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See: [www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca](http://www.NeighbourhoodChange.ca)

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## CHAPTER 1

# Postcards from West Broadway

### Welcome to West Broadway

West Broadway is an older, centrally located neighbourhood in Winnipeg, Canada. It is an area with a compelling and difficult story and history. Its growth over the last 50 years is marked by periods of hope, struggle and uncertainty over its future. In telling West Broadway's story, we draw from stakeholders who reflect on decades of personal experience. As well, we delve into the neighbourhood's history using an archive of visual and written documents. All told, these sources help reveal the reality of neighbourhood change in a diverse community located in the heart of Winnipeg's inner city.

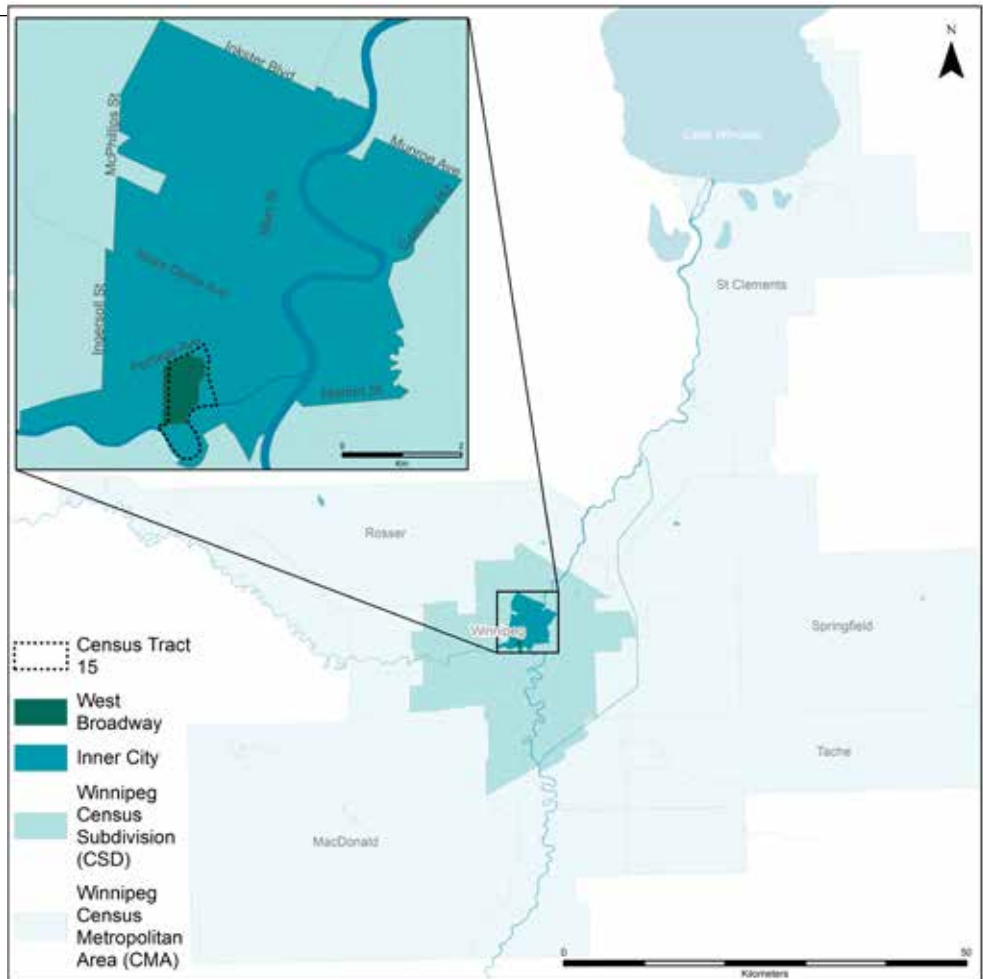
Ultimately, our goal is to examine neighbourhood change and income inequality through the experiences of West Broadway. In the following sections, we describe the path taken and the processes by which we examine a unique neighbourhood that has been at the centre of one

Postcard of Ralph Connor's Church, known as Elim Chapel today. Post marked 1907.

the most dynamics periods of urban change in Winnipeg (1970–2020). For West Broadway, this period is characterized not only by deepening poverty but also extensive resiliency and community actions that resulted in the complex interplay of income inequality, urban revitalization, community development and possibly gentrification.

**map 1**

Throughout this book we discuss demographic and economic indicators at several different geographic levels. The West Broadway neighbourhood boundaries were defined following the amalgamation of the City of Winnipeg in the early 1970s. The Inner City was first defined by the Core Area Initiative; however, its current boundaries were set out in the 1981 Winnipeg Characterization Atlas. Census Subdivisions (CSDs) are created by Statistics Canada and correspond to municipalities or areas of equivalent statistical significance. CSDs are made up of smaller census units called Dissemination Areas (DAs). Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) are created by Statistics Canada and represent one or more municipalities clustered around a 'core' with a total population of at least 100,000. The Winnipeg CMA includes the municipalities of Rosser, West St. Paul, St. Clements, Brokenhead, East St. Paul, Springfield, Taché, Richot, MacDonald, Headingly, St. François Xavier, and Winnipeg. CMAs are made up of smaller areas known as Census Tracts (CTs). Census Tract 15 includes West Broadway and Armstrong's Point.



## Why Neighbourhoods Matter

In any Canadian city you will find a range of neighbourhoods, each with a unique set of defining characteristics that set them apart. This includes neighbourhoods thriving and growing, with new families and a range of amenities that contribute to positive changes. At the same time, there are neighbourhoods displaying varying levels of decline, ranging from the initial stages of blight, where there is peeling paint and broken fences, to the more pervasive symptoms of widespread abandonment such as increased crime, depopulation and the loss of retail and other amenities.

Despite all the challenges and defects, there are neighbourhoods we hold close to our hearts regardless of perception. These are the places that inspire us with architectural beauty and stories of the unique characters, places, and events that define them over time. Such neighbourhoods provoke intangible feelings that we can't quite describe but are felt and experienced with each visit or memory. All told, neighbourhoods offer a bundle of spatially

Defining the very term neighbourhood is fraught with complexity and often conjures mixed views that attempt to impose boundaries (physical, political, or even emotional). Suzanne Keller's 1968 definition still captures much of this complexity. For Keller and many others, neighbourhoods are best known as being self-defined in terms of their "boundaries and well-established traditions" or "fluid, vaguely defined subparts of a town or city whose boundaries are only vaguely apparent and differently perceived by its inhabitants."

entangled attributes which together shape and define places, making them home for generations (Galster, 2001).

The elements that contribute to a deepening sense of place also promote neighbourhood stability. A neighbourhood is where we feel a profound attachment to home. Geographers have written extensively about this within the context of territoriality. Territoriality results in a protectionist view by neighbourhood residents to defend places from unwanted change. This helps explain why some neighbourhoods exhibit resiliency in the face of decline. The protectionist attitude of residents contributes to overall stability and character while maintaining the fabric and texture of place (Duncan and Duncan, 2001; Sack, 1983). But territoriality can become "protectionism," reinforcing and strengthening exclusion by limiting or restricting access to the community through high prices or by fending off new developments that might change the socio-economic mix.

Due to their proximity to the downtown, "shoulder neighbourhoods" like West Broadway are often places where the visibility of urban decline is more obvious, both to area residents and to those passing through. This high visibility can heighten the perceptions of decline or link the challenges of the downtown into nearby residential areas. Increased uncertainty about a neighbourhood's future can also impact the overall confidence in the area among residents and the wider public. However, it is in these same neighbourhoods where rejuvenation efforts can help counteract lowered confidence among residents and outsiders (Perkins & Long, 2002; Varady, 1986). Ultimately, older neighbourhoods struggle with the opposing forces of urban decline and renewal, which tend to sway back and forth, greatly impacting optimism, confidence, and certainty regarding the future. This has very much been the case for West Broadway, especially over the period of 1970 – 2020, which has been marked by many ebbs and flows of activities.

## Towards a West Broadway Story: Methods, Lenses and Questions

Academics often frame the discourse around the concept of neighbourhood change within a theoretical lens to better explain the complex processes associated with such evolution. However, equally powerful is the lens of storytelling. The stories told by residents who experienced change within a neighbourhood can resonate to project a view that can be honest, exaggerated, or even faded over the decades. There is bias in any story, and even our story of West Broadway inevitably leaves out other views of the neighbourhood, and how neighbourhood change impacts various groups. We acknowledge our approach to this research presents an inherently limited perspective, largely filtered through a middle-class view of neighbourhood change. Yet, regardless of the challenges related to accuracy and bias when drawing on memories, stories present a potent testament to the power of place and the attachment we have to our neighbourhoods and homes.

To tell the story of West Broadway, we augment interview narratives with data and other writings, set primarily within a framework of 50 years of neighbourhood change informed by theory, community practice, and observation. Our framework builds on the concept of *Neighbourhood Collective Agency*, defined as "the desire of residents to use their capacity to work collectively to improve daily life while promoting social justice" (Carrière & Paradis, 2016). We use this concept as a lens through which to examine West Broadway's unique sense

**The Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership is a seven-year study of socio-spatial income inequality in Canadian cities and is funded by a \$2.5 million Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Partnership Grant. The goal is to compare six Canadian cities with one another and with comparable American and European cities to learn how inequality is aggravated or lessened by the local economy, geography, history, public policies, and social structures within each urban region. An important part of this research is to identify policies and programs that reduce the negative effects of inequality. See: <http://neighbourhoodchange.ca/>**

of resiliency in the face of seemingly insurmountable challenge. It is important to note that this project, as well as the work from Carrière and Paradis, is part of the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership, a large study of neighbourhood change in Canada that examines inequality, diversity, and change at the neighbourhood level in metropolitan areas over the period of 1970–2016.

We also position our understanding of *Collective Agency* within the concept of *Social Capital*, which can be defined as the intangible resources that exist among neighbourhood residents. Social capital also refers to the level of trustworthiness within a neighbourhood’s social environment and the extent to which people feel connected to one another (Temkin and Rohe, 1998). In his landmark book, *Bowling Alone*, Putnam added civic engagement to the definition of social capital, which he defined as the level of citizen engagement in activities that affects local political decision-making (Putnam, 1995). Neighbourhoods with social capital “reserves” can draw on resources to help residents address changes (Knapp, et al., 2013). This also ensures that overall confidence among residents remains high, and that there is optimism about future change and stability (Varady, 1986).

Another layer of our analysis comes from Rotella (2003), who speaks to the very foundation of neighbourhood as being wonderfully woven into the intangible elements of place. To truly understand what occurs in the evolution of a neighbourhood requires us to dig deeper into the very meaning of place. He argues that the “hard” measures of *neighbourhood* (e.g., the numbers and statistics that represent markets and other socio-economic factors) represent only one aspect of any place that can be quantified. However, for Rotella, the beauty of understanding neighbourhoods lies in the “soft” measures, which “describe a quality of civic life and of inner life, a feeling of relation to people and place, that is sustained or destroyed through the statistically immeasurable processes of culture” (p. 87). Rotella’s work suggests that a neighbourhood analysis must include the intangible assets and soft measures that define their character to truly appreciate a community’s spirit.



Volunteers for the 2019 West Broadway Spring Clean-up gather to hear organizers speaking.

Temkin and Rohe (1998) apply a social capital lens to their model of neighbourhood change, where capital is broadly defined as the extent to which there are interactions and linkages among residents to address external forces that exert power on neighbourhoods. Their model sees the interactions between neighbourhood residents and external forces as contributing to either a “defended” or “defeated” scenario. The trajectory of neighbourhood change in their model is based on the ability of the neighbourhood to mobilize social and institutional capacity to fend off undesirable change. The ability of local organizations to leverage such power to offset negative forces such as increasing crime, downgrading of property values, rising rents, or other negatively perceived actions is essential to fend off decline.

Aligning our study of neighbourhood change with a social capital lens provides an essential perspective. However, as suggested by Temkin and Rohe, it is important to note the role of larger, structural forces that impact neighbourhoods like West Broadway. Reflecting on change within a neighbourhood, local residents or community members may be less likely



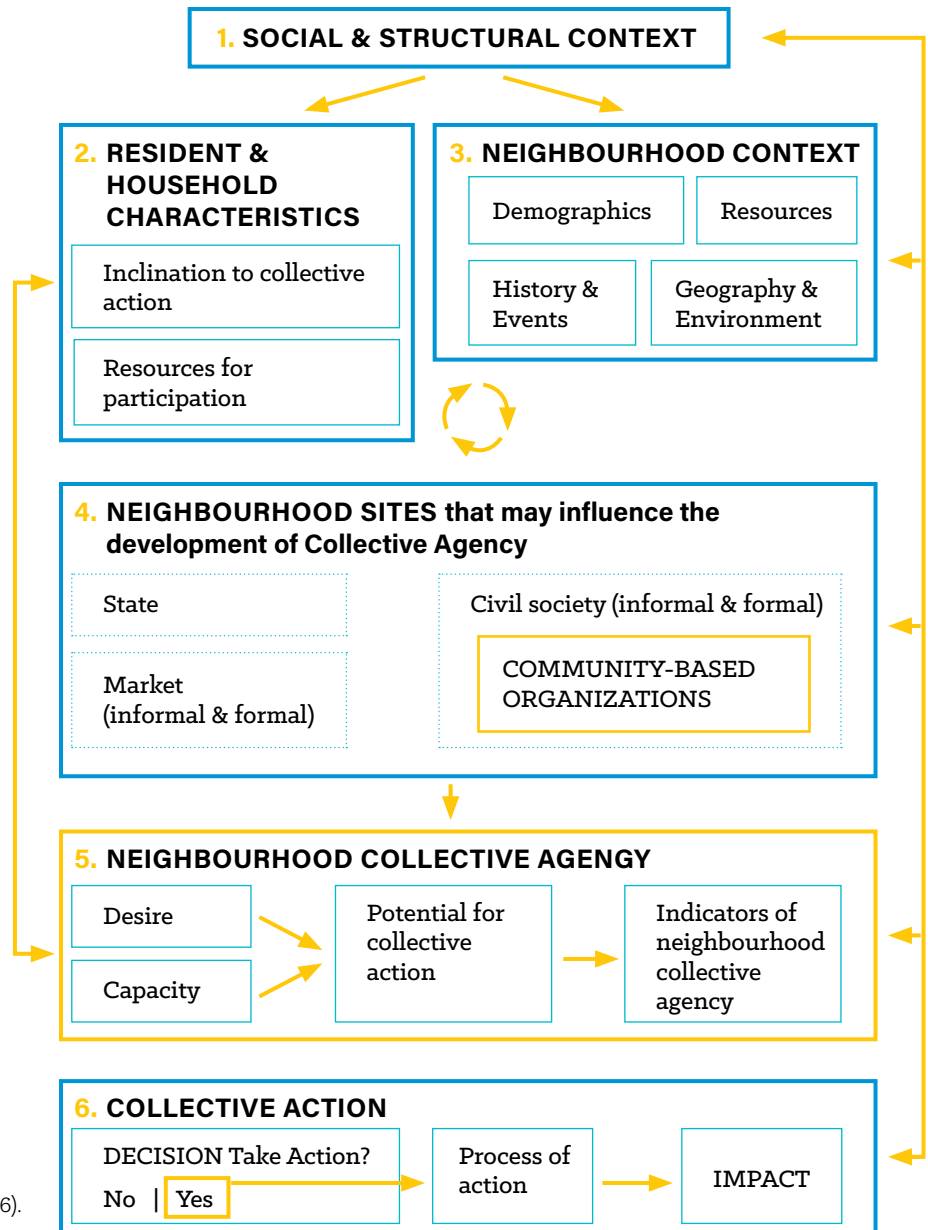


figure 1.1  
Adapted from *The role of community-based organizations in neighbourhood collective agency* (Carrière & Paradis, 2016).

to consider the role external forces might be playing on both positive and adverse events. Such broader forces include, for example, the state’s influence in housing markets, which can impact access to capital and the mechanisms to support lower-income households to afford increasing shelter costs (Walks & Clifford, 2015). Additionally, the flow of outside capital can greatly alter the market, resulting in disruption to the availability of affordable housing. This can be an unintended consequence of revitalization or deliberate in the gentrification of the housing stock and market.

Over the past few decades, much of the discussion on the structural forces impacting neighbourhood change has been framed within the context of (neoliberal) globalization and the financialization of housing markets. Financialization refers to the conversion of homes into

financial assets, made possible through a range of regulatory changes and market pressures. The recent surge in housing financialization has roots leading up to and following the 2008 global economic crisis, which left millions of homeowners ‘underwater’ or in foreclosure and others evicted. The crisis created opportunities for real estate and investment companies to buy up homes, rental properties, and land and increase the cost of housing (Albers, 2019). Rental housing is increasingly seen as an investment that is low-risk with good returns, and there has been an associated rise in the size and scale of landlords. Financialization of housing marks a shift toward conceiving of housing as a commodity for investment (and speculation) rather than a social good and human right (Aalbers, 2019; Butler & Rushe, 2019).

Over the last few decades, researchers have noted rising levels of rental housing insecurity, over-indebtedness, and homelessness (Soederberg, 2018). The period following the 2008 global financial crisis has been marked by rising income and wealth inequality, stagnating wages, and increased employment precarity (Standing, 2014). Worldwide, the cost of housing is rising faster than wages, leading to what some have called a global urban “housing affordability crisis” (Wetzstein, 2017). In West Broadway, we see signs of these shifts in the housing market, for example in the traditional “local ownership” of housing and property management shifting to larger corporations that likely have different underlying motivations and less interest in local issues.

Still, as we describe in the following chapters, West Broadway is a neighbourhood that, throughout the 1970 – 2020 period, endured changes and struggles with a level of resiliency unlike other neighbourhoods. Our overall objective is to examine West Broadway through the broad lens of neighbourhood change and income inequality with a focus on the **Neighbourhood Collective Agency Framework** (NCAF). For our analysis, we draw on four particular elements of the NCAF, which are:

- ▶ **What are the social, physical and structural contexts of the neighbourhood;**
- ▶ **Who are the *influencers* within the area;**
- ▶ **What is level of agency among stakeholders; and**
- ▶ **How have collective actions or outcomes influenced change observed in West Broadway?**

These four elements of the NCAF and the objectives of the larger Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership help set our work within the larger study of income inequality and the changing nature of Canada’s neighbourhoods over a very dynamic 50-year period (1970 – 2020).

Our narrative-based analysis of one neighbourhood in Winnipeg’s impoverished inner city provides a unique glimpse into the level of hope and resiliency that is present in the face of tremendous social and economic restructuring. Looking at the last 50 years, what becomes clear is that residents of the community are agents of change and that significant decline can be met with equal pressure to help ameliorate blight through community action.

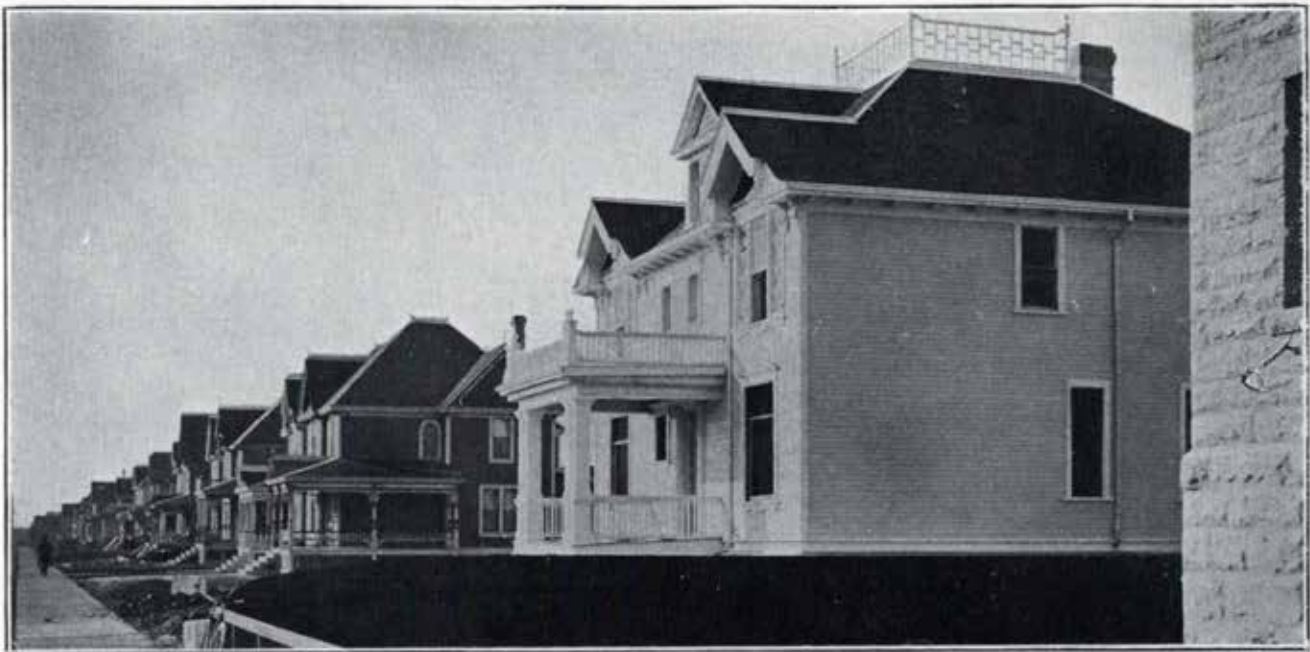
From a methodological perspective, we used a purposive sampling technique. This method of sampling allowed us to exercise informed judgment about who could offer the best perspective on the history of West Broadway. While purpose sampling has inherent bias in selection (in simply allowing us to pick key people), our view was that undertaking a deep history

of a neighbourhood required us to work with local experts to curate a list of interviewees that would represent the study period and have knowledge of the area (Abrams, 2010). Over the study, we conducted 42 key informant interviews with former and current residents, business owners, community organizers, public staff and elected officials. Each interview was guided by a thematic survey questionnaire that informed discussions. Interviews ranged from 30 minutes to well over 2 hours. The survey design and questionnaire were reviewed and approved by the University of Winnipeg's Research Ethics Board. Each interview was recorded and transcribed (with permission). Interviewees could elect to be anonymous or have their name disclosed. Narratives appearing in this report were also vetted by interviewees for accuracy.

## Setting the Context: A Profile of the West Broadway Neighbourhood

In recent years, the inner-city neighbourhood of West Broadway entered a period of rejuvenation after enduring a difficult past of economic and physical decline that greatly altered its development. West Broadway was originally a largely middle-class neighbourhood, with a small enclave of wealth called Armstrong's Point. Situated just beyond the bustle of the downtown, it's a neighbourhood consisting of large character homes and modest three-story brick apartment blocks, with commercial development along its two main streets, Broadway Avenue and Sherbrook Street. This once flourishing mixed-income community was subjected to forces of change during the post-war years that saw it transform from a mixed-income community through the 1950s into an area marred by poverty, crime, and a deteriorating housing stock from the 1960s onward (Distasio & Kaufman, 2015).

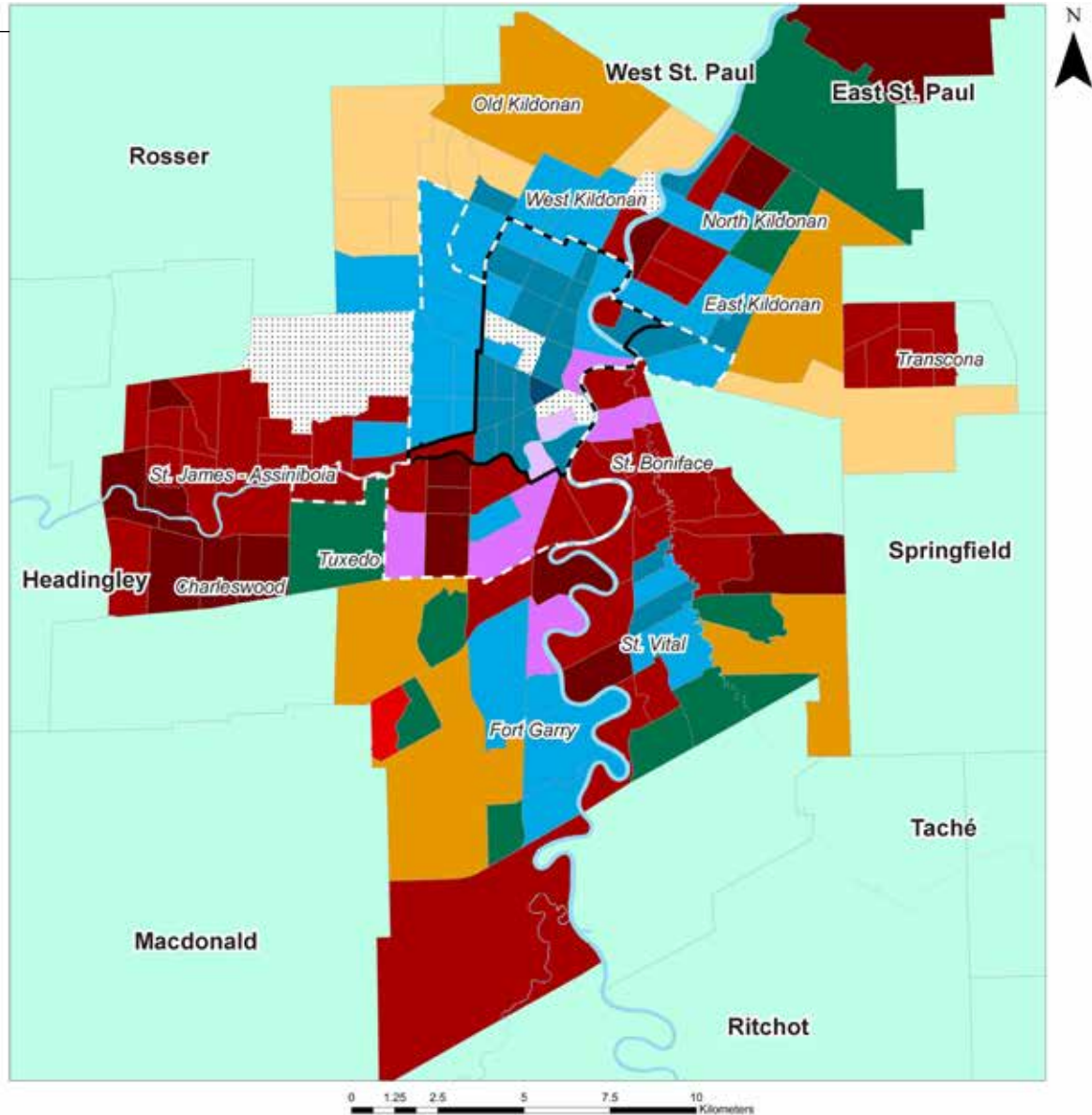
Originally published in the 1903 book *Illustrated Souvenir of Winnipeg*, this photograph shows newly constructed homes along Spence Street. The stone wall at the right-hand edge is Elim Chapel.



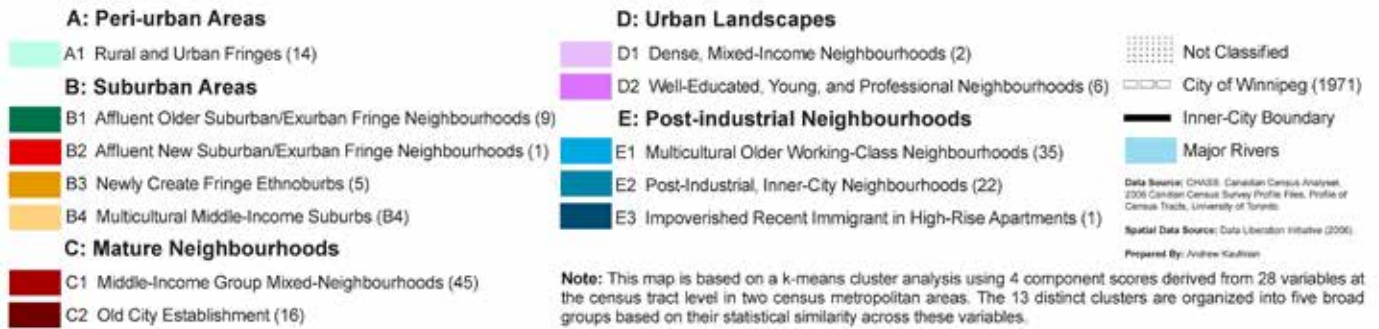
SPENCE ST., FROM PORTAGE AVE. TO BROADWAY

A marsh 14 months ago, turned into one of the finest residential streets in the City, by Messrs. Victor Bouche & Wm. Irish, Contractors, in that time

map 2



**Neighbourhood Classification (Number of Census Tracts)**



This detail from a larger 1907 map by Wagner & Debes Leipzig tells the history of the morphology of the neighbourhood streets. Westminster Ave. is labeled Buell and terminates at Langside. Bryages St. and Osborne Place, two small streets later demolished for Great-West Life, run between Colony St. and Osborne. Osborne itself terminates at Broadway, just west of the Fort Osborne Barracks. The western terminus of Broadway is visible to the north of Knappen Ave., Broadway Place providing early access to Portage Ave. Streetcar lines are visible on Sherbrook, Cornish, Portage and Osborne, as are several present day landmarks such as Wesley College (University of Winnipeg), All Saint's Church, and Maternity Hospital (Misericordia).

West Broadway also experienced declining individual incomes from 1980 to 2010, and has been characterized as a “disadvantaged neighbourhood composed of lower status individuals residing in low-rise apartments” (Murdie, Logan & Maaranen, 2013). In their categorization of neighbourhood types in Winnipeg, Distasio and Kaufman (2015) classified West Broadway as a “Post-Industrial, Inner-City Neighbourhood” (see map 2). These types of neighbourhoods share certain characteristics like low home ownership rates, aging housing stocks, and a diverse populace that includes Indigenous and immigrant communities. They are also marked by higher than average unemployment and large numbers of individuals and households below the poverty line.

Throughout the 50-year span of our analysis, average incomes in West Broadway have been consistently lower than those of Winnipeg as a whole, with the gap steadily widening. In 1971, the average household total income before tax in West Broadway was 35% lower than the average in Winnipeg. While incomes rose across Winnipeg from 1971 to 1996, average incomes decreased in West Broadway (see Income Changes). By 1996, the average household total income before tax in West Broadway was \$29,120, which was 55% lower than the average \$65,836 in the city as a whole. Since 1996, average incomes in West Broadway have risen, but not to the same extent as in the rest of Winnipeg. In 2016, the average family income in West Broadway was about half the average in Winnipeg.

The economic gap between West Broadway and the city of Winnipeg represents a long-term trend of increasing poverty and widening inequality. However, while the economic picture is bleak, our project intends to show how West Broadway differs from other low-income neighbourhoods in the ability to address complex urban issues.

## The Urban Morphology of West Broadway

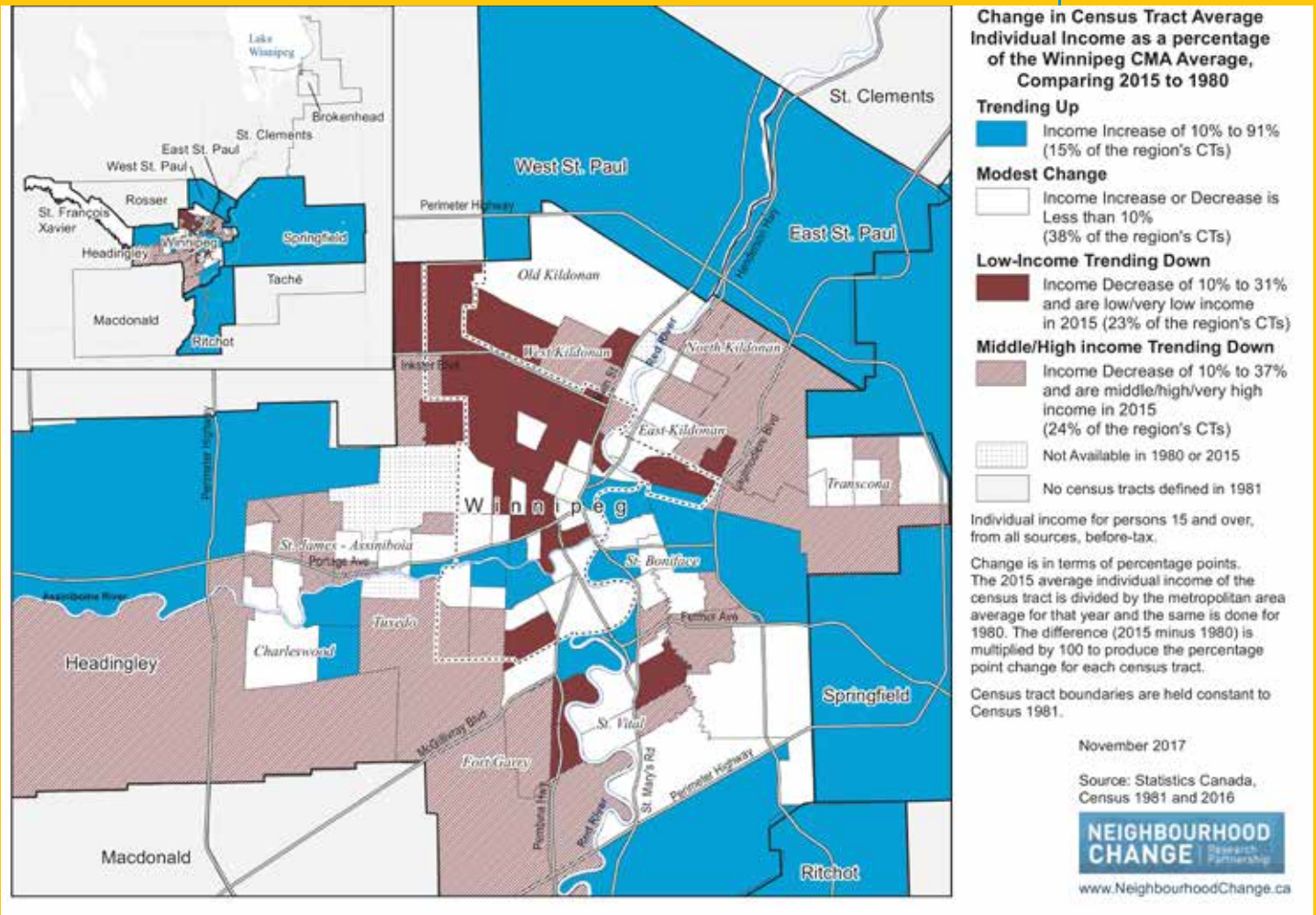
The physical character of the West Broadway has remained largely unchanged over the last half century, with the exception of the conversion of several roads from ‘feeder’ to ‘thoroughfare’ status, and the redevelopment of a large parcel of land for the construction of a national headquarters of a large financial institution (Great-West Life Assurance Company). As this section highlights, while change has been slow it has accelerated over the last decade with extensive renovation and infilling projects changing the physical character and potentially the socio-economic status of residents.

With the amalgamation of metro Winnipeg municipalities resulting in Unicity in 1972, Sherbrook and Maryland Streets were widened and converted to one-way to accommodate increased traffic flow passing through the area. This also saw Sherbrook Street connect to the south side of the Assiniboine River with the twinning of the Maryland Bridge. Broadway Avenue was extended further west to join up with Portage Avenue, a route now designated as a portion of the Trans-Canada highway. These changes were significant and altered the traditional pattern of vehicle movement from more localized to one increasingly marked with commuter and commercial flow-through either coming into the downtown or heading out to the suburbs.

By the mid-1950s, the land between Osborne and Colony Streets, stretching from the Assiniboine River north to Broadway Avenue, contained an eclectic mix of single and multi-family housing, retail, a professional football stadium, a civic auditorium, and a



map 3 Neighbourhood Income Trends, Winnipeg CMA 2015 Incomes Compared to 1980



Source: Statistics Canada Census 1981 & 2016

## INCOME CHANGES

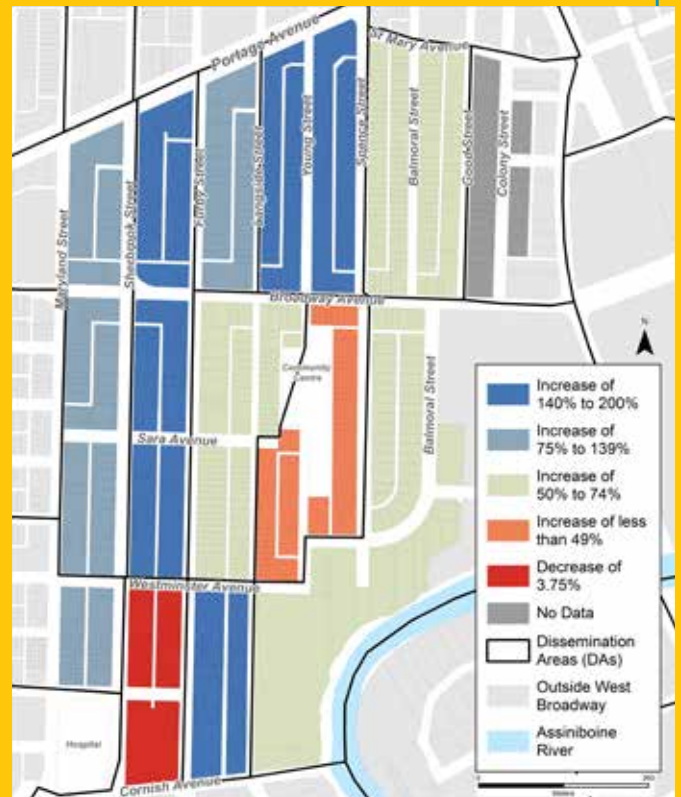
The median household income in West Broadway has been consistently lower than that of the city as a whole for over 40 years (Fig 1.2), and while income polarization has increased West Broadway as a neighbourhood has been trending down (Map 3). Looking at Low Income Cut Off (LICO) rates for West Broadway for 2016, 43% of individuals fell below, which is more than three times the average of 13.2% for Winnipeg. There is only subtle variation within the neighbourhood's income distributions by Dissemination Areas (DAs) for 2015 when compared with the average for the Winnipeg Censor Metropolitan Area (CMA) (Map 4). While the vast majority of the DAs fall well below city medians, West Broadway's median incomes show a small pocket of slightly higher incomes. This polarization of incomes has resulted in a pattern reflecting either very low or moderately low incomes. Not surprisingly, this pattern also clearly shows a lack of middle-income earners. The income data do not indicate significant or widespread socio-economic upshifting that would be indicative of gentrification.

map 4 West Broadway 2015 Median Household Incomes by Dissemination Area, Compared to Winnipeg CMA



Source: Statistics Canada Census 2016. Accessed through U of T Canadian Census Analyzer

map 5 West Broadway 2000–2015 Income Change by Dissemination



Source: Statistics Canada Census 2001, 2016. Accessed through U of T Canadian Census Analyzer

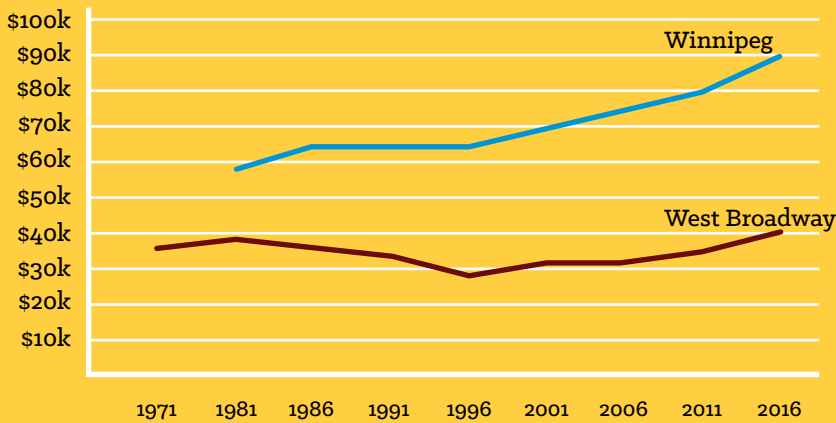


figure 1.2 Average Total Income Before Tax for Winnipeg CMA and West Broadway

All Figures adjusted to 2016 dollars  
 'Winnipeg' represents Winnipeg CMA  
 'West Broadway' represents Census Tract 15, which includes Armstrong's Point.

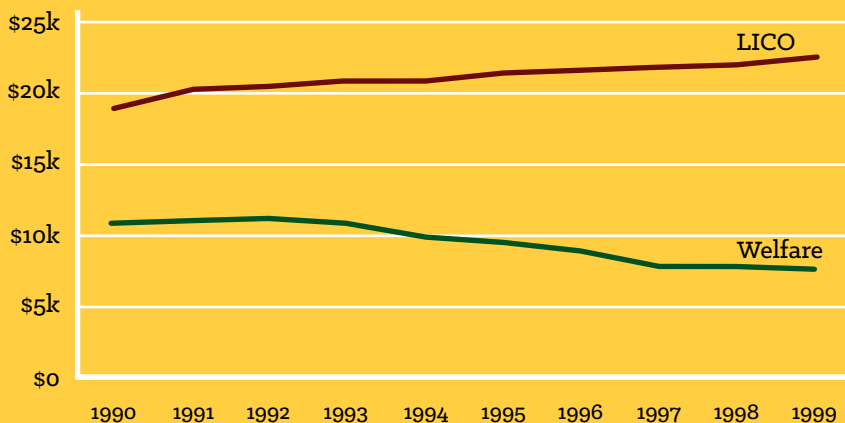


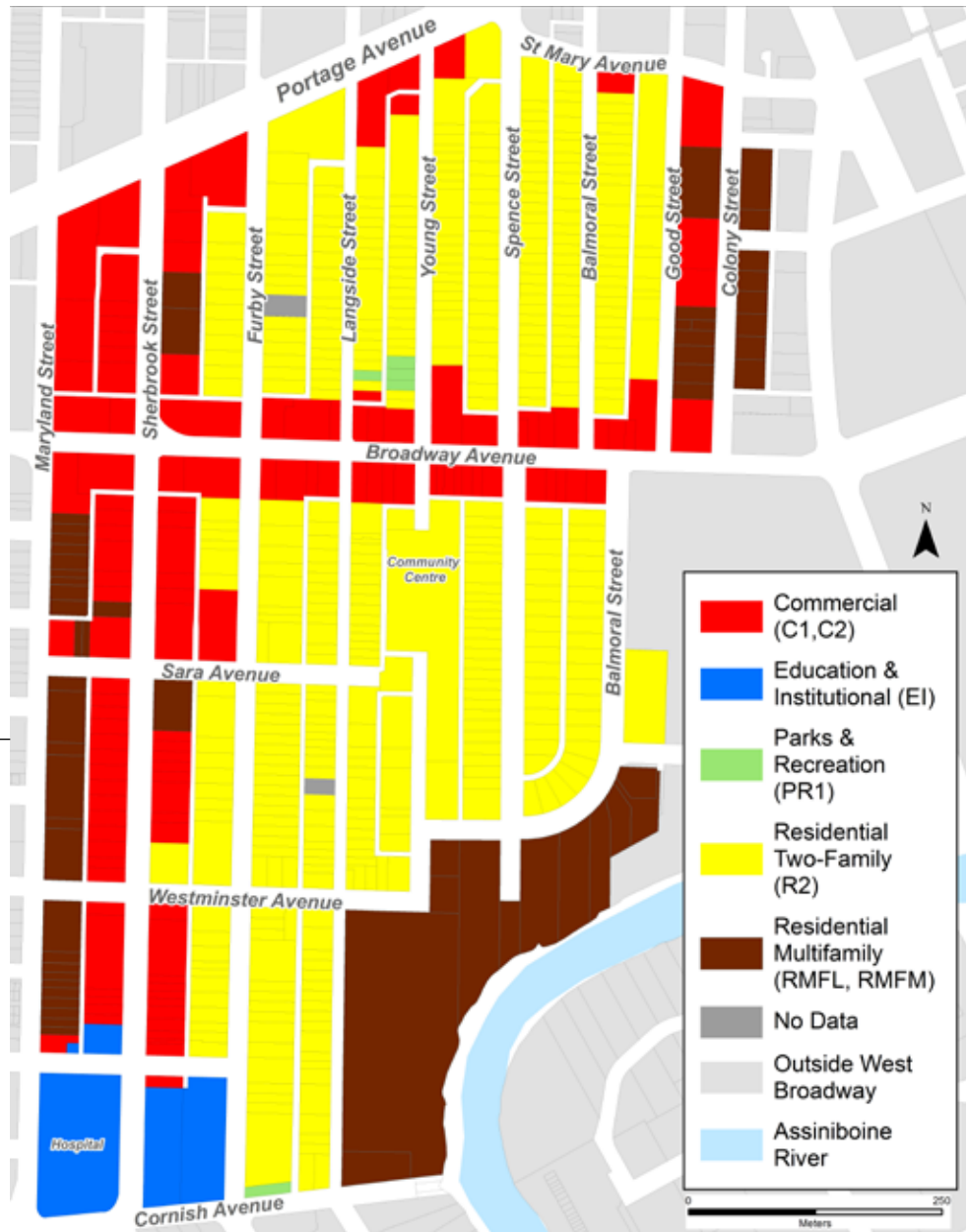
figure 1.3 Low Income Cut Off (LICO) versus combined welfare income for single Manitobans

All figures adjusted to 2016 dollars  
 LICO calculated for single person living in urban area of 500,000 plus population  
 Welfare rate calculated for single person considered employable  
 source: LICO data from Statistics Canada  
 Welfare data from Maytree.com

brewery that dated back to the late nineteenth century. The southern portion of the parcel was leveled and replaced with a 290,000 square foot office building for Great-West Life in 1957. Twenty years later Great-West Life expanded its footprint with a second office building, demolishing Shea’s brewery at the corner of Osborne and Broadway. The redevelopment not only represented the exchange of blue collar jobs for white collar office space but also resulted in the closure and realignment of several streets, the loss of heritage houses and apartment buildings, and the proliferation of surface parking which now covers the majority of the site. This redevelopment was by far the largest undertaken to date in the community.

**map 6 West Broadway Zoning**

Land Use Zoning is an important municipal policy tool which has been shaping North American Cities since the 1920s. Incompatible land uses such as industrial and residential are kept separate. In residential areas restrictions may apply to apartment buildings or multi-family housing. Notable in West Broadway is the absence of the R1 Residential Single Family category. Source: City of Winnipeg, Map Assessment Parcels.







above: Young Methodist (later United) church at the corner of Furby and Broadway. Postcard 1904–1918. below: Crews dig the basement for Great-West Life circa 1957. The spire of St. Augustine Church across the Assiniboine River is visible, as are the Roslyn Apartments and the old Victoria Hospital. The Granite Curling Club is visible directly behind the house at the left side of the frame.

## The Broadway Strip

Broadway Avenue has been long considered as the neighbourhood “main street” of the community. Land use along the nine blocks of Broadway Avenue bisect the neighbourhood and ebbed and flowed over the past hundred years, mirroring trends in retail development that impacted other retail clusters in Winnipeg. It has not been uncommon to see vacant shops and heavy turnover but also periods of more stability.

Looking back to 1920, Broadway Avenue, west of Osborne Street, was comprised of businesses and a mix of apartment blocks and single-family homes. In the first half of the twentieth century, commercial development grew steadily, reaching a peak in the 1960s when the area was home to a hotel, restaurants, barber shops, pharmacies, as well as a beauty salon, grocery store, laundromat, dry cleaners, florist, and tailor among others. For decades, the commercial and retail mix in the neighbourhood thrived and served both walk-up clientele from the area as well as Winnipeggers from other parts of the city. For a period of time, the diversity of the neighbourhood’s retail mix was akin to what Oldenburg (1999) would have classified as a classic blend of places that brought residents together in an environment of common social and economic interests. Oldenburg referred to these elements as “third spaces” or the places beyond home and work, where people in the community gather. These might include community lounges, churches, or other “hangouts” or gathering spaces.

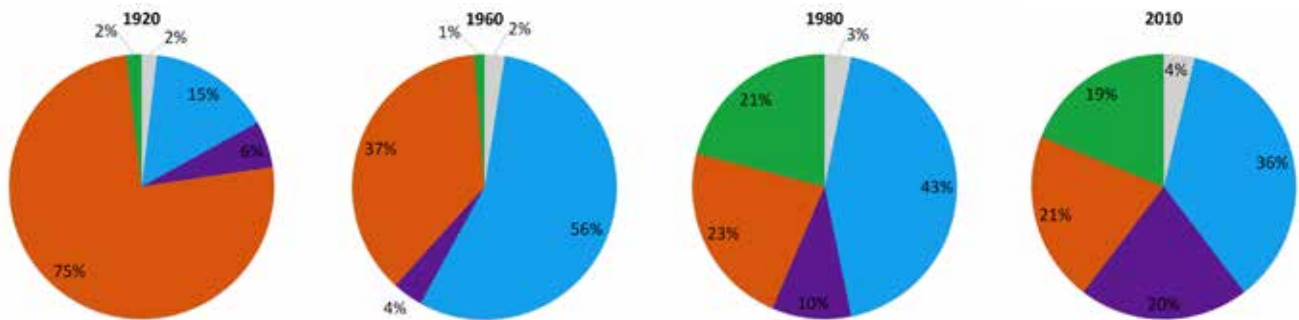


After 1960, commercial activity along Broadway began to taper off noticeably, coinciding with the advent of suburban shopping malls and a decentralizing population. As the retail landscape diminished, vacant storefronts began to proliferate. The West Broadway streetscape of this era saw the arrival of civil society and governmental institutions such as a health clinic, a political party headquarters, a Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) detachment, a legal aid society, and a large city welfare office.

By the early 1980s, Winnipeg experienced a significant period of tri-level government intervention, on a scale not seen previously in Canadian cities. Beginning with the Core Area Initiative, governmental funds were used to update the street environment with decorative light standards and signage and invest in businesses, residences, and social infrastructure. Significant tri-level funding would flow consistently to West Broadway for nearly 25 years. By 2010, land use along Broadway Avenue between Osborne and Maryland included approximately two-fifths commercial and one-fifth each residential, state, and civil society, with vacancies accounting for 4% of the addresses (*see below*).

Overall, the street activity in the neighbourhood changed significantly over the past 50 years. The main thoroughfares of Broadway Avenue and Sherbrook Street evolved the most over this period, with the latter now home to many more shops. The retail mix increasingly aligns with the view that the area is displaying some elements of gentrification with the advent of trendy shops catering to a higher-income clientele. Gone too are most of the social service agencies.

### Changes in Land Use on Broadway Between Osborne and Sherbrook



Henderson's Directories contain the addresses of citizens and businesses going back as early as 1881. After recording the entries for each address and creating a simple typology, we used the Directories to trace the evolution of land use on Broadway between Osborne to Sherbrook.

- State (Schools, Social Services)
- Market (Retail, Banks, Pharmacies)
- Civil Society (Churches, Legal Aid, Medical)
- Residential
- Vacant



above: A streetcar and two cyclists head south along Sherbrook Street in the days it was a two-way street. The spire of Young United church can be seen above the houses on the left side of the street. Postcard 1907-1909 left: Campers pose in front of the Granite Curling Club. Undated Postcard.

## Who Lives in West Broadway

Despite pockets of early redevelopment, the physical landscape of the area has remained somewhat stable. In contrast, the demographic and cultural landscape experienced more significant shifts in the post-1970 period. By 2016, West Broadway was home to 5,325 residents, which remains much lower than the peak 1971 population of 6,745. The population shift is very consistent with other inner-city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg that also experienced significant post-war population booms and a subsequent period of depopulation. Overall, Winnipeg's slow growth was much more pronounced from the 1950s onward and coincided with significant economic stagnation, especially in the inner city which lost people and businesses (Leo & Brown, 2000).

In 2016, the average age of residents was lower than that of the Winnipeg as a whole; roughly 60% of its residents were under the age of 35, compared to 45% of Winnipeggers in the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). Residents of West Broadway were also more likely to be single or living common law. West Broadway also experienced higher-than-average rates of residential mobility.

Over the past several decades, the socio-demographic composition of the neighbourhood has



map 7 West Broadway 2001–2016 Change in Population by Dissemination Area

Source: Statistics Canada Census 2001, 2016. Accessed through U of T Canadian Census Analyzer

## POPULATION CHANGE

West Broadway’s socio-economic change is important to examine in comparison to both the inner city and overall averages for Winnipeg. With respect to population, West Broadway experienced a modest decline over the last decade. As well, longer-term trends in the neighbourhood mirror those in the inner city. For example, the 2016 Inner City population of Winnipeg was 126,000, which was below the 132,000 recorded in 1986. West Broadway, like many inner-city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg, also struggled with slow growth and deepening poverty throughout the 1990s (Silver and Toews, 2009). In fact, the majority of inner-city neighbourhoods have populations that are lower than the peaks experienced in the late 1960s, and they also have high levels of poverty in comparison to non-inner-city areas of Winnipeg.

The pattern of population changes over the last 15

years shows modest increases in some Dissemination Areas (DAs) (Map 7), for example where additional multi-family apartments were constructed along Sherbrook and Maryland along with smaller pockets of growth in a few areas within the neighbourhood. Losses in population remain more widespread and coincide with the continuing downsizing of households, the conversion of rooming houses to lower occupancies, along with multi-family and single-family homes being placarded (Kaufman and Distasio, 2014). Overall, while population growth overlaps with new development and conversions, decreases reflect losses of rooming houses, abandonment, and general downsizing. The 2016 census reveals that West Broadway had more single family households than the city average (56.8% compared to 30%), as well as a lower average household size than the city average (2 persons per household compared to 3).

shifted somewhat. It has consistently been home to a larger proportion of Indigenous people. In 1971, only 1.3% of Winnipeggers identified as Indigenous, while 2.4% of West Broadway residents did. The percentage of West Broadway residents identifying as Indigenous has roughly doubled every five years through the 1980s and mid-1990s, reaching 27.8% in 1996 before tapering off over the last two decades to 23.2% in 2016.

In recent years, West Broadway has increasingly become more culturally diverse and home to newly arrived immigrants, including groups from several East African nations. While other Winnipeg neighbourhoods such as Spence and Central Park have a higher percentage of immigrants, West Broadway is home to a larger proportion of recent arrivals; just over half of all immigrants living in West Broadway in 2016 had arrived since 2011. East African languages like Tigrigna, Amharic, and Somali are spoken in West Broadway. This indicates that the neighbourhood is beginning to function as a site of immigrant reception, which may be related to the area's large proportion of rental units and its proximity to the downtown and social and settlement services (see discussion in Distasio & Zell, 2020).

## A Neighbourhood of Renters

One major defining characteristic of the housing market of West Broadway is the disproportionately high number of renters in the area. The neighbourhood's abundant stock of low-rise apartment buildings and large, originally middle-class homes converted to rooming houses has made it a haven for renters over the past half century. Since the 1980s, an average 91.0% of West Broadway residents have been renters (see *Figure 1.4*). This is compared to 35.7% of Winnipeggers over the same period. Not only is the area characterized by exceptionally high levels of rental tenure, the neighbourhood displayed a much greater degree of stability in rental housing stock when compared to the city as a whole. For instance, over the past 35 years, the number of rental properties in the city has increased by just over ten thousand, while the number of rental units in West Broadway has remained virtually the same. The exception has been over the last five years, when several new infill projects resulted in new rental units.

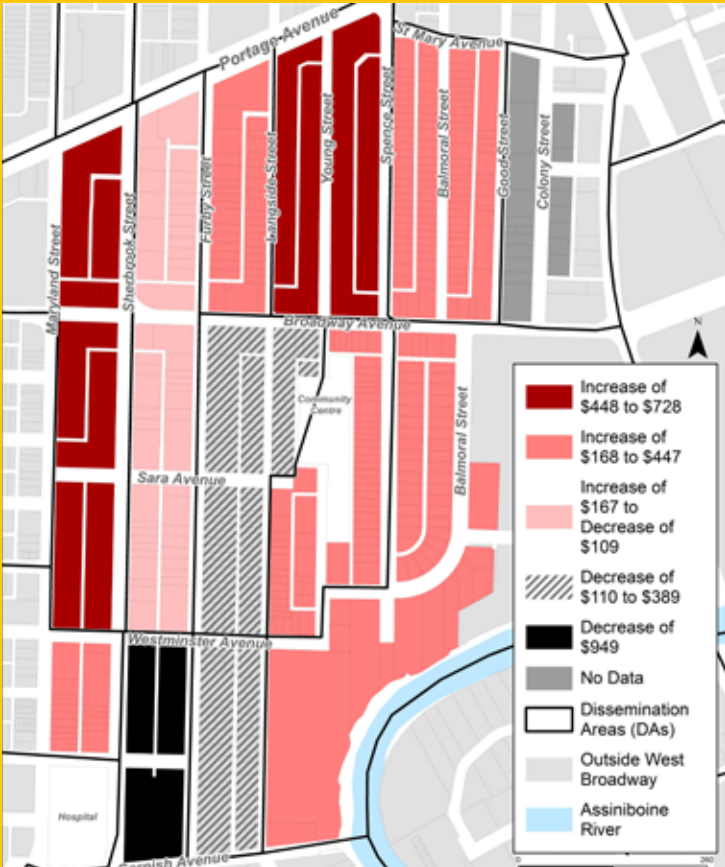
Along with the robust stock of market-rate rental units, West Broadway also has many subsidized rental units in mid-rise apartment blocks operated by Manitoba Housing and Lions Club Housing. Several other not-for-profit groups such as the Westminster Housing Society provide rent-assisted opportunities to individuals and families in renovated homes in the area. Average rents for the area have been consistently lower than the city average, and while housing affordability has come under pressure in recent years, as of 2016, average rents in West Broadway were still 25% lower than average rental rates in Winnipeg (see *Figure 1.5*).

## Why West Broadway?

The intent to focus on one neighbourhood in Winnipeg was based on West Broadway's unique and important period of dynamic change. As noted above, West Broadway reflects a diversity of residential housing types and tenures, cultural differences, and socio-spatial inequalities. To counteract the forces that contributed to urban decline, many stepped forward to support outcomes aimed at reducing inequalities. Indeed, the recent period of revitalization observed in West Broadway can be partially attributed to the work of community-based organizations (CBOs) and their collaboration with residents (Silver et al., 2009).

# RENTAL MARKET CHANGES

Examining rent changes between 2001 and 2016, we see that in Winnipeg overall, market conditions have shifted, with vacancy rates reflecting a more balanced 3% level. This is in contrast to the mid-2000s, when rates dropped below 1% and rents began to climb (CMHC 2016). The very low vacancy rates put significant pressure on the local market and resulted in both a slight increase in condo conversions and new construction. For West Broadway, the 2016 average rent of just over \$700 is below that of Winnipeg's \$938, and represents an 8% increase since 2001, compared to an almost 32% rise in the average rental rate for the city (Figure 1.5). An interesting aspect for West Broadway is that looking at the DA level data, there are several pockets within the neighbourhood which experienced growth in rents of more than \$450 (Map 8). Part of this can be explained by new infill projects while the remainder may have been influenced by other factors such as rents being adjusted following renovations. It is important to note that Manitoba has rent control legislation that sets annual allowable increases. One area of contention for West Broadway (and other neighbourhoods) concerns property owners going outside of the legislated rent increases. In Manitoba, this can occur if significant renovations take place. This has been increasingly referred to as "renovictions" in which existing residents have been displaced by either not being able to afford new rents or being evicted outright to allow for renovations to occur (Chin, 2019).



map 8 West Broadway 2001–2016 Change in Average Rent by Dissemination Area

Source: Statistics Canada Census 2001, 2016. Accessed through U of T Canadian Census Analyser

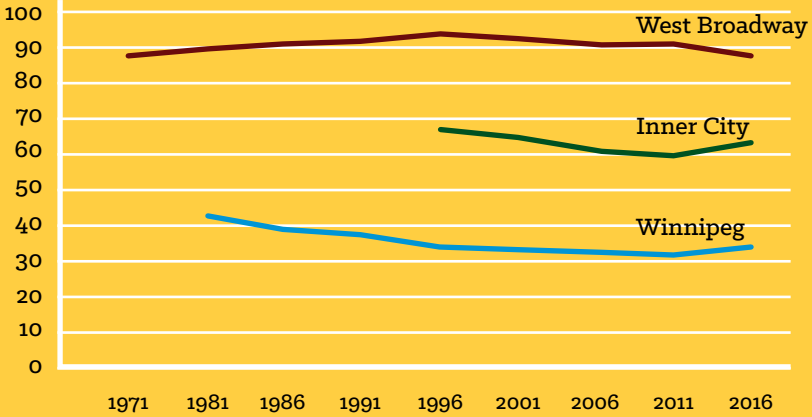


figure 1.4 Percentage of Renters

'West Broadway' represents Census Tract 15, which includes Armstrong's Point 'Inner City' represents boundaries from the Winnipeg Characterization Atlas 'Winnipeg' represents Winnipeg CMA  
Source: Statistics Canada, accessed through University of Toronto CHASS Canadian census analyzer

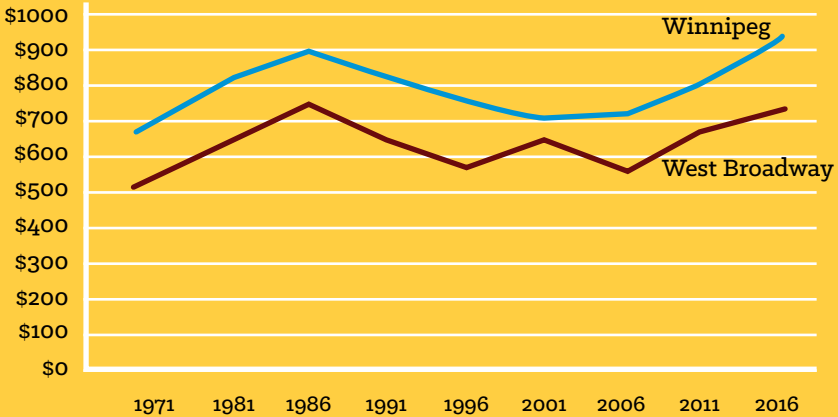


figure 1.5 Average Rent

All Figures adjusted to 2016 dollars 'Winnipeg' represents Winnipeg CMA 'West Broadway' represents Census Tract 15, which includes Armstrong's Point  
Source: Statistics Canada, accessed through U of T Canadian census analyzer

While previous research has identified such contributions, little attention was paid to what motivated such actions, how these relationships functioned or began, and how they might impact the future. This is an important area of consideration, and in the following chapters, we trace from the 1970s onwards the mobilization efforts that have influenced the area's resiliency and path over 50 years.

Our view is that West Broadway's story is unique in Canada and is not solely about decline, revitalization, or gentrification, but more so it is about people. The result is a mixed tale of poverty, marginalization, and income inequality that divided the neighbourhood's wealthy from the poor and homeowners from renters. Beginning in the 1960s, the neighbourhood increasingly became home to both the wealthy and a transient population of hippies, misfits, and counter-cultural institutions that set a foundation for activism and hope. Since its early formation as a "gathering place for the lost," West Broadway emerged as a place where wayward youth, Indigenous residents, new Canadians, and a cast of characters contribute to a cultural milieu that is distinct among neighbourhoods in Winnipeg, and Canada.

In some ways, West Broadway's trajectory through the 1970s and into the 1980s is a classic example of a Canadian neighbourhood struggling in a post-war economy where an exodus of aging baby boomers intersected with a declining inner city mired in economic strife, struggle and slow growth. While we focus on West Broadway, we cannot discuss its evolution without contextualizing it within the broader impacts felt across Winnipeg during a very difficult period.

The period of 1970–2000 was a dark time for Winnipeg's downtown and many inner-city neighbourhoods, which saw populations drop and businesses close while the suburbs grew, drawing retail and people into new developments and big box stores. The most important aspect of this period, especially post-1980, is that Winnipeg became the site of many large-scale urban redevelopment and revitalization efforts, including the massive Core Area Initiative, The Winnipeg Development Agreement, and most recently the Neighbourhoods Alive provincial program, which launched in 1999 and remains an active source of funding for various neighbourhood organizations in Winnipeg.

For a period of approximately 25 years, beginning in 1980, Winnipeg benefited from sustained investment by the three levels of government in a range of projects and programs. This investment supported struggling inner-city neighbourhoods such as West Broadway, where localized investment allowed community organizations to launch many of the initiatives we discuss here. However, this investment, while hugely beneficial in revitalizing the physical aspects of the neighbourhood, is also now seen as accelerating an increase in the shelter costs of very low-income households to the point of noticeable displacement.

West Broadway's housing market, at least until recently, had been characterized by rental properties owned and managed by smaller, locally-based management firms. Just as West Broadway was impacted by the larger trends in Winnipeg, the city too remains impacted by broader national and transnational forces. These forces have influenced shifts in the economic restructuring of housing affordability which have been felt in so-called 'global cities' such as Vancouver and Toronto, but which are in recent decades increasingly shaping Winnipeg's market (Grant, Walks, & Ramos, 2020). This can be seen on the ground at the neighbourhood level, for example, in the financialization of property ownership and

management. Local owners of boarding homes, rooming houses, and apartments in West Broadway have traditionally lived in their properties, and connected with both the residents and the community on a deeper level. In recent years, however, large ownership groups have purchased and renovated properties and increased rents. This shift has arguably contributed to the erosion of a sense of community, and it leads us to question the parameters of and extent to which *Neighbourhood Collective Agency* and Social Capital can act as mitigating factors in the pursuit of balanced neighbourhood redevelopment. The challenge, as will become clear, is who benefits and who suffers from such shifts as neighbourhoods revitalize and/or gentrify.

Overall, the intent of chapters 2–5 is to draw on interviews with local stakeholders and other materials to share thoughts on the impact of the changes observed in West Broadway, focusing primarily on the period of 1970 to the present. The concluding chapter seeks to bring materials together to address the research objectives posed above.

In the end, our hope is we accurately share observations and analysis of a complex set of factors that relate to a multifaceted pattern of neighbourhood change that is not explainable by hard data alone. By taking a pragmatic, narrative-based approach and listening to long-time residents and other stakeholders, we tell a story of the evolution of West Broadway over the past 50 years and achieve an understanding of what occurred in one of the most unique neighbourhoods in Canada. In the end, there is no doubt that change resulted in the dynamic interactions and intersections of economic and physical revitalization, gentrification and growing income inequality.





**CHAPTER 2**

1969-1987  
Diverse, Dynamic,  
Deteriorating

Painting by Roman Swideruk,  
circa 1993.

**Winnipeg's rivers have helped shape the city's identity, including West Broadway's. The junction of the Red and the Assiniboine—The Forks—was an Indigenous gathering place for centuries. The rivers shaped the city's first industries, fur trade and Métis style farm lots. In the boom decades after the arrival of the railroad in 1885, riverfront properties were always the city's prime real estate, beginning with Pt. Douglas on the Red, then mansions of the rich along the Assiniboine, including wealthy enclaves like Armstrong's Point, near West Broadway, and Crescentwood, south of the river.**

**To give an idea of the scope of the building boom in Winnipeg's heyday—and the importance of the new style of apartment living—by 1913, Winnipeg had more apartment blocks than Toronto, which was three times its size. As apartments continued to be built, West Broadway got a disproportionate share because nearby neighbourhoods, Wolseley and Armstrong's Point, had petitioned the city to restrict apartment construction to preserve their residential character.**

If you're ever driving across Canada and decide to drive through Winnipeg instead of around it, you'll visit West Broadway—not that you'll notice it.

Driving west, you'll take the Trans-Canada along Broadway: Winnipeg's grandly designed esplanade with its large central boulevard, from the Main Street train station to the grounds of the Manitoba Legislature, the "Golden Boy" on top, and Queen Victoria sitting out front—then you'll zip through nine streets of a mixed residential/commercial neighbourhood, until Broadway joins up with Winnipeg's busiest street, Portage Avenue, and on westwards to the prairies, the mountains, and the Pacific.

That "zip" part—that nine-street residential neighbourhood—that was West Broadway.

Streets like Spence, Young, Furby and Langside—which have seen ups... and downs... and ups again... over their 120-year history.

"A nice house on a swell street," reported an attendee of the Jewish Ladies Stag Party about a Furby Street house in 1920.

"Spence, Young, Furby, Langside: four inner-city streets synonymous with violent crime," read Page One of the *Winnipeg Free Press* on December 13, 1996.

Today the same streets are in the midst of the kind of gentrification you'd expect for big solid homes on tree-lined streets a five-minute walk from downtown.

Examining how these kinds of enormous changes happened, particularly over the last 50 years, is the purpose of this study.

## Early History

Part of West Broadway's unique character is because of the gentle curve in the Assiniboine River, which forms part of its southern boundary.

In the years when West Broadway was being built up on the western edge of the downtown, from 1890 to 1913, it was both an upper-class enclave and a bustling middle-class neighbourhood.

The bustling middle-class neighbourhood was because of Winnipeg's unprecedented growth in this period. Winnipeg was a boomtown, the immigration capital for the "Last Best West," a period of growth unequalled in the history of Canadian urban development. Houses and apartments (including many luxury apartments) couldn't be built fast enough to house the exploding population.

The upper-class enclave was because of the curve in the river.

In the 1890s, those benefitting the most from the city's incredible growth began building their mansions along the Assiniboine. One of the most exclusive areas was the gated community of Armstrong's Point, a peninsula of privilege enclosed in a meandering bend of the Assiniboine. Another was Crescentwood, an exclusive suburb south of the river created in 1904 and quickly home to many of the city's elite.



1910 Hathaway's Map of Winnipeg showing Balmoral Place.



Former home of Sir James Aikins, now Balmoral Hall School .

## THE CURVE IN BALMORAL STREET by Christian Cassidy

A 1904 column in the *Winnipeg Free Press* noted that “the plan on which Winnipeg is laid out gives unusual opportunity for pleasant departures from the stereotyped in house-building.” One example was the recently laid out Balmoral Place.

The Assiniboine Land Company was in the early stages of creating a residential subdivision out of the former James Spence estate that stretched from the Assiniboine River north to Broadway and from Colony Street to Spence Street. Balmoral Place cut through the centre of the development and ended in a curve where it met the Assiniboine River.

The developers’ intention was to establish a high-class residential street “safeguarded by desirable building restrictions” such as minimum lot widths of 50 feet which stretched to 64 feet along Balmoral Place’s curve (compared to the norm of 25 and 30 feet). What gave Balmoral Place an added sense of exclusivity was that the curve initially ended at Spence Street creating a secluded riverside loop, a miniature version of what the desirable Armstrong’s Point subdivision boasted. Several homes were constructed along the curve between 1906 and 1909 but its secluded nature was short lived.

Nearby urban development was having an impact on the neighbourhood: increased traffic and odours from the ever-expanding Shea’s Brewery; the neighbouring Winnipeg Amphitheatre constructed in 1909; and the decisive blow to seclusion came around 1917 when Balmoral Place was extended to join Young Street in a “T” intersection creating a thruway via Westminster Avenue.

The stately homes on Balmoral Place went up for sale at discount prices around this time: the 2,500 square foot house at number 32, the first to be built along the curve in 1906, was advertised for \$10,000 with the undignified tag

line, “Fine residence and garage for sale cheap.” Number 42, the grandest home on the curve with 4,600 square feet of space, built for contractor James Dagg, was put up for sale in 1917 with ads boasting “Beautiful Home at Bargain.” Dagg and family had retreated to Armstrong’s Point.

There were other changes to the neighbourhood over the next few decades.

In 1929, Sir James Aikins passed away. He had served as Manitoba’s Lt.-Gov. from 1916 to 1926. He bequeathed his three-story mansion at Westminster and Langside as a school for girls. Riverbend School began in 1929 and ultimately grew to one of Canada’s most prestigious schools, Balmoral Hall School, which eventually occupied the entire riverside block from Westminster almost to Armstrong’s Point.

Connecting Balmoral Place and Westminster as a through street led to establishing bus service—among many transportation services over the years that would change the neighbourhood. First was a Westminster bus in 1927 that linked Osborne Street and Westminster Avenue. In 1938 came the Wolseley route, which still runs today, linking downtown with the Wolseley neighbourhood.

In 1932, construction of the stadium required demolition of Bridges Avenue and some homes that acted as a buffer between Balmoral Place residences and Osborne Street developments. And finally, the construction of the headquarters of Great-West Life, which began in 1957, led to the demolition of a swath of houses along the east side of Balmoral Place.

In 1960, the final vestige of exclusivity was taken from Balmoral Place when the “Place” was dropped in favour of “Street,” forever aligning it, though not physically, with the more working class street of the same name that ran north of Broadway.

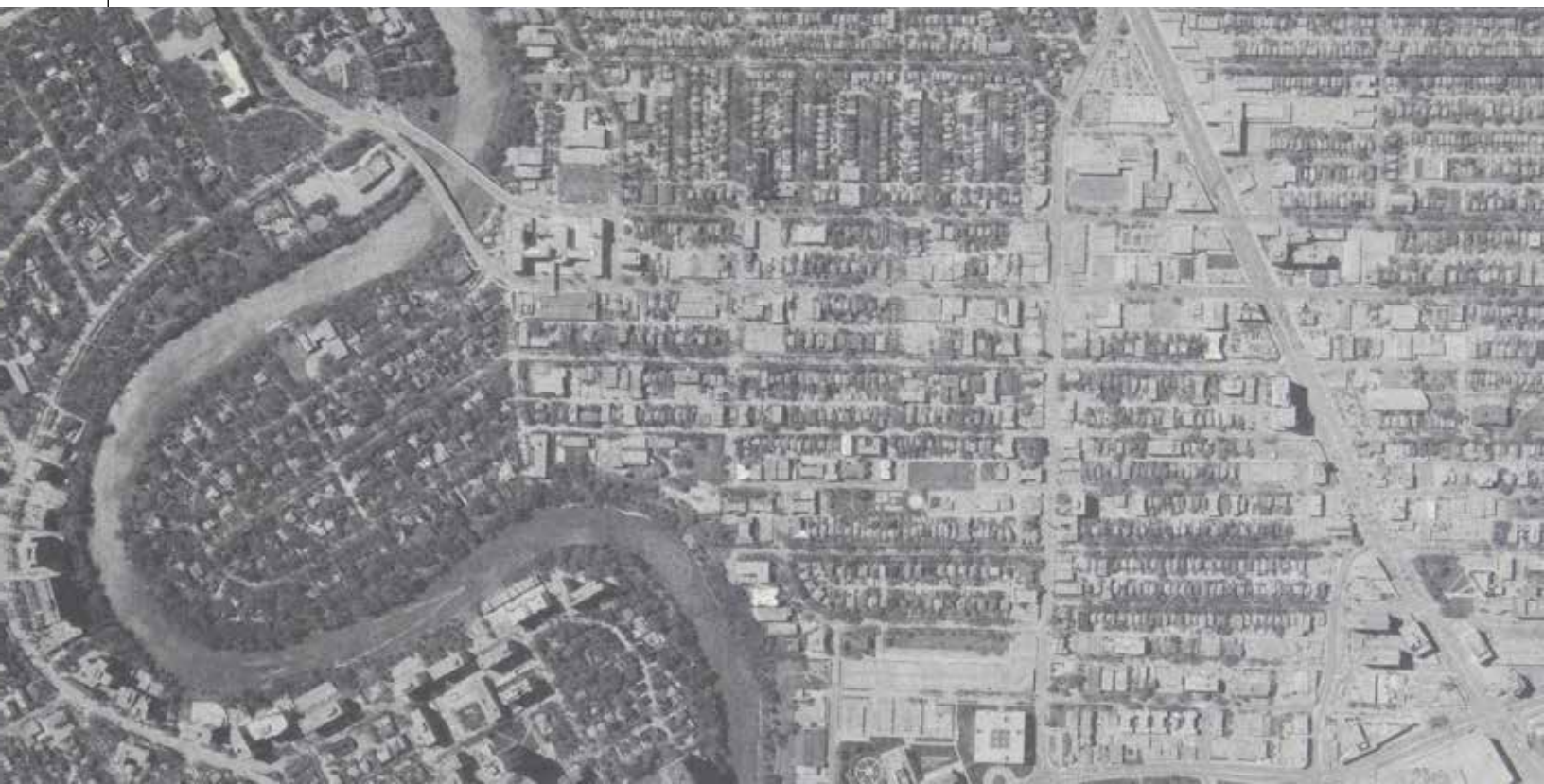
By 1913, when the boom ended, West Broadway's southern boundary was formed by the Assiniboine's gentle curve along three or four blocks until it reached Armstrong's Point, the wealthy gated community. Wealth was concentrated along those three or four blocks of the curve in the river, with the mansions of personages like businessman William Milner, president of the Grain Exchange, and Lt.-Gov. Sir James Aitkins. There were also river-view apartment blocks popular at the time: luxurious fittings, interior courtyards, hardwood floors, high roofs.

North and west of this exclusive enclave was the bulk of West Broadway, the nine streets stretching from the downtown on the east, along Broadway to the western edge of the city, and bounded on the north by Portage Avenue. Those nine streets were filled with solid three-story homes and many classic three- to four-story apartment blocks. The houses were substantial, with servants' quarters, big porches, well-kept lawns, mainly owned by businessmen, professionals, and a few successful working-class families. One city mayor lived in two of these houses before moving on to the wealthier River Heights neighbourhood being developed south of the river.

There were many of the new style apartments in West Broadway. The *Manitoba Free Press* (December 6, 1906) praised features of apartment living: electric lighting, gas ranges, full plate glass mirrors inset in closet doors, finishings in oak, birch, fir and maple, elaborate electric chandeliers, fireplaces, and extraordinary features such as "a mechanism in each suite which will open the front door no matter how far the room may be from the entrance." Apartments would always be a major part of West Broadway's character, with renters normally making up 90% of West Broadway's population.

In the early 1900s the neighbourhood reached the western edge of the city (now Maryland Street). On the west, Maryland and Sherbrook were the main commercial streets. Broadway was the main east/west commercial street. Separating West Broadway from downtown to the east was Osborne Street, with the provincial Legislature (completed in 1920), apartments, industries, and the city's entertainment centre: the Velodrome (arena) and Ampitheatre (stadium).

Aerial view shows West Broadway surrounded by the lush greenery of Armstrong's Point, Crescentwood across the Assiniboine river, and Wolseley in the top centre of the image. Broadway Avenue can be seen joining up with Portage Avenue in the top right.



The Wolseley neighbourhood west of Maryland developed later, and quickly became a centre for progressive thought (Nellie McClung, J.S. Woodsworth, and the citizen movement to ban apartment blocks). For many years West Broadway and Wolseley were considered together. By 1985, when West Broadway was definitely the poorer cousin, it began to be seen as a distinct neighbourhood.

Through two wars and the Depression, West Broadway gradually became less prestigious but still genteel. In 1936, one realtor advertised 294 Furby as “suitable for doctor, institution, or high class rooming house.”

One of many doctors in West Broadway in the ‘30s and ‘40s was Gordon Chown, the city’s chief pediatrician. His daughter Margaret was born in 1925 in the second floor bedroom of the family house, above his clinic, looking out over the corner of Spence and Broadway. Ninety-four years later, in 2019, she remained a staunch member of All Saints’ Anglican Church, a short walk down Broadway at Osborne. A picture of the All Saints’ scout troop from the ‘30s includes future premier Duff Roblin, whom Margaret dated. She won an award a few years ago for helping serve meals in the neighbourhood’s drop-in centre.

By the ‘50s West Broadway was still regarded as a respectable neighbourhood—middle-income, but some households bordering on poverty. The stretch close to the river was still the high-class end. Dotted throughout the neighbourhood, the many grand old apartment blocks were homes to young professionals.

And the big homes further from the river proved to be eminently adaptable for the type of housing known then as “rooming homes” (or “high class rooming houses”)—owners or caretakers and their families living on the ground floor, renting out rooms on the second and third floors. After the war, an influx of Polish, German, Hungarian and other nationalities who had prospered in other parts of the city moved into the big homes, their kids filling the streets with games and activities, Dad at work, Mom gardening in the backyard, and a variety of roomers on their second and third floors.

In the neighbourhood adjacent to West Broadway, a city plan to straighten the road around the “Wolseley Elm” met with fierce resistance.



One teacher who lived with her sister in such a rooming home remembers the neighbourhood of the ‘50s fondly—close to downtown; cream pies at Harmon’s Drugstore on Portage; entertainment at the nearby Ampitheatre and Velodrome along Osborne, “an excellent area with well-kept homes and nice houses.”

The neighbourhood in the ‘50s was a pretty sight indeed.

## Physical Changes

But the essential fabric of the neighbourhood was about to change under the onslaught of the automobile and suburbia. In the ‘50s, Winnipeg’s Metro government began straightening streets and designating roads in the city centre as thruways for the growing population of cars in the new suburbs.



New span of bridge curves into West Broadway (old Maryland Bridge to the left).

Originally Broadway was not a through street, starting at the Main Street railway station and ending just past Maryland, at what was then the edge of the city. In 1960, when the new Gordon Bell High School was being built just north of Broadway, the street was extended, making a jog upwards to meet Portage, turning Broadway into a high traffic route for commuters from the western suburbs. Ten years later, the same thing happened to the neighbourhood's main commercial streets, Maryland and Sherbrook.

Maryland and Sherbrook formed a five block stretch of businesses from the river to Portage. The south end included Misericordia Hospital, a large grocery store, and Westminster Church. The commercial strip continued north to Portage with neighbourhood businesses like Cousin's Deli and Gooch's bicycle shop. In 1970, the twinning of Maryland Bridge turned Sherbrook and Maryland into one-way streets designed to speed the rush hour traffic between the southern suburbs and downtown. Overnight, two neighbourhood-style commercial streets became major thruways (in fact, Broadway became part of Trans-Canada Hwy #1).

Also, in the '50s, the Ampitheatre and Velodrome occupying three square blocks on West Broadway's eastern edge were demolished and relocated to the Polo Park suburban area. By 1980, the entire area, plus two more blocks of housing, and the old Shea's Brewery, were re-developed to become head offices of Great-West Life Assurance Company, including several acres of parking. (*See Demolished!*)

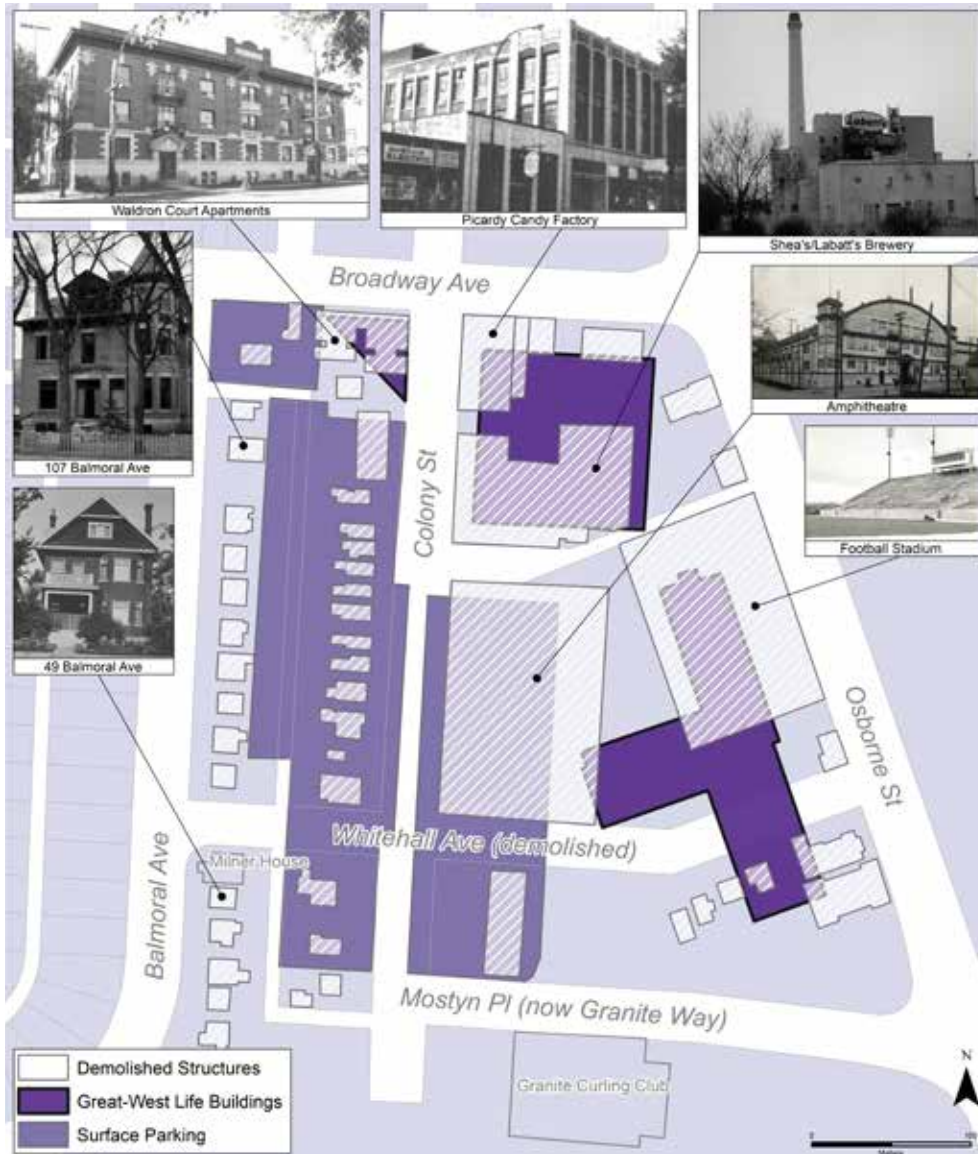
These three changes—making Broadway a thruway; expanding Sherbrook and Maryland as one-way traffic routes; and demolition of what would ultimately be four blocks of the old entertainment centre and adjacent housing—significantly altered the geographic fabric of West Broadway.



## DEMOLISHED!

The replacement of five square blocks of “Old Winnipeg” by the massive head office of Great-West Life was a significant alteration to the physical fabric of West Broadway. The Amphitheatre and Velodrome moved to Polo Park, renamed the Stadium and Arena. Among the other buildings demolished was the defunct Shea’s Brewery, which had provided one of the four corners in the old saying describing Broadway and Osborne: “Intoxication, Legislation, Recreation and Salvation,” (you figure it out.) Several dozen housing units were lost, including the grand old Waldron Apartments. Raymond Pichora and Ann Cathcart were Waldron residents who led an unsuccessful fight to save the 1910 building.

Shea’s Brewery is demolished, 1979.



**Dozens of community clubs like Broadway Optimist sprang to life in Winnipeg after the war — a major form of neighbourhood collective action. After the '60s, Broadway Optimist found it impossible to maintain a volunteer base. In a 1975 interview, club director John Robertson estimated 80% of the kids at the club came from single-parent families. He developed leagues for young adults and more children's activities like the wading pool, movie nights, arts and crafts. The club's mainstay was Bingo.**

top: Ginter Christmas dinner at 172 Langside. 1961: Gerry in white sleeves. (Gerry still has the clock that hung in the Ginter homes for years.) bottom: Gerry watering the lawn at 230 Young with older brother, Wally and baby brother, Bob, 1963 right: Wading pool at Broadway Optimist Community Club. (This photo shows the original building, circa 1969, which was replaced by the city in 1974, and again in 1990).

## Social Changes of the '60s and '70s

But just as important as these physical changes to the neighbourhood were the changes to the social fabric, beginning in the '60s and '70s. The story of Gerry Ginter growing up in the neighbourhood illustrates some of these changes. The Ginters were a low-income family, part of the exodus of rural Manitobans moving to the city to find work in the '50s. Gerry's dad was a carpenter. They lived in a succession of rooming homes, his mother, Margaret, supplementing their income by caretaking, cleaning, and collecting rents for various owners. Once when Margaret used the family allowance cheque to buy her daughter a special dress, the rest of the month was pork and beans. Bologna was the family's steak. But, as the photos in the family's album show, the family was not short on love.

Gerry was 10 years old in 1961 when the family moved into a rooming home at 172 Langside. He remembers a "free-range childhood": on hot summer days, putting on his swimming suit and walking the block to spend the day at Broadway Optimist Community Club's wading pool; walking downtown with a quarter to see the movies at the Rialto; playing street hockey, climbing trees, building forts by the river along with the gangs of kids growing up around him.

"I knew every street and back lane intimately."

In 1963, the family moved to another rooming home at 230 Young Street. Gerry remembers one of the boarders, a law student, David Rampersad, who became a respected crown attorney and honoured with the title of Queen's Counsel. In 1967, the family moved again, this time, a rooming home at 150 Furby Street. By now, Gerry was an older teenager, sneaking out his bedroom window at night to link up with friends looking for a party. In the West Broadway of the late '60s and early '70s, there were lots of parties to be found. He was part of the vast generation of baby boomers whose growth through the '60s and '70s would change so much of the country's social fabric. (See *Countercultures Find a Home in West Broadway*)







## COUNTERCULTURES FIND A HOME IN WEST BROADWAY

In the explosion of the youth culture of the '70s, West Broadway was a happening place. Hitchhikers gravitated to nearby Memorial Park, and the services that were established for them grew into such icons of the counterculture the Ting Tea Room—a centre for music, Buddhism and vegetarianism—and Klinik (See Klinik, A Petri Dish of Bubbling Ideas). Hippies and artists were drawn by the cheap rents and the action of downtown. Famed guitarist Lenny Breau lived in Cecily Court, one of several vintage apartment blocks on Furby.

Russ Rothney was an organizer of the “New Left” which, for a year in 1970, found its heart in a little bungalow at 256 Langside Street. They established a co-op/commune as headquarters for NDY (New Democratic Youth), which had what Russ describes as an “unorthodox” relationship with the formal New Democratic Party. (In 1969 the NDP surprised everyone by becoming the government in Manitoba). The house was a coffee house, a meeting space, a progressive library, an organizing centre and a place to crash for NDY young people. They formed collectives around particular issues (young cab drivers, Womens’ Lib, etc.) and organized rallies: anti-nuclear; anti-Vietnam War; Civil Rights; Cesar Chavez’s California farm worker’s boycott; First Nations rights; and more.

West Broadway was central to the emerging “Queer” culture, especially its two gay night clubs: Happenings and Giovanni’s. Tom Johnson was a young gay man just discovering his own sexuality when he first moved into West Broadway in 1973. West Broadway was affordable, and it was accepting.

Tom describes the three neighbourhoods that were accepting of gay people in Winnipeg: “Let’s face it, in any society there’s the rich and the poor, and the rich gays lived in Osborne (Village) and the more low-income lived in West Broadway, and the social activists lived in Wolseley.” Cheap rents and rich diversity were becoming part of the culture of West Broadway.

*top: Russ Rothney with neighbourhood kids at NDY house, middle: NDY in Vietnam War protest bottom: 1972 demonstration against local restaurant.*

By the time he was 20, in 1971, there were big changes in the Ginter family. His parents separated; his mother started a new career as a home care worker; baby brother, Bob, was now going to school, and his older siblings were moving out. Gerry had his friends over a lot, and Margaret decided that she would move somewhere where Bob would have better influences. “You guys are spending way too much time partying—I’m just going to go find my own place.”

For the next few years, Gerry stayed at the Furby Street house and describes it as steadily progressing to a “party house,” black lights, strange paintings on the walls: “The rent was cheap, we had access to a nice large space, I had a great big stereo, loud music, all hours of the night.” He spent several summers working up north. One day in 1974 he returned from a hitch-hiking trip to Vancouver to discover his friends had partied too hard, trashing a good part of his album collection. He moved out.

In the end, his most permanent reminders of the wild days of his West Broadway youth would be the friendship he made with a young woman who lived across the street on Furby who eventually became his wife; and the clock that hung on the family’s wall all through his childhood, which still hangs on his own family wall.

The change of 150 Furby from a home where a family was growing up to a party house was one piece of the major social shifts happening all through West Broadway in the ‘70s and ‘80s.

Janis Joplin in Memorial Park fountain, 1969.

As Gerry described the main principle of the new trend, “The landlord didn’t care, he just wanted his rent.”



Winnipeg's "slow growth" is really a euphemism for decline. The '70s marked the end of downtown's glory days, with many storefronts gaping empty along Portage. Desperation to develop downtown fueled the ill-fated Trizec deal in 1976 and the closing of Portage and Main in 1979 but the down-turn sank still further. Through the '80s, the Tribune closed, Canada Packers and the stockyard industry died, the CF-18 contract went to Montreal; all this before the real recession of the '90s, and the unkindest cut of all – the loss of the NHL-franchise Jets in 1996.

## Disinvestment and Deterioration

Those Polish, German, Hungarian and other families who had moved into West Broadway after the war were now grown up, and the children were moving to the suburbs. When the parents died off, the kids weren't interested in the big old family homes. Dozens were sold off. And the big old houses, originally designed for big families with servants; later adapted to rooming homes and boarding houses; were now ideal to fill the needs of more and more people who were experiencing real poverty as Winnipeg began its long descent into recession and "slow growth."

As poverty through the inner city grew, the big homes of West Broadway became home for many kinds of low-income people: many elderly; record numbers of baby boomers attending the nearby University of Winnipeg; hippies passing through (or staying); Indigenous people fleeing poverty on northern reserves; people with various disabilities being "deinstitutionalized." (For many years, the formerly luxurious Chown home was a group home for those with developmental disabilities.)

Don Dixon was a hippy passing through who found a cheap room for 1970–71 in Mary Herchie's rooming house on Furby. Mary had owned, managed and lived in 276/278 Furby since 1946, but by the late '70s her health was declining. Her daughter turned over management to a property management company. Over the next few years, as her daughter visited, she found the house filthy and run down; a door kicked in; her mother's suite burgled; a room occupied by tenants who quickly disappeared; several tenants with drinking problems. In 1985 she moved her mother out and sold the house.

"Guest Homes" on Balmoral, 1975.



Donald Teel described the deterioration he saw in the same period living in one of the vintage apartment blocks, Riverview Mansions, on the curve of the Assiniboine River. He loved the building's "down-at-the-heels elegance," bright windows looking over the interior courtyard, galley kitchen, vintage bathtub, sun-porch overlooking the foot of Spence Street. "In the last year of its existence (1985) things deteriorated," he recounts in Ardythe Basham's local history book, *Rising To The Occasion* (2000). "Owners changed, the maintenance diminished. Some rather unneighbourly types moved in and loud parties occurred." The building was demolished in 1985.

From the '70s and on into the '80s, things just got worse and worse. More and more impoverished people moved into the neighbourhood. There were many more party houses and it was no longer just record collections that were getting trashed.

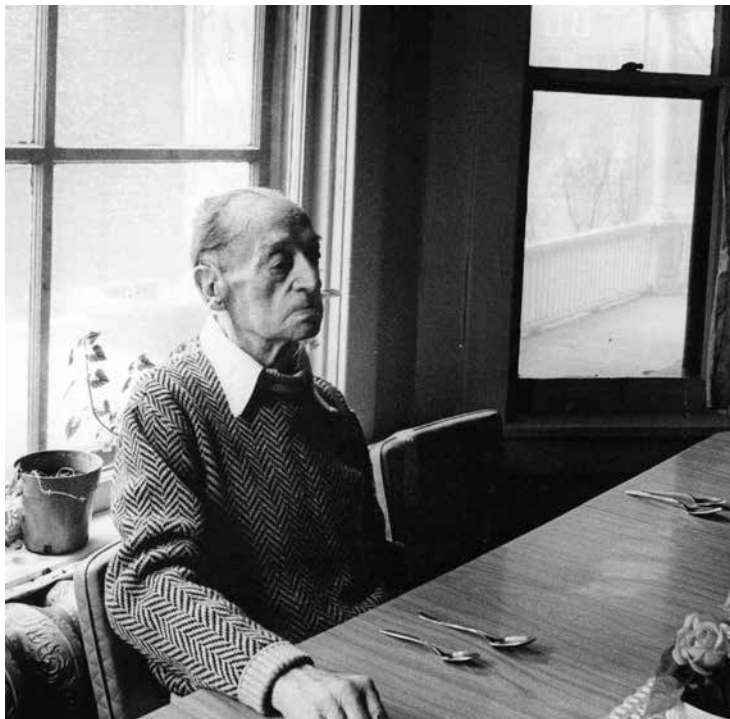
There were fewer rooming homes with growing families on the ground floor, but more and more single rooms, and many, many of them filled with people "wasting away in an atmosphere of neglect." These were the words used in a 1976 *Winnipeg Tribune* story describing four "guest homes" on Balmoral occupied by 57 elderly men and women.

The tenants were "vegetating." The houses were "unsafe, unsanitary." Although hospitals referred many tenants to the guest homes, they provided little health care. One man's toenails "had begun to decay due to the filth of his feet and socks."

The guest home conditions were exposed by Klinik, a unique health care facility that had grown up in West Broadway in this period. (See Klinik – A Petri Dish of Bubbling Ideas)

For over 60 years at Sals, Tom Starr was our Man of the People. His shining moment came the day the motorcade carrying Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip drove right past the Sals at Broadway and Langside – with our Tommy standing there blowing kisses to the Queen. A few hours later, Premier Ed Schreyer suddenly appeared at the Sals where he bestowed a fun title on Tom who from that moment on became known as 'The Duke of Broadway.'

Circa 1972



## KLINIC—A PETRI DISH OF BUBBLING IDEAS

Klinik was born out of the drug explosion of the hippie era and remains today a dynamic health care centre providing a wide array of services.

It grew out of CRYPT, a crisis program of volunteer doctors and medical students treating youth suffering from drug-related problems in 1969-70. CRYPT began at West Broadway's All Saints' Church, an ideal location for dealing with the massive numbers of youth hitching through and hanging out at nearby Memorial Park. (Its acronym has been variously interpreted as "Christian Response to Youth Passing Through" and "Committee Representing Youth Problems Today.")

After various iterations, in 1977 Klinik moved into the old Wilson House at the corner of Colony Street and Broadway. From that point on, the "Klinik house" became a landmark and a symbol of West Broadway. Perhaps because it was an example of radical, progressive, energetic, informal people all squeezed into a big building that was far too small for all that was happening in it.

Its casual atmosphere was a deliberate departure from the hospital and clinical formalities of the day. Equally important to the medical services it offered were a huge array of counseling and crisis phone lines. Volunteers were trained in suicide prevention, drug intervention, rape counseling and more. It was a progressive leader in many of the social revolutions taking place in the '70s and '80s, from feminism to abortion rights to LGBT issues.

Hedie Epp, who worked at Klinik from 1978 to 1981, remembers how progressive it was: "As part of our training, we would interview the person we were sitting beside and introduce them to the group. My interviewee was going through a sex change – I'd never heard of anything like that. My head just opened up."

As well as its youth orientation, Klinik had a strong community organizing component which led them to work with seniors, people with disabilities and the many marginalized people in West Broadway.

*top:* Klinik had an active program for seniors.

*middle:* "Guest homes" were a way of life for many seniors.

*bottom:* By 1990 the Wilson House was too crowded and Klinik moved to a larger building on Portage, just outside of West Broadway.



Agape at Broadway Community Centre, circa 1985.

Logan was an inner city neighbourhood in Winnipeg that was the focus of much community organizing work in the '70s. In 1978 the government proposed a freeway through the neighbourhood over the CPR rail yards. Typical urban renewal, it would demolish one of the city's most impoverished neighbourhoods. The injustice sparked resistance in the neighbourhood, including a large number of First Nations people, and rallied supporters in other parts of the city. Activist organizations like CHOICES grew out of this organizing.

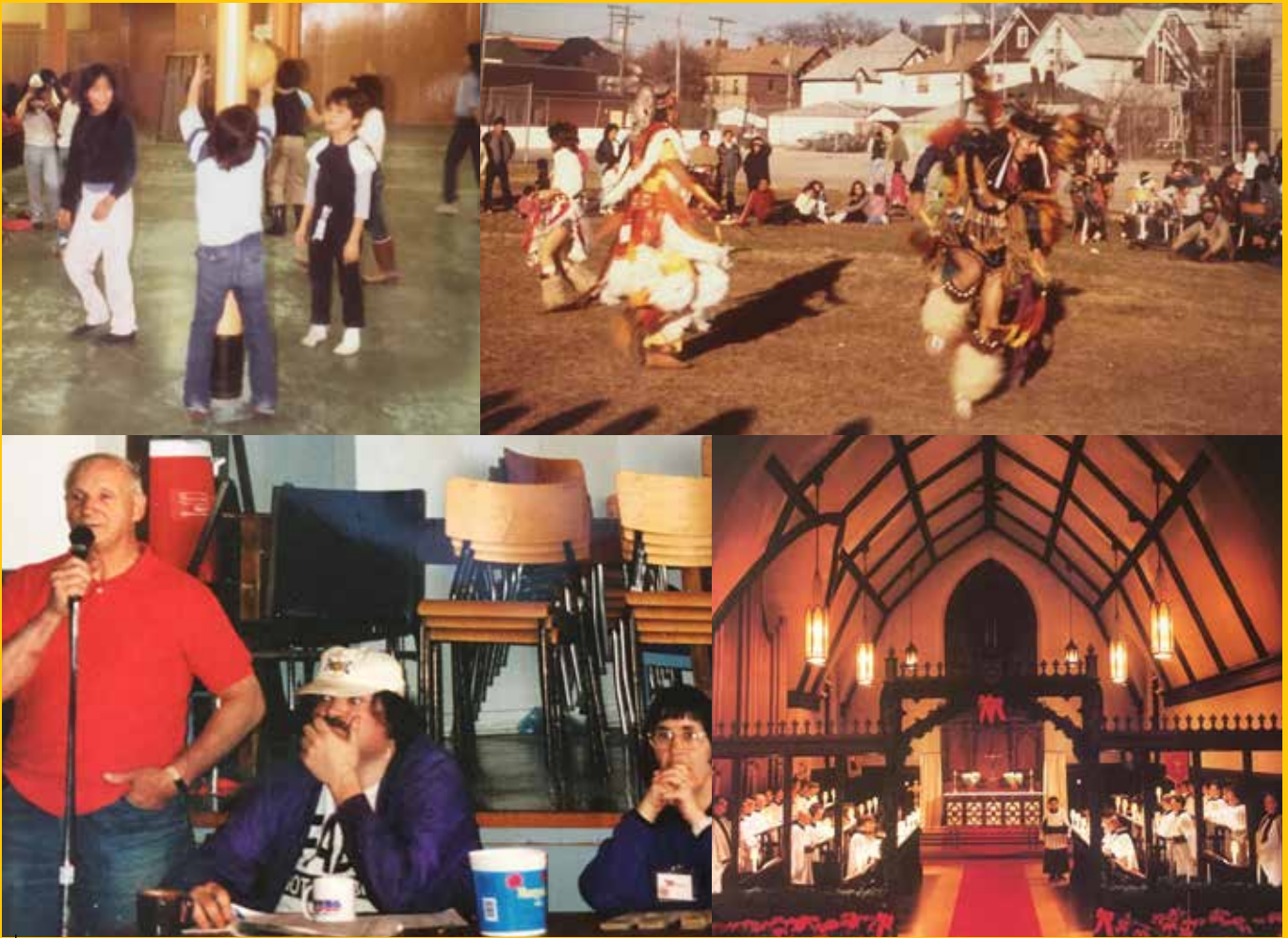
## Klinic Community Organizer Colin Muir

Colin Muir was a community organizer with Klinic. He had arrived in Winnipeg in 1971 from Ohio as a conscientious objector to the Vietnam War. His arrival coincided with the slow beginning of downtown's decay, but he was excited by the vitality of the city and the chance to do the kind of community development work he was trained for but unable to do in the States.

He initially worked in the Logan area, working with a young social worker to establish a credit union that allowed people on welfare to open accounts and take out small loans. (The social worker, fresh out of school, was Greg Selinger, who 40 years later would become Manitoba's premier.) Then Colin became a community development worker with Logan's Neighbourhood Service Centre.

In 1979 he joined Klinic in West Broadway in its Community Outreach program. Much of his initial work centered on developing programs for the elderly men and women being warehoused in the neighbourhood's guest homes. This included acquiring a van for outings, organizing medical supports, social activities, shopping trips—whatever was needed—including an attempt to organize the owners of the homes.

He expanded his work in the '80s to help facilitate broader community action. His method of community organizing was to be a neutral facilitator, allowing the natural leaders in a community to develop their ideas. For example, Colin recalls an early meeting of religious leaders from around the city who were concerned with people in the neighbourhood who simply did not have money for food. As they developed their idea of a neighbourhood soup kitchen, Colin suggested the concept of people eating and sharing around a table. He suggested the Christian concept "Agape" (meaning love) to describe the table. Colin had nothing else to do with developing the idea, but, in 1980, Agape Table opened its doors and was still running in the West Broadway area 40 years later. (See Churches – From Packed Congregations to Neighbourhood Spaces)



*clockwise, from top left:* Kids from the church's Youth Outreach program play basketball in Young's basement, circa 1986. The basement was destroyed in the fire at the end of 1987; Community Ministry pow-wow at Broadway Community Centre, 1986; All Saints' Boys' and Men's choir tours England in 1983; Ted Nimik and Bill Rockwell at a Community Ministry meeting.

## CHURCHES—FROM PACKED CONGREGATIONS TO NEIGHBOURHOOD SPACES

There is probably no better barometer of the deterioration of the West Broadway neighbourhood than the stories of two mainline churches—All Saints' Anglican and Young United. Their cavernous sanctuaries that once held 400 or more worshippers and packed Sunday schools were emptying in the '70s and '80s.

Aside from the general decline in attendance of Anglican and United Churches everywhere in this period, increasingly the old families still attending now lived in the suburbs. The tour to England of All Saints' traditional Boys' and Men's choir in 1983 showed the glory of the old church in all its majesty, but that was fast fading. What was growing rapidly at the same time was the ministry the two churches had established in the '70s to meet the needs of the neighbourhood in which they were situated.

West Broadway Community Ministry (WBCM) was a joint ministry in which the two congregations hired a community minister and provided space for many services: a seniors' club; a drop-in where people could have coffee and sandwiches and enjoy community; a program for people with disabilities; a food bank; outings to the

beach in summer; and more. Community Minister Ted Nimik was a former police officer who felt the Community Ministry was the most effective work he'd done because it created relationships with many neighbourhood people who became regulars. One of the regulars was Bill Rockwell who once said he had three passions: the Community Ministry where he volunteered almost every day, rock and roll (especially Kiss), and the amateur wrestling matches he helped organize on Saturday nights at the Broadway Optimist Community Club.

An offshoot of the Community Ministry was West Broadway Youth Outreach which provided programs for neighbourhood kids.

A third program was the soup kitchen, Agape Table, which was affiliated with several churches and was constantly outgrowing one location after another.

All three ministries found their services were increasingly being used by First Nations people. WBCM recognized this in 1986 by organizing a pow-wow on the grounds of the community centre.

Colin was also involved with the Broadway Action Steering Committee (BASC) in 1983, hiring David Northcott as community worker. David came from a banking/business background. His two years at BASC taught him the basics of community work and led to his key role in establishing Winnipeg Harvest in 1985. Harvest is still the city's major food bank.

Reflecting on community organizing work, Colin says he drew from the teachings of Paulo Friere, Gandhi, Martin Luther King and others, trying to create equal and respectful dialogues with residents, knocking on doors, meeting around kitchen tables, helping each of the different communities within a neighbourhood find their natural leadership, and trying to draw it together:

Colin: **And this stayed with me throughout my career. Find local residents who you could tell had leadership potential and could gain the respect of their particular group... whether it was First Nations... or people on welfare, say versus the working poor, would have different members of that community who had leadership potential...**

**An essential component to building community, to building especially what used to be called social capital... is really the supporting of "We" space. The "I's" have to come together and make some kind of mutual agreement to form the "We" space. And isolated "I's" have trouble with that. And it doesn't matter what your standing is, in any community, regardless of wealth, or income, or status in any other way, if there's not a willingness to move into that social capital range of a healthy "We" space, you don't have community....**

**There are always ways to resolve the dissonance and difficulties that people face together, if there's enough common resonance in pockets of people in community.**

It was to take many years and many small incremental steps for the natural leaders in West Broadway to work through the dissonance and create the "We" space of collective neighbourhood action.

## Druggist Larry Leroux Talks to Businesses

One of those natural leaders was Larry Leroux, not a resident, but a key figure in West Broadway's business community. Larry purchased Broadway Pharmacy, at the corner of Young and Broadway, in 1980. His first day on the job, a "rubby" (someone who gets high on cheap substances like rubbing alcohol) and a big guy carrying a 12-pack of beer got into a fight in front of the pharmacy. Larry phoned Emergency 911, but police didn't come for an hour.

In his spare time Larry played hockey with a lot of police. "I told them the story and they said, "Oh yeah, you know what? We have zones we don't rush to... if there's a fight on Broadway, what you do is you come there and you take notes after; you clean up; you don't go in there and break it up."

Larry found this a bit scary.

He was also concerned because the city's main welfare office was down the street at 705 Broadway. And that office did have police inside to protect the workers from clients who weren't happy. "The police officer would kick these people out onto the streets of West Broadway and we would have to deal with them. So make sure your workers are okay, but

In 1981, the three levels of government created a unique federal/provincial/municipal partnership called the Core Area Initiative (CAI). CAI and its successors put \$346 million over the next 15 years into old-fashioned concepts like urban renewal and revitalization, and newer concepts like community development, to help the city's core. Critics point out that the lion's share in the first years went to redeveloping Winnipeg's downtown with projects like The Forks and Portage Place Shopping Mall.

don't worry about the community that you're in."

It was in 1982 that things came to a head for Larry. Josef Sirota, the goldsmith two doors down from Broadway Pharmacy was shot during a robbery. It was his third robbery in three years. Even before the shooting, Josef had been contemplating moving out of the neighbourhood. He recovered and moved away, but the incident caused Larry to start visiting other businesses in the neighbourhood to talk about organizing.

They had a meeting at the Broadway Optimist Community Club: Larry; Pat Rhodes, from Wheat Song Bakery; the manager of Penner's; Jerry from the wool shop; someone from Thomson Funeral Home, and maybe a half-dozen others. "We said, okay, let's form this business association so we can fight crime... From there, two people from the Core Area Initiative came and presented this way that we could do the physical enhancement of West Broadway. And they had dollars."

In the beginning, the businesses were not able to do much more than add streetscape improvements. As well, Larry's group talked to the police in the welfare office and an officer started a daily walk: one day down Broadway from the welfare office to Osborne, and on alternate days, down Sherbrook to the Misericordia Hospital. "He was excellent," recalled Larry. "He would stop and talk to residents and businesses alike. It was great, but for some reason it stopped."

### 1985—"The Poor and Trendy Meet on the Street."

In 1985, the *Free Press* highlighted the neighbourhood on the front page of its upbeat *Tempo* section. "Eclectic" West Broadway was trying to shake its rough reputation and join the likes of Winnipeg's trendy neighbourhoods like Osborne and Corydon.

Writer Craig McInnes captured a major dynamic of the neighbourhood in his title, "The poor and trendy meet on the street":

"Anne Klein, co-owner of Drake's Salad Bar and Deli at 555 Broadway, reluctantly refers to a good percentage of her clientele as 'Yuppies, as much as I hate the word.'

They come in droves to the four-year-old restaurant, nibbling on salads and sipping Perrier, while, scant meters away, society's less fortunate must scavenge through the leftovers Drake's pitches into its back-lot garbage bin.

'It's a very mixed area,' says Klein. 'What I find, it breaks my heart. Four out of five nights when I leave here, there are native families eating out of our garbage cans. A father climbed right in the bin the other night and was handing food out to his family.'

Craig's reference to "native families" captures a piece of West Broadway's reality that is difficult to quantify—the large number of First Nations people drawn to West Broadway because of cheap housing. He quotes statistics in his story indicating the area had two-to-four times the city average in welfare, one-parent families with children under 12, and two-parent families below the poverty line.



There is a principle in Indigenous research “Nothing about us, without us.” Since our study of West Broadway had no Indigenous researchers, it can perpetuate colonial attitudes by simply leaving out Indigenous accounts. First Nations people were involved with many stories, not only of poverty but also of community development. (For instance, the creation of a First Nations child welfare agency, Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre, in 1984.) A different perspective on much of the history we are recording here can be found in Owen Toews’ 2018 book: *Stolen City—Racial Capitalism and the Making of Winnipeg*.

Just a few blocks from West Broadway, two brothers, Richard and Danny Wolfe, were growing up. Joe Friesen’s 2016 book, *The Ballad of Danny Wolfe*, describes their childhood—alcoholic single mother, foster homes, petty crime, abandoned to fend for themselves most of the time. It was in 1988 that the two brothers, then 12 and 13 years old, sought to create their own kind of family by creating Indian Posse, which would grow to become one of Winnipeg’s largest street gangs.

The childhood the Wolfe brothers experienced was not the same kind of childhood Gerry Ginter had experienced 20 years earlier. As well as a radically different family structure, the structure of West Broadway had changed. It had become a colder, uglier place since the end of the ‘60s, a place where many more were wasting away, and many were struggling to survive whatever way they could.

There were faint small steps building towards some kind of community—the Community Ministry, Agape Table, Klinik, businesses starting to come together, the flowering of Queer culture, including efforts by a soon-to-be rookie alderman Glen Murray (later to be Winnipeg’s first openly gay Mayor), neighbourhood places like the churches and the Broadway Optimist club.

But it seems for every step forward, there were two steps back. For instance, 1987:

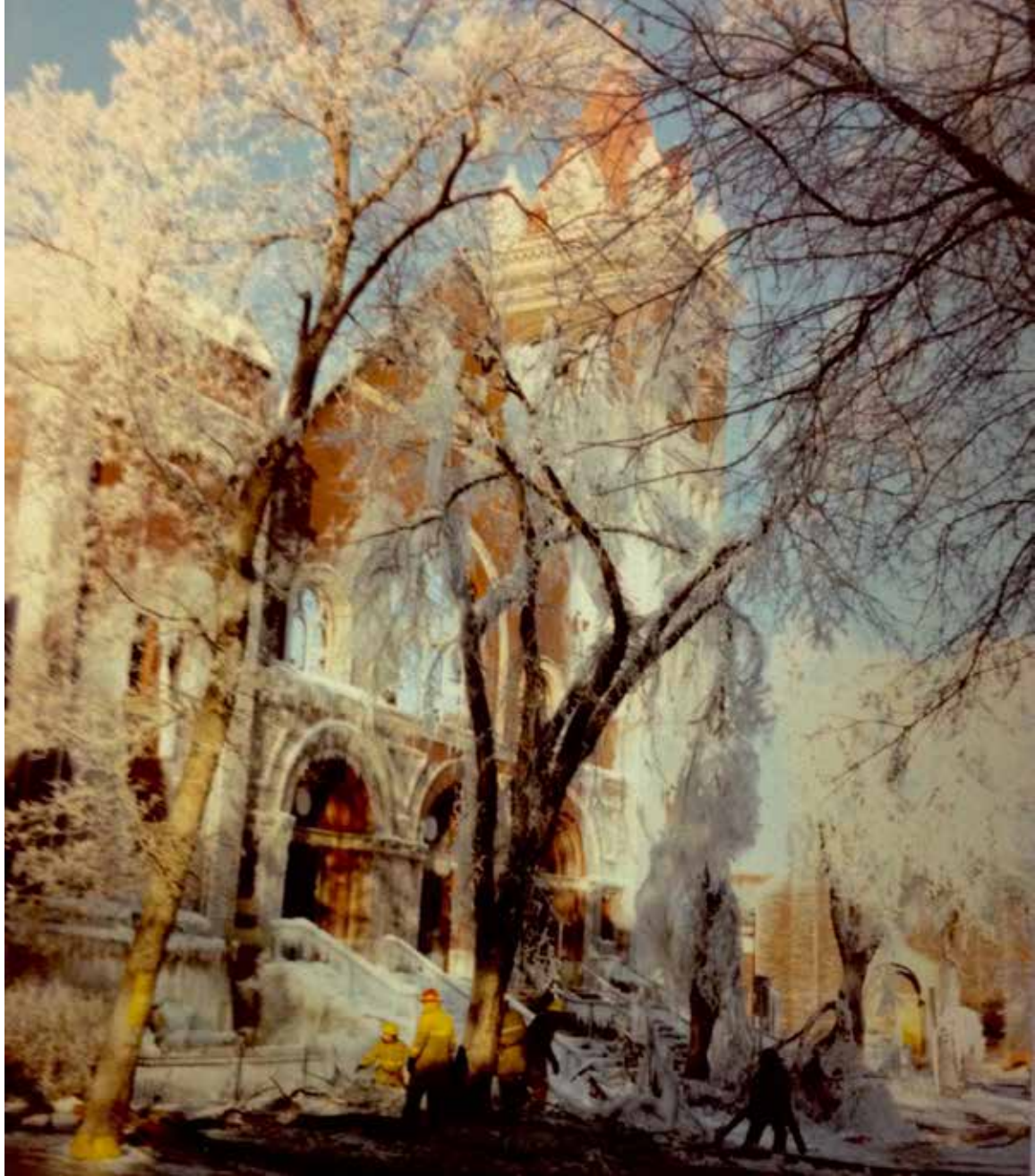
**June, 1987:** Broadway Optimist kicks out Agape Table claiming its facilities are too run-down for cooking, and concerned about crowds of homeless people as the wading pool season opened.

**August, 1987:** The city’s first Gay Pride parade is organized out of Broadway Optimist club, Tom Johnson a proud member. (See *Tom’s story in* Countercultures Find a Home in West Broadway) Several members of the parade wore paper bags on their heads because it was still not safe to come out beyond neighbourhoods like West Broadway.

Young United Church after the fire in December, 1987.



**December, 1987:** Young United Church burns to the ground, a fire set by two young boys with nothing better to do on a cold December night.



**CHAPTER 3**

1988-1994  
“Everybody’s Going  
in Different Directions”

The ice-covered steeple was all that remained of Young United Church.

It was significant that most members of Young United Church found out about the fire that destroyed their church by seeing it on television. This was because most of them lived in the suburbs.

Two who didn't were Ken DeLisle and John Robertson, a gay couple who lived across the street at Cicely Court. They remember watching the fire and sheltering a small group of the congregation as they mourned their loss.

Over the following months there were pressures to take the insurance money and relocate to the suburbs.

Congregant Margaret Rowley disagreed: "There was a strong feeling that the building might be gone but that the people were the church. We said: 'We are *needed* in this community, but not just as a church.' You know, we could worship somewhere else but we need a safe place for the community to meet."

Ailene Urquhart, the community minister for West Broadway Community Ministry (WBCM), remembers one early church meeting where possible futures were being considered. "It was at that meeting that we were told that it was two boys, 10- or 11-years-old, who were part of the youth outreach program who had set the fire. There was this long pause and the person who chaired the board at that time said—'So that's all the more reason why we need to stay in the neighbourhood and support the families and the youth and children in the neighbourhood.'"

The church hired civic planner Harry Finnigan to help them plot a future course. They began knocking on doors in the neighbourhood and holding public meetings at the Community Centre to ask the community what they wanted. It would take five years for something to rise from those ashes.

Those five years, from 1988 to 1993, were years when many other agents of change were planting seeds in the neighbourhood. In brief, here are quick summaries of five of these agents for change.

## Agent for Change—Churches

Just as Young United was consulting with the neighbourhood, other neighbourhood churches were trying to address the growing poverty.

Lawyer and Judge Charles Huband remembered meetings in the early '90s at Westminster Church, at the foot of Maryland. They determined the most significant change they could make was improving the housing stock. Christine McKee was a member of Westminster and also on the board of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). The federal government was still financing co-op housing in those days. They started with the "slum dwellings" almost directly across the street on Maryland, constructing a four-story 37-unit co-op. In 1993, they incorporated as Westminster Housing Society and began considering other projects in the neighbourhood.

The soup kitchen, Agape Table, was another church endeavour. From 1980 to '90 it bounced

## SOCIAL CONTEXT: THE LEAN MEAN '90S

In the wider society, the “lean, mean ‘90s” referred to the era when Canadians stopped thinking in terms of the unique social contract and safety net they’d built up over generations and instead, accepted austerity. The policies of the lean, mean ‘90s created tremendous growth in poverty and income inequality. “Hearts harden against the poor” read one *Free Press* headline in 1997, capturing the new spirit near the end of the decade.

Deep-set patterns in the capitalist system were reshaped into new buzz-words which made it all inevitable: globalization, the ‘90-’92 recession, outsourcing, downsizing, restructuring. It was the era of Thatcherism, Reaganomics, and in Canada, Brian Mulroney: free trade, deregulation, and the GST. The arrival of the Chretien government in 1993 brought a deepening of neoliberal thinking: ending federal housing, replacing the Canada Assistance Program with lump-sum payments to the provinces for social services, and other austerity measures.

The provincial Conservative government of Gary Filmon elected in 1988 deepened the “downloads.” Provincial and municipal welfare were merged at the lower provincial rate. It wasn’t just that benefits were leaner, but there was a new meanness: the old *Social Allowances Act* became the *Employment and Assistance Act*, opening the door to “Workfare”, snitch-lines” and Employment Assistance Insurance applicants in “job clubs” making their mandatory 10-calls-a-day for employment.

In *Stolen City* (2018) Owen Toews points out that in 1996, 50% of Winnipeg’s city-centre households lived in poverty, a big rise from 33% in 1971. Winnipeg Centre, the federal riding that includes West Broadway, became Canada’s poorest federal riding. Between 1980 and 2011 the gap between Winnipeg’s poor and wealthy neighbourhoods widened even further. During this period, nearly all neighbourhoods with average household incomes below the city average fell even further below, while nearly all above-average income neighbourhoods rose even further above the average (Distasio and Kaufman, 2015).

As a result of the cuts, the austerity and the new meanness, those in poverty found it increasingly difficult simply to survive.

Food banks, rooming houses, payday loan companies and soup lines were part of an increasing industry of poverty that became a fixed part of inner-city life.

C.A.N.E. (Canadian Association for the Non-Employed)

was one local group that arose, not simply in response to the lean cuts, but to the mean attitudes. Joan Johansson started holding meetings in the basement of a Home Street church in 1993 but soon transferred to the newly-built Crossways. “When you’re unemployed, you’re isolated and devalued,” said Joan in a 1993 news article. “We believe we can make a difference when we work together.” They met on Tuesdays, when the drop-in wasn’t open, serving up food, discussion circles and political action.

Joan and a small circle of activists were tireless campaigners for those entering deeper levels of poverty: speaking at hearings, confronting politicians, creating demonstrations, writing letters and petitions, creating a community of people to support each other. In December 1994 they created a video “We Are The People, Listen To Us” in response to a federal government request for submissions on social reform.

But nobody was listening.

# Hearts harden against the poor

*Martin’s budget reflects Canadians’ views in polls*

By Bruce Owen  
Staff Reporter

**T**HE HOLE in the nation’s social safety net is widening as the Chretien government, backed by the sentiments of many Canadians, slowly unloads its responsibility to the poor, critics and experts say.

In fact, Finance Minister Paul Martin’s latest budget was inspired in part by a series of Angus Reid polls, obtained by the *Free Press*, that showed a slim majority of Canadians (51 per cent) believe reducing payments to welfare recipients is a good thing because it makes them more self-reliant.

Martin’s budget gave tax incentives to low-income families and largely ignored those who collect social insurance benefits.

The perceived change in Canadian values has taken place over the last decade as years of government overspending on social programs and huge deficits came to a head, University of Manitoba political scientist Paul Thomas said.

Thomas said Canadians were told social assistance and unemployment benefits were too generous and had to be reduced, not only to cut spending but to make going on welfare less attractive.

“It’s not that we’ve had a change of heart,” added U of M economist Derek Hum.

“It’s just that the heart for the first time had to contend with a shrinking pocket-



**The public’s views on government and the poor:**

**Q Who should be primarily responsible for the poor?**

- Government — 48 per cent
- Families — 43 per cent

**Q How do you view government reductions in social assistance for the poor?**

- Good thing: Makes poor more self-reliant — 51 per cent
- Bad thing: Makes life harder for the poor — 41 per cent

Source — Angus Reid

book.”

The Angus Reid polls were conducted in late 1995 through 1996 to track public opinion for the Liberals.

Continued  
Please see SOCIAL /A2



C.A.N.E. volunteers at community gathering.



“Super” Al and Karen at All Saints’ door to Agape Table.

around from site to site, including its eviction from the community centre in 1987. All this time, the need for its services was growing.

“Super” Al Rogowski was a community volunteer at Agape from the day it opened. He remembers the first day, a table with eight guests. But by the time they were evicted from the community centre, the original eight had reached over a hundred guests a day. A few more years of wandering, and then, in 1990, Agape found a permanent home in the parish hall of All Saints’ Church.

1990—the year Agape moved into All Saints’—was a big year for Al personally. It was that year that he and his partner Karen stopped drinking. Prior to this, he remembers “closing down” the Sherbrook Inn (i.e., drinking until it closed) and then going home with a 40-ounce bottle of vodka. “Just got up one morning and said, ‘Karen, we got to stop, we’re slowly killing ourselves.’ We never looked back.”

Al says it was volunteering at Agape that saved his life. “It got me off the street,” he said when interviewed in 2018. “When I started volunteering at Agape, I no longer got to be on the street—I had a purpose now.”

## Agent for Change—Gangs and First Nations Families

Al and Karen lived at 85 Young St., a once high-class corner of the neighbourhood that had significantly deteriorated.

The interview with “Super” Al also revealed the increasing violence in several groups within the neighbourhood. Like many who were poor, Al remembers several fights with “punks trying to jack me up.” This was the period Joe Friesen identifies in his book, *The Ballad of Danny Wolfe*, as “a period of murder and mayhem that forever changed Winnipeg and cemented the presence of street gangs in the city.” The Indian Posse (IP) and other gangs were a massive force for change for many young people.

In a period of instability in her life, when her children were apprehended by Child and Family Services (CFS), Karen’s own daughter joined IP.

Given the context of the times, gangs were a legitimate (although illegal) form of collective agency. It had been in 1985 that the inquiry led by family court judge Edwin Kimelman had used the term “cultural genocide” to describe Manitoba’s Child and Family Services apprehension of Indigenous children. Is it any wonder that these children would turn to gangs? Racism, poverty and loss of family and culture were their way of life.

And so, for many Indigenous youth and their families, the two main gangs, IP and Manitoba Warriors, became their day-by-day reality. In 1996, both Phil Fontaine, Grand Chief of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, and Ovide Mercredi, national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, made highly criticized approaches to Manitoba gang leaders. As Ovide was quoted, “the young Aboriginal men representing these gangs were true leaders in their community.”

By the 1990s, the once-respectable stretch of apartments along the curve of the Assiniboine River, at the bottom of Balmoral, Spence and Young, had deteriorated. One of the best landlords in the neighbourhood was Doug Sneath who had bought three of these apartments and ran them well, including Al and Karen’s apartment at 185 Young.



But there were many non-gang-affiliated First Nations families in West Broadway as well.

Mary Niemi and her family moved to Winnipeg in the early '70s and lived in seven homes until they found a big house at 118 Langside being rented out by Kinew Housing, a non-profit housing provider for First Nations families. They lived there for 20 years, through the '80s and '90s. Like many First Nations people, Mary's concept of family was much wider than the Western nuclear family model: the house was home to Mary, her children, her grandchildren and a wide variety of relatives and non-relatives who called Mary "Aunty."



Mary's children, Roxanne and Jacques, and niece, Candida, grew up together. "We formed our own gang," Jacques said. "We took over the neighbourhood." They hung out at the community club. "It kept us out of trouble," Roxanne said. Roxanne was the child chosen to present flowers to the Lt.-Gov.'s wife when the new community centre was opened in 1990.

"In the 1980s and 1990s West Broadway was gang territory," explained David Burley in his 2008 history, *Living on Furby, Narratives of Home*. "Jacques, Roxanne and Candida knew gang members from their years in school, from walking around the neighbourhood and from the hours they spent roller-skating at the rink just across Portage Avenue. But because the younger generation was already so strong a family, they felt no need to find a surrogate in a gang."

top: "Tagging" properties was part of the ways gang staked out their territory. bottom: Mary Niemi and Roxanne in 2007—by this time Roxanne's own children were hanging out at the community centre.

## Agent for Change—Residents' Associations

A West Broadway Residents' Association was created in the late '80s and early '90s, but its membership fluctuated.

In 1990, Bruce Moore is identified as president at a public meeting where he urges development of home ownership and co-op development to fight non-resident landlords and the transient nature of many residents.

In 1992, Coralie Darsey-Malloy also began efforts to form a Residents' Association. Coralie and partner David Malloy had moved into her parent's former home at 133 Langside in 1990. Her parents had run a convenience store and lived in West Broadway since 1962.

Coralie's first step was to consult Ron and Carole Basarab, residents of Spence, who along with Spence neighbour, Wanda Koop, had been part of a Residents' Association. "They had originally had a residents' association, so we got in touch with them," recalled Coralie. "There was an interest but people's concern was that because we did it before, because we couldn't hold the momentum, because there was a lot of resistance, we all got burned out, so, if we're going to do this, we need more fresh people, we need more people to do more things."

**In *Living on Furby*, David Burley (2008) estimates that, by the late 1990s, 27% of West Broadway's population was Aboriginal—"probably an underestimate given residential transience and the fluidity of household membership."**



left: Coralie's parents ran the convenience store at 96 Young Street  
right: Coralie welcomes MLA Jean Friesen to a Residents' Association coffee house at the Broadway Community Centre in 1992.



Coralie was happy to provide the fresh perspective. She saw the physical deterioration of the neighbourhood. But the real deterioration was in the social atmosphere: “It wasn’t the same as when I was there earlier. When Mom and Dad first bought the house, there was a sense of ownership and pride in the neighbourhood. As the rooming houses took over, the residents were more transient, so there was less interest in maintaining properties.”

She and David believed in the need for a residents’ association to build a sense of community. They knocked on doors. They organized a coffee house at the community centre in 1992 with over a hundred people attending.

But, by 1993, they were turning their efforts more towards the community club where David had been elected as president. (See Neighbourhood Spaces: Broadway Community Centre). They organized a successful pow-wow in the summer of 1993. But they too found they were burning out. They left West Broadway in 1994 to pursue their own dream of living in the country.

**Not all tenants were transient. Brent Mitchell moved into a rooming house in 1988 because it was close to the art gallery, where he wanted to work. As an artist, he remembers marveling at the beauty of the ice-covered steeple of Young United following the fire. For one month he was on welfare, but he soon got a job at the art gallery and moved to an apartment. Over the next 30 years, he would play many roles in West Broadway organizations—teacher, gardener, and volunteer board member. And, all that time, he remained a tenant.**

## Agent for Change—Tenant/Landlord Organizing

Most of the attempts at establishing Residents’ Associations had been attempts to organize homeowners. They regarded rooming houses and group homes as evidence of transiency. However, in a neighbourhood where 92% of residents were renters, there was a real need to reach out to tenants.

Linda Williams was a social worker whose job had been helping tenants displaced when the city condemned rundown properties. She felt saving homes was a better option. A trip to community housing projects in Chicago in the ‘80s showed her neighbourhood groups that were providing housing, planting gardens, painting murals, all centered around buildings that “we would have bulldozed.” She and other housing activists—members of the social workers’ Interagency Group—created the Winnipeg Housing Coalition.

The Coalition chose West Broadway as a test area because it was smaller than the North End and Logan areas where Linda had been working. “And, you know what – it is smaller. But one thing they didn’t seem to account for at that time, and it didn’t occur to me, was the

This 1992 coffee house was an early attempt to bring residents together.



amount of people in the West Broadway neighbourhood was, like, twice the amount in that whole north end area of houses,” she recalled in a 2018 interview. “We didn’t know where we were going yet, even at that point, but we were heading to the private sector.” Linda knew she needed to organize tenants, but this also meant landlords.

In 1993 she set up the West Broadway Neighbourhood Housing Resource Centre in the multi-purpose room at 661 Sara Avenue, a building that had been renovated by a city agency, Winnipeg Housing Rehabilitation Corporation. For a couple of years, she was a volunteer. She attended meetings, networked with agencies and her many contacts among landlords, hung a sign in the window, and got to know tenants and others in the neighbourhood.

By 1994 she had gathered a core group of about a dozen volunteers, including young offenders serving community time. Their first major project was door-knocking throughout the neighbourhood to conduct a safety audit.

## Agent for Change—Businesses

For Larry Leroux at Broadway Pharmacy, the years from 1988 to 1994 were a steep learning curve.

“We were winging it. We were learning as we were going,” he recalled in a 2018 interview.

And like all good learning, sometimes the biggest jump forward was when the learning changed Larry more than it changed the neighbourhood.

The first period, up until 1988, had started when his neighbour, the goldsmith, had been shot. Larry had brought businesses along Broadway together and they had succeeded in getting Core Area funds, almost half of which went for streetscaping. Businesses on South Sherbrook became interested and the two business strips formed a coalition in 1989. Their contribution





## NEIGHBOURHOOD SPACES: BROADWAY COMMUNITY CENTRE

The Broadway Community Centre (BCC)—formerly Broadway Optimist Community Club—was the natural neighbourhood space for West Broadway’s community to gather. But as the neighbourhood sank further into poverty, the community club was pulled in three different directions:

1. Recreation and kids’ athletics – but lack of volunteers and money for fees limited this.
2. Answering social needs of the neighbourhood.
3. Bingo: for many years the main function of the club.

Events in 1987 had helped define some limits for the club’s social role – “No” to a soup kitchen, but “Yes” to being the organizing centre for Winnipeg’s first Gay Pride parade.

Conflicts between these three visions for the club played out in the early ‘90s as various people stepped up to serve on the volunteer board, and then others with different visions stepped up. These changeovers were described in a 1992 *Free Press* story as “palace wars.”

It was in the midst of these “wars” that Coralie Darsey-Malloy and David Malloy played major roles from 1992 to 1994. Coralie was taking a lead role in the Residents’ Association and this brought them inevitably to the community centre. (See *Agent for Change—Residents’ Associations*)

They described their approach as consensus building and cooperation, but found “everybody was confrontational” at the BCC. They made an effort to get to know people in non-confrontational ways; they showed others—particularly the powerful ladies’ auxiliary which ran the Bingos—that they appreciated them. When they held a successful coffee house, they acknowledged the contribution of the bingo ladies to the community. Gradually they built trust, and when the 1993

elections came, David remembers, “they made it known that if I would run for presidency, they wouldn’t run anybody.”

As president, David had earned enough trust that the ladies’ auxiliary agreed to an audit of the profits from Bingo which were being kept in a separate account. With accounts straightened out, the city stepped in to hire more staff and David describes the summer of ‘93 as really humming—pow-wow, sports for kids, Bingos, social activities.

But then, other people stepped up.

“We were humming along, and as that happens, a whole bunch of new people came in with new ideas...and the people who came in had enough people on the board to implement where they think it should go – that’s my cue to move on,” explained David in a 2018 interview.

“You need new ideas. Our idea of what the community should be may not be somebody else’s idea of what the community should be. That’s the joy of doing this.”

David and Coralie had brought changes in governance and attitude to the community centre that helped pave the way for the new president, local businessman, Fokke Hoekstra. (See *Agent for Change—Businesses*)

Perhaps the palace wars were finally over?

*left:* Recognizing the club’s inner-city nature, the city invested in a major expansion in 1990—a big gymnasium, kitchen space, front offices, increased allocations for staffing. (The 1974 building is in the background.) *below:* In 1992, acting president Jim Haier, along with Const. Hugh Coburn of the Broadway community police office, put out a call for hockey sticks.



Larry Leroux (left) behind the counter at Broadway Pharmacy.



to improving the neighbourhood would increase dramatically in 1990 when they became formalized as a Business Improvement Zone, a structure which enables the city to contribute a share of each business's taxes to a collective pot. At first small, this pot became enormous when Great-West Life opted to join the West Broadway BIZ instead of the Downtown BIZ.

After meetings with area councillor Donovan Timmers and the Citizens' Police Committee, the BIZ subsidized a storefront police office at Broadway and Balmoral for a period. "Depending on who we got as police officer, it was effective at proactively stopping nuisance crimes," said Larry. Larry particularly remembers Hugh Coburn working with the community club. Const. Coburn arranged an apartment on Langside in the centre of a heavy drug area. Larry gave him his answering machine from home. "He worked out of there and it stopped a lot of the activity."

In 1988, Larry had one of his biggest learning moments. Larry recalls the Madame of a local massage parlour speaking at a public meeting: "Her biggest issue was people drinking Lysol and rubbing alcohol... When she said this, it hit me like somebody had thrown a rock at my head."

Larry realized it was his pharmacy and others selling products like rubbing alcohol that were contributing to the "rubbies" crisis. Within days he had arranged meetings and the West Broadway Task Force was formed, comprised of West Broadway residents, police, Klinik, Manitoba Pharmaceutical Association, Manitoba Liquor Commission and others. They succeeded in restricting the sale of rubbing alcohol, which Larry henceforth stopped carrying. Later reconstituted as the Non-Potable Alcohol and Inhalant Committee, they succeeded in getting substances for sniffers restricted as well.

Larry was learning the value of coalitions, whether the Non-Potable Committee, or the combined Broadway and Sherbrook business strips.

“Focusing on the businesses was not enough,” he said. “We realized we had to look at the issues of the area itself and not just the businesses.”

In 1994, Larry met with five or six people, including longtime resident Wanda Koop (representing the Residents’ Association) and Tom Yauk, one of the most progressive voices in the city’s planning department. They met at the Fork and Cork, and naturally the owners, Cathy and Fokke Hoekstra, were part of the meeting. Cathy and Fokke were pillars of the BIZ and also community-minded.

They talked about how businesses and residents could start working together.

One way was to strengthen the Broadway Community Centre. Transitions at the community club had been described as “palace wars” through much of the ‘90s, but a young couple, Coralie Darsey-Malloy and David Malloy, had done much to change that. Within a year Fokke would become the new president of the community club.

It seemed things were beginning to come together.

...But then Linda Williams released her safety audit.

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After Klinik’s 1990 move to a bigger building slightly beyond West Broadway, its old building deteriorated quickly. Instead of being a hive of activity at the gateway to West Broadway, it was now a boarded-up eyesore – symbol of a neighbourhood of derelict buildings.





## NEIGHBOURHOOD SPACES: CROSSWAYS-IN-COMMON

Although lots was going on in the background, one of the biggest moments in 1993 was the opening of the newly-constructed Young United Church.

After years of consultation, the building opened—not as a church—but as Crossways-in-Common, a neighbourhood gathering place. There were two gathering places on the main floor—the traditional church sanctuary, which was easily converted to other uses, and the new drop-in space for West Broadway Community Ministry (WBCM). Community Minister Ailene Urquhart remembers: “The lovely piece about the design of the new Crossways was that when you came in you quickly got into the main gathering area and that was used by the Community Ministry as its drop-in.”

It was only after you went through the drop-in area that you discovered the church sanctuary.

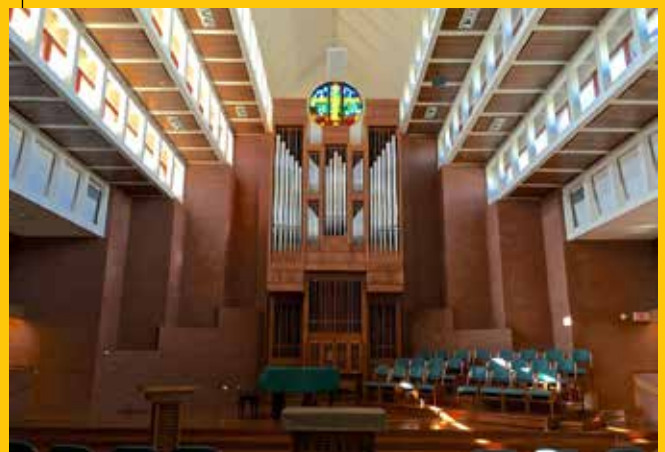
And so the community, not the church, was the centre of the building.

A big skylight illuminated the actual physical centre of the building in the shape of a cross: “The architect listened to us that we were interested in a building that was centered upon the community,” recalls Margaret Rowley, chair of the committee that planned the new building. “So the actual meeting of the arms of the cross structurally, and by light, is the area where the Community Ministry meets.”

Two churches, Young United and Hope Mennonite, used the sanctuary; there was a day-care and West Broadway Youth Outreach; and two floors of housing had been set aside for members of the gay community suffering from HIV-AIDS as the AIDS crisis reached its height.

Crossways was a new meeting place for many users: meeting rooms, a large multi-purpose room with industrial kitchen; gymnasium space in the basement.

above: The new Crossways building rose from the ashes of the fire five years earlier. from top to bottom: Two churches—Young United and Hope Mennonite—shared the sanctuary; The congregation of Young proudly posed in 1993 when the new building opened; The WBCM drop-in offered food, hospitality and increasing services.



## 1994/95—“Everybody’s Going In Different Directions”

The years building up to Crossways opening had been rich in the growth of agents for change in the neighbourhood. But they were all isolated, independent, even unaware of one another, operating in their own separate spheres. “Everybody’s going in different directions,” said Larry Leroux in a 1994 *Winnipeg Free Press* article.

The *Free Press* continued: “One of the city’s most transient and low-income neighbourhoods is suddenly being overrun by agencies and organizations... Klinik, the Winnipeg Housing Coalition, Agape Table, the West Broadway Residents’ Association, the West Broadway-South Sherbrook BIZ, and Earth Corps have let loose their forces.”

Not to mention Crossways, C.A.N.E., the community club, the community ministry, Westminster Housing, community police, the influence of gangs, Habitat for Humanity and many more who were developing plans in their own separate spaces.

“There doesn’t seem to be an umbrella group for all these organizations. It could be time to get the principals for all these groups together,” said Larry.

Perceptive words—but ones Larry himself would forget a few months later when Linda Williams released her safety audit:

“Fear lives on the street at sunset: West Broadway residents afraid to step out at night,” read the front page of the *Free Press* on April 10, 1995.

“That story set us back five years,” Larry grumbled.

But Larry’s learning curve was about to take its biggest jump forward.

The headline that drove people apart? Or brought them together?

Colin Muir from Klinik explains that divergent elements in a neighbourhood are not a problem. “They’re what make a community interesting, but only from the perspective when there’s an underlying unity. People want connection. They want to be in a healthy social environment and it’s those kinds of people who actually facilitate that, almost innately.”

# Fear lives on street at sunset

*West Broadway residents afraid to step out at night, survey shows*

By Nick Martin  
City Hall Reporter

**W**EST BROADWAY residents are afraid to step out at night and many remain wary even behind their own locked doors, a neighborhood survey suggests.

Respondents cited 147 rapes in the neighborhood last year, as well as 376 assaults, 86 gay bashings and 123 sexual assaults other than rape.

In fact, more than 80 per cent of the 1,473 respondents to the community safety audit said they felt unsafe in their neighborhood at night. Twenty-five per cent indicated they didn't feel safe in their own homes.

But residents are fighting back, according to the co-ordinator of the West Broadway Housing Resource Centre, which sponsored the survey.

There's now talk of neighborhood safety patrols at night and demands that community-based police start working overnight shifts, said co-ordinator Linda Williams.

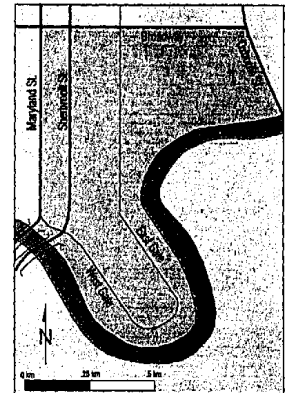
Even the survey itself, conducted by young offenders sentenced to perform community service, has sparked enthusiasm. Williams said the kids stayed on after they'd done their time, eager to be active and part of something meaningful.

“Giving employment, giving something to do of any kind, seems the logical way to go,” she said.

There's more evidence that the entire community is eager to become involved.

For example, gardens developed on vacant lots on Sherbrook and Maryland streets last summer generated enormous community participation, she said.

The extensive safety audit of the community was completed by 42 per cent of the 3,500 homes contacted,



■ Hotel gets dumped on / B2

which organizers consider an extremely high response.

And most respondents said they're comfortable during the day, with 79 per cent feeling safe outside before the sun sets.

“It's just amazing,” said area city councillor Glen Murray (Fort Rouge). “At the loss of sunlight, it switches.”

Murray said there are many ways to improve the neighborhood, including decentralizing the Broadway welfare office and introducing more community resource centres. He also thinks cracking down on slum landlords and booze cans would help.

The results of the safety audit will be officially released on Wednesday at Crossways in Common, beside Young United Church at Broadway and Furby Street at 7 p.m.



## CHAPTER 4

# 1997–2002 “I” Spaces Becoming “We” Spaces

It didn't seem in 1995 that there was much unity in the neighbourhood. The *Free Press* story about “Fear lives on the street in West Broadway” angered Larry Leroux – “a misguided safety audit that came out of this group and was splashed on the front page that hurt the area and some of the progress OUR group was doing” (Larry's emphasis).

The *Free Press* story was full of confrontation and conflict: Councilor Glen Murray singling out the Sherbrook Inn's beer sales and pawn shop as a “stupid combination if you're trying to build a community.” Owner Terry Bailey (also vice-president of the BIZ) shooting back, “Glen Murray hates me... I'm not losing any sleep over it.” Community-based police Sgt.

Typical derelict houses in the '90s. (See the same house after renovation on page 57).

Linda's book was *The Different Drum: Community Making and Peace*, by M. Scott Peck, 1987. It outlines four stages to community development: 1. Pseudocommunity, where everyone is nice to one another; 2. Chaos, when people take the gloves off and real disagreements emerge; 3. Emptiness, when people give up their "I" space and are open to empathy, vulnerability, and trust; and 4. True community and synergy. The stages are similar to the classic model of group formation: Forming, Storming, Norming and Performing.

Larry's act of building connection with Linda is explained by Colin Muir: "Every sort of community has some sort of wise people who just seem able to make room for divergence and build connection, and those are the people that help people see the benefits of a little bit of dissonance in the process of evolutionary change. Without a certain amount of dissonance, there's very little growth."

Paul Ingram supported Terry, "The owner has gone to great lengths to work with us. We don't have any major concerns. I don't think there's any reason in the world to single it out."

Linda Williams believed the controversy itself was part of the process of building community. "An article like that brings out people," explained Linda. "I had been reading a book on how to build community that stressed there has to be some sort of conflict or some sort of crisis to get people involved."

Despite his anger, Larry's approach was to try to bring people together, no matter how divergent their views. He did that in his pharmacy: the coffee pot always on; he did that in the BIZ, inviting the Residents' Association to join portions of BIZ meetings.

And so, despite his negative feelings about her safety audit, Larry reached out to Linda and suggested she move from her out-of-the-way location at 661 Sara into a more central location at the Broadway Community Centre (BCC). Linda was happy to do so—she was now getting financing so she could afford the rent and she believed youth would be a key part of solutions.

## Birth of the Neighbourhood Council

At the BCC, Linda met Carole Basarab, who became chair of Linda's Neighbourhood Housing Resource Centre. "I met residents who didn't necessarily agree with all our details, but who supported us and got involved," recalled Linda.

Linda was also convening a monthly "Neighbourhood Council" of residents, tenants, landlords and agencies. Larry and Linda began combining meetings, Neighbourhood Council and BIZ together. Linda asked Larry to chair. Agendas got so full, they ended up with two meetings a month, one strictly BIZ, and one the Neighbourhood Council with many more people—BIZ representatives, the Residents' Association and the tenants, landlords and others that Linda had gathered.

It was not without strife, but it worked. Larry recalled:

"All of a sudden, we had the right people at the table. Personalities were huge, huge, you know. We came from different walks of life, we came with different ideas and different agendas but, man, you sat at the table and everybody respected everybody. You'd get an issue and I'd say, 'No, we can't do this.' But somebody that came there pretty adamant about it would say, 'Okay, well what can we do?' Instead of just storming out, we would do something.

"There were issues brought up that there's no way you're going to solve, like prostitution. How can we solve that, that's been going on forever? Let's talk about it, let's try to make it safe for our kids going from our house to the school so that they're not being, you know, solicited or being put on like that, and that's about all we could do in that case.

"And I think that's what it was, I think we just sort of took everything and realized our limits. It's like the Serenity Prayer where you know that you can change certain things and there's stuff you can't and then we were, we actually had the insight to know what we could and what we couldn't do. We always did listen, you know. Nobody had a bad suggestion."

For years Larry felt the city had used West Broadway as a dumping ground. The city would say, “Give them another group home—*they* don’t care.”

But now *they* had a unified voice.



Little Red Spirit was one of the community places where First Nations people felt comfortable gathering in West Broadway.

## Growth of the Community Centre

Both Larry and Linda agree that having the meetings at the community centre was a huge factor.

“The Community Club was now a centre, it was a community centre and things were happening,” said Larry. “More and more people were coming there, and they’re working with the issues, and it’s coming out of that one central location. It was the best thing that ever happened; the Community Club was now being utilized the way it was supposed to.”

In October, 1996 Little Red Spirit—a major program bringing the community together—opened at the community centre. Little Red Spirit was one of 21 Aboriginal Head Start programs in Manitoba funded by Health Canada (17 in rural and northern communities, four in Winnipeg). It was the result of two years of consultation with elders and the community led by traditional Winnipeg Indigenous organizations like Ma Ma Wi Chi Itata and the Indian Metis Friendship Centre.

Little Red Spirit was an infusion of energy of preschool kids and their parents each day, learning Anishinabe in the mornings and Cree in the afternoons, and developing skills and attitudes for a successful grade one experience. It was a safe place in the community for Indigenous people.

Director Cathy Howes remembers the energy she felt at the BCC in those first years:

“Vince Sansregret (BCC director) and I would have coffee every morning to plan the day; people’s doors were open. Even the gang-involved youth hanging around the centre helped set up and decorate the gym and mop the floors for our graduation days. Because we respected them, they respected us. It seems in those days there were so many people with heart and drive.”





## “WE HAD THE RIGHT PEOPLE AT THE TABLE”

Larry Leroux stressed in his interview in 2018 that getting the right people to the table meant getting residents and businesses together and speaking with a unified voice. “It wasn’t being led by anybody, it wasn’t a social agency that was leading, and it wasn’t a political leader at all. It just came from all of us in the area and all of us working together... and when we needed, we would bring the politicians online.”

When it became time to bring in the politicians, changes in the political landscape meant there were more receptive ears to listen.

In 1993, the Mulroney years of Progressive Conservative government had ended with Jean Chretien’s landslide victory. West Broadway had close ties to two strong voices on the federal scene: senior prairie statesman Lloyd Axworthy who was able to negotiate to find funding for early initiatives like the creation of the Development Corporation and Art City. (See Neighbourhood in Bloom in the Late ‘90s) Another adept negotiator was NDP member Pat Martin, who represented West Broadway as part of the Winnipeg Centre riding.

Provincially, the riding was represented for years by Jean Friesen. She was appointed deputy premier in 1999 when the NDP took power from the Filmon Conservatives.

And it certainly didn’t hurt that the area’s councilor, Glen Murray, was elected Mayor in 1998.



These three pictures taken by community member Rob Shaw show some of the people at an early meeting (approx. 1996) at the community centre. From the left, some of the faces include Glen Murray (striped sweater), Fokke Hoekstra (arms crossed), Larry Leroux (white collar), Wanda Koop (glasses) and Lloyd Axworthy (suit).



Murals were an important part of revitalization. Many people were able to join for a fun activity that beautified the neighbourhood and brought people together, like Colin Muir (red T-shirt); Wanda Koop (sitting), Pat Thompson from Armstrong's Point (rear) and other residents.

More than anything, Little Red Spirit became a gathering place in the neighbourhood for First Nations people. Now they too were finding a voice.

## West Broadway Alliance

At the same time the BCC was becoming a humming community centre, through 1996, other significant agents for change were being drawn together.

Paul Chorney had moved into West Broadway that year from nearby Wolseley with a grant to create sustainable communities. He knew the first step was simply bringing people together.

He met Wanda Koop, Carole Basarab and her husband Ron, an architect. Wanda had been a resident for 25 years, a driving force, planting community gardens, packing council zoning meetings, knocking on doors, mobilizing residents, convincing friends to move into the neighbourhood, all while developing her career as an internationally acclaimed artist.

In June 1996, they gathered a larger group and spent a weekend painting murals on the old Klinik building. After Klinik's move in 1990, the building had quickly deteriorated to become a derelict eyesore. Murals transformed the boarded-up building into a powerful symbol, a colourful new gateway to West Broadway that said people in the neighbourhood cared. The group also created a photo collage showing what could happen to other boarded-up houses along a strip of Young Street.

Paul became aware of the several groups in the neighbourhood who were developing housing plans and brought them together in a West Broadway Housing Forum in December. Charles Huband told how Westminster Church had built the four-story co-op apartment and a 13-unit townhouse opposite the church on Maryland. They had just incorporated as Westminster Housing Society and now hoped to acquire derelict houses in West Broadway and renovate them for affordable rental housing. Westminster formed a partnership with Habitat for Humanity to renovate their first project, a boarded-up house on Spence Street.

Al Davies, from Lions Housing was a visionary with a big dream.

Lions Housing operated two 18-story seniors' homes adjacent to West Broadway. The poor quality of housing in West Broadway was affecting Lions' viability as a destination for seniors who might otherwise be attracted to the neighbourhood. Al believed that if you fixed up one block in the neighbourhood, change would spread outward. Lions purchased 13 derelict houses on the most run-down block of Langside (also known as "Gangside") and was starting renovations. Their decision to renovate 13 houses on Langside was a decisive step that showed others that something could be done. The sound of hammers ringing in the worst part of the neighbourhood over the next few years would be a catalyst for change and by far the largest investment in what others saw as a derelict community.

The success of the Housing Forum convinced Paul of the need to bring together all the many organizations working in West Broadway under one umbrella.

In the first half of 1997 he organized three mass meetings of what became known as the West Broadway Alliance; 50 to 100 people at each meeting representing businesses, residents, churches, agencies, city planners, schools, university researchers, police, funders and politicians.

"People sat at small tables," said Paul. "We started strategic planning. But something else was also happening at those tables. Many people had never met. Relationships were beginning to form, trust was being built, people's energies spread to other people."

Those are the three concepts that describe what was beginning to happen in West Broadway.

**Relationship. Trust. Energies spreading person to person.**

One word that draws together these three concepts is synergy—a combined energy that is greater than the sum of the energy brought by each part. For **synergy** to develop, there must be relationship and trust.

## "Neighbourhood in Bloom" in the Late '90s

However you try to explain it, out of all these meetings—the BIZ and Neighbourhood Council together, the Alliance, the daily meetings between people at the Community Centre—people in West Broadway were finding a voice and becoming energized. As people formed relationships, as they developed trust, their energies seemed to reinforce one another.

And Cathy Howes from Little Red Spirit was right: "There were so many people with heart and drive"—Ron and Carole Basarab, Paul Chorney, Al Davies, Fokke and Cathy Hoekstra, Charles Huband, Wanda Koop, Larry Leroux, Colin Muir, Linda Williams, and more.

It was truly an incredible collection of people. Sadly, there were only a few Indigenous voices, but there would be work in the future to remedy this. At the time, the enthusiasm at the meetings was inspirational.

**The vision of Al Davies ultimately succeeded – by 2018 the Lions homes on Langside would be selling for more than twice their investment, but at the time this wasn't so clear. In 2001, an audit by funders exposed irregularities and the extent of Lions' investment in "non-core lines of business" (i.e., neighbourhood projects). Al Davies lost his job when Lions became aware of the extent of their financial speculation.**

**Colin Muir described the value of the Alliance: "A much more diverse set of stakeholders could be brought together to take a broader view of things and have more resources for funding. It opened up new possibilities because it was a broader coalition of people who were interested in the area and a little bit beyond the area as well."**



Speaker (believed to be Al Davies) welcomes members of the West Broadway Alliance to a meeting hosted by Lions. Ras Rico is seated at one of the small tables.

Seeds that had been germinating would burst into bloom over the next five years (“A Neighbourhood in Bloom” as Linda Williams described it in a 1997 journal article for *Heritage Canada*).

All these were new initiatives which lasted for many years. (see *West Broadway in Bloom*) Most of them were community-based. They would have been totally unknown to Coralie and David in 1994 but were a standard part of the neighbourhood by the early 2000s. (There were other initiatives, but these were the main ones which endured.)

As well as these community programs, hammers were ringing in a growing number of renovation projects that would launch a major transformation of the neighbourhood. And many of the traditional and church programs that had been meeting the needs of the poor for two decades in West Broadway were also responding to increasing poverty with their own period of growth.

**One initiative that didn't succeed was community policing. Winnipeg's new police chief, David Cassels, established beat cops in West Broadway and other inner-city neighbourhoods in 1997. But deep-seated resistance within the police culture killed the concept, and in 1999 community policing was scrapped and Cassels resigned. It was the *Free Press* story announcing the plan that identified Spence, Young, Furby and Langside as synonymous with violent crime. The story's headline “Murder's Half Acre” plagued the neighbourhood for years.**

## Housing Initiatives

By far the largest amount of money that went into revitalization of West Broadway in the late '90s and early 2000s went into housing projects, mainly because buying and fixing up a house is a lot more expensive than funding an art program or a food program.

There is no doubt that the housing initiatives launched by Lions, Westminster Housing and many others, alongside the efforts of good landlords like Debbie Smith, the Lopez brothers, Doug Sneath and others, fundamentally changed the neighbourhood. (See *Tenants and Landlords Together*)

Their leap of faith in creating good housing ultimately changed the housing market in West Broadway from a dumping ground where properties sold at rock bottom to a booming market where private developers could make huge profits. But that would come later.

In the late '90s and well into the early 2000s, there were many boarded-up buildings, run-down houses, burnt-out apartments all up and down the streets. It was no problem for Lions



There were many derelict houses in West Broadway. Lions Housing started work on this one on Langside in 1997.

to obtain 13 derelict houses on one block of Langside. In the early years of Westminster Housing, Charles Huband recalls he would just drive through the neighbourhood, note down derelict houses, look up their owners and offer to buy and fix up the homes. Some owners turned over their properties for free, getting a donation credit for income tax. By 2004, Westminster Housing had renovated 16 formerly derelict houses into triplexes to create 57 affordable units.

Within a few years, the three levels of government facilitated financing by creating the Winnipeg Housing and Homelessness Initiative, a tripartite agency to distribute housing funds. This supported many community-based developers—the University of Winnipeg and Kinkora Developments fixed up

nine houses and an apartment block close to the university; Young United Church formed Kikinaw Housing, fixing up two small apartment blocks on Langside and building two energy-efficient four-plexes where derelict houses once stood.

One of the major jobs of the new West Broadway Development Corporation was chairing a monthly Housing Stakeholders' meeting to give community input into the many projects seeking approval for housing funds. (See West Broadway Blooming, 1997)

Even before the big property management companies started moving in, these small projects would begin having an unintended effect on the poorest of the poor in the neighbourhood. Fixing up derelict or run-down houses—in the case of Lions for purchase by homeowners, in the case of other developers like Westminster Housing, for low-rent housing—was certainly improving the general quality of housing. But often three or four people were now moving into what used to be a rooming house previously housing up to a dozen people living on the inadequate housing allowance that welfare provided.

The same houses from page 50 after renovation by Westminster Housing Society.

It wasn't clear where these people were moving or how they were represented in the revitalization plans for the neighbourhood.



## WEST BROADWAY BLOOMING



### 1996

- **Little Red Spirit** opened in the Community Centre.
- The **Neighbourhood Council** and the **West Broadway Alliance** were able to speak to government in a unified voice for the neighbourhood.
- **Wolseley Family Place** opened beside the Misericordia Hospital, providing a safe place and tons of activities for parents and kids.
- Welfare office moved away from 705 Broadway and its space was temporarily used by a restaurant and **community police office**.
- **Murals** everywhere.

### 1997

- **West Broadway Development Corporation (WBDC)** was created to be a legal entity of the Alliance that could receive funding. Paul Chorney was chosen as executive director and hired staff to develop and coordinate Five-Year Neighbourhood Plans, housing plans, safety plans and greening plans. In its first years, WBDC created several initiatives:
  - **Housing Stakeholders' Committee**—to distribute the increasing amounts of government funding for housing.
  - **Greening Coordinator** established community gardens and coordinated other efforts.
  - A computerized **Education and Employment Centre**.
  - **Community Economic Development Committee**.
  - **The Broadcaster**—a quarterly newspaper covering people and events of West Broadway.
- The Community Centre was reorganized as **Broadway Neighbourhood Centre (BNC)**, giving it more funds as a pilot program developing new kinds of drop-in programs for inner city kids. In the late '90s, unique programs like Native Alliance and Urban Sports Camp were developed.
- Linda Williams and volunteers of the **Neighbourhood Housing Resource Centre** developed several programs:
  - **TLC: Tenant Landlord Cooperation** (see Tenants and Landlords Together)
  - **"Street-strolling"**—small groups of residents patrolled streets, reporting problems to city and police.
  - **"Odd Jobs for Kids"**—employed neighbourhood kids who normally didn't get an allowance.
  - **Block barbecues**—a method of bringing together tenants in an apartment block or residents on a city block.
- The First annual **"Bright Lights" Christmas Party** served 12 turkeys cooked in donated ovens throughout the neighbourhood.
- The first annual **Spring clean-up**.





photos clockwise, from top left: The Lacquette family on Langside; Kids at Art City; Randy Thomas with volunteers at community clean-up; Colourful mural; Community gardens; Lina Johnstone and volunteers at community dinner; Painting a mural.

## 1998

- **Art City**—a long-held dream of Wanda Koop—opened in 1998: a storefront “community club for the Arts,” providing art the way traditional community clubs provide sports for kids.
- The former welfare office became a new community health clinic, **Nine Circles**, focused on the LGBT community.
- Winnipeg’s historic **Grey Nuns** purchased one of the first renovated Lions homes on Langside and began working throughout the community.

## 1999 & EARLY 2000s

- The NDP was elected as the provincial government in 1999. They established **Neighbourhoods Alive!**, a funding agency for neighbourhood renewal closely based on the West Broadway Development Corporation model.
- **Assiniboine Credit Union** moved into the neighbourhood in 2000, the first move of a financial institution into an inner-city neighbourhood in many years.
- A **neighbourhood street party** (the first of several) was held on Langside, in the midst of the Lions housing project in 2000.
- **Klinic** returned to West Broadway in a small but important way in 2001, setting up counselling services and renovating its old building.
- Operation Go Home had been operating in West Broadway since 1994, but, in 2002, it combined with Powerhouse Youth Services to become **Resource Assistance for Youth (RaY)**, offering services to street youth, including “squeegee kids,” the ‘90s iteration of panhandling.
- **The Good Food Club** was a WBDC program largely shaped by low-income residents in 2002: community cafés, trips to a farm, markets, and a veggie van delivering fresh-picked produce after Saturday Bingo at the BNC.
- **Bingo** was revived at the community club by Cheryl Werch and others, but now largely a First Nations event.



## TENANTS AND LANDLORDS TOGETHER

“Good tenants want good landlords, and good landlords want good tenants.” Linda Williams put the two together and built a community at the same time. Much of Linda’s previous work had been with landlords and so she was able to draw them together. An early supporter was Roger Barsey, Director of the Residential Tenancies Branch (RTB) the body that arbitrated disputes between landlords and tenants. His presence at meetings gave tenants a direct link to the RTB.

She started holding meetings in the BNC with tenants and some landlords. Bob Shaer of Ash Management became a driving force. Roger Barsey recommended Debbie Smith as a possible landlord.

Debbie had purchased the Huntley Apartments at 92 Young Street in 1991 convinced that the apartment block, and the neighbourhood, could come back to its former glory. (The Huntley was one of the formerly respectable apartments at the curve of the Assiniboine.)

She gutted the Huntley and did a complete renovation. She kept rents close to the pre-renovation level but was choosy about who she rented to. “I feel an area shouldn’t be all lower income; to have a surviving community you need a mixture of people, not just lower-income but middle-class and career people and that’s what really makes a community prosper.”

She moved into the apartment herself to run things on a day-to-day basis. “When I started showing suites, I had to hope that people weren’t passed out on the street or drug deals weren’t going on right in front of the building because, you know, that is not what the people I wanted to rent the building to want to see.”

She joined the TLC and helped develop a 10-page set of standards to inspect and approve buildings. The TLC helped tenants resolve problems. They held appreciation dinners.

Once Debbie was involved, she got to know other good landlords in the neighbourhood. Many joined the TLC. Robert and Mario Lopez formed a small company that purchased several apartments in West Broadway and elsewhere. The biggest and ugliest was Atherton Place on Langside. Robert moved into a suite himself, and one-by-one started clearing out the troublemakers and supervising renovations. (He also started volunteering with kids at the BNC.)

Doug Sneath owned three apartments at the curve of the Assiniboine at the bottom of Spence and Young. Among others, he was landlord for Al Rogowski, “super” volunteer at Agape Table. When one young woman approached him with her baby daughter, trying to get off the streets but short on rent, he carried her for several months until she could get turned around.

One tenant who moved into Debbie’s building and got involved with the TLC, street-strolling and a Residents’ Association was Christian Cassidy. “Linda was the glue that held a lot of these together,” he remembered.

Christian loved the neighbourhood. He’d lived in several downtown neighbourhoods and considered himself a “downtown guy”—close to work, lots of nearby attractions, used to people walking around at night, okay with the “grittiness” of

neighbourhood life. But it was clear to him that West Broadway had hit “rock bottom” and he felt that was why so many people of diverse backgrounds were starting to pull together.

Definitely “rock-bottom” was the Dalkeith Apartment Block, just out Christian’s window, a looming bulk that dominated the curve of the river at Young. “The neighbourhood kind of turned on that building,” recalled Christian in an interview in 2018. “When it had a particularly rowdy bunch of tenants the neighbourhood sucked. And when those tenants left, the neighbourhood calmed down.”

Just over the back-fence were houses with homeowners along Spence. He got to know members of the Residents’ Association and together with them, and the support of Linda and the TLC, they began a campaign to clean up the Dalkeith.

A kind of “Dalkeith Watch” was established. When police arrived at three in the morning, the watch would phone the owner, who lived in another part of town. When there was a fight, they’d phone. They’d complain about the burnt-out suites gazing out on the street. They’d complain about the drug dealers. Eventually, the owner agreed to turn over management to Debbie. She started renovating one floor at a time.

“And then as floors got renovated, we started renting to good people, people that took a chance, you know. And God bless them, they were just—and I knew every tenant—in that building I knew them by name and face because that’s how hands-on I was, I was so involved.”

As long as Debbie lived at the Huntley, through the ‘90s and into the 2000s, she held a Christmas party every year with tenants. But over time, energy fizzled. By the 2000’s, different people were getting involved with the TLC and Debbie felt standards were not as high as at the start.

“You change,” she said, “And people change... You’re dealing with donations for funds and if the funds aren’t there, things change.” By 2005, Christian had moved out of West Broadway. In 2008, the TLC program ended and, in that year, Debbie sold the Huntley to a group that was putting together a high-end collection of apartments called “Granite Gates” at the curve in the river. But she continued to live in West Broadway. And she continued to manage the Dalkeith, now called 6 & 10 Balmoral.

Linda Williams with landlord Debbie Smith upon presentation of a TLC sign for her building.





## Side-By-Side Worlds

In a 1997 *Free Press* article, Wanda Koop captured the flavour that made her love West Broadway: “I think it’s the best part of the city—beautiful solid houses, a unique neighbourhood, wealthy and poor side-by-side, so many lifestyles: gays, straights, First Nations people. If we can just get it all together.”

This great diversity was West Broadway’s major quality, but also its major challenge.

In the early days of community revitalization, there were many well-off neighbours who brought a huge amount of energy to revitalization efforts: Wanda, Ron and Carole, Paul Chorney, Pat Thompson from Armstrong’s Point, and others.

Like Rob Shaw and Chris Krawchenko—probably the newest and proudest homeowners on Spence. They’d discovered the street’s smallest, most tumbledown house in 1995 and were just at the beginning of the kind of day-in, day-out labour familiar to anyone trying to develop a “fixer-upper,” as they turned a house that was scheduled for demolition into the home they loved on the street they loved in the neighbourhood they loved.

Chris was a real estate agent in the neighbourhood; Rob had a variety of jobs from working at Cousin’s, the long-established neighbourhood deli, to financial consultant, to resident historian. Both were part of several of the initiatives in the late ‘90s.

What they remember most was that these initiatives were rooted in the community and stayed, most of them for many years. Up ‘til then they’d been sick of “Caregiver Row”: the strip along Broadway filled with care agencies, each seemingly getting a two-year grant to fix up the problems in the neighbourhood, and then moving on.

People sat on their porches in West Broadway. Carol Loveridge (rear) was known as the porch lady. This photo also shows Vince Sansregret (front) and Paul Chorney (behind Vince). There’s also a non-employed playwright and a struggling student in this picture typical of the neighbourhood mix.



They were also opposed to many care agencies converting the big homes of West Broadway to group homes. (Dr. Chown’s classic home at Spence and Broadway had been used many years after the doctor departed as a group home for developmentally delayed adults.)

“One of the compelling reasons we moved into the area was that there were different folks who had needs, for example like an addiction centre, or mental health, or fostering,” said Rob in a 2018 interview. “But the unfortunate outcome was that a number of agencies looking for the residential setting would end up displacing the residential element by saturating the street with their occupation of homes. So the diversity would be lost— that was the main concern.”

They rolled up their sleeves at the BNC, helping with programs, serving on the board, helping create a newsletter, *West Broadway Broadcaster*, that told everyone in the neighbourhood what was going on (including the prediction of the flood conditions that resulted in 1997’s “Flood of the Century”). They described a different kind of flood—kid’s activities at the BNC, Linda Williams’s work, street-strolling, mural painting, “a proud beginning for Habitat For Humanity,” gardening, volunteer opportunities at Agape Table, an article describing what it was like to be poor in Manitoba

**A Literary Diversion: The classic work of fiction describing “The Impoverished” is Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables*. The main character, Jean Val Jean, is made poor by the justice system. Fantine is made poor by the commercial system. There are those who seem trapped forever in a subterranean underworld of poverty, crime, and family dysfunction. But the greatness of Hugo’s novel is that even amongst them, there are traces of honour and nobility. The only true villain is society and its systems, particularly the stalwart defender of the privileged, police detective Javert.**

Housing, and 12 pages of useful community information and contacts.

Further down the income scale at this time was Brian Grant who moved into a low-rent apartment about a block away from Rob and Chris in 1995. He remembers that strip of Broadway as “The Gauntlet” which you dared not walk after dark, when all the storefronts were dark.

He describes his state as “middle class poverty”—the “blame and shame” of welfare, breakfast at Agape Table, job-searching and finding mutual support where he could. He attended C.A.N.E. (Canadian Association of the Non-employed) meetings at Crossways, attracted at first by the Tuesday lunch and food bank, but staying because he thrived in the discussion groups and met his future partner there.

In a 2018 interview he recalled the crisis in 1997 that got him more involved. He saw three men breaking into a garage. They saw him and pulled a gun. “I just started running. I was zigzagging, and I heard Crack, Crack, Crack of a .22 pistol. And the bullets hitting the pavement, going Tink, Tink, Tink, going along.”

Brian told his experience to the C.A.N.E. meeting that week, and people talked about moving out of the area. But when Brian got home he thought, “Okay, it’s not about getting out of here. It’s about getting involved.” Carol Loveridge had attended C.A.N.E. but was now beginning work for the West Broadway Development Corporation, establishing their Education and Employment Centre.

She encouraged Brian to join the Community Economic Development Committee. He did, and it led to some employment as a researcher, and ultimately a job as Housing Coordinator in 2000, at which time Brian moved from middle-class poverty to middle-class income.

He remembers standing at the bank machine after receiving his first paycheque: “I had this nervousness—‘Don’t touch it!’—It was shocking. I was going from absolute abject poverty to actually low middle income.”

Brian made a distinction between his middle-class poverty and the deep poverty of many in West Broadway. “I was physically poor. But I wasn’t intellectually poor, not psychologically poor.”

Poverty is not simply about income, it’s also about power and privilege. Those who have been raised with stability and power enjoy advantages even when their income is low. Those who have been raised in more precarious circumstances—under racism, colonialism, paternalistic systems—might be described as being in deep poverty, people whose power has been taken away. Salvadorean Archbishop Oscar Romero captured this concept of power and poverty well because he preferred to use the word “Los Enpobrecidos,” to describe those in poverty—The Impoverished—“those made poor.” Turning poverty into a noun this way reframes it as a question not about individual capacity, but about systems and economics and society.

Brian Grant is at the left in this 1998 picture of C.A.N.E. members.



When Brian was at his lowest, he rubbed shoulders with the world of the impoverished in West Broadway at places like Agape Table and West Broadway Community Ministry. Unfortunately, in the late '90s and early 2000s, these community gathering spaces for the impoverished were growing tremendously.

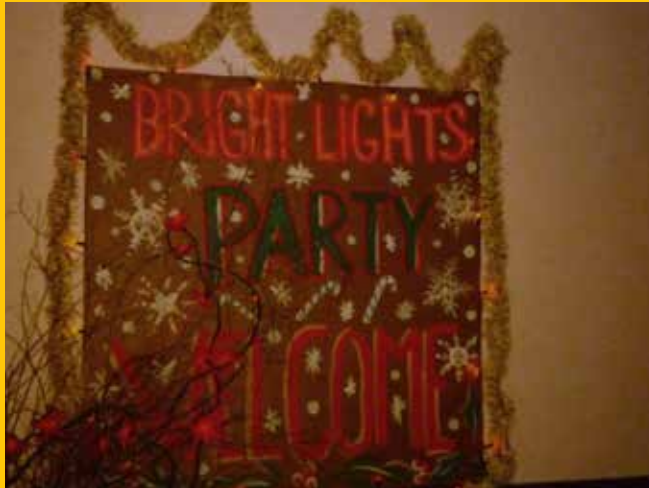
For West Broadway Community Ministry (WBCM), the ten years after the opening of Crossways, from 1993 to 2003, was “a period of immense growth in the Ministry programs” according to the official WBCM history. The numbers attending the Ministry’s daily drop-in program were growing, and a computer lab, art programs, emergency pantry, showers and laundry were all added. One feature that emerged in this period was the involvement of more churches and faith groups from well-off suburbs as volunteers. Many suburban congregations were looking for ways to address social justice issues and formed ongoing partnerships with WBCM; Shaarey Zedek Synagogue, from the wealthy River Heights neighbourhood, began a cross-faith tradition of serving a special lunch on Christmas Day, with carols and candles to mark both Christmas and Hanukkah. Several community ministers through these years remember how the spirit of community was growing in the ministry, particularly among the core of volunteers, both those from the neighbourhood, and those from the suburbs.

In its new space at Crossways, West Broadway Youth Outreach (WBYO) was also going through a kind of rebirth, thanks to the appointment of an energetic young director, Ken Opaleke. Agape Table was continuing to expand its offerings, and its clientele, at All Saints’ Church, reaching 200 300 a day by the end of the ‘90s.

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Denise Marklinger (second from front) conducts a tour of Langside for a church group visiting West Broadway Community Ministry in 1997. Denise was one of the growing group of neighbourhood volunteers creating a strong community at WBCM. Several of the suburban church-goers in this photo also became regular volunteers at the Ministry.





## GATHERINGS BUILD COMMUNITY

Formal and informal gatherings (especially those with food) were as important as formal meetings in building the West Broadway community.

Christmas provided an opportunity for the whole community to come together in the Bright Lights dinner the week before Christmas. Pat Thompson donated a tree from her Armstrong's Point home. Wanda Koop organized elves. Everyone enjoyed a huge supper at the BNC. On Christmas Day, WBCM provided a lunch hosted by Shaarey Zedek Synagogue with Christmas and Hanukkah candles.

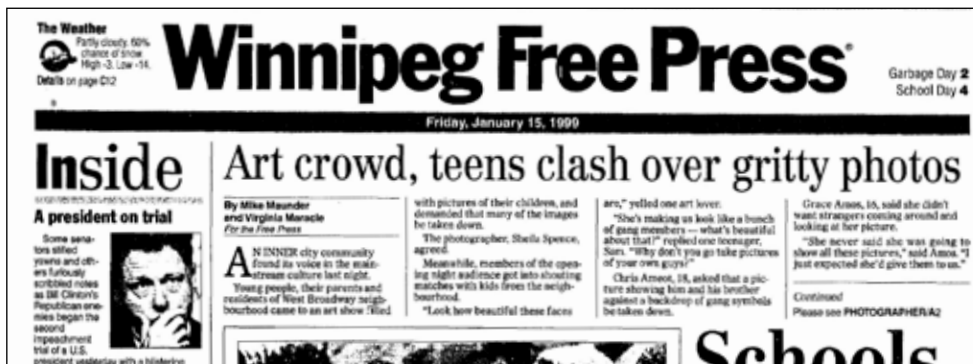


Although those who were well-off in West Broadway offered support and tried to form relationships with those in poverty, it is a difficult bridge to cross. Even though the well-off and the impoverished may live and work side-by-side in the same neighbourhood, they are really experiencing totally different realities. Decades of poverty, the increasing meanness of welfare policies, the reality of racism, gangs and violence—all were contributing to a growing inequality in the neighbourhood.

One truly vivid example of this inequality was the vehement reaction to a photo show about the neighbourhood in 1999.

Sheila Spence was an acclaimed photographer living on Spence Street. Her back-fence looked out on the playground at the BNC and she got to know the kids there. She wanted to do a project that involved them and made them proud of their neighbourhood.

She got permission from the community centre and spent over a year, forming relationships, taking pictures—stunning black-and-whites that showed the poverty and grittiness, but more than that, captured the beauty, strength and nobility of the children. They were easily as powerful as Dorothea Lange’s famous pictures of American Depression-era families. She circulated copies of the pictures and release forms to parents and arranged a major art show at the nearby University of Winnipeg.



But in the week prior to the show, many parents and staff at the BNC totally reversed the support they had offered the project through the previous year. All week, they held meetings at the BNC, showing it had become a community space where they felt comfortable. They were concerned about several aspects of the upcoming show and together they planned an action.

On the night of the show, most of the parents and many kids turned up and demanded the photos be taken down. Sheila complied quietly and stoically. One-by-one, 11 of the 22 pictures came down and the exhibit became a display of mostly empty walls.

Community worker Ras Rico said Sheila hadn’t consulted properly with the community. BNC director Vince Sansregret said he was proud of the kids. “For a long time, the kids have been silent and we’ve been speaking for them. Today they’re speaking for themselves.”

Sheila and the neighbours who had worked with her on the project were hurt by the way the community club withdrew its support after a year of working together.

There were various explanations for the intensity of the parents’ reaction: pictures showed kids making gang signs; parents didn’t understand photos of their children were being sold. But fundamentally it showed the great gulf that existed between Sheila’s world and those in deep poverty, particularly First Nations, living their lives right over her back-fence.



*left:* This photo shows one example in this period of how programs working side-by-side could bring together the two different realities of the neighbourhood. Martha McKay (left) was a Mom (and Kokum) whose children attended Little Red Spirit at the BNC. Also at the BNC was the Tenant Landlord Cooperation office that helped Martha find an apartment. In this photo, she had won the 2001 award for “Best Tenant.” At the same celebration, Debbie Smith won the “Best Landlord” award. In the background are many other community members, young and old. *right:* Little Red Spirit hands, 1996/97.



They lived side-by-side in the same neighbourhood, but they occupied different realities. Building relationships and trust in a neighbourhood where such social injustice existed would prove to be a major challenge in the years ahead.

### “We” Spaces Become Programs

By 2002, the period of blooming was over. There had been a huge burst of energy, and many new programs had been created and were now continuing to do their good work. Government support for non-profit housing continued transforming the neighbourhood through many projects, and now many private developers were beginning to buy up properties with plans of their own.

The BNC was a hub for kids’ programming and social programs like the Tenant Landlord Cooperation.

As well as being a church, and a home for those with HIV-AIDS, Crossways was a community space for a growing number of guests and volunteers at West Broadway Community Ministry, the daycare and neighbourhood programs like C.A.N.E. Agape was passing its 10-year mark at All Saints’.

In a dozen different programs and spaces throughout West Broadway, strong communities were being built by the staff, committed volunteers and guests who used these programs. Each program in itself was a strong “We” space for the community it served.

But where were the “We” spaces that had brought the whole neighbourhood together back in the days of the neighbourhood blooming?

...The Residents’ Association?

...The joint meetings of the BIZ and Neighbourhood Council?

...The mass meetings of the West Broadway Alliance?

## City salon owner proves he's a cut above



KEN GIGLIOTTI / WINNIPEG FREE PRESS

Edward Carriere floods the rink behind the Broadway Neighbourhood Centre Monday with a little help from Claudia Venevongsa, 10.

Edward Carriere may have a flair for hair, but it's his community work that's garnering praise. The Spence Street business owner took it upon himself to repair the rink behind the Broadway Neighbourhood Centre — and area skaters couldn't be more thrilled / **B1**

### CHAPTER 5

# 2003–2019 “We” Spaces Becoming “I” Spaces

## Neighbourhood Collectivity – Where Did It Go?

Neighbourhood-wide meetings like the Neighbourhood Council and the West Broadway Alliance were major factors in bringing West Broadway's diverse populations together in the period of blooming, from 1996 to 2002, but what happened to them as the period of blooming declined?

Businessman Edward Carriere waters the BNC rink.

Enthusiasm for meetings is never high, and it was quickly replaced by each individual's enthusiasm for specific actions. There were still meetings of the Neighbourhood Council and the Alliance, but over a couple of years, these tapered to quarterly meetings and then to none at all.

The Alliance had brought the greatest numbers together, and by 1998 they had subdivided into several working groups, developing strategic plans in areas like employment, economics, housing and community participation. In 1997, the Alliance had created West Broadway Development Corporation (WBDC) to be a legal entity that could manage money coming to projects and coordinate efforts between all the programs in the neighbourhood.

Two years later, when the NDP created Neighbourhoods Alive! as a conduit for grants to neighbourhoods, they used WBDC as an example, requiring designated neighbourhoods to create a similar Neighbourhood Renewal Corporation (NRC) as a conduit for government funding.

And so, for better or worse, by 2000, the Development Corporation was the primary voice for the collective community.

As first, Executive Director Paul Chorney set up structures where community consultations helped create community plans: a Housing Stakeholders' Committee, committees to establish five-year neighbourhood plans, safety plans and greening plans. But, like all "movements" which turn into "organizations," the Development Corporation was subject to all the ups and downs, the politics and personalities, of organizational life. (*See Ups and Downs of Community Life—A Personal Story*)

By 2003 people's energies were increasingly being put into the projects or agencies closest to their hearts. There were dozens, including those already described, like: the Development

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Paul Chorney with Joanne Spence (Aboriginal Residents' Committee for West Broadway Development Corporation) and Jean Friesen at a Neighbourhoods Alive! conference (circa 2001). As Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, Jean Friesen announced the creation of Neighbourhoods Alive! in 1997, closely based on the West Broadway model.







## UPS AND DOWNS OF COMMUNITY LIFE — A PERSONAL STORY

**Mike Maunder:** I moved into West Broadway in 1997 and was able to experience first-hand the changes that defined the neighbourhood in its period of blooming, and afterwards.

I was a writer, living in the suburbs, but concerned with social justice and poverty. So what better way than to form a writing partnership with a First Nations woman, Virginia Maracle, and write “Inner City Voices” for the *Winnipeg Free Press*? Virginia was my first great teacher, patiently and lovingly showing me how centered I was in “white privilege”—taking for granted so many options that just flowed naturally to me and were denied others.

Like connections that enabled steady employment.

Like good housing.

From attending meetings all through Winnipeg’s inner city, I sensed that West Broadway showed a deeper level of collaboration and trust than anywhere else in the city and jumped at the chance to move into an apartment just renovated by Westminster Housing (WHS), I was asked to be on the WHS board, and over the next five years helped develop a small community of like-minded people in three nearby houses renovated by WHS. We called ourselves “Spence Street Village,” had pot-lucks, shared a laundry, and worked together on projects like banding trees and developing a deck and garden in my large side yard.

Even as I write these words, I can feel the “privilege” connected. The three houses, formerly rooming houses but boarded-up when WHS purchased them, had housed about 22 single people, and now, as triplexes, housed 15, including families. On the good side, one single mom told me

the security of living in the “Village” was the first security she’d known, allowing her to overcome crippling anxiety and build a home for her and her son. Another woman used three years of stable housing to climb out of welfare into a job she liked.

Through my church, I became involved with West Broadway Community Ministry. Life in the ‘hood connected me with Christmas celebrations, Spring cleanups and people like Nelson (helping him find affordable housing after a succession of unsafe rooming houses).

Through all this time, I had gotten to know people like Larry Leroux, Paul Chorney, Vince Sansregret and Carol Loveridge and was motivated by their commitment.

In 2002 I accepted a job-share at West Broadway Development Corporation (WBDC) as community outreach worker, sharing the job with Randy Thomas from Roseau River First Nation. My part of the job became joining with about 20 outreach workers from many agencies to create “good food boxes”—copying a Toronto program in which low-income people paid about \$15 bi-weekly to receive a “good food box” containing about \$30 worth of fruit and vegetables. As we discussed plans, I was struck by how all of us were middle-income social workers developing a program for low-income people.

I asked if I could have a month to try to get some low-income people to actually join in the planning. They agreed.

Over the next month I visited Agape Table, WBCM and Wolseley Family Place and found about 30 people who were interested. But they weren’t interested in a good



*previous page, left to right:* Good Food Club's first planting: "Farmer Dan" on tractor with Frank and Jay; Members of the Community Land Trust meet in Mike's backyard (Housing coordinator Brian Grant, seated, centre). *this page:* Several members of Spence Street Village join for tree-banding in front of my house at 189 Spence.

food box. "I couldn't put the \$15 together in the first place," explained one. "I don't like fruits and vegetables," said another. We started to brainstorm what they would like, eventually ending up with two ideas: holding community cafés with entertainment and nutritious food (with recipes), and weekly trips to the country to work on a farm.

So that's what we did. The group decided it would be a Club, with people buying memberships (\$5) letting them participate at a low cost. We developed a newsletter and a phone tree to notify everyone of events. We met monthly in a circle. We set up a conflict-mediation group. Agape Table lent us their van to drive to the farm at 7 am every Saturday. Once farm trips began, we ended up with a "food box" of sorts: every Saturday after five hours working on the farm, we would fill up the Agape Table van with freshly-harvested vegetables and pull up at the community centre as people exited the weekly Bingo. People quickly realized a \$5 membership at the "Veggie Van" could get them high quality vegetables, plus an invite to next week's café.

There were certainly conflict and issues, but the Good Food Club, with a few lapses over the years, was still going strong in 2020.

I left WBDC after setting up the club but remained involved with projects.

I was on a steering committee trying to create a Community Land Trust. WBDC had purchased 16 houses in partnership with Winnipeg Housing Rehabilitation Corporation (WHRC). We'd fix them up and sell them (some as rent-to-own) at a price more affordable because

the CLT would own the land. It would be one small way to keep units affordable over the years. But the devil is in the details, and the details were very complex.

The steering committee was made up of many experts—middle-income and higher—accountants, lawyers and more. I quit the steering committee to be hired as a community developer so I could help the people buying the homes actually understand the land trust.

I failed.

I wrote beautiful pamphlets with colour pictures. I asked what they wanted, and they wanted fences—so we organized fencing bees. We held meetings. We organized a street party on Langside where six of the homes were close together.

But it didn't work. Partly because the people doing the planning were not the people living in the houses. But more, because the planners themselves were having difficulties co-operating. I could sense really serious and sometimes ugly conflict between particular personalities, including the main partners, WBDC and WHRC. We hired a mediator and held mediation talks. But it must have been uglier than I thought.

In 2004, WBDC abruptly ended Paul's contract as Executive Director. He had spent seven years developing the WBDC and assisting dozens of people and organizations to transform West Broadway but was summarily dismissed. I worked with Wanda Koop and others in the community to put on a "Thank You Paul" party at Crossways.

Like others before me, that one negative experience outweighed all the positives, and I severed ties with the Development Corporation. Although it takes a long time to develop trust, it can be shattered in an instant.

For the next four years I concentrated on my own projects, which included co-writing, with historian David Burley, a history of one block of Furby Street. But although I'd formally severed ties with one of the organizations in the neighbourhood, the community of friends and neighbours I had in West Broadway still existed. Along with my other communities of friends, they got me through personal crises, visiting me in hospital when I was sick, helping me as I dealt with the sickness and death of my mother and brother.

For me, despite the ups and downs of organizational life, the people of West Broadway had become one of the most important communities that made up my life.

And years later, when the leadership at WBDC changed, I once again became involved and now count them as part of my strongest community.



Leah McCormick at Sherbrook Street Festival.

Corporation or Wolseley Family Place; two public schools, Gordon Bell High School and Mulvey Elementary School; Clubhouse—an activity centre for those with mental health challenges; Broadway Seniors’ Resource Council, Creative Retirement, Art City, the BIZ and more; not to forget all the traditional centres for community gatherings like the Broadway Neighbourhood Centre (BNC) and Crossways.

The Residents’ Association had gone through various incarnations since the early ‘90s (*see Agent for Change—Residents’ Associations*). There were periods of energy—for instance when many care homes were moving into the neighbourhood—and periods of burn-out or loss of momentum. By the early 2000s the main residents who were active were homeowners concentrated in the traditionally well-off pocket of the neighbourhood along the river at Balmoral and Spence, and they decided to call themselves the Balmoral Spence Residents’ Association, although they were open to others in the neighbourhood, including tenants. They became active when a particular issue concerned them.

The BIZ still met, but moved to more of a professional organizational model when they hired an executive director. Leah McCormick was a business owner and staunch member of the BIZ (coordinating the first annual Sherbrook Street Festival in 2003). She became BIZ executive director in 2010 and eventually

retired from her business but continued her BIZ career until 2018.

The Broadway Neighbourhood Centre (BNC) was a centre for youth programs like Urban Sports Camp, Native Alliance, drop-in programs, pow-wow club and others. With Little Red Spirit on site, the BNC was becoming a home for the First Nations community—a good example was resident Cheryl Werch’s re-establishment of Bingo.

Until about 2003, there was a tremendous synergy between the BNC and WBDC. At different times, BNC director Vince Sansregret chaired the Development Corporation’s board; the Development Corporation’s Paul Chorney chaired BNC’s board. When Vince left in 2003, another director filled in for a year, then Lawrence “Spatch” Mulhall became BNC’s executive director and would provide a constancy over the next 15 years that the Centre had never before enjoyed. Spatch had close personal ties with Paul, but the formal links between the organizations ceased. With 700 plus people, the annual Bright Lights dinner became too large to maintain, but in 2006 the Good Food Club added a Christmas Dinner to its cafés. Over the years, this too would become too large an endeavour to maintain.

“People change; things change,” as Debbie Smith said. It was around this time as well that Debbie’s ties to the TLC program were weakening. The programs that Linda Williams had run out of the BNC, like Tenant Landlord Cooperation and Odd Jobs For Kids, ended in 2008 when Linda’s funding from the United Way ended.



*left:* Lawrence Mulhall ("Spatch") with neighbourhood kids at the Christmas Dinner (being cooked by the Good Food Club) at the BNC in 2004.

*right:* Jeremy Lacquette at the BNC's temporary skateboard park, built in 2000 by Art City.



By 2006, Spatch was developing a whole new creative branch of programming at the BNC—first, Hip Hop Academy, and then Just TV—serving older kids attracted by music and video technologies. Over time, the BNC of the '90s was being replaced by a new BNC of kids' programs focused on media and technology.

The days it had been a social activist hub—community meetings, residents' groups, tenants, landlords, and social programs—became a memory as remote as the '80s, when the old building had accommodated Agape Table and the first Pride parade; or the '60s when an even older building had been home base for league sports like the Broadway Bears. The new replaces the old. Things change. People change.

In the new youth culture of music and technology, BNC rocked. Local businessman Edward Carriere made it a personal mission to flood the hockey rink each winter, but kids in the 2000s were just as excited by the new skateboard park constructed by Art City on BNC grounds.<sup>18</sup>

Over at Crossways, West Broadway Community Ministry continued to build a strong sense of community among its volunteers and many of the poorest in the neighbourhood. Similarly, Agape Table, down the street at All Saints', was a strong community. Agape, and the need for its services, was growing tremendously during the 2000s. As well as the soup kitchen, Agape established a low-cost grocery, clothing depot, counseling and advocacy services. By 2017, Agape was serving 300–400 people a day.

But the churches which had played a major role in maintaining programs for the poor over the last 40 years were facing challenges themselves. Church memberships were down, resulting in decreased funding. In 2015, several of the church ministries, including WBCM, joined to create a new funding body, 1JustCity.

Crossways met costs by collecting rents and sharing costs with its primary partners (including Young United and Hope Mennonite). There were also renters like Horizons Adult Education, local MLA Rob Altemeyer (when Jean Friesen retired in 2003) and Gordon Bell High School's off-campus program. When rents were raised, C.A.N.E. (Canadian Association

**C.A.N.E.'s president, Joan Johansson, remembers that several anti-poverty organizations across the country collapsed around 2008 because the federal government ceased supports. (The Conservatives under Stephen Harper had formed the federal government in 2006).**

One measure of the slowdown in government support of non-profit housing after 2004 (and the increasing cost of purchasing West Broadway properties) can be seen in the number of projects undertaken by Westminster Housing Society (still going strong in 2019). From 1996 to 2004, Westminster renovated 16 homes, (two a year). After 2004, their work continued at a reduced rate, averaging one renovation a year.

for the Non-employed) could no longer afford to hold their Tuesday meetings and moved to a downtown site, but the move failed and C.A.N.E. folded in 2008.

That was the same year Larry Leroux sold his pharmacy and retired to his dream home at Lake of the Woods; the same year that Debbie Smith sold the Huntley Apartments to “Granite Gates,” a project of Houston Properties which was buying and up-scaling a collection of the old apartment blocks along the curve in the river at Young, Spence and Balmoral.

Change was once again in the air, but it was not the collective change that had stirred ten years earlier.

## Housing Gentrification

The revitalization of housing stock—bringing the many derelict, tumbledown, boarded-up houses back to a sense of the former glory of the street (i.e., the ‘50s and ‘60s)—was the most fundamental change in West Broadway during the period of blooming.

For a relatively small investment, housing revitalization changed the entire fabric and economics of the neighbourhood.

Although the pace of government funding slowed after 2004, non-profits like Westminster Housing, Kikinaw, the University of Winnipeg, Greenheart Housing Co-op, and Clubhouse (Fountain Springs) continued adding affordable units.

There were a number of failed housing proposals around 2004: a plan by the Development Corporation (WBDC) and the Community Ministry (WBCM) to develop three rooming houses was rejected for funding because of a lack of Indigenous representation; a proposal by Westminster Housing and Misericordia Hospital to develop joint housing for seniors and people with disabilities was rejected by the Development Corporation’s housing committee and; most significantly, the attempt to create a Community Land Trust to keep 16 houses affordable began its slow decline and reverted to regular home ownership by 2007.



This photo was taken by Rob Shaw in 2004 of 86 Spence Street, which was a brief project in which community agencies joined to try to renovate a property.

The major change that was now happening was in the private market—and it wasn’t affordable units.

In his 2006 study, *Gentrification in West Broadway?*, University of Winnipeg professor Jim Silver interviewed developers: “One developer told us that his firm bought, on its own account and for other clients, eight apartment blocks in West Broadway in the three years from early 2002 to early 2005. He added that almost every apartment block in West Broadway has been purchased by a new owner in recent years.”

Increasingly, large property management firms took over management of these apartments, instead of smaller owner-landlords. All of the landlords who had made such a difference in the ‘90s were gone by 2018, with the new owners running the buildings through property

management firms. Gone was the personal touch of landlords like Doug Sneath (landlord to “Super” Al in the ‘80s, and helping a young woman escape the streets in the ‘90s). Now, his three properties along the curve in the river were absorbed by “Granite Gates,” a more upscale development run by Houston Properties.

Since a management company’s main responsibility is to its shareholders and landowner clients, not its tenants, the new trend was clear—maximizing profit. And this meant raising rents. Rents in Manitoba are legislated to an average increase of about 2% a year. The only way to move to a higher level of rent is applying for “above guideline” rent increases, usually based on a landlord renovating and then increasing rents. West Broadway’s aging apartment stock was ripe for this kind of process.

Jim Silver’s research found that owners of 27 buildings in West Broadway applied for above-guideline rent increases in the period from 1999 to 2005, resulting in an average increase of 10.3% in rent for these buildings. This was far higher than equivalent neighbourhoods.

Two other researchers, Jennifer Logan and Marc Vachon (2008), used Winnipeg’s Home Renter’s Guide to track rent increases in West Broadway from 2001 to 2005. In these five years the average rent for a one-bedroom increased 29.1% and a two-bedroom increased 50.9%. This translates to annual increases of 5.8% and 10.2%, respectively, for the most commonly-rented units.

In a more recent analysis, Stefan Hodges, housing coordinator for West Broadway Community Organization (the re-named WBDC), used CMHC statistics to find the average increases from 2015 to 2018. The CMHC figures show that the average price of a one-bedroom increased 18% in those three years, and the average price of a two-bedroom increased 27.4%. Annual increases of 6% and 9% were becoming the norm in West Broadway through the 2000s.

Apartment rents were increasing dramatically, but if there were still enough places so low-income renters were not displaced, then West Broadway would be preserving its diverse character.

Unfortunately, this wasn’t necessarily the case.

**Brent Mitchell arrived in West Broadway in 1988 and remembers marvelling at the beauty of the icy steeple of Young United Church after its fire. He volunteered at Art City and in community gardens. In 2008, he joined the board of West Broadway Development Corporation because he felt that renters, particularly low-income renters, were under-represented in the main policy-making body for the neighbourhood.**

## West Broadway Losing Its Diversity

Most of the residents interviewed for this 50-year history believe that low-income people have been pushed out of West Broadway in the period from at least 2008 on. Many believe the trend began even earlier.

Brian Grant said that the removal of rooming houses was one part of the displacement. When he became housing coordinator in 2000, moving from middle-class poverty to middle-class income, (see Chapter 4 *Wealthy and Poor Side-by-Side*) he walked through every street in the neighbourhood surveying the housing stock. At that time he counted 130 rooming houses. By 2018, there were 45, two-thirds of them gone in 20 years, and many of the owners ready to sell their properties with the great increases in land values.

Brent Mitchell lived in a succession of apartments in West Broadway for more than 15 years.



Volunteerism is at the heart of neighbourhood collectivity. Like many, Brent Mitchell has shown his commitment to the neighbourhood over the years through volunteering. In this picture, he brings a group of kids from Art City's summer program to visit another volunteer, Audrey Logan, at work in West Broadway's kids' garden.

Interviewed in 2019, he said the fundamental diversity of those apartments has changed because of higher rents.

“I can say that every apartment building I lived in, I knew that a good portion of the people I lived with were on assistance of one form or another and I considered that a good thing because, although I didn't eat their food, or I didn't have to live their poverty to the extent that they did, at least there wasn't any separation of living quarters. They lived in either a good or a lousy apartment just like I did. There was no difference there. That's not true anymore.”

Mary Agnes Welch is a partner in Probe Research and a former *Free Press* reporter who first encountered West Broadway in the '90s covering stories there. She and her partner moved onto Langside in 2008 and started getting involved with committees and activities. She's not sure the tipping point towards gentrification has been reached yet, but it's starting.

She remembers when they moved in, there was an Indigenous family next door, a Congolese family down the street “and they had a choir practice and they would open all the windows and you would hear the Church choir practicing on their top floor all the time.” Now, the Indigenous family is gone. “The Congolese family has now been replaced by the hipster guys in the Real Men's Choir, and the Real Men's Choir is wonderful and amazing and they practice out in their back yard, but it's hipster guys—it's not the Congolese family any more.”

Mary Agnes sees the importance of the neighbourhood “grappling with this balance, of how much does the neighbourhood get richer, and how much do we make sure it's a thriving community and businesses are here... And I think we're probably at—I would say the tip, I don't want to say tipping point—but I think if it gets much more hipster, we are going to lose all those low-income people, and I don't know where they're going.”

Greg MacPherson was a tenant in the Winnitoba, one of the classic old apartments at the foot of Young Street on the curve of the river in 2007/08 when a property management company bought the building and renovated. “I was paying \$475 and my rent went up to about \$700, which nowadays seems reasonable,” he said in a 2019 interview. “But I just have to note that that wasn't very long ago. The rise in rents has been extreme in a short period of time, regardless of people's income remaining relatively stagnant.”



The main organizers: Morgan Hoogstraten (fist raised), Nancy Chippendale, and Flo Popoff

“New school” meets “Old school”: Morgan with NDP MP, Pat Martin.

## NEW AND OLD SCHOOL ACTIVISM AT GORDON BELL, AND AROUND THE WORLD

For many of the people who had been working for the last ten years in West Broadway, the sight of Gordon Bell students marching through the winter of 2009 to the steps of the Legislature warmed the heart and was a shot of youth, energy and inspiration.

The issue was simple—Gordon Bell High School, which had an incredibly diverse student body (57 languages), had no greenspace. In 2008, a 2.5 acre lot next door became available, but was purchased by Canada Post. Former student Nancy Chippendale wrote an article for the Winnipeg Free Press in September '08 suggesting Winnipeg School Division jump on the chance to “dream of fields.”

Nancy received support from area MP Pat Martin and a retired teacher. But it took until December for Nancy to get an invitation to address the school’s parent council. She and about 20 concerned citizens came. A school counsellor at that meeting passed on Nancy’s article to Grade 12 student Morgan Hoogstraten. Hoogstraten e-mailed Nancy on December 22. Nancy asked her if she’d be willing to organize other students for a noon rally, and the campaign was on.

The rally was held on the proposed vacant land at noon on January 23. About 100 attended, including Nancy’s group of concerned citizens. But there was still no official support from the school administration, the school division, or the provincial department of education – all of whom had to sign on for any land sale to happen.

Public support was growing. Newspapers and TV were covering the events. For the first time, Facebook and social media played a major role. Students at the nearby University Collegiate joined in. Messages fired back and forth. Morgan’s answer to one critic gives a sense of the spirit of the campaign (and the punctuation/spelling methods of social media):

“O yes Christina, WE KNOW!! but Gordon Bell DID NOT purchase it. Don’t ask me why, if it had been my school I would have POUNCED on that opportunity. This is why WE, the students, are working on getting it ourselves.”

On January 23, despite -36°C temperatures, they marched down Broadway to the Legislature to target the

education minister. He told them he had heard nothing from the school division. Nancy remembers pounding the table: she was so frustrated how decisions seemed to be smothered by layers of bureaucracy. Later that night, the area’s school trustee (who hadn’t attended the meeting) e-mailed Nancy asking if she could help. Nancy blew up and e-mailed: “The ball is once again in the court of the Winnipeg School Division trustees...It is profoundly tragic how many times they have let the ball drop...”

Trustees organized a meeting and formally asked the education minister to acquire the land. There were more marches. There was more social media and regular media. There were more layers of bureaucracy. Pat Martin negotiated with Canada Post and federal bureaucrats. “I pulled in all my markers and used up all my political capital,” he said, but on June 25 he told the Gordon Bell graduation ceremonies, Canada Post had agreed to sell the land.

There was still much that needed to be done, but Gordon Bell had its greenspace.

In the campaign, there was also a hint of new ways that collective action might take place. Pat Martin and the school trustees and the education minister were all part of “old school” activism: marches, behind-the-scenes negotiating, public meetings.

But in the energy of the Facebook posts there was a premonition of a “new school” of activism that could bring about collective action, both for good and for bad. It would be one year later that a 26-year-old street vendor in Tunisia set himself on fire and launched, mainly through social media, the Arab Spring. Two years later, Idle No More became one of the most hopeful moments towards reconciliation in Canada, and it was sustained largely through Facebook and Twitter. But then Twitter and abuses of social media like Cambridge Analytica have also brought us Donald Trump.

The Gordon Bell greenspace campaign was the first example of “new school” activism in West Broadway, and an indication that Millennials (born 1981 to 1996) had as big a concern for social justice as all the old-timers who had been leading change since the ‘80s.

Maybe, a torch between generations was being passed.



## 2007–2017: Revitalization, Reorganization, Gentrification?

Step back to 2007/08:

- ▶ The first iPhone is launched...
- ▶ The sub-prime mortgage meltdown shows capitalism at its worst...
- ▶ Barrack Obama's election breaks an antiquated barrier and offers "Hope"...
- ▶ And those years are as good a place as any to mark the end of revitalization in West Broadway, and the beginning of gentrification...



Greg MacPherson flips burgers in a program he helped create seeking input from low-income tenants in a townhouse development.

**In a 2019 expansion into downtown, one of Thom Borgen's founders said "We wanted to try to match the vibe of Sherbrook, bringing that community feeling downtown."**

An equally good argument could be made for 2017 when the Sherbrook strip got hip—the arrival of trendy restaurants, a bakery, a chocolatier, the upscale coffee house Thom Borgen, even an upscale martini bar at the corner of Langside and Sara, across from the apartment where Linda Williams had conducted her safety audit in 1995.

Pick your year, but somewhere in the decade 2008–2018, the new trend was clearly underway—displacement of low-income residents—and the market, not the government, was leading it.

Regardless, 2008 was a big year for West Broadway in a lot of other ways. By far the highlight of the year was the launch of a campaign by Nancy Chippendale in September to get a green space for Gordon Bell High School. (See *New and Old School Activism at Gordon Bell*, and *Around the World*)

But 2008 was also the year the dynamic programs like Tenant Landlord Cooperation and Odd Jobs For Kids had ended. It was the year C.A.N.E. had folded because it moved away from its familiar roots at Crossways; the year Debbie Smith had sold

the Huntley to become part of "Granite Gates"; and the year Larry Leroux had quietly retired and moved to his lakeside retreat.

It was also in 2007/08 that Greg MacPherson joined the staff of the West Broadway Development Corporation and Brent Mitchell joined its board, two key figures who would soon play roles in re-establishing the Development Corporation at the centre of the neighbourhood.

WBDC had gone through several rough years after the dismissal of Paul Chorney—years described in a 2005 WBDC planning document of the time as years of "setbacks and reorganization." When Brent Mitchell joined the board in 2008, he found the board dysfunctional and resigned. Two years later, the board had changed considerably and he rejoined.

In those two years Executive Director Molly McCracken (the fourth ED in four years) had overcome several challenges: building a more representative board; finding funding for the



The rooming house program continued for several years until funding ended in 2017. This group of tenants enjoyed barbecue and conversation with WBCO coordinator Michael Deakin.

Good Food Club which had closed for a year; creating Soup Bee, a social enterprise that cooked and delivered soup at lunchtime once a week until 2015; and mediating the conflict around WBDC's plans for 198 Sherbrook, a vacant lot which, through the concerted (and sometimes divisive) efforts of gardeners over the last 15 years, had become a large community garden. The property had originally been purchased by WBDC in the '90s to allow some form of community development. Molly organized a public meeting where a majority supported affordable housing, but the gardeners were unhappy both with the decision and the process. Despite this controversy, Molly's four years as Executive Director did a lot to revive the Development Corporation as a representative voice for the community. Also critical in this period was the work of accountant, Allyson Watts, who got the Corporation's books in order.

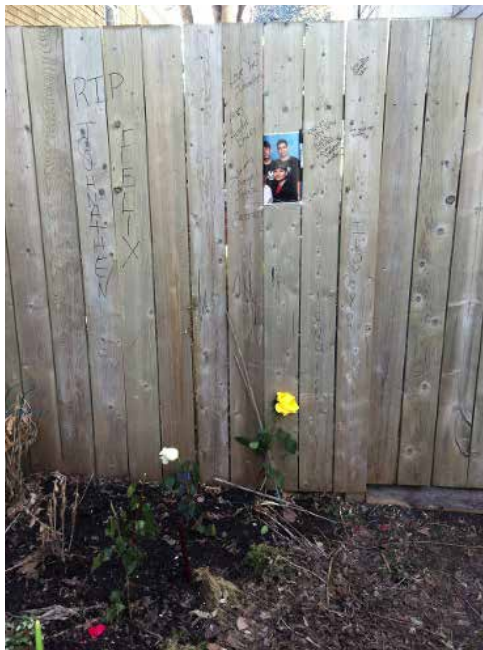
Greg MacPherson held several positions at WBDC over the years. He's listed in the 2007/08 annual report as caretaker and became Executive Director in 2011. He served a stint as safety and rooming house coordinator, and it was in these jobs that he gained a unique perspective on safety in West Broadway.

In 2010, he helped create a rooming house safety program, visiting rooming houses, installing stronger locks on individual doors. He got to know tenants. He visited drop-ins, soup kitchens and food banks to conduct a safety audit of the neighbourhood.

Unlike Linda William's audit in 1995, the safety audit clearly showed two different realities in the neighbourhood. Although City of Winnipeg statistics and the perceptions of many middle-income people said the neighbourhood was now becoming safer, "we also noted that there are populations within our community whose reality shapes whether or not they're safe at all. For the average middle-class or working-class white person status-quo population—our safety is relatively high. Very few of us are really worried about getting violently attacked...

"But we saw there were populations in our midst, other residents and neighbours, who, for example—maybe live in a rooming house, at the fringe of the income levels of our society; people who are of Indigenous descent, who because of the history of our city, are marginalized and don't have the stability, or the community around them to support them, much fewer opportunities; or if you're a young woman living alone, your chances of being victimized criminally are much higher."

The 2010 safety report clearly showed the continued presence of two dominant realities in West Broadway.



A vigil was held on Balmoral after Jonathen's death, near the fence where his body had been found. A memorial to Jonathen Felix on Balmoral Street.

**Making middle-class structures work for marginalized people has always been a challenge. Whether through Brent's "Big Ideas Committee" or Colin Muir's strategies in the '80s (knocking on doors, meeting around kitchen tables) it is difficult to find a way that includes all. The time of day (afternoon or night); the need for childcare; and, most fundamentally, the "normal" (i.e., middle-class) structures and processes through which ideas are discussed and developed—all make it difficult to hear everyone's voices.**

## West Broadway's Two Realities

An example of these two realities was the senseless, tragic death of Jonathen Felix in 2012.

Angela Klassen and her partner lived in an apartment on the second floor of a house on Balmoral at that time and knew Jonathen, his father and his twin brother. By 2012 the street didn't seem like a murder scene: it was a typical stretch of West Broadway—not the well-off pocket in the block close to the river, but a mix of denser homes on smaller lots, some rooming houses, some small apartment blocks, a large Manitoba Housing apartment just behind on Good Street. "They were all working class people," Angela remembers of 2012. "My partner and I had lived there for 15 years and we loved it, we absolutely loved it."

She remembers neighbours knowing one another, some families going back to the '30s, a sense of community on the street. But she also remembers gang activity in the neighbourhood, "whether it be tagging a property, or vandalism, home invasions, common street crimes, a lot of drug dealing—there were a lot of gang issues on the streets at that time."

Police said it was a case of mistaken identity, a drug deal gone wrong, but for whatever reason, 21-year-old Jonathen Felix, a popular, young Indigenous model, was shot and lay dead for 12 hours behind a fence on Balmoral before his body was discovered.

Over 200 people held a vigil on the street. The funeral home was packed with First Nations youth. Angela and neighbours were devastated.

The desperate deaths of so many Indigenous people in Winnipeg at this time was part of the division that Greg had captured in his 2010 safety audit.

... Jonathen, in 2012. ...Tina Fontaine, in 2014. ...Faron Hall, "Winnipeg's homeless hero" who had rescued several people from drowning. All were examples of the tragic, often nameless, deaths of so many Indigenous people in Winnipeg. This deep division was captured starkly in 2015 when the cover of a national magazine, *Macleans*, declared Winnipeg "Canada's most racist city."

For Greg (who became Executive Director of West Broadway Development Corporation in 2011) and Brent Mitchell (who became chair in 2014), dealing with this divide in West Broadway was the priority. They worked to make the Board more representative of the neighbourhood—more renters, more First Nations people. Brent recognized that board structures and committee structures often did not work for people in poverty, so he organized the "Big Ideas Committee," a group that met over pizza at the Community Ministry's drop-in.

The newly re-named West Broadway Community Organization made a priority of connecting with many who were under-represented: expanding the rooming house safety program



The most marginalized in West Broadway suffered a major dislocation in 2019. For years, All Saints Church had been hovering on the edge of closing, but in 2019 the church found new income through a partnership with the University of Winnipeg, building a 12-story mixed-income apartment block on church grounds. This meant that Agape Table had to move just as it approached its 30th year at All Saints. Agape found a new home just a half-block north of West Broadway at The Wave church.

to provide services to six rooming houses (painting rooms, advocacy, social supports, pot-lucks and other activities, even a trip to the opera); simple things like snow removal for handicapped people; the Good Food Club. Another program provided significant fix-up funds to rooming house landlords. The Community Organization provided support for weekly meetings of a seniors’ group and for a group representing tenants. The West Broadway Tenants’ Committee began meeting in 2018, offering assistance to tenants and taking a strong stand against “reno-victions” by some property management firms. Over 70 people attended “Politics and Popsicles”—a public discussion on gentrification and policing in August, 2018. One issue the Tenants’ Committee is pursuing in 2019 is the way property management companies “represent” tenants at public hearings into issues like limiting parking to encourage bike paths.

Around 2010 a new scourge infested Winnipeg – bed bugs. WBCO established several services to help tenants facing the disrupted lives these bugs bring.

## The Difficulties of Building “We” Spaces in 2019

And the biggest scourge arrived around 2015—what has become known as the “Meth crisis.”

The availability of this cheap drug has led in recent years to a reappearance of people sleeping in door-wells, kicked-in windows, and other outward signs of increasing poverty and desperation. In the winter of 2019, Assiniboine Credit Union began hiring security guards during the day and locking its after-hours banking machine each night to deter homeless people from sleeping there. Downtown, the main library—long a haven for those with no place to go—now requires all patrons to be frisked. Each summer for the last two years “tent cities” have sprung up in West Broadway. In October 2019, six people then encamped under the Osborne bridge lost all their possessions in a fire.

To deal properly with the meth crisis, Greg believes the wealth of society, through government, needs to be deployed. He’s concerned that over the years governments have handed off social problems to non-profits that are chronically under-funded. Instead, governments need to develop hospitals, supported housing, mental health services, detox facilities and other responses.

Greg: “I think we need to have the wealth of our society employed in trying to make sure that everybody has the same opportunity to be healthy and safe and to realize their own potential.

But now, in absence of government-run programs or departments, non-profits are doing the work of community economic development, social development, tenant support services, 24/7 safe spaces for people who are on the streets or have extreme risk of homelessness: Crossways-in-Common being a great example.

Someone like Lynda Trono at the West Broadway Community Ministry is shouldering the responsibility of handling people who are either homeless, or on the verge of, who might have severe mental health issues, psychosis, drug use, you know, concerns, a myriad of concerns. She is the thin line between those folks living and dying in some cases. And they don’t have the facilities for that.”

Lynda, who is director of West Broadway Community Ministry, agrees: “This isn’t a Meth



above: Angela Klassen (left) and members of the Bear Clan on patrol in West Broadway. right: Residents Mike and Rebecca Ford, with son, Holland, attend meeting on meth and harm reduction organized by the West Broadway Directors' Network. Rebecca is a member of the Bear Clan.



## SIGNS OF NEIGHBOURHOOD COLLECTIVITY IN 2019

Just as in 1997, there are many signs of a strengthening collectivity in West Broadway.

The West Broadway Directors' Network of executive directors is meeting regularly and involving residents in public meetings. Programs that burst into life in the '90s are still doing their good work: Art City, Resource Assistance for Youth, Nine Circles, and more. Churches are still active: as well as housing, Westminster United launched a community café and food bank program in 2015; All Saints' put shovels in the ground in August 2019 to build the apartment block that guarantees its future.

One of the most exciting developments has been West Broadway Community Organization and Wolseley Family Place moving into Crossways. Their move brings these two dynamic organizations under the same roof as West Broadway Community Ministry.

There's some hope for community action in the "Meth crisis" with these three organizations closely connected, plus the Manitoba Harm Reduction Network now occupying offices in the neighbourhood.

And, in 2020, Klinik—which has now outgrown its facilities on Portage Avenue—will be moving back into the neighbourhood in an enlarged building on Sherbrook, in partnership with the Sexuality Education Resource Centre.

So many organizations with heart and drive.

One of the most hopeful ways in which people's energies are coming together is the Bear Clan patrol—a volunteer group that has patrolled West Broadway streets two nights a week, in all seasons since March 2018, to spot and help homeless and at-risk people. There is a great sense of camaraderie and community when members of the Bear Clan meet on Friday and Saturday nights and then head out onto the streets.

Bear Clan has brought together such diverse people as Rob Shaw (homeowner of the "fixer-upper" on Spence Street) and Angela Klassen (who wants to do anything possible to prevent such useless deaths as that of Jonathen Felix seven years ago). Angela and Rob, from two very different segments of the neighbourhood, have become good friends. So have many other members.



Sleeping off the meth high – an increasingly common sight in West Broadway.

New faces at Crossways:  
In 2019 Wolseley Family Place and WBCO moved into Crossways: L to R: Emma Fineblit, Wolseley Family Place; Margaret Rowley, Young Church congregant; Greg McPherson (WBCO) and Lynda Trono (WBCM) in the main gathering space. Margaret was head of the committee in the 1980s that helped design Crossways in such a way that this central gathering place represented the coming together of the community and the coming together of the arms of the cross. Twenty-five years later, in 2019, three significant community organizations have now come together in this space.



crisis—it’s a Poverty crisis. Our numbers in the drop-in have tripled in recent years. Their situations are more desperate and it’s hard for them to volunteer. We try to build community and a sense of worth, but it’s harder with less resources and so many more needs.”

As executive director of WBCO, Greg worked in 2018 with 15 other executive directors of organizations in West Broadway to hold two public meetings on the meth crisis, each of them attended by 100–150 people. The people at the meetings represented all segments of West Broadway’s diverse communities in meetings reminiscent of the Alliance meetings of 22 years ago. Just as then, they sat in small groups, forming relationships, getting to know one another.

In all of these relationships, in the trust being built between organizations, in the energy spreading from person to person, there is hope.

But there are many differences between the new situation in 2019 and the situation that existed in 1997 when mass meetings were part of West Broadway’s blooming.

One difference is that today, at the end of the meetings, each executive director has to head back to his or her desk already piled high—how can Lynda organize the drop-in’s annual beach day? How can Wolseley Family Place find a new space? Spatch at the BNC is caught up with summer planning (and the day we visited for an interview, the need to get replacement keys cut at Canadian Tire). Each organization quickly gets swept up into its own set of priorities.

Greg: “A lot of our organizations—we exist in a very competitive environment. So at one time when, I think a lot of our groups incorporated, there was money flowing. We—being West Broadway Development Corporation, Art City, and others—did really well, because I think we existed at a time when there was real support for the work that was being done.

As the years went on, those groups aged and they matured, and I think a lot of us in these groups, we developed jurisdictions. We developed expertise in specific population services. And then we also, by extension, we began to be isolated from one another, to some degree. And our partnerships became something that had to be cultivated, rather than just existing on their own.

And in a world that’s, I believe, becoming more isolated all the time and individual-focused, individualistic, it’s hard sometimes to really put yourself out there and to be fully committed to one another and to the collective good, especially at a time when so many forces in our society are pushing us away from the collective good.”

Another difference between 1997 and 2019 is that, back then, organizations were being created and there was government money supporting their creation. The equivalent of Lloyd Axworthy, Mayor Glen Murray and Deputy Premier Jean Friesen sitting around the table at the BNC and releasing funds doesn’t exist anymore. It is a very different political atmosphere.

Nor is there the same sense of activism on the community side of the table. Times of beginnings are always exciting. In any organization there's always high energy at the time of creation. But then the day-by-day year-after-year grind of running an organization begins replacing the initial excitement. In 2019, 20 years on, the heads of organizations have had to become administrators, grant writers, professionals making sure the wheels stay on their organizations.

Greg: "In the 90's, there wasn't necessarily a professionalization of the activism that we have now. There was more of just a grassroots, you know, a bit more of an organic or, even like a free-for-all. People were stepping up. They stepped up. There was a void to fill and people jumped in..."

And then, you know, like a lot of our world nowadays, things became professionalized. And I don't know if that means something bad. I think in some ways, it's actually quite good, but there's always a struggle to retain a balance between how much of our energy are we spending to keep this machine we've created going, and how much are we spending making sure the machine is doing its job."

These are all significant changes and significant impediments to trying to develop a shared collective vision.

And there's one other enormous difference between the "Meth" crisis of today, and the "Crack" crisis of the '90s, or the "Rubbies" crisis of the '80s. Whatever the drug, they are all—as Lynda Trono has clarified—really one, long, ongoing "poverty crisis."

In the '80s and '90s the biggest testimonial to the needs of West Broadway were the big, old houses themselves—the nine streets of West Broadway—block after block of derelict, boarded-up, gap-toothed homes staring out onto the street. In 2019 they're all gone—replaced by classic, refurbished homes that are now selling for \$200,000-\$300,000. It was concern about those gap-toothed blocks of houses that kick-started revitalization and the period of blooming 22 years ago. The lion's share of government money always went to bricks and mortar—the standard middle-class response to poverty.

Homeless side by side with wealth: in November 2019 a tent city grew along the river behind Balmoral Hall School



We fixed up the buildings; but the poverty is still there, and now the poorest people are being pushed out. The period of blooming created lots of programs that are still doing their good work. There are still many people with heart and drive, and trust and energy is again spreading from person to person.

But now that the derelict buildings are gone will the rest of society forget those still in poverty in West Broadway?

Or together, can we finally end the two side-by-side realities—Privilege and Impoverishment—that have marred this neighbourhood—and this city—for so long?

## SHARDS OF A NEIGHBOURHOOD'S HISTORY

Putting together a 50-year history of a neighbourhood would properly involve thousands of interviews, hundreds of different viewpoints. We've only interviewed 40 people and gathered what written stories we could. It is like picking through the shards of an ancient civilization and trying to piece together a story that makes sense.

And lots of times the interviewees themselves didn't agree. For instance, the interview with three women: Rebecca Ford; her mother Maryanne Kiss; and her grandmother Joanne (oldest of 11 children in the Bain family who grew up on Good Street).

This family is as close to West Broadway "royalty" as you can get: Maryanne grew up on Good Street and her future husband, John Konawalchuk, grew up on Balmoral. John played hockey with the Broadway Optimist Bears in the '70s. They met at Mulvey School, were married in 1992 at All Saints' Church, had their reception at the brand new Broadway Neighbourhood Centre, and moved into the two Konawalchuk homes on Balmoral (one was a guest home for eight elderly men.)

When we complained that the three of them couldn't seem to agree—the neighbourhood was better; the neighbourhood was worse; the neighbourhood was the same—how could there be so many different viewpoints all in the same family?

Rebecca offered "We're a family—differences are good."

And Maryanne had the most important observation of our entire study. As we sat in her front yard and she looked up and down the street—the street where she'd been courted by John; the street where Jonathen Felix had been murdered; her yard full of flowers; Fabian, the apartment caretaker next door working in his garden—a street so rich it makes all others seem poor—she simply said:

"It's home."

We're grateful to all the 40 interviewees for the wisdom they offered. They've provided us with a few shards to piece together some of West Broadway's story.

Some of their shards of wisdom we've been able to sprinkle through the main story:

**Colin Muir's observation:**

*When "I" spaces become "We" spaces, that's community.*

**Larry Leroux's description:**

*We were learning as we went.*

**Debbie Smith's dictum:**

*Things change... People change...*

We end our story of West Broadway's 50 years with a few others.

**Rob Shaw:**

*I think the changes have just been almost a natural ebb and flow, like any inner-city neighbourhood would experience. Often its origins start with some wealthy people building large homes and then moving out to outlying areas and then the change in the housing stock that occurs, different decades come and go and economic factors certainly play a part in all those things.*

*I know that back in the day, delivering neighbourhood flyers, long-time residents were sometimes reluctant to even answer the door, right, and yet they're watching the street always for signs of healthy activity. And I think when they felt those elements were emerging they started to engage more in the community.*

*But overall I think the neighbourhood has just had a very slow growth; it's always retained its diversity which I think is a huge part of its appeal, and its location—it's a walkable, inviting, central neighbourhood with good facilities that you can get to. Decent grocery stores—that's always an important thing for places in the inner-part of the city—and community engagement. And I think the changes we have seen on our street have notably begun to include—we see a whole lot more children on the street now and that's really fantastic. Now we see tricycles on the street, young people running all over the place, and that was because the neighbourhood became healthy.*



**Paul Chorney:**

*A community is like a garden, sometimes it's blooming, sometimes it needs to rest.*

**Brent Mitchell:**

When asked if Art City and the West Broadway Alliance were examples of the neighbourhood acting together collectively, Brent replied:

*No, I would say those were examples when a critical mass of community organizers or activists or whatever got together and found, eventually found, some agreement in government that a certain number of limited programs could be set up. And without faulting them, or for that matter faulting myself, because I've been an agent of this failure as much as I've been an agent of any success, but kind of perpetuating the system that has ended up doing substantial improvement to the neighbourhood but without any political analysis...*

*The biggest challenge is the fact that people have zero political analysis of their own economic situation... If we're trying to figure out whether community building efforts are successful, you can't leave out the over-riding national and international economic system... and so all the things that are derived from capitalism and governments that are favourable to capitalism is that there is going to be an under-class and the question is how many and to what extent they are under-fed, under-housed and under-appreciated, for lack of a better word... So, one purpose of revitalization was to take a neighbourhood where nobody could make much money and make it into a neighbourhood where lots of people could make more money. All the landlords are taking money out of West Broadway now; all the realtors; all the people who used to own buildings all profited from this, relatively speaking, very meagre investment from government. And let's keep in mind that the government investment comes from all taxpayers, not just those who benefit from the changes in the neighbourhood. But, as usual, the people who benefit the most are the ones who already have lots.*

**Greg MacPherson:**

As both a Cape Bretoner and a musician, Greg observed: *I don't believe that a whole neighbourhood of people can really be swimming in the same way, like a school of fish. I think there's lots of times when, to use a musical analogy, Mike Maunder will stop and take a solo and he's a bright light on the stage at that time, while the rest of us might be laying back and taking it easy. And then my turn comes up to play a solo. And sometimes we're playing them together—and it's magic—and it's really moving forward...*

**Interviewer:** *"So it's like a jam session?"*

**Greg:** *"Yeah, it's exactly like a jam session."*

**Jill Winzowski:**

Jill really captured the magic diversity of West Broadway in her 2010 book, *Wild West Broadway*. Her foreword ended:

*I love that a terribly posh brownstone salon is just a short jaunt from an always-hectic soup kitchen, and the fact that an alleged rub-and-tug resides right next door to an inspired art centre for kids. Polarities this vast abound intimately here, inevitably creating an edgy tension which can be both infuriating and embarrassing, depending from which end of the spectrum you hail.*

*It's this incongruous diversity that makes West Broadway so wild.*

**Editor's Note:** By 2019, both establishments at the lower-income end of this spectrum—the soup kitchen and the rub-and-tug—had vanished from West Broadway.



## CHAPTER 6

# West Broadway: Home to Many

West Broadway entered a period of sustained revitalization over the last 25 years after enduring a difficult past of social, economic, and physical restructuring that altered the trajectory of the neighbourhood. As a once flourishing mixed-income community, West Broadway found itself subject to a changing post-war Canada when it transitioned from an enclave of relative wealth, up until the 1950s, into an area marred by poverty, crime, and a deteriorating housing stock.

Snoball: West Broadway's annual free winter festival.

The story told in this report explored the relationships between the various actors and local residents who remained steadfastly dedicated to West Broadway. Looking more broadly over



Changing Rentals in West Broadway with Street level retail.

the past 50 years, what became clear is that local residents can be the main *influencers* of change, and that periods of significant decline can be countered with community activism and resiliency.

At the start of this project, we set out to tell West Broadway's story through the lens of neighbourhood change and income inequality narrated by those with experiences in the area and their memories of how and why change occurred. In particular, we wanted to better understand how people come together things got tougher. Additionally, the narrative of gentrification also arose, as many pointed to a rise in rents and how new infill apartments were attracting more wealthy people to the area. However, this view, on its own, did not account for the other forces that impacted change over the last 25 years—such as the level of agency among residents and stakeholders who focused more on

supporting those in need as opposed to fending off the perceived influx of wealthy residents. However, tensions between owners and renters, the perceived rich and those less well-off were also observed and contributed greatly to the complex realities of West Broadway.

In many ways, the story of West Broadway represents a classic pattern of neighbourhood change. Its growth in the early 1900s drew in wealthy residents for a period of 50 years as the area matured and prospered. In the post-1950s, change accelerated as the housing stock aged and the suburbs beckoned. The explosion of the automobile, the growth of postwar suburbia and the economic restructuring of the economy of Winnipeg eventually pushed West Broadway and many inner-city neighbourhoods into a downward spiral lasting half a century. This pattern of change has been exhibited in countless communities across Canada and North America. However, what we observed in West Broadway was not simply the changes, but more so the response and action of residents.

Slum Housing, *Winnipeg Tribune*, 1968.



Winnipeg's economic stagnation, beginning in the 1950s, had a huge impact on many inner-city neighbourhoods. As residents began leaving, fewer arrived to replace and sustain the

large family homes that emptied or were converted to higher occupancies. The outcome for West Broadway has been consistent rental rates of over 90% with high resident turnover. Throughout Winnipeg's inner city, neighbourhood populations also plummeted while downtown commerce and retail suffered. This occurred as suburban shopping malls, with their vast seas of parking, altered the local neighbourhood retail landscape and the downtown economy. As noted in Chapter 2, West Broadway became a "drive through" for people heading to new homes in the suburbs or taking a detour off Portage Avenue on route to places farther away.

Much of the change observed in West Broadway remains characteristic of many Canadian neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, over the past 50 years, often in the face of incredible adversity, West Broadway displayed periods of collective community resiliency. Our story and analysis focused on why, how, and to

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Mike Maunder at  
Wanabees Diner.



what extent the neighbourhood's overall experience could be considered a form of collective agency. The observed neighbourhood resistance appeared in waves, peaking and then subsiding, depending on the driving issues, such as increasing poverty, crime, declining property values, and racism. In fact, local community activist Paul Chorney likened this to a garden in which there were periods of bloom and rest. West Broadway certainly bloomed many times over the years, perhaps too much for many who pointed to rapid revitalization and changing socio-economic patterns as adversely impacting lower-income residents.

The issue of income inequality and polarization has remained an ongoing concern for West Broadway, especially during the last period of "bloom" that saw many fall further behind economically as rents increased and incomes stagnated. The outcome of a sustained period of deep poverty in West Broadway resulted in a deepening economic division from the rest of Winnipeg. As well, within the neighbourhood itself, there remained a divide between those in deep poverty with those higher-income earning homeowners and renters.

Our work carefully separated the layers of time to look closer at when people tried to make a difference, as opposed to simply emphasizing that housing was renovated or rents increased. It was in this approach that we were able to buff the tarnished view of the West Broadway's past that while often mired in violence, poverty and isolation, shone brightly with the desire of many to make a true difference. It really was the stories about the people in the community that sets West Broadway apart from other neighbourhoods.

In the end, what continues to define West Broadway is entwined with what Rotella (2003) and Varady (1986) classify as the softer, indescribable elements of residents and their ability to resist giving up while seeing *good* in the future. Some of this was expressed within the cultural landscape of the West Broadway that remains an eclectic mix of pawnshops, hotels,

restaurants, camera repair shops, community spaces, and a host of other “third places” that certainly reflect something Oldenburg (1989) would have approved in terms of anchoring the area with a diverse set of amenities (*see also* Chapter 1).

Ultimately, West Broadway has many crucial elements that, examined on their own, would not fully explain the enormity of change and resistance among residents and other stakeholders who carved a unique identity, rich in diversity and hope. The final section of this report draws our observations and analysis together in anticipation of providing a conclusion fitting of a rich 50-year period of change.

As was noted in Chapter 1, the objective of this project was to examine the neighbourhood of West Broadway through the broad lens of neighbourhood change and income inequality with a focus on the *Neighbourhood Collective Agency Framework* (NCAF). As noted, the NCAF is defined as the “residents’ desire and capacity to work together to improve daily life and promote social justice in their neighbourhood” (Carrière & Pardis, 2016, p. iii). For our analysis, we drew on the definition and four particular elements of the NCAF which are:

1. What are the social, physical and structural contexts of the neighbourhood;
2. Who are the *influencers* within the area;
3. What is level of agency among stakeholders; and
4. How have collective actions or outcomes influenced change observed in West Broadway?

The final sections examine each of the above elements along with offering some final thoughts on the changes observed in West Broadway.

## The Social, Physical and Structural Context of the Neighbourhood

Among the key aspects of the NCAF, the social, physical and structural elements of the area are perhaps the most definable. As was observed, the area developed primarily as a mix of wealthy and upper- middle-class residents living in a well situated neighbourhood. The housing was stately and followed the curve of the Red River and stretched toward bustling Portage Avenue. Within the neighbourhood Broadway Avenue and Sherbrook become home to many of the local amenities that were walkable and oriented around the needs of the community.

At the tip of the neighbourhood’s eastern edge, a blue collar enclave emerged with the Osborne Stadium and Shea’s Brewery anchoring jobs and amenities. As the neighbourhood evolved, the physical characteristics changed, following trends observed elsewhere in urban Canada. This included suburbanization, decentralized retail functions, and transportation realignment projects. For West Broadway, as people left and retail functions changed, the once tranquil streets became congested—not with local traffic but through-traffic as the area was used to divert cars, buses and even trucks through the downtown. This set of changes greatly influenced the desirability of the area.

When the stadium closed and the brewery was demolished, corporate jobs moved in and altered a part of the area’s blue collar past. As was also documented, the neighbourhood’s hous-

ing stock not only aged but shifted increasingly to rental, peaking at over 90% (the highest in Winnipeg) over the past few decades. What is perhaps a unique element of the physical aspect of the neighbourhood is that retail remained important and certainly has seen a period of resurgence along Sherbrook Street and to a lesser extent Broadway Avenue.

The social composition of the neighbourhood is much more complex and ultimately divided. As the neighbourhood entered the 1960s, its population peaked at well over 7,000 and has fallen steadily since (*see again* Chapter 1). This shift coincided with the transition of housing that increasingly went from single-family to multi-family and to rooming/boarding houses. Part of this transition occurred within the nature of a more transient working poor who found their way to West Broadway in the 1960s onward. More recently, those renting in the area were more likely to include the very poor and less well off. For Winnipeg, and many Canadian cities, the later 1980s and onward set the stage for a major rise in those experiencing homelessness.

Part of the early work we observed in West Broadway had to do with the mobilization of stakeholders to address the physical side of the neighbourhood primarily through revitalization efforts. It was within this lens that much of the community work noted in Chapters 2-5 began to draw the various stakeholders together. The glue for much of this action came from the ability of local coalitions to successfully leverage significant tripartite funding that flowed heavily into the neighbourhood beginning in the late 1980s and onward. The ability to draw in Core Area Initiative funding began in earnest with streetscaping efforts along Broadway and shifted to more concerted efforts to address community infrastructure and ultimately housing.

One of the most unique abilities of the various early stakeholder groups in West Broadway was their ability to leverage political capital to take advantage of funding that was geared toward inner city and downtown renewal. As the Core Area project wound down, other similar efforts were launched up to 1999 when the Provincial standalone Neighbourhoods Alive funding radically altered the governance structures of neighbourhood organizations in Winnipeg by requiring “incorporation” of groups. All told, West Broadway was certainly observed to have secured a substantive amount of government funding, perhaps more than any neighbourhood in Winnipeg’s inner city. The ability of local stakeholders to draw on political capital was well documented in our interviews and other materials. We called this the “dream team,” who were able to pull in Federal Ministers, Provincial leaders and City Councilors more so than other neighbourhoods in Winnipeg. But the dream team was not able to fully address the economic divide that would end up splintering the area and causing concern over an imbalance between revitalization and gentrification with community development.

For West Broadway, income inequality presented the most complex structural factor to address and this division widened over the last quarter century. However, as we showed in this research, the area changed dramatically over its 100 plus year history. The outcome was an increasing polarization of incomes and a hollowing out of the middle. In short, the area has become less economically diverse in many ways.

In the beginning, the curve of the river was home to stately mansions; the streets north of it were home to the middle-class. By the ‘70s, the southern stretch near the river was where most of West Broadway’s homeowners lived, and the streets to the north were increasingly rental—the neighbourhood’s many apartments, and the substantial homes converted to multi-unit rentals (like the several homes in which the Ginter family lived). This transition



Greenheart Housing Cooperative.

marked two key evolutions. The first was the departure of the wealthy families that left as early as the 1950s. The second wave was the middle-class flight, which left large homes behind. The problem was there were few wealthy or middle-income families remaining or returning. The outcome was more low- and very low-income residents (mostly renters) with even fewer middle-income households (likely homeowners).

This economic divide became precipitous in the '80s and '90s. In 1985, a *Winnipeg Free Press* article emphasized how the “poor and trendy” met on the streets of West Broadway. By the '90s “trendy” was replaced by “deep poverty” with many run-down and derelict properties and the emergence of street gangs.

It was difficult in the revitalization efforts of the '90s to include the poor. Often it was because they existed in a world of different realities and had little to no influence. It was also because the poor lived in housing that was increasingly becoming “targets” for bargains and potential conversion to homeownership, especially for the larger character homes nearer to the river. Meetings that tried to bring people together around a kitchen table might have worked, but meetings were more often held around the tables of boards of directors in community organizations.

The divergence of these realities was clearly shown in 1999 when low-income residents demanded photographs of their children be removed from an art show depicting the neighbourhood and its ties to street gang culture. The art show exposed the divide between the privileged and impoverished, but, on the plus side, it also showed how several neighbourhood institutions were effectively giving voice to the poor. This event for both good and bad revealed a growing sense that others could influence action and outcomes in the neighbourhood.

The neighbourhood community centre became an important gathering spot in the community. It would become home to programs like youth drop-ins, Little Red Spirit and the Tenant Landlord Co-operation (TLC) that included many low-income families. A good example of convergence in the neighbourhood was the 2004 TLC awards banquet that recognized both wealthy landlords and impoverished tenants. The churches continued ministries to the poor through a drop-in and soup kitchen. Westminster Church created a housing program (Westminster Housing Society) that focused on renovating houses for low-income people (many were part of the increasing working poor).

But generally the worlds of the privileged and the impoverished diverged, especially in the years after 2008. In this later period, programs like the TLC ended, and good landlords who had known their tenants were increasingly replaced by more impersonal property management firms. This transition in the rental market had one of the biggest impacts on the community and resulted in a growing fracture between those with money and power and those without.

The '90s were also shown to be some of the most dynamic in terms of community organizing and would launch numerous efforts to reach the growing marginalized population. However,

the programs that burst into life in the '90s also started to become more separated from one another, each following their divergent programs and serving their divergent groups. Jill Winzoski captured the convergences and divergences of West Broadway in 2010:

“I love that a terribly posh brownstone salon is just a short jaunt from an always-hectic soup kitchen, and the fact that an alleged rub-and-tug resides right next door to an inspired art centre for kids. Polarities this vast abound intimately here, inevitably creating an edgy tension which can be both infuriating and embarrassing, depending from which end of the spectrum you hail. It's this incongruous diversity that makes West Broadway so wild.”

But, by 2019, both the soup kitchen and the rub-and-tug had moved out of West Broadway. There have been encouraging signs of convergence in the last couple of years—the way the Bear Clan has brought together diverse populations, the hopeful emergence of Crossways as a home for several diverse community groups. There continues to be substantial supported housing, but increasing gentrification is pushing out many of the poorest.

Throughout its history, West Broadway has also shown how lower- and higher-income people can live separate but side-by-side realities in the same neighbourhood. However, the stark reality for West Broadway today is more about income inequality both within the neighbourhood and the city of Winnipeg. As wealth concentrated in pockets within the neighbourhood or in far-off enclaves, poverty became more entrenched for many low-income residents, and the rich got richer. Lower-income residents in Winnipeg remain much more mobile, moving in hopes of finding a safe, affordable, decent home but doing so in a much more volatile real estate market that increasingly puts profit over people.

Overall, the social, physical and structural changes to West Broadway documented in this report suggest that while the neighbourhood changed dramatically, collective voice and resistance that remained. In the voices and actions of the many actors we identified, the West Broadway neighbourhood would mount a long and sustained effort to address decline, poverty and despair with optimism, resiliency and hope. However, much of the fuel for this action was drawn from strong personalities and an acute ability to skillfully draw on political capital and leverage resources. As noted above, the ability to balance revitalization with community development remains the biggest legacy of how change unfolded and benefited some perhaps more than others.

## People and Relationships as Neighbourhood Influencers

The NCAF considers “influencers” to be at the heart of the model (*see Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1*). This includes the role of Civil Society, the State and the Market. Each influencer is thought to contribute an important aspect of resiliency and sense of hope to maintain the area as pressures mounted (be that decline or revitalization). West Broadway is a fitting example of how these three sets of influencers collided, met, interacted, and diverged. While it is difficult to separate the contribution each made to the collective actions and outcomes we observed, neighbourhoods that face difficult times need “influence” to sustain efforts to address issues. Our research did not try to weigh each contribution, but the following revisits those we felt made an impact and influenced change from their own perspective.



A neighbourhood like West Broadway works not simply because of its people, but because of the way people are connected. It's like a human brain—it's not the neurons alone that create action, it's the many different ways in which neurons connect to one another. Understanding neighbourhood change is about understanding how connections are made and maintained and how they inform outcomes.

In the period immediately prior to 1996, there were many good people working to create and influence change in West Broadway, but the outcome was mixed as “everybody was going in different directions.”

We highlighted that druggist Larry Leroux talked of his learning curve, which mainly involved figuring out how to hear other views and bring people together. He offered an example of when the neighbourhood masseur complained of “rubbies” and Larry realized his store was one of many making profit from selling rubbing alcohol. For Larry, the outcome was to bring people together—businesses, residents, police, provincial licensing bodies—and the West Broadway Task Force that eventually led to regulation of these and other substances.

In the '90s, Larry—who operated under no theory of neighbourhood development—also learned to bring diverse people together: “We realized we had to look at the issues of the area itself and not just the businesses.” Those early meetings over restaurant tables included residents like Wanda Koop, business owners like Fokke Hoekstra, and progressive city planners like Tom Yauk. This led to taking leadership at the community centre, which until then had been marred by “palace wars.” Then Larry included landlord and tenant organizer Linda Williams, and neighbourhood meetings like the Neighbourhood Council began connecting more people. “Personalities were huge,” reflected Larry.

With the arrival of Paul Chorney in 1996, the coalition-building became wider and wider, including housing visionaries like Al Davies of Lions Housing and Charles Huband of Westminster Housing Society.

“People sat at small tables,” said Paul. “We started strategic planning. But also something else was happening at those tables. Many people had never met. Relationships were beginning to form, trust was being built, people’s energies spread to other people.”

It is in Paul’s comments that three critical concepts emerged to describe what was occurring and influencing actions in West Broadway during the early period of community organizing:

- ▶ Relationships
- ▶ Trust
- ▶ Energies spreading person to person

One word that drew together these concepts is *synergy*—a combined energy that is greater than the sum of the energy brought by each part. For synergy to develop, there must be relationship and trust. All told, the neighbourhood was developing a unified voice.

As well as developing a collective voice, it was important that there were ears to hear: local MLA Jean Friesen, (also deputy premier in a newly-elected NDP government); the election of

local councilor Glen Murray as mayor; and the powerful ear of Lloyd Axworthy, architect of tripartite core-area funding. Connecting directly with them around the table at the community centre made a difference, especially in leveraging political capital that was not available to all neighbourhoods.

It was also this confluence of relationships—not simply the presence of good people—that led to the greatest period of change in West Broadway, the period of neighbourhood blooming from 1996 to 2002.

The role of the state in West Broadway's period of revitalization was dramatic. During the mid-1990s, and perhaps for 15 years, West Broadway would benefit greatly from what the three levels of government brought to the table (mostly funding). As increasing funding flowed into the neighbourhood, at levels never seen previously, the government was eager to cut ribbons and try to make a dent in rising gang activity and crime. But state involvement often butted heads with community-based organizations and civil society. In this period, market forces were somewhat muted, with perhaps a few homeowners moving in but limited pressure by larger developers. It would not be until the mid-2000s when market forces, beyond homeowners, took hold and contributed to financialization of the housing market (with large developers and agencies leading the charge).

Additionally, as the abrupt dismissal of Paul Chorney in 2004 showed, relationships and influence depend on the trust that's developed, and that trust can be shattered in an instant. After this period, as relationships inevitably changed and weakened, neighbourhood change driven by residents declined and was replaced by neighbourhood change motivated by market forces that were beginning to find the area profitable. In a way, the shifting of *influencers* was more to market driven outcomes as an influx of capital began to see potential in a depressed housing market. Ultimately, the sense that profit could be had in a neighbourhood like West Broadway become a motivator for capital.

## Agency and Outcomes: West Broadway's Changes Hit Homes

The level of agency in West Broadway and the outcomes of such actions are always hard to point to and define. Our work certainly revealed there was a strong desire and capacity to take on adversity in the community. As the NCAF describes in Figure 1.1 of Chapter 1, Desire and Capacity are two key ingredients for cultivating collective action. This work clearly points to the desire to take challenges head on, part of the fire that burned among many who contributed to positive changes. As for capacity, it too was shown in spades in the community and noted as peaking and subsiding over the years, depending on the issues and perhaps access to the political capital to get things done. There was certainly tension observed around capacity and mixed opinions on the role of outside influence versus internal capacity among those greatly affected by low income who felt excluded. Capacity and power remained an issue of contention as did the overall impact of revitalization from the perspective of who benefited most.

What the NCAF also notes is there can be many indicators that offer identifiable markers of neighbourhood collective agency, such as:

- ▶ Stories and discourse
- ▶ Individual actions and perceptions
- ▶ Interpersonal relationships
- ▶ Collective initiatives
- ▶ Organizational behavior
- ▶ Concrete evidence
- ▶ Claims making

Each of the above indicators come through in this history of the neighbourhood, and provide evidence that residents and others worked collectively to make change happen. While it would be difficult to list all the examples of how such indicators influenced change within West Broadway, the intent of Chapters 2–5 was to bring together much of that evidence and illustrate how they contributed to changes that took place.

From the stories captured in the many interviews to the actions of many, it was evident that multiple relationships were formed. Many of these relationships worked toward common goals of improving the area, rebuilding homes, and addressing poverty and other social and economic challenges. Much was said about whose voice stood out over the years and whether those most marginalized had an opportunity to contribute in a meaningful way. There was not always agreement as to the outcome of change and whether increasing rents and “gentrification” or revitalization negatively impacted the community.

Changing times: Ultra chic and modern design meet on Maryland Avenue.

For some in the neighbourhood, what mattered most was often simply the action itself the importance of people joining together to address a common interest. Whatever the action, whatever the motivation for joining, when people acted together—painting a mural, cleaning a back lane, having a street party, holding a community dinner, attending a city hall meeting, creating an organization—community was shared, collectivity was built.

The past 25 years have not been perfect. One could take the same set of factors noted above and state that there was too much tension and growing division and individualism that marred success. But our view is that in the end, the neighbourhood managed to display a strong collective voice that was sustained over a long period of time by many. Some were more skilled than others in bringing people together and working to bridge the economic and social divides that sometimes acted as a wedge to true collective agency.

Despite the small setbacks and the occasional challenges observed there have been few neighbourhoods in Winnipeg or elsewhere whose collective spirit of hope and resiliency have been as vibrant as that in West Broadway.





Community participation in Spring clean-up.

## Bringing the Collective to Action

Above all else, this report was about the people in the neighbourhood of West Broadway who championed for change, who took on difficult situations and otherwise formed the impetus for collective actions and outcomes. Many of the stakeholders also shared some of their own thoughts about what made the neighbourhood “actions and outcomes” possible. This final section explores some of their views.

The words of Cape Bretoner and musician Greg McPherson aptly pointed out that a neighbourhood doesn’t always act together like a school of fish all moving and weaving simultaneously. It is more like a “jam session” with individual members taking solos, “and sometimes we’re playing them together—and it’s magic—and it’s really moving forward...”

Perhaps Greg’s view is that, in West Broadway, residents and others had to learn not only how to jam together but how to respect the occasional solo.

This also speaks to the importance of personalities and how styles of leadership can be critical in shaping outcomes. For example, the West Broadway Alliance was the best example of neighbourhood collectivity—and was truly strengthened by the facilitating style of Paul Chorney. He ostensibly had no personal agenda, but was a neutral bridge who brought people together, whether for painting murals or for mass meetings.

Another key person was Linda Williams, who believed that it often takes crisis bring a neighbourhood together. This fits with West Broadway up to a point—the crisis of safety is clearly what started Larry Leorux’s efforts in 1982 when his goldsmith neighbour was shot; it was safety that motivated Brian Grant when he was shot at in 1997; and Linda feels her own safety audit in 1995 both divided and unified the neighbourhood.

But, it was Larry Leroux reaching out to include Linda after the safety audit that allowed her to play a part in the flowering of programs that were being born at the community centre. So safety, as a crisis, led to relationship-building, and relationship-building led to collective action.

Undoubtedly, the best example of the neighbourhood working together we found was the “period of blooming” from 1996 to 2002. During this time many people, each with an

individual agenda, formed relationships and acted together as a Neighbourhood Council, or as West Broadway Alliance, or as Art City’s founding group, or some other coalition, to accomplish shared goals. And rather than an over-riding concern with one issue like safety, it was often simple actions like painting murals, community dinners, clean-ups, etc. that brought people together.

And so the West Broadway story constantly brings us back to concepts like personal relationships and simple actions that joined people together, concepts of jam sessions and coalition-building, as forms of neighbourhood collectivity. Colin Muir was a community organizer at Klinik and was professionally aware of the various neighbourhood organizing theories of the day. He stressed that you needed to:

“Find local residents who you could tell had leadership potential and could gain the respect of their particular group... whether it was First Nations... or people on welfare, say versus the working poor, would have different members of that community who had leadership potential...”

For Colin and many others, it was about bringing people around a community table that mattered most. It was also about ensuring that those gathered around the table felt welcomed and valued for their contributions. This was not always the case, but the intention always remained to improve the neighbourhood.

## West Broadway’s Story of Hope, Challenge, and Resiliency

This work depicted the human spirit of hope and adversity within the context of the changing fabric of a Canadian neighbourhood. While the physical changes that took place in West Broadway mirror those playing out across Canada and North America, the influencers of hope were those who arrived and stayed in West Broadway and became committed to making a difference. This included a diverse mix of people, stakeholders, and institutions. In particular, we identified the early role of churches in beginning in the 1970s and onward. In this early era of community engagement, many local leaders emerged to launch programs



Westminster Housing Society  
Early Renovation Project—  
Before and After.

and supports. Westminster Housing Society is a perfect example of change that resulted from a longstanding connection to a local church wanting to address the affordable housing crisis for lower-income residents in the neighbourhood. Today, Charles Huban continues his decades long desire to address the affordable housing crisis in the community by renovating one home at a time.

Gangs and poverty also intersected to create varying narratives of fear and belonging. Challenges related to perceptions of violence were met head on by residents' organizations that collectively created a number of tables to address issues locally. The outcome was not always ideal but the goal was always to make West Broadway a better place for all residents. Although the 1990s were fraught with many challenges, people rallied, often with their own issue first, but also coming together as needed. This was certainly the case for the eventual establishment of the West Broadway Community Organization.

In tracing the 50-year story of this neighbourhood, the turning or tipping point we observed was the shifting relationships among tenants, landlords, and eventually community organizations. Eventually these disparate groups, each trying to help, would weave together in a more unified force, escalating the level of community-led intervention. Yet we also observed that this coming together was not always perfect nor met everyone's needs. It might be the case that while crisis brought people together it was the spirit of collective agency and hope that kept them together.

Related to this was the role of government—municipal, provincial and federal—that raised the bar on the type and scope of support. As noted, beginning with the Core Area Initiative in the 1980s, and for a period of 25 years, West Broadway would have access to funding from the three levels of government at a scale unlike that observed in other neighbourhoods in Canada. This level of funding rebuilt the physical landscape, but did not fully heal the deeper wounds of poverty and inequality. This was certainly a key finding in that there remains a tension between the contribution of revitalization efforts, and gentrification, with rising rents that have perhaps shut people out of once much more affordable options.

The local business community was also shown to have a stake in helping positively change the neighbourhood. Many older establishments still remain on the main thoroughfares of Broadway, Sherbrook, and Maryland. Now they share the street with hipster coffee shops and upscale salons. Yet, among these changing trends, there presently seems room for more options and more entrepreneurs. In some ways, it's hard to understand how best to manage the changes taking place to the retail landscape, which has always had this contradiction between trendy shops and necessary services.

Overall, the physical changes to the neighbourhood were limited in the early years to the restructuring of the football stadium and brewery site along with the realignment of streets to allow for greater through-traffic. Apart from these large-scale interventions, it is only within the last 25 years that substantive physical change took place in three definable waves:

1. **The Heavy Subsidy period (1985–1999)**, with government-sponsored revitalization of the housing stock (both homes and apartments) plus community infrastructure driving the change to the physical environment. Very limited private investment;

2. **The Conversion and Early Speculative Investment period (2000–2008)**, with rapid conversion of rooming houses to single-family or smaller one and two-bedroom apartment units along with some infill projects and subsidized private investment in retails and commerce; and
3. **The Private Market Period (2009–2019)**, a significant infilling of the area through new apartment construction, along with conversation of existing rental to ownership (influx of outside capital) plus accelerated private-led investment across sectors (retail and some commercial).

Some of the recent changes that took place in the housing market were contended to be the outcome of shifts to increased outside capital funding housing market development and this related to changes in the global economy. Ultimately, large corporations replaced local ownership models. This shift has put pressure on the housing market and displaced lower income renters. However, at the scale of the neighbourhood, the loss of local ownership also impacted the social capital that was once more abundant among local owners who cared about the neighbourhood and its residents.

In looking back, West Broadway would have been a great place to grow up with the nearby football stadium and civic auditorium, and on the doorstep of a bustling downtown. Former residents reflected fondly on life in West Broadway decades ago. In the 1960s, the area was home to hippies and counter-culture as a global cultural revolution unfolded before them. As time went on, many of the area's wealthy homeowners moved on, replaced by rooming houses and a cast of new characters. Through the 1970s, gay culture found a foothold in an otherwise unfriendly city. Today homeowners, renters, and local businesses continue to find ways to co-exist and address the next wave of challenges. They also face a new set of emerging and lingering tensions about whose views are most likely to be heard.

No one story can capture all the social and cultural changes that influenced this one neighbourhood in Winnipeg. Over the last five decades, many converged to address the challenges faced in West Broadway, but the neighbourhood remained resilient and hopeful. What is occurring now certainly looks and feels like gentrification but resistance remains, ready to try to find balance while trying to welcome all to a diverse neighbourhood.

Changing a neighbourhood is mostly about connection and communication. Over the last 50 years West Broadway has had many dynamic residents, agencies, politicians, and programs. Sometimes operating in isolation and not changing people's lives, especially those in poverty. The larger structural market and political forces were just too great. So when West Broadway reached its lowest point, the diverse tenants, homeowners, landlords, business owners, agencies, and politicians actually began meeting, connecting, communicating, and acting together. Brought together briefly through neutral leaders who were able to "bridge" diverse motivations, activities, and expectations, West Broadway's diverse actors formed a "dream team." As a result, the neighbourhood bloomed.

However, in periods when the energy waned, blooms inevitably were more fleeting perhaps like championship teams that fall apart.

Most of West Broadway's change was "revitalization," and not real and sustained community development. Revitalization made the neighbourhood attractive to certain market forces, and while some benefited, many were and are being left behind. Without ongoing and ded-

icated government support for grassroots and truly community-based action, the potential of a CBOs is cut short. Time will tell whether a strong history of community-based organizing will enable positive changes in the years ahead.

In the end, there is no doubt that *Neighbourhood Collective Agency* played a central part in bringing diverse groups of people together to jam, to solo and to make music and magic in one of Canada's most distinctive neighbourhoods. It was never perfect. It never resolved all the problems or challenges but it did make things a bit better for some. For others, they left, often without choice. We can't write a final song nor play the last set...that will be up to the current and future Paul, Wanda, Linda, Larry and Greg and so many others.

Community Snowball,  
WBC & Art City, 2018.





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### INTERVIEWS

For this project, 22 formal interviews were conducted and audio-recorded between April 2, 2018 and July 25, 2019 and are stored at the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg.

Interviews were conducted with:

*Rob Shaw, Chris Krawchenko, Tom Johnson, Brian Grant, Margaret (née Chown) Morse, Larry Leroux, “Super” Al Rogowski, Linda Williams, Colin Muir, Christian Cassidy, Raia (Coralie) Darsey-Malloy, David Malloy, Russ Rothney, Debbie Smith, Brent Mitchell, Scott Price, Samantha Smith, Mary Agnes Welch, Angela Klassen, Stefan Hodges, Gerry Ginter, Greg McPherson*

In addition, other individuals shared memories, photographs, pieces of correspondence, documents, and their insights and wisdom in informal interviews. These included:

*Bill Rockwell, Karen Ashley, Mary Niemi, Roxanne Niemi, Jacques Niemi, Nancy Chippendale, Charles Huband, Doug Sneath, Joan and Robert Johannson, Jill Winzowski, Paul Chorney, Darcy Spence, Hedie Epp, Geoff Nelson, Ardythe Basham, Joanne (Bain) Kartali, MaryAnne Kiss, Rebecca Ford, Cathy Howes, Harvey Stevens, Leah McCormick, Vince Sansregret, Lawrence “Spatch” Mulhall*

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Interviews with Ken DeLisle, John Robertson, Ailene Urquhart, and Margaret Rowley are from the movie, *Crossways-in-Common* (2017), produced by Hope Mennonite Church and West Broadway Community Organization.

Interviews with Lynda Trono and Ted Nimik are from the movie, *Our First 40 Years—West Broadway Community Ministry* (2019), produced by Hope Mennonite Church and West Broadway Community Organization.

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