going back to the first question, responsible for your brother in community, and for citizens its the same kind of thing that ah, whether its a church community, a neighbourhood community, ahm, the city or whatever. We're all responsible for the running of the community, for the care of the community ah as a member of it you can't leave that to others to do it - we are all responsible in our own way to do what we can (volunteer interview 14)

Whether it is experienced as really localized and personal family-type connection, a larger neighbourhood or city level connection, the concern for community well-being evident in the shelter contexts studied, is in part resistance to possessive individualism. In contrast to the strength of sentiment about community, shelter volunteers had little or nothing to say about the experience of citizenship and national level loyalties that could arise from citizenship identity.

The compassionate approach reflecting a strong sense of interdependence is completely opposed to the strong strains of neoliberalism and *laissez-fair* issuing from extra-local governments at the same time. As I argued in Chapter Five, extra-local government policies have caused suffering but those governments have not taken responsibility for that outcome, or responded with compassion. The municipal discourses indicate rejection of the extra-local expectations that each citizen should be autonomous, and acceptance of human interdependence even when that means social service

Table 6.1 Comparison of Volunteer, Extra-local Government and Municipal Government Philosophies Relating to Citizenship.

Philosophical Issue	Volunteer and Shelter Organization Perspectives	Extra-local Government Perspectives	Municipal Government Perspective
autonomy vs. interdependence	strong belief in human interdependence	strong belief in citizen autonomy	acceptance of human interdependence
suffering	compassion, desire to help	individualized blame for those in difficulty	compassion, sense of shared social responsibility
approach to service provision for people with distinctive problems	inclusive, except for a few who made exceptions for recent immigrants	exclusive	inclusive
approach to service provision	proactive when and where possible	sometimes reactive when absolutely necessary	proactive to the extent possible
approach to decision-making	participatory but indifferent	elitist	strongly participatory
social responsibility	selflessness and a desire to contribute	rescaled, externalized, avoided and neglected	willingness to embrace social responsibility within fiscal constraints demanding economic growth
citizen obligations	pay taxes, obey laws, give back when time and opportunity are right	be self-supporting, obey every rule, donate time/money to community	participate politically and socially
community	key nexus of interdependent living, source of joy and support	the new social strata which is to carry social responsibility	focus of sustainable development concerns, pool of ideas and resources,

expenses for the city. Table 6.1 is a summary of the comparisons I have made above.

a) Approaches to distinctive service needs and service provision

In general, the volunteers were very inclusive in their expressions of concern for people they encountered in the shelters and soup-kitchens. Shelter workers (paid and unpaid), wanted to see enough programs developed and provided to meet all of the evident needs for support. I encountered just one exception to this, on the part of two volunteers who expressed the idea that since we are experiencing shortages, people born in Canada should (in effect) have right of first refusal for opportunities and services over people born elsewhere. In complete contrast, two other volunteers wanted to embrace the whole world in the extension of Canadian generosity. The first explained:

I'm alone in this in my family and even my husband disagrees with me. I have, I feel that countries like Canada and United States are like the safety valves of the world and I just simply don't think, I think its immoral, you know, there are so many problems around the world and for us to sort of have created some of them or helped to create some of them and then won't accept the people that are the ones, the people, the fall-out if you like, I just think it immoral. I think we have to make place um for people, and ah I agree with so much of the research that says that people that have come from other countries ah, um have contributed.
(volunteer interview 10)

The other used the environment as a model:

I have kind of a global, humanitarian view on things. The planet is becoming so small these days due to communications, and travel and world wide, you know ... I mean if you pollute in Russia it gets in the jet stream and ends up polluting our Arctic, you know and the native people up there are suffering health consequences because

of it. So the world is a very small place these days and I think the only way the planet's going to survive is by governments adopting some kind of a global attitude towards government and aid to these people. I mean, other wise we are going to destroy ourselves. So you know I think countries are going to have to accept more responsibility for helping these other countries to raise their standard of living and that sort of thing. ...It's a world-community now. It's ah - this idea of isolated little countries -it's not going to work (volunteer interview 8).

The more predominant versions of inclusion focused locally upon the evident and varied needs of the people using shelter-based services or needing similar but different kinds of help than the shelters offer. This attitude was related to their interpretation of causes for the need of shelter services:

I think uum. I think one of the problems is the way society is today and a lot of loneliness and not being able to have anyone to rely on and The Shepherds is the last - the last resort - um. And another one is people living so close to the edge, you know financially. If they were to loose their jobs there is so little recovery or there's very little savings and they kinda live beyond their means and umm um the people I see a lot of them are very mentally um mentally ill and there must not be the facilities for them to get help at (volunteer interview 15).

Unlike the discourses of the province of Ontario, compassion instead of judgement characterized the philosophies of the volunteer respondents:

I think everybody has to make their own mistakes, but I don't think that means once they've made their mistakes that we should ignore them [mhm] so I don't think you're your brother's keeper but that doesn't mean you can't be your brother's helper (volunteer interview 20).

Many of the services provided in and through the four shelters studied can be classified as “essential services” without great fear of political contestation, because these are services without which homeless and low income people could not physically survive. Statistics in Chapter Four indicated thousands of

homeless men are sheltered annually at the Mission and Shepherds and hundreds of women and children are sheltered in the Harbour and Family Shelter. These shelters also offer many other services and coordinate access for shelter residents to services offered through other organizations. Food services for residents and for other needy people (male, female and of any age) represent huge programs at both of the men's homeless shelters studied. In 2001, a total of 544,990 meals were served at the Mission, Shepherds of Good Hope and the Salvation Army combined. In addition, grocery hampers and Christmas hampers were distributed through shelter-coordinated initiatives. Drop-in-centres, clothing depots, laundry services and assistance with medical problems through coordination of programs between shelters and community health and resources centres also attend to life's most basic needs (www.ottawamission.com; <http://www.shepherdsofgoodhope.com>; administrator interview 2; personal correspondence with transition shelter administrator).

Services provided by shelters for Ottawa's economically and socially deprived population also go beyond immediate crisis intervention to a limited extent. As well as emergency shelter beds, there are limited numbers of transitional places of residence for people who are preparing to participate in addiction recovery programs, people in addiction recovery processes and people recently released from prison. Additional services coordinated through the shelters include: drop-in centres, short term counselling, life skills programs, financial counselling, housing assistance, a reading program for children, support groups, and legal and financial client advocacy for women recovering from

abuse. The range and quantity of these programs suggest that in the view of non-profit and city organizations in the shelter sector, homeless people have many needs for which they are entitled to service or assistance. Shelter administrators (and/or staff) at each location said they would like to be able to do more, in reference to the numbers of people that could be admitted to particular programs, the range of programs that could be offered and or the limits of physical space with which the programs had to function. Support program access was improving in the men's shelters during the time studied, but declining or static in the women-abuse and family shelters.

Most of these services were provided regardless of citizenship status. Citizens, landed immigrants and refugees were all welcome to stay in the shelters, use the drop-in services, have their laundry cleaned, and access food services.⁷¹ Everyone was similarly entitled to services coordinated by the shelters through community health and resource centres. In addition, food services at the transition shelters were culturally appropriate for Muslim and Jewish families as well as the Christian mainstream. The Mission had 47 rooms for longer-term stays. These were made available for six months for people who are in the Lifeskills program, and indefinitely for pensioners. In April of 2002, five pensioners were living at the Mission indefinitely. Only citizens and landed immigrants were eligible for (provincially regulated) low income housing.

⁷¹ The dining room at the Shepherd's of Good Hope is also wheelchair accessible. Some assistance is usually available for anyone needing help accessing the Mission food services.

Two programs in particular suggested an inclusive and non-judgemental notion of citizen (or resident) entitlement. These were the harm reduction (called Effort House) and hospice programs. Taking the initiative to create and offer these programs indicated a rejection on the part of both men's shelters of the idea that there are "worthy" and "unworthy" homeless people. As indicated in Chapter Four, the discursive construction of the citizen in Ontario by the government divides people with low-incomes into two categories with only the self-supporters treated as full and worthy citizens. Working from a very different set of assumptions, Effort House and Hospice established the entitlement of everyone in Ottawa to the services they needed to make the best of the rest of their lives regardless of their ability to contribute. The harm reduction program offered a new approach to helping people with strong addictions they are not trying to quit. People in the program were given the assistance they needed to avoid their most harmful behaviours. A shelter staff person says while the person is not cured of their addiction in this program they led better lives and particularly were healthier and cleaner thanks to the program's supports (staff interview 1; PIAC, 2002: Minutes 5, Dunkley presentation). The Hospice provided palliative care to eight people at a time to prevent them from dying on the street.⁷² After years of effort by an Ottawa shelter administrator and her staff,

⁷² The average annual number of deaths associated with homelessness in Ottawa is beyond the capacity of this program to address. Deaths on the street come from many causes as a nurse who cares for homeless and underhoused people of Toronto testified:

But I want to tell you the human story. Men and women who have died, while homeless, in horribly sad ways. Freezing on the streets, bleeding to

eight homeless people in Ottawa were given a chance to rest peacefully before they died. They had small but bright private or semi-private rooms, doctors and nurses looked after medical needs, and volunteers attended their other needs (such as someone to listen to them and provide what ever comfort was possible). The shelter's hospice brochure said 40 to 50 homeless individuals in the region died on the street each year. The Hospice brochure also laid claim to a better standard for Ottawa: "No one needs to face death alone on the streets of our city, cut off from community, devoid of dignity".

Some of the services that shelters were able to offer were the anti-thesis of the extra-local government's much colder expectation of citizen self-reliance. Perhaps encountering first-hand the suffering of people in need of help made the volunteers and shelter workers think very differently than extra-local discourses recommend. The city's approach to service provision was also inclusive. Perhaps some provincial and federal politicians were so completely accustomed to thinking in terms of economic "bottom lines" that they really did believe shifting of social responsibility to the voluntary sector was the only sustainable solution. What ever the roots of the philosophical void, the extra-local government's willingness to exclude "difficult" and diverse cases (who do not conform to long-term expectations of independence) from their attention puts the extra-local

death while seeking warmth in a bus shelter, through violent trauma, from AIDS, and from an accumulation of wounds to their minds, bodies and souls. All, while being homeless. No medicine cupboard, no one to make them chicken soup, no warm, safe place to call their own. I am in shock by what I see. I mourn what I see. I am angry about what I see (Crowe, 1998: 207).

governments very much in disagreement with the local people of Ottawa.

b) Approach to decision-making and social responsibility

Participation in decision-making regarding running of the shelter was not a big issue for most of the front-line volunteers. Those who were board members and prospective board-members saw this line of questioning differently, and addressed the structural challenges in creating really authentic opportunities for once-a-week volunteers to share in important decisions in an effective manner. In terms of being dedicated to the process of community consultation, the City of Ottawa surpasses both the shelters and the extra-local governments. The extra-local governments' approach to decision making is very elitist and characterized for example, by demands that the city continue to follow provincial program dictates long after the responsibility for those programs was rescaled to the city.

Besides motivations, who becomes a volunteer at a shelter is also a question of awareness and opportunity. Many of the volunteers at the men's shelters, and one from the Family Shelter became aware of the opportunity for volunteering and need of volunteers through church connections. Thus it is not surprising that religious belief is commonly credited as part of their motivation. Selflessness, the desire to contribute and a willingness to serve characterize many of their attitudes towards working in a shelter:

And so I am used to hard work - I enjoy - I have a big yard and I enjoy doing something with my hands and my feet. Its part of my faith too, I feel I am in a sense God's hands and feet in this world. One of many, but uum we're all here for a purpose, and right now this fits very well with everything I do so, it's great (volunteer interview 16).

Shifts in the soup kitchens generally took the form of about three hours, served once a week which apparently worked well for the kind of contribution this volunteer wanted to make:

uum.. I guess, just, you know, in simple terms just an extra pair of hands; Well you know I see the scale of the operation they're running you know, and its huge so, you know I recognize that jobs I am doing are quite menial but (um you know) someone's gotta do it and I am happy be that person. I think if I was doing it 9 to 5 every day I'd get tired of it, but you know I am just making a small contribution during the week and so its only the extra pair of hands, really (volunteer interview 2).

Some of my respondents were overwhelmed by trying to think about the problems which led to the need for shelter, and were happier to leave those concerns to someone else:

I thinks its a, (its a) helping out a little bit in an area that its really hard to do big things with. I mean, there are a lot of homeless folks and a lot of unfortunate folks ah, hard to see how you can have a big effect on those kind of things but this is just a little drop in the bucket kinda thing. Its not hard to do - it just takes a little time, but its not a big demand on one's life. . . .You are there to help that morning, not necessarily to solve people's world problems (volunteer interview 3).

Some tasks have been passed from one member of a church congregation to another as was the case with this respondent:

I had just come to Ottawa and they said "would you like to do some volunteer work" and I said "yeah". One of the tasks in our church is to help others out to follow and teach this Gospel, to teach people and also help out in any way possible offering acts of service. Uum is there a person that motivated me to do it? I don't know what person could do that other than myself. You could say Jesus, but I wanted to do this to help people out (volunteer interview 7).

The notably humble, self-effacing attitude of service is less common among

women's shelter volunteers than it is among men's homeless shelter volunteers. There is also a connection between religiosity and ethic of service, as each of these people who specifically expressing a desire to serve also identify religion or spirituality in their motivation. Here is an example of one of their answers to my question "Do you think religious practice or spirituality is part of your motivation?":

"Religious practice" not necessarily, but "spirituality" maybe. I think its part of who I am. I feel a strong (pause) I don't know, "call" or what ever to, to be of service when I can; to use my time now that I have time; to be of service where I can best contribute, and I'm still searching for different possibilities for that. The Shepherd's is not the only place that I'm looking, so I feel its definitely a strong motivational force, yeah (volunteer interview 7).

Volunteering fulfills a variety of forms of self-interest including the desire to serve, the need to feel productive, the desire to enjoy companionship, to keep busy, to resolve guilt and to act on feelings of compassion for other human beings. For most of the volunteers these kinds of motivations are of much more direct importance than are politics. This is why an analysis that emphasizes only "the economic" and "the political" is inadequate for assessing volunteer motivations. Most of the shelter volunteers are more interested in social service than in political decision-making, or even in participation in administrative level decisions about running the shelter. A few noted that the freedom from decision-making responsibilities was part of what they liked about the roles they chose to play at the shelter.

Like those in the shelter sector, politicians and administrators from Ottawa generally expressed willingness to share in the meeting of social responsibilities.

This willingness was sometimes conditioned upon extra-local cooperation or assistance because the city was also trying to meet its obligations within fiscal constraints demanding economic growth. Both the city and voluntary sector stand in contrast to the extra-local government's attitude to social responsibility which was characterized by divesting themselves of those responsibilities as quickly and thoroughly as the voting public might allow. The one exception in this pattern, that of the province's treatment of women-abuse shelters constitutes refusal to either divest themselves of the responsibility or to fulfill it.

Although extra-local politicians are elected to serve as our representatives in the Legislature and House of Parliament, the sense of service seems to have long-vanished from their philosophies. Instead, expertise that puts global corporate interests ahead of national or local well-being is cited as a justification for very elitist decision-making processes.

c) Citizen obligations

When I asked the volunteers specifically about their perceptions of citizen obligations, most people mentioned only paying taxes and obeying the law. A few made general statements like "everyone should do their part", or expressed an expectation that a person "gives back" when they can (volunteer interview 12; volunteer interview 13; volunteer interview 4) but none held the expectation that everyone or anyone in particular should volunteer. One pointed out the contradiction (neglected by Ontario politicians) in the idea of volunteering as an obligation:

Well, I think if we say voluntarism is an obligation, I think we have a

bit of a problem, semantically. I think this: that man has a responsibility to his fellow man and if that takes the form of volunteer- for-something that the individual thinks he may be able to perform, that's fine but there are other ways that the ah, people can be responsible to their fellow man. Maybe they're working and going above and beyond if their work happens to be in an area that they are meeting people (volunteer interview 2).

Even for those acting on a personal ethic of service, volunteering is clearly not perceived as an obligation. In the case of one of the volunteers with a strong "call" to serve, avoiding waste is a moral obligation of citizens:

Well, yeah I mean with every right there are responsibilities. ... I guess the human rights thing still comes as a struggle to a lot of people. There certainly is a responsibility to act responsibly and ah I guess if you are given something, its incumbent on you to try to give something back too. (and I'm not sure . . .) I think we all have responsibilities and ah to use the resources as responsibly as possible and we - things like our ah, our ecology and keeping things in good order not abusing our resources, and recycling and reusing where we can. I think there is far too much waste. I think there's responsibility there and maybe the government could do more to educate the public ah to try to ah maybe use our resources whether its money or things more responsibly and try to make them go a little farther so that everyone can participate in the economy. The west have the dollars - we are a very rich country. We are blessed, absolutely (volunteer interview 16).

Taken collectively, what the volunteers are espousing is not active citizenship. It is a counter-cultural sense of mutual responsibility and an opposition to the selfishness and greed that predominate in Western values. It is not sufficiently focused on representational practices to be reasonably described as radical democracy, but it is a rejection of allowing economic priorities to obliterate social concerns.

d) Community

The concept of community evolving in the shelter sector in Ottawa is also a significant intervention in the current Canadian milieu:

Well I mean its like being in a family you're responsible for your, going back to the first question, responsible for your brother in community, and for citizens its the same kind of thing that ah, whether its a church community, a neighbourhood community, ahm, the city or whatever: we're all responsible for the running of the community, for the care of the community ah as a member of it you can't leave that to others to do it - we are all responsible in our own way to do what we can (volunteer interview 7).

The volunteers see the shelters as places where social values are shared, lives are given meaning, and people are integrated into community. For a sociological analysis that goes beyond functionalism and can accommodate the political-economic context alongside the community-building experience expressed by volunteers, consider the strength of the local ties they express and the rejection of possessive individualism⁷³:

Well I think there's a big- ah, a big missing link in our societies, eh? and it really even goes as far as the churches. They are not doing as much out- reach. They are not doing the craft groups. There were church women and church men groups that used to do a lot about these things in their community and I think is just a whole cycle that people are just looking after their own, at their own soul, and that hurts everybody (volunteer interview 19).

The volunteers liked knowing that others depended upon them:

Like I told them I said they all depend on me now in the kitchen, like its all: " well okay, see you later, [Rick]" "are you coming in tomorrow [Rick]?" "are you going to be here?" this and that - I go every day, and ah I'm "the number one volunteer". That's what they call me now because I'm there every day and I know all the

⁷³ Macpherson saw the culture of possessive individualism as a core problem through which a capitalist mentality would flourish and likely triumph over the possibilities of genuine social citizenship (1974).

other volunteers and I know what has to be done right away...(volunteer interview 4). *Volunteers name has been changed.*

Most of the people I interviewed began spontaneously to use the word “community” somewhere in the dialogue about why they volunteer, or what the obligations of citizenship are. After that happened, I asked them what community meant to them, or where they thought they got their sense of community. Without expecting it to be the kind of “tit for tat”, perfectly equal exchange of individualist theory, many people spoke of a sense of reciprocity and/or interdependence. In the following case, the sense of community participation extended through a lifetime:

Again, I guess back into my, my early day roots, ah we’ve ah I think even though we moved around a lot as a family after my Dad died, I think ah we, we were part of communities and I think its a two-way street. People from communities help and I think you’ve got to participate in a community I think ah just to make it a better place to live, you can’t expect everything to be done by paid government employees, life just doesn’t work that way (volunteer interview 3).

Others, such as the following respondent expressed a more generalized sense of appreciation for the good life they have enjoyed:

I feel that its personal - its a personal reason not a political one and its just that I feel I would like to ah, to help, give something back and this seems a way of doing it that I can contribute, as opposed to giving money (volunteer interview 20).

The following comments come from a board member of one of the shelters who expressed a philosophy that government programs could not take the place of community support:

Well its, I think, yeah - I really have a view of kind of a community, eh? I think that we are responsible for each other, and I don’t want to say there are limits to the thing huh, but I think their is a kind of

a, a kind of a, I think we have to do our best to respect each other and to make it possible for each other to reach the potential that we have (volunteer interview 5).

The difficulties which led people to want to make a community contribution were not always financial difficulties:

I feel that I am giving back to the community that ... I was abused at university and, um two times as well, one sexual, one harassment, and I saw counsellors at the university and ... I am able to overcome that and give back (volunteer interview 19).

When I proposed the republican argument that people would take advantage of public generosity and lose the motivation to be self-reliant, several like this man, argued that what they believed in was the opposite scenario:

Ah, again that's hard to tell. I mean you know down at The Shepherd's you see people when you go there regularly enough you know that there are people that sort of... there's always going to be people that abuse the system and sometimes I do see people down there and I think well, "you really shouldn't be here" you know, ah, um, it's too easy. Uum, on the other hand, I'd like to think, I can't base it on anything, but I can't help think that when somebody's been at the receiving end of people's generosity that I think somehow or other it will touch something in them that they may, if they get the chance, will turn around and do the same (volunteer interview 10).

He continues later:

...its interesting how there are certain people that are so grateful and I, you know, you can tell the ones where they're just putting it on or what ever, but there are the ones who really, really appreciate it and I can't help thinking that if given half the chance, those people are going to turn around and help someone else at some point... I think we are a better society for um for providing stuff like that. What's the alternative? That's what I say to some people who say well why are you helping down and outs and drunks and I said well, what's the alternative? That they, you know, they rob more houses, they ah knock people over on the streets to get their money, they ah, you know, they're wall-to-wall sitting on the streets with their hands out? I don't know, I think its a pretty, I don't think

its very nice now, I think its worse now than it used to be so, ah, I don't want to live in a society that's dog-eat-dog, you know? (volunteer interview 10).

Assumptions of community and interdependence underpin the pragmatism of many volunteer perspectives. These assumptions also fit with the pluralist approach which sees a contributing role for each sector including the public, private and not-for-profit sectors.

e) Discussion of volunteer philosophy

In general these volunteers do not see their volunteering in connection with the larger question of citizenship but rather there is a community level sense of interdependence. This was one woman's answer to whether she thought citizenship in Canada came with any obligations:

I never really thought about that - I have been born in Canada and have reaped all the benefits. I think there are obligations to follow the civic law - not necessarily - well there's the federal law which affects the whole nation but there's civic law of your community, and your municipality, are a little more critical to follow, isn't it, because I know a lot of cultural communities have their own set of binding laws that are followed regardless of the federal law that are imposed upon them. So I think we have an obligation to, I don't know what then, be lawful, but that doesn't really cover it - an obligation to co-exist (volunteer interview 19).

Interviewer: Do you think its related to your notion of giving back to the community - or is that a separate thing?

Response: I think its related.

Another woman gave this answer when I asked where her sense of community came from:

I must say I have not necessarily been a very active member of the community affairs in terms of the you know community associations and that sort of things because ah my excuse is I have worked all

my life and who has time left over for that sort of thing, you know? Just when I retired that I had more time to do that but ah I think that basically whatever good intentions I have in that respect is ah very much for a large part owing to the fact that I'm grateful to be a Canadian having chosen to become Canadian [mhm] as opposed to any other. I appreciate belonging to a country like Canada (volunteer interview 18).

This single answer was the only case of a volunteer approaching my own (initial) perspective of seeing voluntary contributions to Ottawa's shelter sector as citizenship contributions. The volunteers who participated in this research are compassionate, not highly political people who feel tied more to their local communities than to a nation. Many but not all of them uphold religious beliefs which include the ideas of being compassionate to those who are less fortunate, and which advocate an ethic of service. It is common for shelter volunteers to say that they get back as much or more in the experience of volunteering as they give.

An analysis which recognizes the ontological dimension of citizenship best captures what volunteering means within shelter communities. Neither the processes nor the discourses pushing citizenship's meaning towards civic republicanism have the significance for shelter volunteers that community interdependence has. They respond pragmatically with compassion to an evident problem, and without necessarily connecting the problem or its solution to citizenship. For shelter volunteers, the meaning of their action has to do with community. The meaning they place on community, including ideas like: "making a better place to live", "respecting each other," "all responsible for running of the community", "meeting needs", and even "offering acts of service",

alongside principles like inclusivity and compassion, are for those of us who have studied social theory, formative ideas out of which social citizenship is built.

IV. Summary

In political terms, the analysis in Section Two and Section Three of this chapter make opposing arguments. Section Two suggests that the extra-local governance is infiltrating the local voluntary shelter organizations to an extent that is having some influence on organizational ability to function autonomously and according to their own philosophies. A shadow-state role for shelter organizations is likely limiting the extent to which volunteers feel and act as decision-makers within the voluntary sector. Some personal-level contributions of boards and volunteer participants in supportive programs are being reoriented towards economic efficiency concerns. Section Three reveals that the volunteers do not endorse either the meaning of citizenship from the localized or the extra-local discursive political constructions. They construct their own interdependent sense of community that does not necessarily have any links to formal politics. The volunteer's formation of citizenship perspectives different than the dominant discourse of civic republicanism can be explained by Shotter's theory. For Shotter (1993), there is opportunity for citizens to create alternate citizenship meanings reflecting their own social accountability as long as the dominant discourse is not exclusive. In this case contestations over the meaning of citizenship between the city and the extra-local governments creates the opening for Ottawa residents to formulate their own philosophy. While few of the

volunteers refer to this ontology of community as something that reflects their citizenship, theorists of citizenship can claim this identity as members of a groups sharing social responsibility for each other is, in it's essence, a citizenship identity.

The interesting thing for theorists is that this group's identity is conceived in local, urban terms, not nationally. This is not predicted by social theory as Ottawa is not a global city state such as Ford (2001) writes of, and the loyalties over-riding national concerns are local loyalties, not extra-national ones. The case of the shelter workers and volunteers reveals a local community spirit which can be extrapolated to citizenship with a meaning that is considerably closer to the meaning promoted by local politicians than by those who are extra-local.

Together, both analyses within this chapter support the notion that the local context merits attention in the study of citizenship. Rescaling is bringing about some changes of process in shelters, and through these changes the autonomy of shelter organizations is restricted. Canada's use of the civil sector is very different than the well-supported but autonomous version of associationalism imagined by Hirst to make the most of democratic pluralism.

There is even some suggestion that a sense of national citizenship exists only weakly for this particular group of people. For most of them, instead of being nationally rooted, their felt loyalties are to their community, neighbourhood and city. For the majority, understandings of entitlement and obligation rest more on notions of human rights than on a political identity tied to Canada. Although Turner's definition brings housing and shelter into the entitlements

usually associated with national identity and citizenship (1997:7), the volunteers of Ottawa generally do not express the loss of these entitlements as a loss of Canadian social citizenship. The more predominant social concern expressed is a concern about the availability of employment. Perhaps Siltanen's perspective that we never really had social citizenship (2002) is reflected in the pragmatic reactions of Ottawa shelter volunteers to the housing crisis. Not all the volunteers have become cynical about politics, but there is some level of mistrust of politics.

While the research findings of this project prompt some interesting reflection on the meaning of citizenship and the significance of local contexts, it is important not to overstate my theoretical contribution at this stage. Other sectors of civil society in Ottawa will require shadow state analysis. Is the pattern of extra-local intrusion wide spread or limited to particular sectors? The involvement of Christian church groups with recruitment of volunteers for the shelter sector may create a community within the shelters that is unique from other communities in Ottawa civil society. Other major cities in Ontario and elsewhere in Canada are experiencing a housing crisis and their voluntary sectors are responding. While I am confident in concluding that their localized meanings of citizenship are not necessarily in agreement with the provincial and federal constructions of citizenship, neither are they necessarily different. Ottawa has been growing despite the economic difficulties, and its place as the national capital brings them resources that more peripheral cities may not enjoy. As a national capital it also has a significant population of civil servants, and

former civil servants who may possess a sense of social responsibility different than other Canadians.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation interprets the circumstances of homelessness and volunteering in homeless shelters to analyse meanings of citizenship in Ottawa. The emphasis throughout my analysis is on differences between extra-local and local philosophical perspectives about citizenship. The four theoretical claims of this thesis are supported to varying degrees as I discuss in this chapter. Some of the claims apply to a fairly limited scope while others may be used more broadly. This concluding chapter assesses the strengths of the theoretical claims of the thesis in sections one through four. Sections five and six examine questions for further research and the implications emerging out of this thesis.

I. Civic Republicanism As Anti-citizenship

This dissertation argues that civic republicanism is not a sustainable citizenship philosophy for Ontario at the present time. This claim is substantiated by two bodies of evidence. The first evidence includes a critical analysis of the outcomes of neoliberal policy, relating those policies to homelessness. Civic republicanism suggest that society will thrive with non-profit organizations attending to social service needs, but the presence of hundreds of non-profit organization in the social service sector is insufficient to prevent the rise of homelessness in Ottawa's today. Citizenship is also damaged by processes of polarization.

Post-structuralist theorists had previously recognized multiple forms of citizenships within single states based upon differences arising from social and political structures of gender, and racial or ethnic relations. The Ottawa context supported this analysis with evidence of differential access to the benefits of citizenship including high quality employment opportunities and social supports such as unemployment insurance or social housing. Women, particularly single parent mothers, were especially likely to endure a lack of social citizenship supports. Employment structure changes in Ontario meant that women and immigrants who have arrived recently were less likely to have secure and well-waged employment, while First Nations people continued to face employment challenges that have nearly always characterized the shape of opportunity for the First Nations in Canada. People with mental illnesses have also been neglected in social policy. Despite human rights legislation which specified the housing rights of the elderly, those housing opportunities which the elderly were entitled to, were not available in Ottawa in the quantities needed. The citizens most needing social supports were also those most deprived of social supports by neoliberal policies.

In Ottawa after the turn of the millennium, the deprivations of those not enjoying the full benefits of citizenship were steep, resulting in homelessness for thousands of people. The politics of neglect had the effect of stratifying the population. Members of some sub-groups continued to enjoy only slightly changed citizenship-benefits while others faced severe reductions in social supports and those of the most stigmatized and least supported groups were

completely outside of previously standard citizenship benefits (such as employment insurance and welfare). In practical terms, access to citizenship practices like voting are also restricted for those who become homeless. Such polarizations work against citizenship rather than supporting it. This occurs in Ottawa, despite the resistance of City Council to extra-local civic republicanism. As many of the civic republican elements of policy originate in provincial regulation and discourse, we can expect similar impacts in other urban centres of Ontario.

The second reason I find civic republicanism to be unsustainable is that original qualitative research demonstrates such a philosophy to be inconsistent with the views of volunteers in the shelter sector. The predominant reason people volunteering in that sector in Ottawa are volunteering is because they want the experience of living in a supportive community, not because they feel a sense of duty arising from their understanding of citizenship.

Overall this claim is well-supported by the first analysis described above. There is no question that at very least a significant initial injection to the housing sector is required as a starting point for making the local community self-supporting and able to offer the required level of affordable housing. Continued population growth in Ottawa would mean ongoing need for funding from extra-local governments for creation of new affordable housing units. This kind of social program support from national and provincial governments is a significant breach with civic republican expectations but other research suggest even this would not be enough, as the Sgro task force says urban centres also need

support to maintain necessary infrastructure and transportation systems (Canada, 2002b:14-19). My critique of the sustainability of a civic republican approach to citizenship applies for the province of Ontario, and any other provinces which are depending on growth rooted in high-technology sector expansion. In comparable economic circumstances, we can expect other urban centres to be in similar condition to Ottawa and very likely to be somewhat worse because Ottawa City Council had the ambition and foresight to be pro-active about trying to obtain what-ever extra-local support was available but not all Councils will show the same initiative.

It is more debateable whether discourses and philosophies of civic republicanism will find support among other groups of citizens. More research would be required to ascertain that social service volunteers of other sectors in Ottawa have the same citizenship and community philosophies that I discovered among the shelter sector volunteers. There is little doubt that some civil sectors and other cities and regions of Canada would demonstrate philosophies different than what I found in Ottawa shelters as there are regional patterns to political support in this country.

II. Rescaling and Local Processes of Citizenship Construction

Rescaling processes are significant for citizenship and understanding the meanings of citizenship requires understanding local processes of citizenship construction. This claim is simultaneously methodological and theoretical as we

need both research designs that can capture local components of citizenship differentiation, and the realization that local processes are shaping citizenship. The evidence for this claim can be summarized in three points. First we see that meanings of citizenship differ somewhat across groups within Ottawa. The experience of citizenship is not the same for a self-supporting retired volunteer as it is for a single-parent mother suspected of welfare fraud, or for a single man in need of housing supports. Ironically, only the self-supporter is likely to meet the conditions of eligibility for a welfare cheque. Focused attention on local practices is required to reveal that people can become homeless while waiting for low-income housing to become available, that certain groups of people are more likely to need welfare and are less likely to have had jobs that grant them employment insurance when that job ends, or that disabled elderly people have been living with threatened removal of essential health care supports. Without seeing how the processes of program delivery interact with other social structures locally, many differences of citizenship entitlement will be missed.

Second, different processes shape citizenship according to different philosophies within a local context. Without locally-focused attention, it is easy to make erroneous oversimplifications. These over-simplifications would be especially exaggerated when we try to talk of citizenship's meaning because of the discordance of citizenship boundaries as they are drawn by extra-local governments and as they are practised locally. The examples of a homeless addict and woman living with an abusive partner illustrate how subjective the meaning of citizenship becomes under the influences of different philosophies.

A person who has such a desire to overcome his or her addiction that s/he manages to sustain that desire while waiting for treatment will eventually, in Ottawa, get into programs that support his or her well-being. Within that program s/he will be counselled in ways designed to make him or her feel like a worthy human being (in spite of everything). Yet, as long as that person is an addict they are likely to have relapses, as this is the nature of addiction. Under Ontario policy, any relapse means denial of supportive social service funds. Will citizenship for this person come to symbolize support through personal difficulties, or just punishment? Similarly an abused woman will encounter social messages that her safety and that of her children matters and should be her foremost concern. The reality is that with the current shortage of shelter space she can not move away from threats to her physical safety whenever she is ready, unless that move can be accomplished autonomously (or with help that she organizes herself). The lack of available housing and support suggests that her well being and that of her children are not a high priority.

Third, I have documented that rescaling is not neutral in relation to citizenship. Municipalities are coping with smaller tax-bases than extra-local government so they do not have a capacity equal to that of the extra-local governments for sustaining the social programs residents need. In the case of the low-income housing, the City of Ottawa was also restricted by ongoing provincial regulation from making what they believed to be the best use of available resources for administration of the housing which had been turned over to them. The simultaneous cuts to other forms of funding from the province,

such as to Community Care programs, also affected the Cities ability to manage new housing responsibilities.

For these three reasons, rescaling practices and local contexts are important components of citizenship study. The claim is focused upon analysis within Ottawa, but again there is some application to other urban centres in Ontario; in this case because the rescaling processes which proved to be relevant to citizenship constructions, were similarly imposed on other urban centres.

III. Active Citizenship Is A Useful Conceptualization

This dissertation makes a strong case that Ontario is shaping citizenship as active citizenship. The case is developed with original discourse analysis and use of secondary sources on processes of neoliberal restructuring. Citizenship and social responsibilities in Ontario were shaped around four dimensions identified by Kearns (1995) as constitutive of active citizenship. First, the approach to social service provision was steeply individualized including individualization of responsibility for employment and for health. The notion of community well-being has disappeared from provincial policy. Second there were coercive policies to foster individualized interpretations of social policies. These included: incentives for people to disclose information about neighbours, friends and family who are suspected of welfare fraud; harsh punishments for those convicted of fraud; and defining mothers of infant children as employable so that they have to do community service work to be eligible for social

assistance payments. Third, citizenship was selective, dual and elitist. High income earners were the priority for provincial policy such that they enjoyed their wealth unimpeded by high taxation or troublesome regulation. Supplementary services could be purchased by those with high incomes to compensate for gaps in provincial health care, child care and educational programs. The poor of the province (who increasingly consist of lone parent families) were over-regulated and no longer entitled to basic levels of social support. Public insurance for unemployment was designed to be inaccessible and social assistance rates were inadequate for living and eating in Ottawa. Fourth, misinformation and oversimplified claims depoliticized the voting public. Cuts to essential social supports were disguised by the politics of stealth. Mystifying claims inflated the threat of debt and deficit, and gave distorted impressions of the portion of the provincial budget which was spent on social programs.

More research is required to establish a claim that Canadian federal governments are reshaping citizenship along an active citizenship model. There is evidence of civic republican influences upon the philosophies of some federal politicians and upon practices within some departments, such as Human Resources Canada. Research extending the discourse analysis beyond the ministries concerned with housing and with social services would be needed before an overall active citizenship pattern could be proven.

IV. The Shadow State Is Worth Analyzing

The concept of a shadow state also proved to be a useful analytical tool

for understanding citizenship practice in Ottawa's shelter sector. It is difficult in processes relating to affordable housing and shelter to distinguish between the work of governments and of non-profit organizations. The limited social service funding that was provided by the province was severely regulated. Even though distribution of funds was often managed by city-coordinated committees of local residents, provincial funding envelopes have strict limitations. These limitations including brief time lines. Accountability measures based on quantifiable short-term progress, placed restrictions on the types of projects that could be funded. Such provincial and federal funds were necessary and welcome but in the current crisis conditions, shelter administrators said time is wasted on excessive paperwork and documentation. In the case of the shelter sector in Ottawa, the social supports still provided were the outcome of services down-loaded to the shadow state where service provision was accomplished with a higher proportion of unpaid to paid labour, government regulation remains high and a minimal provision of supports is achieved. The presence of shadow state processes in housing and shelter sectors suggests that health care and other social service provision processes known to be relying increasingly on volunteers would be interesting to explore.

V. Questions For Further Research

Discussions within this dissertation consider citizenship at four different levels of abstraction. 1) We can treat citizenship as a series of entitlements and obligations belonging to members of a defined group. 2) Citizenship represents

the agreed-upon boundaries of what is socially sufficient. Many philosophical issues intersect at this level, manifested in the policy debates (rooted in liberalism's contradictory notions of freedom and equality) over the extent of expectations that people share resources with others who are outside of their family. 3) Citizenship is a politicized aspect of identity wherein we negotiate for our own interests with respectful attention to the needs of others. It is at this level that I identify the community concern of shelter volunteers in Ottawa as a localized citizenship practice. 4) Citizenship is symbolic of a society's commitment to or lack of concern for social justice. Macpherson (1974, 1987) makes us think about citizenship at this level. I treat questions arising from the first two levels of research within this section, and the more abstract issues relating to levels three and four are in the final section (on implications).

The theory that understanding the local context is important for theorizing citizenship opens up a series of questions. Is Ottawa, without being a global city-state, a special type of locale that gives it this characteristic of defiance? What are the conditions which enable resistance to the provincial and federal policy agendas? What are the implications for centres, like rural municipalities, that have a smaller population base?

My observations about the multiplicity of citizenship definitions in Ottawa introduces other questions. The most obvious direction for future research is one of comparison. Several other Ontario cities were amalgamated at or near the same time as Ottawa (Hamilton, Sudbury, Haldimand and Norfolk, and

Toronto just before them) and confronted comparable Ontario Transition-Board intrusions into their budgets and planning. An important extension of my findings would be to see what types of resistance to neoliberalism, if any, occurred in each of these locals and what the consequences have been for social citizenship entitlements.

The analysis could also work from the Federation of Canadian Municipalities as a point of origin. On the question of social housing Ottawa both received and offered support through the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM). The persistent lobbying of this organization was no doubt partially responsible for the introduction of a new federal program in support of affordable housing construction. Working with the FCM was a scale jumping process that allowed cities to bypass provincial governments and gain federal attention. Lack of federal support is often cited by provincial administrations as the reason for refusal of social programs. By going right to the federal source, the FCM can increase the pressure they put on provincial governments as well. The other cities whose representatives and administrators were leaders in this organization would constitute another very interesting pool of cases for comparative analysis. Starting from a national organization of municipal representatives would push the questions beyond provincial boundaries thereby emphasizing the significance of the federal level more than the present study was able to do. This prospect makes a great deal of sense if the focus on citizenship is to be retained.

Practical restrictions stemming from the small-scale resources of one researcher with limited time meant I was only able to gain access to volunteers

from two shelters serving abused women and these could supply only a small number of volunteers for me to interview. During the time of research and writing volunteer programs were being developed in other women abuse shelters and at the women's homeless shelter in Ottawa as well. With the limited numbers of interview subjects available for the present study, I was not able to establish any ideological differences between the populations of volunteers working at different shelters. With time to gain access to more board members (who volunteer) and higher numbers of participants (which might be accessed with greater resources of time and research support), some ideological difference related to feminism which might occur between women's shelter and men's shelter program volunteers might be observed. One of my premises for the dissertation was that ideology matters and this was supported in so far as ongoing provision of many basic levels of service were concerned. Is it not also likely to be true that ideology matters in terms of defining intolerance of violence against women as a key social concern?

Ottawa's concerted efforts to support the growth of affordable housing construction in the city include start-up funds for construction, leveraging of provincial and federal supports and waiving of fees for private or non-profit corporations. A 2001 study by the Housing Supply Working group provides a very brief outline of municipal efforts to promote the building of affordable rental housing units in eleven Ontario urban centres including Ottawa. Included are: Toronto, Ottawa, Waterloo, Peel, Hamilton, Windsor, Thunder Bay, Niagara, London, Oshawa and Sudbury. All of these cities except Sudbury had vacancy

rates below the healthy level of three percent, but several of them (Windsor, Niagara, London and Oshawa) had taken no measures what-so-ever in support of affordable housing construction. It would be interesting to conduct more a detailed study of the affordable housing situations in these centres, to compare municipal strategies of coping with the problem and to compare the outcomes (on current housing supply, new affordable housing construction and vacancy rate) of their various efforts.

VI. Implications

The analysis of different and potentially contradictory social constructions of citizenship through policy, practice and discourses of different organizations operating simultaneously on the citizens of one location and time raises issues about the process of theorizing. Implicit in the research design is a challenge to any singular construction of a theory of citizenship, whether that construction is one of "the state" or by an organization resisting the state. Post-structuralists such as Gibson-Graham (1995) have helped us to realize that the outcomes of social policy, social policy critique, and resistance are less predictable than it was once believed. Interactions over social constructions are occurring which are more subtle, less consistent and more interesting than the structuralist or Gramscian depictions of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces can capture or describe.

This research also supports the theoretical challenge to interpretations of

citizenship which understand power only in terms of the formal political power of governing bodies. Other sociologists have decentred the state in their analysis and better recognized the significance of local and trans-national processes. If national and provincial level restrictions on citizenship entitlement can be suspended, if not more permanently subverted through local strategies, the national-scale meaning of citizenship is called into question. Turner (1993) and other recent theorists recognize citizenship as a series of processes. If key citizenship processes occur at the local level in Canada are the consequences necessarily divisive? In other words, are local loyalties and obligations that people are feeling detracting from their sense of nationalism, or contributing to it?

The community spirit and compassionate response to suffering by people working together in non-profit organizations inspired the development of an (admittedly incomplete and flawed) social welfare state in Canada. We have seen most of the programs supporting social rights of citizenship dissolved, modified or rescaled in recent years, but at the same time there is some renewal of service provision from voluntary organizations. In these circumstances, the meaning of citizenship depends very much upon which social scale we choose to analyse. Once again we are looking to civil society to find many of those people who continue to provide a social vision of interdependent living, inclusive political process, and shared entitlement to the resources we need to develop our potentials.

What does it mean for theorizing citizenship in terms of social justice if we

think (in the context described above) of power as diffuse and belonging to all members of society rather than concentrated in the state: can we then develop an alternative to Macpherson's conclusions (1987) that as a society we have failed to contain capitalist destruction with a substantive belief and practice of social justice?

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APPENDIX ONE

INDEX OF SERVICE FOR HOMELESS PEOPLE OF OTTAWA, 2001

Name, Location, contact information	Services
Aboriginal Women's Support Centre 262 Montreal Road Vanier, ON K1L 63C	Kakin Mamwi Shimenjuk holistic healing and personal empowerment program for youth: one-on-one counselling, crisis intervention and stabilization, life skills, street outreach, home visits to incarcerated youth, elder guidance, healing circles, cultural and spiritual teachings, healthy lifestyle, recreational activities, family reconciliation, transitional housing for women and children fleeing abuse (funding application 2001 for Overcoming Barriers to Self-sufficiency)
Action Logement Centre d'information Région d'Ottawa-Carleton 450 Rideau, pièce 200 Ottawa, ON K1N 5Z4 Rosine Kaley, Directrice	Housing Help assists people in finding and retaining affordable housing, no cost for low or fixed income Registry/data base, caseworker to assist newcomers to Canada with finding and retaining housing
Alliance to End Homelessness	sometimes represented by Wendy Muckle and Sue Garvey; lobbies with municipale and provincial government on behalf of homeless
Banff Ave. Community House	See Coalition of Community Houses
Barriers Elimination Network	with Centre for Equality Rights in Accommodation is identifying barriers that restrict people from getting housing developing strategies to address the barriers
Blair Court Community House	See Coalition of Community Houses

Name, Location, contact information	Services
Blue Heron Cooperative Homes	Kanata Cooperative with plans for 120 units
Brittania Woods Community House	See Coalition of Community Houses
Bruce House	support services for 26 individuals who are at risk of homelessness and disabled by HIV/AIDS
Carlington Community and Health Services - Belair 900 Merivale Road Ottawa, Ontario Mike Birmingham Executive Director	Basement on Baseline: a satellite program of CCHS which provides a variety of support, counselling programs, and service programs including assistance with food security problems
Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation	with the City and HRDC have installed and piloted a national data base in Ottawa's emergency hostels called Homeless Individuals and Families Information System (HIFIS). When fully operational, HIFIS will provide accurate data on shelter use that is not now available.
Canadian Mental Health Association (Ottawa Carleton Branch) 1355 Bank Street, Suite 402 Ottawa, ON K1H 8K7 Joanne Lowe, Executive Director	Counselling: long-term support for individuals who are homeless and mentally ill. Targets ending homelessness for 15 people per year. Youth: an Intensive Case Management Youth Worker & Outreach worker support homeless street youth. "All clients have severe mental illness as well as other complex needs"
Catholic Immigration Services	Housing search, education and support for 50 newcomer families in emergency hostels, motels and at Rockcliffe CFB "Reception House"

Name, Location, contact information	Services
Causeway 22 O'Meara Street Ottawa, ON K1Y 4N6 Don Palmer, Executive Director	Psychosocial rehabilitation services (PSR) to persons with mental illness. Provision of community support, social recreation programming, street outreach and supported employment services also called Causeway Work Centre Inc., participant in the Mental Health Homelessness Initiative
Centre 454 22 O'Meara Street Ottawa, ON K1N 7M8 Mary-Martha Hale, Director	Day Drop-In & skill development program to enhance participant ability to live at their optimum level in the community and participate with other Day Programs and service providers to provide comprehensive services to homeless or those at risk of homelessness. Professional counselling, employment, health care, aboriginal program, education, laundry, hygiene, clothing, communication system, parental support
Centre 507 507 Bank Street Ottawa, ON K2P 1Z5 Clara Friere, Coordinator	Supportive day drop-in environment with crisis intervention, life skills support, advocacy, recreation, employment, snack, training and skills development program street outreach workers distribute warm clothing, sleeping bags, food and information
Centre for Equality Rights in Accommodation	identifies barriers that restrict people from getting housing and develops strategies to address those barriers part of a province-wide campaign to develop a code of fair and equitable tenant selection

Name, Location, contact information	Services
<p>Centretown Citizens Ottawa Corporation (CCOC)</p>	<p>a) long-term leases made available for 10 units which are regional property (140 Bronson) b) two 4-bedroom townhouses built on Booth street for homeless families (& rent subsidies) c) Stirling Tavern site with 5 subsidized and 5 unsubsidized social housing units thanks to redevelopment (Dennis Carr, spokesman)</p>
<p>Centretown Community Health Centre 420 Cooper Street 420 Cooper Street Ottawa, ON K2P 2N6 Marguerite Keely</p>	<p>series of services for families plus “one time from Social Services” for Peer support and resource linkages for Spanish Speaking Women Facing Violence</p>
<p>Citizen Advocacy of Ottawa-Carleton 109-119 Ross Avenue Ottawa, ON K1Y 0N6 Brian Tardif, Executive Director</p>	<p>program matches volunteers with people with developmental, physical and psychological disabilities to help them be independent</p>
<p>Club Hors de la Rue</p>	<p>satellite program: Action Vanier anti-drogue</p>

Name, Location, contact information	Services
Coalition of Community Houses: Foster Farm Family House Morrison Gardens Community House Pinecrest Terrace Community House Banff Ave Community House Confederation Court Community House Lowertown Good Neighbours Com. House Blair Court Community House Brittania Woods Community House Debra Dynes Family House Russell Heights Community House	programs and services for low income individuals, families children & youth where community members face significant barriers eg. Lack of income to meet basic needs, adapting to a new language and culture, demands of parenting, lack of mobility, geographic location services to a multi-culturally diverse population provided right in their own neighbourhood
Confederation Court Community House	See Coalition of Community Houses
Cumberland Community Resource Centre 210, blvd Centrum, Suite 211 Orléans, ON K1E 3V7 Thérèse Preston, Directrice générale	community services includes Provision of emergency food items
Daybreak	Piccadilly House and Horizons House provide supportive housing services for 15-20 homeless women; assistance with mental health and abuse issues
Debra Dynes Family House	See Coalition of Community Houses
Disabled Persons Community Resources (DPCR)	community support worker whose role includes assistance to people who are disabled and homeless
Earl Grey Co-operative Homes Inc	Kanata housing cooperative with affordable housing component for people at risk of homelessness

Name, Location, contact information	Services
Elizabeth Bruyère Health Centre	participant in Ottawa Inner City Health Project
Elizabeth Fry Society of Ottawa	assistance to female x-offenders
Emergency Food Centre 507 Bank Street Ottawa, ON K2P 1Z5 Kerry Kaiser, Coordinator	Coordinates emergency food and referral service
Emergency Hostel Redirection (EHRF)	connected with U of O.; mentioned in Sorenson, p.34
Emily Murphy Non-Profit Housing Corporation 2676 Innes Road, Suite 106 Gloucester, ON K1B 1A1 Ms. Val Hinsperger, Executive Director	counselling and support services to young single parents to enhance their abilities to maintain a stable, supportive home for their children. Outreach services to homeless young single parents who are on the waiting list for housing at Emily Murphy
Foster Farm Family House	see Coalition of Community Houses
Gignul Non-Profit	11-unit housing project for senior aboriginals at risk of homelessness
Heron Emergency Food Centre 2776 Mozart Court Gloucester, ON K1T 2P9 Joyce Clark	emergency food items
Homesafe (Rent Bank)	see Salvation Army
Horizons House	see Daybreak Non-Profit Housing
Housing Help - see "Action Lodgement"	
Housing Registry of Ottawa	2001 updated housing listing regarding wheelchair accessibility

Name, Location, contact information	Services
Inner City Youth, CAAP Felix Weekes 1330 Belgate Way Gloucester, ON K1J 8P9 bigcatweekes@primus.ca 741-9471	mentoring program for 'at risk' youth; university students from U of O get credits for assisting children who are having difficulty in school (funding rejected 2001 due to lack of details on proposal - how money will be spent) did they continue? There were apparently some corporate partners
Inuit Non-profit Housing Corp.	8-person facility with housing and counselling
Kakin Mamwi Shimenjuk (see Aboriginal Women's Support Centre)	
Lifeline Centre	Support services in a treatment facility for 30 male victims of abuse dealing with addictions
Lowertown Good Neighbours Community House	See Coalition of Community Houses
Montfort Hospital	part o the Mental Health Homelessness Initiative
Morrison Gardens Community House	see Coalition of Community Houses
Napean Housing	74-unit project targeted to families who are homeless and at risk of homelessness, victims of abuse and the developmentally delayed (18 rent supplements)
Options Bytown	in cooperation with Ottawa Housing Corp. prioritizeds placement of 50 homeless people in apartment buildings and rooming houses
Ottawa Inner City Health Project	2-year demonstration project sponsored by the University of Ottawa Faculty of Medicine with a variety of social service, community health, nursing, and palliative care providers

Name, Location, contact information	Services
<p>Ottawa Inner City Ministries 251 Bank Street Suite 505 Ottawa Ontario 613-2376013 Email: oim@idirect.com www.ottawainnercityministries.ca</p>	<p>an interdenominational Christian ministry which services the poor and less-fortunate people of downtown Ottawa they have both staff and volunteers who publish an e-zine, provide direct services including street outreach work, running a drop-in centre, providing holiday meals, coordinate prayer support and charitable donations for the poor</p>
<p>Ottawa Salus Corporation</p>	<p>Part of the Mental Health Homelessness Initiative, 19-unit supportive housing project for homeless individuals with mental health issues</p>
<p>Ottawa Social Housing Network Debbie Barton, Chair</p>	
<p>Overbrook-Forbes Community Resource Centre 225 Rue Donald, Bureau 120 Ottawa ON K1K 1N1 Simone Thibault, Directrice générale</p>	<p>resources include a Food Bank</p>
<p>Parent Resource Centre 300 Goulburn Private Ottawa, ON K1N 1C9 Carol Burke, Executive Director</p>	<p>Growing up Downtown: an outreach initiative that reaches children where they are, such as service centres designated for their parents/caregivers who are facing multiple challenges to meet basic needs</p>
<p>Parkdale Food Centre 424 Parkdale Avenue Ottawa, ON K1Y 1H1 Patrick Hunt, Coordinator</p>	<p>Coordination: Supplies emergency food supplies to needy residents of the Ottawa-West area</p>
<p>Piccadilly House</p>	<p>see Daybreak Non-Profit Housing</p>
<p>Pinganodin Lodge</p>	<p>Outreach and support services for “at-risk” aboriginals with addictions</p>

Name, Location, contact information	Services
Pinecrest-Queensway Health and Community Services Richmond Square II 1365 Richmond Road, Ste 203 Ottawa, ON K2B 6R7 Barbara MacKinnon	community services including Carling Family Shelter residents recreational, educational and support activities for approximately 200 children and youth living in emergency family shelters Leaping Lizards: intervention strategy aimed at positive development of 4-6 year old living in poverty, educational and recreational activities that offer reprieve from the cycle of poverty that can contribute to maladaptive behaviour ROAR - reading program
Pinecrest Terrace Community House	See Coalition of Community Houses
Pinganodin Lodge	support services and 12 transitional housing spaces for aboriginal men with addictions
Reception House	see Catholic Immigration Services
Rideau Park United Church Social Action and Outreach Committee Bill Davis	lobbies with city for homeless of Alta Vista Ward
Royal Ottawa Hospital	Mental Health Homelessness Initiative participants
Russell Heights Community House	See Coalition of Community Houses
SALUS Corporation	see Ottawa SALUS
Salvation Army	Men's Shelter Rent bank for those at risk of eviction: "Homesafe" "Money Wise" program to support and assist 120 vulnerable people in managing the money they receive from social benefits or pensions in order to help them in obtaining or retaining their housing

Name, Location, contact information	Services
Sandy Hill Community Health Centre 221 Nelson Street Ottawa ON K1N 1C7 Peter McKenna Acting Executive Director	addictions, housing, life skills and health care support to 200 clients per year programs include Community Garden Network and promotion of community gardening Collective Kitchen Phase Two
Shepherds of Good Hope Hope Centre 233 Murray Street Ottawa, ON K1N 5M9 Mary Ann Glazer, Executive Director	7 days weekly day/evening drop-in centre with TV, Laundry, showers, health care worker, telephone, coffee, snacks men's homeless shelter program provides counselling and support services to 10 homeless individuals with addictions
Somali Centre for Youth, Women and Community	Housing support for newcomer families living in hostels or unstable housing to find permanent housing
St. Luke's Lunch Club c/o St. Luke's Anglican Church 760 Somerset Street West Ottawa, ON K1R 6P9 Maxine Stata	Lunch program, fellowship referral services, recreational activities, practical support and an opportunity for networking
The Olde Forge Community Resource Centre 2730 Carling Avenue Ottawa, ON K2B 7J1 Barbara Lajeunesse 829-9777 January 19, 2001	community resource centre and home support agency for seniors
The Well/La Source 154 Somerset St. West Ottawa, ON K2P 0H8 Pat Connolly, Director	Day drop-in for "at risk" women and children and includes a food program. Aims to nurture the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual needs of those who come to the centre for support, also an outreach support worker

Name, Location, contact information	Services
Tungasuvvingat Inuit	supportive residence for 18, transitional home for homeless Inuit, and some outreach programs to help Inuit prevent eviction
The Mission (formerly the Union Mission)	a) shelter for homeless men b) 19 long-term supportive housing units c) hospice with 8 palliative care beds for homeless individuals
Victoria Order of Nurses (VON)	two-year donation of a nurses's time for Ottawa Inner City Health Project (Ministry of Health and Long Term Care has refused financial assistance for the project).
Wabano-Getchanishing Mashkiki	mobile health outreach team to assist 300 aboriginal people with their health care (SCPI funding until March 31, 2003)
Women's Action Center Against Violence 205-211 Bronson Avenue Ottawa ON K1R 6H5 Betty MacGregor, Coordinator	works with vulnerable groups to build safer social and physical environments (groups include tenant's associations)
Youth Services Bureau of Ottawa Carleton 1338½ Wellington Street Ottawa, ON K1Y 3B7 Dan Paré, Executive Director	Day program drop-in for youth Mentoring-In School Program: provided for youth at risk, high-need and living in poverty. Strengthen student's self-esteem and school performance
Youth Services Bureau	support services in a treatment home for 50 young women with mental illness transition house for youth (10 2-bedroom apartments and 2 1-bedroom apartments) at 555-561 Laurier West

* Sources:

Homelessness Initiative Funding - Summary of Projects (city website 4/4/02)

Sorenson, Jean, "Progress Report 2001 on the 'Community Action Plan to Prevent and End Homelessness Update 2000' City of Ottawa Housing

Branch, June 2001.

Community action plan progress report

APPENDIX TWO

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR VOLUNTEERS AND BOARD MEMBERS

PART A INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR VOLUNTEERS

- 1. What kind of volunteer work do you do?**
- 2. How do you understand your own contribution -- what are you giving ?**
- 3. Are you receiving anything in doing this volunteer work ?**
- 4. How much interaction do you have with people who are staying at the shelter (and what kind of interaction is it ?)**
- 5. What do you believe are the underlying problems that lead to the current demand for shelter ?**
- 6. In your experience are services offered and programs designed in ways that include input from volunteers and or shelter residents ?**
- 7. Do you find yourself questioning the ways things are done sometimes, or seeking change within the organization ?**
- 8. How do you see the issue of social responsibility - are we our brother's or our sister's keeper ?**
- 9. What is your view about how well Canada is doing in providing safe and adequate housing ?**
- 10. Whose responsibility is it to meet these needs? Whose should it be?**
- 11. What would you say to someone who argued that governments should not be in the housing business and that construction and rental of affordable housing is best left to private enterprise?**
- 12. Do you think that being born in this country or getting official citizenship should be prerequisites for emergency housing ? (why or why not?)**
- 13. Do you consider refugees or those applying to get refugee status as special cases in terms of what kind of shelter they should be entitled to?**

APPENDIX TWO, PART A (Continued)

- 14. Are there events, circumstances or a person in your life history that are relevant to your decision to volunteer for shelter work, that you would like to tell me about?**
- 15. From what we have seen of the outcomes of government employment and economic policies (I am thinking of all the things that are related to the current level of homelessness) what kind of priorities or changes would you like to see in political policy of the near future ?**
- 16. Will people learn to and choose to take responsibility for themselves if society or someone is always there to help them through difficult times?**
- 17. Citizenship in Canada comes with some entitlement to personal freedoms and human rights. In your view does it also come with any obligations ? (What would they be?)**
- 18. Do you think the best way of providing help to those in need is through the good will of individuals who have time energy or money to contribute? (Is there some kind of community that holds the responsibility; or should needs be met by national social programs that are fully supported by government).**
- 19. (If this has not been covered) In your opinion is community-based charitable funding, from the United Way, for example, as appropriate a way of funding shelter as is public sector or government funding ?**
- 20. Are you a religious person? Do you think religious practice or spirituality is part of your motivation for volunteer work?**
- 21. To you, is volunteering for the shelter a political action, a personal one, or both ? - are those concepts (personal, political) very helpful for explaining why you do this work ?**
- 22. Do you think the people staying at the shelter should have a role in how it is run and how things are organized ?**
- 23. (If yes version) Are homeless people entitled to that participation whether or not the shelter is supported by public funds?**

APPENDIX TWO, PART A (Continued)

- 24. Should someone be paid to do what you do as a volunteer? (If yes, how do you feel about that?)**
- 25. Do you think that compensations for volunteers other than direct payment might be appropriate ? Possibilities might include a tax credit system or free public transportation...?**
- 26. How did you begin to volunteer at the shelter? How did it start?**

APPENDIX TWO (Continued)**Part B INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: Board Members**

- 1. Can you give me a short description of the work that you do on behalf of the shelter?**
- 2. How did you become a member of the board?**
- 3. How do you understand your own contribution - what are you giving?**
- 4. Are you receiving anything in doing this volunteer work?**
- 5. Have you ever had interaction with people who are staying at the shelter (and what kind of interaction is it?**
- 6. What do you believe are the underlying problems that lead to current demand for shelter?**
- 7. In your experience are services offered and programs designed in ways that include input from volunteers and or shelter residents?**
- 8. How do you see the issue of social responsibility - are we our brother's or our sister's 'keeper'?**
- 9. What is your view about how well Canada is doing in providing safe & adequate housing?**
- 10. Whose responsibility is it to meet these needs? Whose should it be?**
- 11. What would you say to someone who argued that governments should not be in the housing business and that construction and rental of affordable housing is best left to private enterprise?**
- 12. Do you think the being born in this country or getting official citizenship should be prerequisites for emergency housing? (Why or why not?)**
- 13. Do you consider refugees or those applying to get refugee status as a special cases in terms of what kind of shelter they should be entitled to?**

APPENDIX TWO, PART A (Continued)

14. Are there events, circumstances or a person in your life history that are relevant to your decision to volunteer for shelter work, that you would like to tell me about?

15. From what you have seen of the outcomes of government employment and economic policies (I am thinking of all the things that are related to the current level of homelessness) what kind of priorities or changes would you like to see in political policy of the near future?

16. Will people learn to and choose to take responsibility for themselves if society or someone is always there to help them through difficult times?

17. Citizenship in Canada comes with some entitlement to personal freedoms and human rights. In your view does it also come with any obligations?

18. Do you think the way we as a society - particularly in Ontario right now - are looking after the most needy among us is the best way to do that? I am particularly wondering if you think the responsibility for providing assistance is currently in the hands of the appropriate people.

19.(if this has not been covered) In your opinion is community-based charitable funding, from the United Way for example, as appropriate a way of funding shelter as is public sector or government funding?

20. Are you a religious person? Do you think religious practice or spirituality is part of your motivation for your volunteer work?

21. To you, is volunteering for the shelter a political action, a personal one, or both - are those concepts (personal, political) very helpful for explaining why you do this work ?

22. Do you think the people staying at the shelter should have a role in how it is run and how things are organized?

23. (If yes) Are homeless people entitled to that participation whether or not the shelter is supported by public funds?

24. Should someone be paid to do what you do as a volunteer? (If yes, How do you feel about that?)

APPENDIX TWO, PART B (Continued)

25. Do you think that compensations for volunteers other than direct payment might be appropriate? Possibilities might include a tax credit system or free public transportation...?

25. Is it appropriate for corporations to help pay for shelter provision and are there any conditions or stipulations you would put on that opportunity contribution?

APPENDIX THREE

ETHICAL REVIEW DOCUMENTS

PART A: Participant Information Sheet

Title: There But for Fortune... Political Realities and Volunteer Philosophies in Shelter Provision

To: Interviewees

My name is Mary Ellen Donnan. I am a Doctoral Candidate at Carleton University, Ottawa, conducting research on the motivations of people who volunteer at shelters. The question of motivations includes relevant political, religious or social perspectives and events that volunteers define as significant in their personal histories. Four organizations involved in homelessness-relief were chosen for case studies. Two shelters for women and children fleeing abuse were selected for study while the other two provide shelter to other members of the homeless population. Spokespeople for the shelter where you volunteer have agreed to let me invite your participation in my research. My analysis will include the effect of government policies on shelters and contrasting views about obligations of communities and citizens to provide assistance to people in need. Perhaps if the reasons that some people give of their own time and energy to ensure that other's basic needs are met are better understood, we could learn to create the momentum for providing the affordable housing which is very badly needed in all parts of this wealthy country.

It is the policy of Carleton University that all research conform to ethical standards for research. As part of this, researchers are required to obtain informed consent from those asked to participate in research studies, such as interviewees. The purpose of this letter is to explain the purpose of my research, to provide you with an opportunity to decide the degree to which you wish to participate, and to protect your rights of consent and privacy.

You are invited to participate in my research and I would appreciate any assistance you can offer me. As part of my research I would like to interview you but you are under no obligation at all to be interviewed. The interview questions will draw on your particular experiences and motivations. Your responses will be

treated with anonymity. The duration of interviews will be about two hours depending on how much of your relevant personal history you wish to relate and how lengthy your responses are to philosophical questions. If you prefer to communicate in French, translation will be provided, but the interview process will take longer because of translation time. Interviews would be done on the date and at the time you prefer. If you require child care for the duration of the interview, I will be pleased to reimburse you promptly. I would prefer to audio tape interviews (in person or by phone). Taping interviews would only be done with your consent and could be turned off at any time. As a participant you have the right to choose not to answer any of my questions, and you can end the interview at any time. You can also choose to withdraw information for six weeks after the interview has been conducted. There is minimal risk to participation although my questions may cause you to analyse your own reasons for being a shelter volunteer. Benefits to participation include the opportunity to talk about your social contribution to an attentive listener and to have your views included in academic analysis of sheltering and volunteers. This is very dynamic time in the shelter sector and I hope that with your help, my research will have a positive impact.

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you have questions or wish to know more please phone or write me at the address at the top of this letter and on the attached card. If you want to participate, please read, sign and date the attached consent form.

Sincerely,

Mary Ellen Donnan
303-107 Oxford Cr.
Lennoxville, Quebec, J1M 1Z7

My thesis supervisor is:

Professor Wallace Clement
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Carleton University, Ottawa
phone: 613-520-2600 ext. 8858

APPENDIX THREE (Continued)

PART B: Information Sheet for Participating Organizations

Title: There but for Fortune: Political Realities and Volunteer Philosophies in Shelter Provision

To: Representatives of Participating Shelter Organizations

My name is Mary Ellen Donnan. I am a Doctoral Candidate at Carleton University, Ottawa. I am conducting research on political policies and personal perspectives regarding rights to shelter for people in Canada. The “personal perspectives” portion of that research emphasizes motivations of people who supplement our current level of social services through unpaid voluntary labour. My research plan involves selection of four organizations which provide homelessness-relief. I intend to study two woman-abuse shelters and two shelters for other members of the homeless population. Most of my analysis will be on the perspectives of shelter volunteers and how their views compare or contrast with current political philosophies. I am seeking approval from your organization to interview people about volunteering at your shelter. Shelters are the best location for understanding the way some social policies are emphasizing racial and gender inequalities. I am analysing responses of governments and of volunteers to a shortage of affordable housing as a ‘bottom line’ indicator of their notions of government, community and individual responsibility for shelter provision. Almost all of the information I need involves volunteers rather than paid workers, unless paid workers choose to talk to me about extra time they donate above and beyond their paid work. Specific data that I need about services offered at the shelter, current sources of funding and demand for services could be obtained either from the shelter’s annual report or from a brief interview with an administrator.

Participating shelters could potentially benefit from the exchange of ideas that happens in the interview process. A shelter which chooses not to be anonymous could also benefit by having their profile raised by volunteers who talk about the importance of the shelter’s services. With or without specifying the shelters which participated in the research, my work will contribute to growing awareness of the need for improved government commitment to shelter

provision. There is minimal risk to participation although some volunteers may think more about the significance of their role in service provision as a consequence of participating in the study. My time demands on the shelter administration are expected to total an hour including discussing the possibility of the shelter's participation and asking a few questions about shelter services and funding.

It is the policy of Carleton University that all research conform to ethical standards for research. As part of this, researchers are required to obtain informed consent from those asked to participate in research studies. The purpose of this letter is to explain the purpose of my research, to provide you with an opportunity to decide the degree to which you wish to participate, and to protect your rights of consent and privacy.

Your organization is invited to participate in my research and I would appreciate any assistance you can offer me. As part of my research I would like to interview volunteers with your shelter but volunteers are under no obligation at all to be interviewed. I will also get the informed written consent of the individuals who volunteer to be interviewed. The interview questions will draw on their particular experiences and motivations. Individual responses will be treated with anonymity, regardless of the institutional-level decision to be anonymous or not. The duration of interviews will be approximately two hours depending on the length of a respondent's answers.

Translation will be offered for any volunteers who prefer to communicate in French. Interviews would be done at the convenience of volunteer's schedules and can be either in-person or on the telephone. Volunteers who require child care during the interview will be reimbursed for this expense. I would prefer to audio tape interviews (in person or by phone). Taping interviews would only be done with consent and could be turned off at any time. People who have been interviewed can also choose to withdraw information for six weeks after the interview has been conducted. When I store data during the time it takes for analysis and writing I will use a code system to identify it and will keep the material in my home office to protect your organization's privacy. The audio tapes will be destroyed after the data analysis and writing are complete.

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible. If you

have questions or wish to know more please phone or write me at:

Mary Ellen Donnan
305-107 Oxford Cres.
Lennoxville Quebec
J1M 2G3
819-823-8397
email: mdonnan@ubishops.ca

My thesis supervisor is:

Professor Wallace Clement
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Carleton University
Ottawa
613-520-2600 ext. 8858

APPENDIX THREE (Continued)

PART C: Consent Form For Individual Research Participants

Title: There but for Fortune... Political Realities and Volunteer Philosophies in Shelter Provision

Researcher: Mary Ellen Donnan

I have been informed about the research project on shelter volunteers and I,

signature of participant

freely consent to participate by being

interviewed. The benefits that I can expect from participation in the research include the opportunity to describe my volunteer work and my motivations for that work to an appreciative listener. I understand there is minimal risk to participation.

I have been promised anonymity which means the following four steps will be taken by the researcher to protect my rights during and after the interview: 1) information that would allow me to be identified will not be recorded or stored with the interview data. 2) Mary Ellen Donnan will be the only person that hears and transcribes these tapes, unless we are using a translator during the interview in which case that person will be obliged to follow the same Tri-Council guidelines that she does 3) After the interview audio tapes and transcriptions files will be stored with a coded number system to identify them, where no one else has access to them. 4) the audio tapes and any notes telling me how to contact the research subjects will be destroyed once my analysis and writing is complete.

I understand as I research participant I may request at any time during the interview that audio taping and the request will be accommodated immediately. I also may decline to answer any particular question & we will just go on to the next one, or I could end the interview before all my questions are asked.

Name: _____
(please print clearly)

Date:

Researcher's Name: Mary Ellen Donnan

Signature:

Date:

APPENDIX THREE (Continued)

PART D: Organization Consent Form

Title: There but for Fortune... Political Realities and Volunteer Philosophies in Shelter Provision

Researcher: Mary Ellen Donnan

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered. Risks to participating in this research are minimal, perhaps involving some increased awareness and contemplation about their roles on the part of the shelter volunteers who choose to participate. Benefits to the organization include: better public understanding of the role of volunteers in shelter provision, a sharing of ideas within the shelter regarding volunteers, the opportunity through my research for different shelters to compare their use of volunteers to other's and use this knowledge for their own program or policy development.

I understand that should I request anonymity for the organization I represent, that all identifying references to the organization will be avoided in the presentation of research findings and all data collected in reference to that organization will be stored where only the researcher can access that information. This promise of confidentiality extends to any information provided by shelter administrators as well as to the comments of volunteers who serve the shelter.

I understand that I am entitled (on behalf of the organization) to withdrawal of any information traceable to the organization for up to six weeks

after the interviews without reason.

- ☐ I have consulted with appropriate people and obtained necessary approvals for agreeing to participation in this study.
- ☐ On behalf of the shelter, I agree to take part in this research
- ☐ I consent to having the organization's name identified on the understanding that the views of volunteers at the shelter are presented as personal perspectives not necessarily representative of shelter policy.

Signed spokes person:

Name: _____
(please print clearly)

Researcher:

Name: Mary Ellen Donnan

Organization:
(please print clearly)

Date:

Date:

APPENDIX FOUR

REFLECTIONS ON ETHICAL REVIEW PROCEDURES AND QUALITATIVE RESEARCH PROCESSES

Maintaining good research ethics is of crucial importance for a continuing positive role for social scientists in research, policy development and generally using our knowledge for the betterment of society. In some ways we are still working towards developing effective research ethics procedures and regulations. Four suggestions arise from my research.

Suggestions One: Regulations need to be sensitive to the specific disciplines to which they are applied. Issues arising from racial distinction and ethnicity are important in my research and teaching. Social designations based on superficial bodily characteristics (of skin, hair and eyes) have historically been used in this country to build and maintain racial advantages and disadvantages (Henry et. al., 2000). As researchers the best ethical practice is not simply to stop creating racial stratification in our society, but to oppose those stratifications which already exist. For a sensitive researcher, ignoring differences of race and ethnicity removes the possibility of effective social criticism or anti-racist practice. Race matters because many social structures creating inequality and many prejudicial views continue to exist. The Tri-Council regulations I was required to follow prevented the collection and use of any personal information about my research subjects. This meant I could not situate my research subjects

according to patterns of racialized advantage and disadvantage and I could not analyse the relationships between their views on immigration and their personal backgrounds. We know from statistical research that recent immigrants and particularly members of visible minority groups are over-represented among the lowest income groups in Ottawa (K. Lee, 2000:38). Ethical restrictions upon my data collection meant I was unable to address even the basic question of whether any of the volunteers serving the poorest people of Ottawa as shelter volunteers were from the same ethnic groupings as those helped. In a multi-lingual and multi-ethnic city like Ottawa these social markers of identity are relevant information for understanding the nature of the community that is developing in the shelter sector.

Suggestion Two: The requirements that every interview must be confidential (unless the interview subject is a prominent public servant) are too sweeping. I used the written permission process consistently because it was required of me by Ethical Review Committees at Carleton and at Bishop's. I interviewed a number of people in senior positions at shelters who were eloquently vocal about their views on shelter funding and the other subjects we spoke about, and they expressed willingness to be cited and to have their comments publicized. The restrictions that blocked such publication were excessive. Furthermore the privacy requirements can create a chain of silence over data and documents that are readily available on the Internet, which also is excessive. For example, protecting anonymity of Family Shelter administrators and staff meant

withholding the actual name of the Family Shelter (even though it was a city facility and accountable to taxpayers). The Family Shelter is linked to particular Community Health and Recreation Centres but the Centres and their documents including web-site documents had to be kept confidential, because with release of knowledge about the CHRC, an astute observer could quickly trace the connections and identify the Family Shelter and its director whom I had interviewed. I am convinced that the anonymity was unnecessary in this case. Publicity about shelter volunteering might have had positive effects. Again it would be preferable if the Ethical Review Committee had taken into account the possibility of positive impacts of research alongside negative ones.

Suggestion Three: Insisting on written permission (as opposed to including recorded oral permissions) is also not always most appropriate. Shelters draw volunteers from greatly varying backgrounds and education levels. I used all of my own communications skills, and all available support from volunteer coordinators to help people feel comfortable and to create equal opportunities for all volunteers to participate as research subjects. The formality of a process that insists on written statements (in a context where multi-lingual translation services are not readily available and affordable) becomes a process which tends towards the exclusion of people of linguistic minorities and the least educated volunteers. Overall, we need some flexibility in ethical review processes as they are applied to sociological study with respect to: collection of personal data for

reasons which are critical of prejudice and with respect to consent processes that are prejudicial to the least advantaged research candidates.

Suggestion Four: There is a need for some form of recognition of ethics boards across jurisdictions. I had to go through exactly the same procedure twice in order to meet conditions of Carleton, where I was a Graduate Student and at Bishops' where I was teaching part-time and from whom I was seeking funds for presentation of a portion of my research.

APPENDIX FIVE

A SUMMARY OF THE OTTAWA TRANSITION BOARD'S VOLUNTARY SECTOR PROJECT REPORT

OBJET/SUBJECT Voluntary Sector Project Report:

*Volunteers... Vital, Vibrant, Invaluable - Defining the Role of the
Voluntary Sector in the New City of Ottawa*

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Ottawa Transition Board recommends that the new City of Ottawa implement the following recommendations:

1. Adopt the *Volunteer Involvement Through Access and Leadership Model* (VITAL Model) as its voluntary sector integration model.
2. Adopt the Voluntary Sector Project Team's proposed VISION, MISSION, AND VALUE STATEMENTS for the Voluntary Sector as guiding principles for the implementation and operation of the VITAL Model.
3. Develop an accord between the City of Ottawa and the Voluntary Sector to recognize and identify the roles and responsibilities of each in the creation of a strong community. For example, reflect the best practices at the global and national levels.
4. Adopt the "6 Principles for Involving Municipal Volunteers" listed below, as part of a Code of Ethics concerning the working relationships between municipal volunteers and paid employees.
 1. *Volunteers are not recruited to replace or displace paid employees.*
 2. *Volunteers and paid employees have distinct but complementary roles.*
 3. *Volunteer services and unions work collaboratively*
 4. *Volunteers do not work as part-time paid staff equivalents.*
 5. *Volunteers have dedicated support.*
 6. *Volunteers are not deployed to replace paid employees during labour disputes.*

APPENDIX FIVE (Continued)

5. Establish a protocol for the contracting of for-profit corporations in the operations of services involving volunteers.
6. Actively seek and consider voluntary sector groups / organizations as partners in the delivery of municipal services and programs.
7. When communicating with the voluntary sector, use language and definitions that reflect common understandings and promote inclusiveness.
8. Adopt the broad goals of the VITAL Model, to be achieved by the Year 2005.
9. As a measure of the effectiveness of the VITAL Model, develop metrics to record progress and the achievement of these broad goals over a 5-year period.
10. Ensure that senior manager's job descriptions include service goals directly related to the outcomes desired through the VITAL Model - and that senior management (SMT) performance be measured in part on achievement of these goals.
11. Work with the International Year of the Volunteer, 2001 Ottawa Committee in meeting the objectives outlined by the Leader's Forum.
12. Adopt the 3 levels of service requirements as defined in the VITAL Model.
13. The Voluntary Sector Advisory committee should not replace citizen participation and the role of Community Associations and other local advisory committees
14. Develop policies regarding volunteer roles that provide both consistency in safety and quality standards but also provide flexibility to respond to different programs, rural-urban settings.
15. Establish, through technology, a single point-of-access to link the sector to the municipality and to each other. Make the sector database accessible through the single point-of-access and provide interactive capability for groups to keep their information current.
16. Assign roles and responsibilities as defined in the VITAL Model, and that the staffing constructs of the 6 main municipal departments accommodate these roles and responsibilities.

APPENDIX FIVE (Continued)

17. Provide staff to oversee the implementation of the VITAL Model in year one of transition.
18. Create an Exchange Program between the City and the voluntary sector to exchange employees, and to share knowledge and experience.
19. Assign senior staff in each department to deal with issues between voluntary sector groups/ volunteers and city staff.
20. Develop a protocol to allocate space and equipment for community based agencies / organizations so that the overall level of in-kind support and other resources provided to these groups remains constant after amalgamation.
21. Provide funding to the voluntary sector, to ensure support programs and services that improve the quality of life for citizens are maintained.
22. Create distinct funding categories to prevent competition among groups with divergent missions, interests and capabilities. For example, review applications from sports groups separately from shelters for the homeless.
23. Allow flexibility in assisting new ideas and emerging programs proposed by voluntary sector groups by including a "self-help"/ seed envelope in departmental budgets.
24. Recognize partnerships, funding, and program efforts to ethnically diverse communities.
25. Determine the value of in-kind supports to the voluntary sector and the impact that closing/ selling of buildings will have on the sector.
26. Participate in and support the development of a cohesive voice in the local voluntary sector such as the "Council of Non-profits" and "Chamber of Charities" models.
27. Encourage the development and formation of umbrella groups where they don't exist, for example - one umbrella group to represent all horticultural groups.
28. Develop networking opportunities in the sector by various means which could include: through technology, annual meetings or conferences with voluntary sector organizations, and through the establishment of a storefront style resource centre.

APPENDIX FIVE (Continued)

29. Facilitate group insurance coverage to voluntary sector agencies in partnership with the City.

30. Develop ways to recognize the social services delivered by faith communities and the informal social support provided by cultural groups.

II. BACKGROUND/ ANALYSIS

The voluntary sector has gained wide recognition as one of three sectors, along with the public and private sectors, that contribute significantly to the social and economic health of the community. Volunteers are considered an integral part of municipal service delivery. In May 2000, The Ottawa Transition Board formed the Voluntary Sector Project Team, comprised of voluntary sector and municipal employees, **"to develop and launch a model that will enhance, support, integrate, and recognize the contribution of the voluntary sector in the new city of Ottawa"**. The proposed model leverages the strengths and opportunities identified among the twelve municipalities and in the voluntary sector at large. The model was further inspired by the context of a global citizen engagement movement and Canadian initiatives to strengthen the relationship between government and the voluntary sector. This project and the model developed are considered "integrated" because the vision, values, and service requirements have impacted on the work of other projects and will be incorporated throughout the municipal structure.

III. Situational Summary

1. The Ottawa region enjoys one of the highest volunteer rates in the country; 35% of people over 15 year of age volunteer.

2. More than 225,000 citizens contribute an average of 145 volunteer hours each year.

3. The local voluntary sector contributes more than \$571 million dollars worth of service to our economy annually.

4. Close to 6000 volunteers advise, support and deliver municipal and regional programs and services in our community; thousands of others volunteer to deliver programs and services supported by the municipalities.

APPENDIX FIVE (Continued)

5. Best practices in volunteer resource management drawn from the 12 municipalities are state of the art, innovative, and resourceful.

6. The federal government will invest \$95 million over the next five years in Voluntary Sector initiatives across Canada.

7. More than 2,000 local voluntary organizations and countless informal groups provide quality programs and services in all aspects of community life.

The present 12 municipal governments have an excellent track record working with the voluntary sector and involving volunteers. It is imperative that the new City maintains the current level of support and preserves well-functioning collaborative relationships with the voluntary sector. The new City cannot afford to risk losing the social equity that has been built up over many years. Moreover, it stands to gain immensely by enhancing its investment and strengthening its relationship with the voluntary sector.

The report synthesizes a wealth of information, concerns, needs, and ideas collected through consultations, surveys, and dialogue with more than 1000 representatives from the voluntary sector, over a period of 5 months. This invaluable input contributed to and supports the proposed integration model. These consultations served as a forum for the Voluntary Sector at large to identify issues and begin to give voice to a common agenda.

From the consultations, key themes were identified and built into the integration model:

- Leadership/Vision
- Partnerships in Service Delivery
- Planning, Research, and Governance
- One-point Access to City Services
- Citizen Engagement
- Support to the Voluntary Sector
- Recognition
- Diversity

APPENDIX FIVE (Continued)

The recommended integration model is referred to as the **Volunteer Involvement Through Access and Leadership (VITAL) Model**. VITAL is descriptive of the model's conceptual underpinnings and promotes the essentialness and value of volunteers. Broad goals for the VITAL Model are summarized as follows:

1. Establish the New City as a Flagship community for voluntary action.
2. Protect and help increase voluntary action in the New City.
3. Demonstrate the benefits of collaboration through a tri-sector approach (private, public and voluntary).
4. Overcome barriers that inhibit opportunities for citizens to become volunteers.
5. Raise awareness of the value and importance of the sector.
6. Promote and encourage the sector.

The VITAL Model provides for **leadership, influence, access, and profile** at three levels within the new City structure.

1. **The Political Level** through the Voluntary Sector Advisory Committee reporting to the appropriate Committees of Council
2. **The Senior Management Level** through the Voluntary Sector Secretariat within Corporate Services. The Secretariat will champion and co-ordinate voluntary action, as well as serve the needs of the 6 departments and the voluntary sector at large.
3. **The Departmental Level** through programs and services delivered within each of the 6 departments.
The report does not project FTEs, but does propose roles and responsibilities required to fulfill service requirements. Senior Management accommodates these functions within their departments and ensures that staff resources are sufficient to support the work required. There are three service requirements that need to be provided at each level:
 1. **Municipal Volunteer Services:** Development of tools and resources for the management of city programs that involve volunteers

APPENDIX FIVE (Continued)

2. Voluntary Sector Support and Recognition: Voluntary sector organizations will be recognized and supported for providing services to the community through financial and in kind services from the new City; and

3. Research, Planning and Development: Current research on profile, trends and issues will be carried out collaboratively to provide the foundation on building community capacity.

It is critical that sufficient staffing and resources are made available to sustain and support the current level of volunteerism within the municipality, and also to maintain and develop relationships with the voluntary sector at large. A detailed Implementation Plan outlines immediate, short-term, and long-term action plans to be carried out by the new City of Ottawa in collaboration with the voluntary sector. The Voluntary Sector Project Team will undertake the following tasks in the final phase of its work: 1. International Year of the Volunteer - assist in hosting the launch at 111 Lisgar on December 5, 2000 with local IYV Steering Committee.

2. Database - continue to develop with input from Corporate Services and the voluntary sector.

3. Implementation Teams - provide departmental implementation teams with support.

4. Identify key contacts for voluntary sector organizations to advise them as to which department/program they will access financial, facility, or in-kind support.

5. Report to the voluntary sector - publicize this report and the status of the Ottawa Transition Board's acceptance.

The Voluntary Sector Project Team is the only one of its kind among municipal restructuring projects across the country. Project Team legacies will include:

- The networking and exchange of ideas among representatives from the voluntary sector as a whole was much broader in scope than that which takes place in current active networks that meet around common issues, interest, or clients groups.

APPENDIX FIVE (Continued)

- An extensive collection of research, resources, and best practices from existing municipalities and the voluntary sector at large, will form the basis of a central resource bank.

- Responses to the Voluntary Sector Survey will serve as the genesis of a database of voluntary sector organizations.

Finally, by demonstrating the enormous value of the local voluntary sector, the Voluntary Sector Project Team has raised the profile of the sector, and strengthened its position as one of the three sectors - public, private and voluntary - that are essential to the social and economic health of the community.

* Source: Ottawa Transition Board, File 1300, October 25, 2000.

APPENDIX SIX

OUR VISION FOR THE CITY OF OTTAWA SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL OF OTTAWA-CARLETON*

We are a group of citizens who care deeply about the welfare of all members of Ottawa-Carleton. We envision a new City in which all citizens have the capacity to work together to manage, develop and use the wide range of opportunities, responsive services, and resources within their communities for a safe, just and healthy life for all. We believe that municipal government is one of the means by which we achieve our vision of community. We want our new municipal government to maintain Ottawa's reputation as a primary choice in which to live and work, by:

Being a leader in social and economic policy and services that serve the whole person and the whole community. The new City recognizes that investment in Ottawa's primary resources, its people, will yield dividends in attracting and retaining business, tourists and newcomers. Just as too little investment in our physical infrastructures may mean crumbling roads and bridges, falling investments in our social infrastructure can result in unemployment, family breakdown, community problems, and poverty.

Valuing our neighbourhoods as places that ensure the safety of all children and families, where the well-being of all women and men comes first, and where all citizens can thrive in an atmosphere of love, care and understanding. In the new City, children and youth are valued as individuals in childhood and given opportunities to reach their full potential as adults. Recognizing that in community, some members need more support than others. The new city **enables citizens to be self-supporting** and **provides collective support** for those who are unable to support themselves.

Empowering all citizens by providing opportunities and resources to develop their physical, emotional, intellectual, social and spiritual capacities to their fullest, so that all can become successful and enthusiastic parents, caregivers, workers, neighbours and citizens.

Recognizing the unique contributions, strengths and need of each member of the community, and setting policies and structures that recognize and promote bilingualism, equity, diversity and accessibility.

Being accountable to all citizens. The new City seeks out and uses current information on best practices in all sectors, monitors the quality of service and service outcomes, and uses cost-effective approaches that recognize and assess both the economic and social well-being of our new city.

APPENDIX SIX (Continued)

Implementing structures that enable each sector to participate and contribute meaningfully to the governance process. The new City promotes collaboration, cooperation, and partnership among all sectors as the best ways of building and maintaining services.

This vision was created by a coalition of agencies that include Big Sisters, Catholic Family Services, Child & Youth Friendly Ottawa, and the United Way. It has been formally endorsed by the boards of Access Committee, Big Brothers, Child Poverty Action Group, Children's Aid Society, Coalition of Community Health and Resource Centres, Council of Women, The Door, Family Service Centre, Jewish Family Services, OCISO, Parent Resource Centre, Social Planning Council, Young People's Perspective, and Youth Services Bureau.

* Source: Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton, 1999
http://www.spcottawa.on.ca/e_vision.htm

APPENDIX SEVEN

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMUNITY ACTION PLAN TO PREVENT AND END HOMELESSNESS (Updated to June 2001)*

1. That the City establish a responsibility centre to facilitate the coordination and integration of services related to homelessness in Ottawa-Carleton.
2. That the City request the Federal and Provincial governments to retain overall accountability for homelessness and the development of affordable housing.
3. That the City request that the federal and Provincial governments increase support services and access to housing for newcomers to Canada including assistance to refugee claimants to access housing.
4. That the City continue to advocate for renewed Federal and Provincial funding for sufficient social and supportive housing and for support services.
5. That the City assess the advantages of delivering housing programs directly and assisting local housing groups to access funds from Provincial Ministries.
6. That the City create a Task Force on public/private partnerships to encourage the private sector to take a more active role with homelessness and increase the stock of affordable housing.
7. That the City encourage more use of social housing units by persons who are homeless.
8. That the Region (City) assess the use of publicly-owned land and regulatory measures as ways to promote the development of affordable housing. Regional Council disposition of 14 July 1999 amended the Community Action Plan to Read:

“That the Region prepare a report to establish a “housing first” property policy for surplus property by the end of September 1999; Further that Regional Housing, Social Services and Property Service staff be directed to prepare an inventory of regionally-owned property that is surplus to RMOC needs and that could be used for affordable rental housing; Further that this inventory include criteria under which the Region would sell such parcels for one dollar to non-profit housing providers.”
9. That the City explore the feasibility of providing capital grants to facilitate construction of affordable housing through demonstration projects.

APPENDIX SEVEN (Continued)

10. That the City request that the Province of Ontario raise the amount of the shelter allowance under the Ontario Works Act to reflect actual housing costs. Amended by Council to read:

That the City request that the Province of Ontario raise the amount of the shelter allowance under the Ontario Works Act and the Ontario Disability Support Plan to reflect actual market housing costs.

11. That the City promote the wider use of Direct Payments and Trusteeship Agreements where there is an inability of Ontario Works (OW) and Ontario Disability Support Program (ODSP) participants to manage finances.

12. That the City request that the Province of Ontario enhance the Ontario Disability Support Program automated system so that direct payments can be made for accommodation costs by early 2000.

13. That the City streamline and broaden the use and acceptance of the *Letter of Last Month's Rent Guarantee* to enable homeless people to more readily secure accommodation on the private housing market. Regional Council disposition of Nov 10, 1999 amended the Community Action Plan to include:

That the City work with the Centre for Equality Rights in Accommodation, the housing sector and private landlords to develop a "Code of Fair and Equitable Tenant Selection" to deal with barriers to accessing rental accommodation faced by low-income families.

14. That the City reallocate up to 14% of emergency hostel funding for innovative approaches to service delivery.

15. That the City fund a community agency to administer a Rent Bank to prevent individuals and families from becoming homeless.

16. That the City petition the Province to restore cost-sharing for day programs to levels in existence prior to the removal of funding in 1995.

17. That the City request that the Ministry of Health and other stakeholders provide funding to increase the community's capacity to provide convalescent, palliative and long-term care for people who are homeless or at risk of being homeless.

APPENDIX SEVEN (Continued)

18. That the City request that the Ministry of Health and other stakeholders provide funding to increase the community's capacity to provide a full range of addiction services.

19. That the City facilitate the development of an inter-agency/hospital network for services to persons who are homeless or at risk of becoming homeless.

20. That the City work with community stakeholders to review the requirements for a coordinated approach to providing community support services (including case management, health services, outreach, and rapid response services).

21. That the City facilitate the development of a partnership between the Community Care Access Centre and community agencies in order to coordinate and improve service delivery, including outreach to homeless people and those at risk of becoming homeless.

22. That the City recognize and address the special needs of people with physical disabilities and Acquired Brain Injury as it implements the Action Plan on Homelessness.

* Source: Potter, J. 2001: Department of Housing, City of Ottawa

APPENDIX EIGHT (Continued)

In the Medium Term, it is recommended that:

8. The Director of Finance assess the recommendations of the Mayor's Task Force regarding property tax to determining the impact of:

- Extending eligibility for the new rental multi-residential tax class from 8 years to 35 years;
- Establishing parity between the multi-residential tax class and the residential tax class, in the context of the Task Force on Property Assessment and Property Tax Issues;
- To report on the findings of this assessment to the Corporate Services and Economic Development Committee.

9. The Director of Finance assess the recommendation of the Mayor's Task Force to enable Development Charge exemptions outside of the Capital Facilities By-Law and, if supported, work with AMO and other municipalities to seek changes to the Development Charges Act.

10. The General Manager of Development Services consider the Affordable Housing Strategy and the Mayor's Task Force in the development of the new Official Plan and include policies on the following:

- "Housing First" policy for surplus municipal land;
- Alternative development standards for multi-residential development including provisions for reducing parking standards in areas serviced by public transit;
- Policies to support the creation of affordable rental units through conversion of non-residential space, adaptive re-use and intensification;
- Restrictions on rental conversions where the vacancy rate is under 3%;
- Policies to protect affordable and special needs housing;
- Policies that require affordable housing in large-scale developments

11. The General Manager of Development Services consider the following recommendations of the Mayor's Task Force, in addition to policy implications arising from the preceding recommendation (#11), as part of the next Comprehensive Zoning By-Law review:

APPENDIX EIGHT (Continued)

- Permit secondary suites, as of right, in single and semi-detached houses throughout the City;
- Reduce or eliminated parking requirements for affordable housing developments at or near transit stations and at other practical locations;
- Establishing zoning by-law provisions which encourage the development of affordable housing.

12. The Housing Branch work with Development Services to:

- Complete a comprehensive municipal housing statement update to fully document the local housing market and establish policy approaches to respond to different types of housing need;
- Create an information service within the City of Ottawa to coordinate and provide information on funding for affordable housing and to work with other levels of government and mortgage lenders to consolidate funding and financing sources;
- Establish targets for rental housing and monitor affordable housing stock activity, including construction, conversion and demolition.

13. The General Manager of Development Services identify opportunities for streamlining approvals and define a process whereby applications for affordable housing are given priority.

14. Real Property and Asset Management, Development Services and the Housing Branch continue to actively pursue surplus properties owned by the federal and provincial governments for use in creating affordable housing.

15. The Housing Branch work with Development Services to develop an incentive program to encourage homeowners to add secondary suites.

16. The Housing Branch review options for establishing a limited Rental Housing Acquisition Program.

17. The Housing Branch advocate with the federal government for expansion of the Rental RRAP program and explore options to assume a delivery role for this program.

18. The Housing Branch develop program guidelines to re-activate the Innovative Housing Loan Fund.

APPENDIX EIGHT (Continued)

In the Long Term, it is recommended that:

19. The Housing Branch work with local non-profit housing corporations to support the viability of the existing stock and to explore opportunities to maximize existing social housing assets to leverage new housing development.

20. The Housing Branch fund or undertake research to explore new municipal innovations which lead to greater afford ability in housing.

21. The Housing Branch build community capacity to create affordable housing through research, education and information sharing.

22. The Housing Branch review municipal services to determine whether possibilities exist to address housing afford ability issues through mechanisms such as grants, loans, support funding or program funding.

* Source: Housing Branch: City of Ottawa, 2001. No.: ACS 2002-PEO-HOU-0001

APPENDIX NINE

CITY OF OTTAWA CONSULTATIONS RELATED TO AFFORDABLE HOUSING AND SHELTER, 2001-2002

In Ottawa Councillors and senior staff frequently take a consultative approach to problem-solving. Including citizen-input in decision making processes is a standardized procedure for both the city council and the administration. Characteristics are:

A. Inclusive

Consultation deliberately includes those who will experience the outcome of decisions on the particular issue as well as those likely to have relevant expertise.

- in preparation of the Community Action Plan on Homelessness (which continues to guide Ottawa's response to the crisis) staff of the (former) Rural Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton consulted with homelessness service providers. In implementing the plan, city staff "has consulted frequently with the homelessness service providers and the general community" (Potter, 2002, "Emergency Shelters Status and Strategy, "Community and City Response").
- Policies of Ottawa in 2001-2002 are deliberately inclusive. This is evidenced in: support for people of low income, in the housing department

objectives, in attention to newcomers, shelter goals, and support for innovative approaches to helping the homeless.

- The Housing Department of the city administration specifies their attention to low-income city residents. Housing Department statement of objectives items two through four are as follows:

2) To administer, in an efficient and cost-effective way, existing social housing for low and moderate income households and those with special needs 3) to provide emergency shelter or long-term hostel services to meet the needs of disadvantaged residents. 4) To manage an integrated service system for the homeless which focuses on long-term solutions and prevention, as well as immediate needs. (Ottawa, 2002 Draft Operating Estimates, P. 280).
- HRSSC, December 2001 meeting: The committee approved a policy where by fees were reduced allowing people who would not otherwise be able to participate in recreational and cultural activities would have the opportunity to do so. The program priority was for children and youth under the age of eighteen. The approved fee assistance policy states: “Any individual who is a resident of Ottawa will have a fair and equitable access to Recreation and Culture programming regardless of their ability to pay” (HRSSC 2001 Minutes 16 item 6). Ottawa is committed to the well-being of all Ottawa residents including their needs (especially those of the youth) for cultural and recreational stimulation.
- The Emergency Shelter Status and Strategy report of September 2001

states the Housing Branch's shelter goal to: "ensure there is no need for **anyone** to be on the streets of Ottawa overnight during this coming winter".

- It is also stated that shelters are seen as a temporary strategy and affordable housing is the long term solution.
- The city had consulted widely in preparation of the Emergency Shelter Status and Strategy report. They learned from NGO's that sheltering couples and 'disruptive types' were a problem for the existing shelter programs, so the Winter 2001-2002 strategy included an overflow shelter run by Shepherds of Good hope for 'hard-to-serve' men, women and couples.
- The Emergency Shelter Status and Strategy report also singled out two other groups with particular needs in order to ensure these needs are met. I refer to women and children fleeing abuse and large newcomer families. Sorenson notes of the 30 families that have been assessed as victims of abuse:

This population requires extra security and specialized services if they are going to stabilize their situations and move into appropriate housing. They family shelters do as much as possible to address these needs but the actual shelter facilities are not the most appropriate for these women and children (2001, "Families").

- City research noted that only 4 per cent of the units of social housing stock have four of five bedrooms, but 14 per cent of the households on the waiting list need four bedrooms or more (Potter, 2001, Family Homelessness: CFB Rockcliffe “consultation”). Funds were allocated to the Mennonite Church to assist them in providing housing units and additional supports for three large newcomer families (Sorenson, 2001, “Families”). Catholic Immigration Services were being encouraged by city staff to arrange for housing for more newcomer families in order to get them out of hotel rooms (HRSSC, 2001. Minutes 11, ; Potter, 2001. Homeless Initiatives Funding Report).
- An internal memo from November of 2001 is useful in making explicit the city’s understanding of disadvantage. The memo from the General Manager of People Services Department to the Chair of the HRSSC informs the chair that a representative from HRSSC is required for participation on the Community Project Grant allocations committee. The memo’s “Proposed Allocations Committee Membership” section reveals an understanding of the importance of difference and diversity when it specifies:

The membership should reflect the geographic, gender, ethnic diversity and general composition of the Ottawa population and be selected as well for their grass roots knowledge and expertise in their areas. This knowledge and expertise of community issues and challenges affecting people in their everyday lives are critical for relevant, in depth and well informed review and discussion of grant proposals submitted (Stewart, 2001. Memo:

request for a representative of HRSSC on 2002 Community Project Grants Allocation Committee).

Stewart's guidelines continue with a reminder that some of the committee members must be able to read, understand and discuss proposals in French. The guidelines suggest a desire to distribute the Community Project Grants in ways which include many sectors of the Ottawa population and which respond to challenges experienced by specific groups.

- The suggestion of concern for diversity is amplified to directives for supporting disadvantaged Ottawa residents in priorities approved by HRSSC and City Council for the 2002 Community Project Grants Process. This itemization of social service priorities indicates the city's commitment to inclusivity and demonstrates concern about various forms of social disadvantage. Priorities for Social Services Grants are listed as follows:
 - Contribute to the coordination of activities and development of partnerships to facilitate the **integration of disadvantaged groups in the community work force** and promote self-reliance (e.g. initial development of a community economic development initiative, food security initiatives, employment related mentorship, etc.)
 - Support groups and individuals to participate in community activities (e.g. **stabilization of personal and family issues**, life

skills, social skills, work skills assessment/development, transition to work force, **introduction of newcomers** to the local work environment, services that enhance access to opportunities and **resources for disadvantaged groups**).

•Build and enhance services for **ethnic and racial minorities and aboriginal groups**. These include initiatives that provide essential intervention to facilitate the integration of these groups within our community. For example, **ethno-specific activities that aim to build knowledge and self confidence**, ethno-specific or mainstream organizational activities that promote community integration and access to available services (Stewart, Memo request for a representative of HRSSC on 2002 Community Project Grants Allocation Committee emphasis added).

- Some of the programs supported under Homelessness Initiatives funding allocated by committees similar in composition to the Community Project Grants Committee served clients not likely to be described as the “deserving poor” under Ontario’s skewed moral compass. These include in 2001 the necessary funds for: thirteen bachelor units for homeless male ex-offenders; six rooms for female ex-offenders, two rooms for female ex-offenders with children; twenty-four beds in Pinganodin Lodge for single

homeless aboriginal men with addictions; twelve bedrooms at the Mission for single homeless with addictions; addiction programs for fifteen day-participants; and housing supports under City Living for people with mental health problems (Potter, 2001 Homelessness Initiatives Funding).

- Innovative programs supported under the community program grants help people who are very much in need and particularly prone to being neglected. For example, there are harm reduction programs which take a starting point of recognizing that not every addict wants to quit. Some people cope with the pain of their lives only through chemically-assisted escapes and harm reduction programs help prevent them from causing more damage to themselves than what they have already endured. Another, the SITE program, prevents the spread of HIV among addicts and keeps Ottawa streets safer by exchanging clean needles for used ones. These two programs consume only a very small portion of the funds that flow through People Services, but they are on the 'radical' edge of social services in Canada, because their clientele are especially needy and troubled people who may never lead 'productive' lives.

B. Continued consultation over time

- Although they were originally consulted and their views were included in the city planning, service providers and homeless people continue to be consulted at every step of the way as Ottawa struggled to cope with the

crisis in housing. Allocation of funds in support of services to the homeless offers examples of this policy. In the spring of 2001, before making a recommendation to the HRSSC on the per-diem funding for sheltering organization, the housing department consulted extensively with management of all the emergency shelters, the YM/YWCA and Catholic Immigration Services (Reception House) (Potter, 2001 Per-diem Funding for Emergency Shelters).

- Each time new funds are to be distributed for homelessness initiative, the selection committee for allocation of homelessness funding consists of: two regional councillors, two homeless people, two members of the Alliance to End Homelessness, a representative of the private sector, representatives of the federal and provincial funders, and City staff (Potter, 2001, Homelessness Initiatives Funding, "Background to Homelessness Initiatives Funding in Ottawa").

C. Consultative processes are frequent and inclusive as the city takes over management of affordable housing. Ottawa was designated as service manager for affordable housing in the region as the province prepared to down-load its remaining affordable housing programs. Several stages of the transfer of responsibilities happened between 2000 and 2002 in preparation for their new housing role, the city made extensive consultations. The affordable housing consultations are summarized in the following table:

HOUSING STAFF CONSULTATIONS RE. SOCIAL HOUSING TRANSFER

Name (consulted)	composition	purpose of organization	duration	other
Social Housing Working Group	staff and tenant representatives of the public, non-profit and co-operative housing, the registry, regional councillors, staff	created by former regional council to provide advice and guidance on social housing devolution	1998-2000(new city)	
Ottawa Social Housing Providers Network	a cross-section of providers, sector representatives and housing advocacy agencies		2000 -	staff consulted with them since dissolution of Social Housing Working Group
Housing Stakeholder Advisory Group (HSAG)	cross-section of interested parties including representatives from housing providers, sector organizations, community groups and tenants/coop members	key vehicle for consultations during the social housing transfer process - members discuss emerging issues and provide input in decision-making across a wide range of housing related issues	Set up in Fall 2001 they meet monthly	Stewart specifies that review of waiting list management, eligibility rules, tenant selection, municipal standards includes consultations with these community stakeholders
Development Action Group	a sub-committee of the Mayor's Task Force On Public/Private Partnerships for Affordable Housing	one of three sub-committee created by task force members to divide their responsibilities	2001	consulted in development of the city's Affordable Housing Strategy

Social Housing Supply Group	a representative body of non-profit housing developers involved in producing affordable housing			reviewed recommendations of the Affordable Housing Strategy
Cooperative Housing Association of Eastern Ontario (CHASEO)	regional			consulted over Ottawa Housing/City Living strategic directions
Ottawa Housing (municipal non-profit provider of affordable housing)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •board of directors •management •staff •tenants 	administers units developed under public housing program or operated under rent supplement program	in operation before municipal amalgamation transferred to municipal responsibility effective April 1, 2002	each group (column 2) consulted over Ottawa Housing/City Living strategic directions
Ottawa City Living (non-profit provider of affordable housing)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •board of directors •management •staff •tenants 	administers units developed under 10 different federal/provincial programs	in operation before municipal amalgamation transferred to municipal responsibility effective April 1, 2002	each group consulted over Ottawa Housing/City Living strategic directions

Ontario Regions Social Housing Group (ORSHG)	created by regional Chief Administrative Officers to advise on the devolution of housing responsibilities to Ontario municipalities and on other emerging housing related issues			Ottawa city administrators participated in this group while developing city positions on proposed federal housing program; city endorsed ORSHG principles
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Sources: Foulds, 2002, Social Housing Devolution; Potter, 2001, City of Ottawa Position on Proposed Federal Housing Program; Potter 2001, Ottawa Housing/City Living: Strategic Directions Study; Potter, 2002 Affordable Housing Strategy.)

- These were comprehensive consultations. The consultations with Ottawa Housing and Ottawa City Living were for a report which the HRSSC directed the city to produce. As Ottawa took over as affordable housing authority, the city faced a difficult decision whether or not to merge Ottawa Housing and Ottawa City Living (HRSSC Minutes 14, item 4; Potter, 2001, Ottawa Housing/ City Living Strategic Directions Study).

D. Different types of consultation strategies are employed

- The consultation processes in preparation of the Ottawa Housing and Ottawa City Living merger report included:

Briefing sessions with the Board of Directors for each organization, focus group sessions with Senior Management teams for each organization; Group sessions with staff for each

organization; Tenant representatives from associations for each organization; Group session with the Steering Committee of the Social Housing Providers Network, and ongoing communications with City staff from the Housing Branch (Potter, 2001, Ottawa Housing/ City Living Strategic Directions Study, "Consultation").

- In addition to these consultation in the preparation of city reports on the social housing devolution, individuals and organizations could make five-minute presentations to the HRSSC each time any relevant sub-topic about the devolution appeared on the council committee agenda.
- A formal evaluation in 2002 of the Homelessness Action Plan's implementation gathered input from stakeholders through the following five processes:
 - seven focus groups with clients who represent various categories of service needs;
 - a focus group with the Steering Committee;
 - approximately eighteen interviews with "key informants" including a municipal politician and local experts in all aspects of service provision and evaluation;
 - approximately 60 interviews with managers and front-line workers at organizations receiving homelessness funding through the Housing Branch;
 - a large consultation in May, during which stakeholders who provided input to the evaluation, and others, may provide feedback to the consultants on their draft report (Stewart, 2002, "Interim Report on Homelessness Action Plan 2002")

A steering committee which supervised the entire project includes provincial and federal government representatives (from Human Resources Development Canada and Provincial Ministry of Community and Social Services) plus

community members from the Alliance to end Homelessness, the University of Ottawa's Centre for Research on Community Services and city staff. When it comes to consultation it seems the city of Ottawa spare no efforts. It is particularly notable that those most affected by the Action Plan strategies: clients and front-line workers, are consulted with extensively.

- Winter 2002, People Services Department evaluation on the supply of recreation, arts, heritage, child care and library facilities across the city
- department's initial analysis of the needs and tentative construction of a list of priorities,
- five meetings for public consultation. Four of the meetings were conducted in English and one in French. They were held in four different sectors. In total one hundred thirty one people participated and their input (constituting four and a half pages) is included in a report to the HRSSC on the facility needs study (Stewart, 2002, Summary of Facility Needs Study- Public Information Sessions).
- There was a concerted effort to get citizens involved by providing them opportunities to express their concerns and their desires for People Services facilities.

E. Committees

Through its standing committees, council provides many opportunities for input from citizens.

- Agendas of committee meetings are advertised in newspapers and posted on the city's Internet web-site in advance of meetings.
- Minutes of previous meetings are also posted.
- Council policy says any delegations who wish to speak to a by-law are permitted to do so and there are many examples in the minutes of issues on which numerous presenters (both representatives of community organizations and individuals) speak before the committee¹.
(After the amalgamation of twelve-municipalities into one regional government, the city² expressed concerns that municipal government was now further-removed from constituents and strategized how to overcome that obstacle to citizen participation. Advisory committees were created to fulfill this function.

The city created sixteen advisory committees (PIAC 2001 Minutes 3, item

¹ On the issue of the need for higher basic income and shelter allowances HRSSC heard from 10 community groups and four social-assistance recipients (HRSSC 2002, Minutes 18 Items 5, 6). On age-mixed housing the committee heard from 8 community and service organizations and twenty residents of affordable housing units (HRSSC 2002, Minutes 15 item 8).

² This comment came from councillor Doucet in a March 2002 meeting of the HRSSC, but it echoed earlier comments by Mayor Chiarelli to an Ottawa Citizen Reporter. He was asked to comment on the council's quick renovation of a 5 standing-committee structure recommended by the transition board. Chiarelli described the increase of council committees from 5 to 8 and the addition of the advisory committees as "democratizing government much more so than the transition board was prepared to do (HRSSC 2002, Minutes 20, other business item 2; Wheeler, 2001b).

Eight advisory committees report to the HRSSC. The two most relevant to contending with homelessness and affordable housing are a Poverty Issues Advisory Committee (PIAC) and a Health and Social Services Advisory Committee (HSSAC). Each of these advisory committees consist of sixteen community members who expressed an interest in issues of poverty, health and social services. Each committee also has two chair-persons, plus a non-voting city councillor who liases between the Heath Recreation and Social Services Committee and the advisory committee he or she sits on. Coordination of advisory council work such as posting and distribution of agendas and providing advisory committee members with copies of all reports as they go to the HRSSC is done by a city staff person.