Planning and Policy Implementation in the North St. Boniface Community 1971-1985

by David Linton & Marianne Wade
1985

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PLANNING AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN THE NORTH ST. BONIFACE COMMUNITY 1971-1985
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PLANNING AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION
IN THE
NORTH ST. BONIFACE COMMUNITY
1971 - 1985

Sponsored by:
N.E.U.F. Inc.

Prepared by:
David Linton
Marianne Wade

Institute of Urban Studies
November 25, 1985
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<td>5.3.1 Conclusions</td>
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<td>5.3.2 Recommendations</td>
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</tbody>
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

St. Boniface is a well-defined community within the City of Winnipeg. The community is an older, inner city type area of francophone heritage. The community contains a number of local organizations including a private, not-for-profit community development corporation called NEUF Inc.

NEUF (Nouvelle Economic Urbaine Francophone Incorporée) and the Institute of Urban Studies sponsored two students to undertake research on St. Boniface during the summer months of 1985. The study area is shown on Map 1. The purpose of the research was to draw together, analyze and present existing data on demography, land use, housing conditions and planning policy. While the data base was large, it was also unorganized and not readily usable by those interested in the future development of St. Boniface. It is expected that the study will become a background document for NEUF and other local organizations who are seeking to develop a housing policy statement for St. Boniface.

The report is organized as follows:

Section 2.0 is concerned with analyzing existing statistical data on demography and housing conditions. Statistics Canada data from 3 census years plus other data sources are used.

Section 3.0 reviews planning policy for the community while Section 4.0 discusses land use trends and the application of zoning in St. Boniface.

Section 5.0 presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study team.
2.0 NORTH ST. BONIFACE PROFILE

This chapter will attempt to answer the simple question "what is it like in North St. Boniface?" In answering this question, a quantitative approach was chosen for the following reasons: to facilitate an accurate comparison with Winnipeg as a whole and to extract meaningful facts for establishing housing policy recommendations.

Because the planning process involves not only decisions regarding physical structures, but also people, the basic question may be re-phrased to read "what are the people like in North St. Boniface and how is their residency characterized?" With this perspective, this section focuses on variables pertaining to the nature of the population as well as housing and socio-economic phenomena as they exist in North St. Boniface.

2.1 Data Sources

Although information regarding urban places is relatively easy to obtain, data pertaining to a specific neighbourhood is often scarce and intermittent. While some information was available on St. Boniface as a whole, it could not be applied practically to this particular study.

The data used was drawn from two major sources: the City of Winnipeg's Department of Environmental Planning and the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP). From the planning department, 1971, 1976 and 1981 census data which were geocoded to meet neighbourhood boundaries were obtained, as well as some information derived from Winnipeg assessment rolls and Manitoba Health Services Commission data banks. In addition, the raw data accumulated from a 1981 random survey conducted by the Neighbourhood Improvement Program was acquired for the study.
2.2 Census Data Analysis

In this section, census data produced by Statistics Canada in 1971, 1976 and 1981 will be examined. Although this data is ordinarily available according to census tract boundaries, geocoding methods used by Statistics Canada enable researchers to obtain information compiled according to boundaries determined by their research problem. In the case of this project, the area of interest was the municipally defined neighbourhood of North St. Boniface which did not coincide entirely with its corresponding census tract. However, the City of Winnipeg's Department of Environmental Planning possessed a variety of census data geocoded to Neighbourhood Areas defined by the Department, and the census information presented here regarding North St. Boniface was obtained by the permission of the Department.

In order to reduce the probability of census information being attributed to individuals, census data released by Statistics Canada is issued in a rounded form such that all figures end with a digit of either five or zero. For this reason, the sums of sub-categories of information may not equal total figures and percentage calculations may also be affected in the same manner. In cases where percentage figures were not released by Statistics Canada, percentage calculations were undertaken using the total and sub-total figures as they were issued. Percentage figures used in this chapter have been rounded to one decimal place.

In addition, we shall discuss dwelling unit analysis data and population date merged or acquired from the City of Winnipeg Assessment and Manitoba Health Services Commission data banks by the City of Winnipeg's Department of Environmental Planning. The data from these two sources were compiled in 1984 and 1983 respectively.

2.2.1 Population

Between 1971 and 1981, North St. Boniface experienced an overall population decline of 25.7%. An outward migration of 15.3% took place from 1971 to 1976,
and the rate decreased slightly from 1976 to 1981 when a decline of 12.3% took place. Central St. Boniface fared only slightly better during the 1971-1981 interval, during which it experienced a population loss of 21.1%.

While all of the major age groups declined during the 1971-1981 period, only the 25-44 age group continually increased as a proportion of the neighbourhood population. Although the proportion of 15-24 year olds in 1981 had increased from 1971, there was a slight decline from the 1976 level. The most recent available population figures for the neighbourhood are those compiled from MHSC data banks for 1983. These figures can be found in Table 1.

TABLE 1

1983 POPULATION - AGE GROUP & SEX
North St. Boniface

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All Age Groups</th>
<th>Under 15</th>
<th>15-24</th>
<th>25-44</th>
<th>45-64</th>
<th>65+ Over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Both Sexes #</strong></td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male #</strong></td>
<td>942</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female #</strong></td>
<td>943</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Due to the limited data available on the neighbourhood from the 1981 census, a full comparison with data from previous census years was impossible; some characteristics of North St. Boniface pertaining to that year were revealed, however, by comparing neighbourhood figures with those of Central St. Boniface and the entire city of Winnipeg.
2.2.2 Income and "Mother Tongue"

As indicated in Table 2, North St. Boniface's 1981 census family incomes tended to be less than those in Central St. Boniface and Winnipeg as a whole for the 1980 income year. While the proportion of families in North St. Boniface earning $15,000 - $19,999 annually was nearly identical to that for Winnipeg, the neighbourhood had a higher proportion of census families earning incomes below that bracket than both Winnipeg and Central St. Boniface. In addition, North St. Boniface had a smaller proportion of families with incomes above the $15,000 - $19,999 bracket than did the city of Winnipeg. In contrast to Central St. Boniface, North St. Boniface had a higher proportion of census families earning between $20,000 and $34,999 annually, but a much smaller proportion of census family incomes of $35,000 and over.

Regarding "mother tongue", the majority of individuals living in both North and Central St. Boniface are francophones (53.6% and 58.0% respectively), while French speaking people in Winnipeg as a whole make up only 4.9% of the city's population. The historical background to this factor and its significance to the economic, social and cultural identity of the entirety of old St. Boniface cannot be overemphasized. For a comparison of proportions of "mother tongue" languages among the populations of Winnipeg, North St. Boniface and Central St. Boniface, see Table 3.

2.2.3 Housing

According to the most recent available figures, compiled from Winnipeg Assessment and Manitoba Health Services Commission data banks, some 780 dwelling units exist in North St. Boniface, (see Table 4.). Single detached dwellings make up 44.7% of this total, and 90.5% of these units are owner-occupied.*

* 1981 Census Canada figures for private occupied dwellings by structural type and tenure are found in Appendix A.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NORTH ST. BONIFACE</th>
<th>CENTRAL ST. BONIFACE</th>
<th>WINNIPEG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Census Families</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Mean Income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Total Census Families</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>19,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Families Without Income</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. $5,000.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. $5,000 - 9,999</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>8,224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. $10,000 - 14,999</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>12,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. $15,000 - 19,999</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>18,166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. $20,000 - 24,999</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>22,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. $25,000 - 34,999</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>28,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. $35,000 and over</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>46,857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Families with Income</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>19,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LANGUAGE GROUP</td>
<td>WINNIPEG Total</td>
<td>WINNIPEG %</td>
<td>C. St. Boniface Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. TOTAL</td>
<td>564,470</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>7,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ENGLISH</td>
<td>414,735</td>
<td>73.4</td>
<td>2,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. FRENCH</td>
<td>27,940</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. GERMAN</td>
<td>28,985</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. AMERINDIAN/INUKTUT</td>
<td>1,975</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ITALIAN</td>
<td>5,815</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. DUTCH</td>
<td>3,590</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. POLISH</td>
<td>8,330</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. UKRANIAN</td>
<td>31,030</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. SPANISH</td>
<td>3,680</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. ALL OTHER</td>
<td>40,385</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwelling Unit Type</td>
<td>NORTH ST. BONIFACE</td>
<td>CENTRAL ST. BONIFACE</td>
<td>WINNIPEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Units</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner-Occupied Units</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>90.5</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant-Occupied Units</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Apartments comprise 35.3% of the neighbourhood's units and 93.1% are tenant-occupied, while semi-detached dwellings such as duplexes form 19.4% of the neighbourhood total and 70.9% are tenant-occupied. As a result, just over half of the dwelling units in North St. Boniface (51.4%) are tenant-occupied.

The area poses some contrast to Central St. Boniface, which boasts 3260 units, and is 72.2% tenant-occupied. Both neighbourhood areas exceed the Winnipeg average for tenant occupancy, which is 42.0%. With reference to population group occupancy, data from the same sources indicated that 59.0% of 15-34 year olds lived in single detached units, and constituted the largest group of persons (35.6%) occupying these and all other dwellings in North St. Boniface.

According to the 1981 census figures geocoded to the neighbourhood area boundaries, over 50% of the total private occupied dwellings in North St. Boniface were built prior to 1946. During this period, 63.7% of the owned dwellings were constructed and 45.2% of the rented dwellings were constructed. In contrast, only 21.2% of the private occupied dwellings in Central St. Boniface were built prior to 1946. In Central St. Boniface, 64.1% of the total dwelling units were constructed between 1946 and 1975. Furthermore, the majority of dwellings in each construction period between 1921 and 1981 were tenant-occupied in 1981.

1981 Census Figures for the entire city of Winnipeg show a different trend. For every construction period up to the year 1960, the majority of dwellings were owner-occupied in 1981. From 1961 to 1980, the majority of dwellings built were tenant-occupied in 1981. During 1981, 585 dwellings were constructed, 59.9% of which were owner-occupied. The Census data did not indicate any new construction in either North or Central St. Boniface during 1981.

Census data pertaining to length of occupancy and tenure show that for North St. Boniface, 54.6% of owned dwellings have been occupied for more than
ten years while 69.1% of rental dwellings have been occupied for two years or less. The figures also indicated that no owned dwellings had been occupied for less than three years. Although Central St. Boniface had a much smaller proportion of owned dwellings, 81.3% had been occupied for 10 years or more, while 59.0% of the rented units had been occupied for two years or less. Both neighbourhoods seem to possess a slightly more stable housing market than the city as a whole, where 44.0% of the owned dwellings had been occupied ten years or more and 61.2% of the rented units were occupied for 2 years or less.
2.3 NIP Data Analysis

In the summer of 1981, a questionnaire survey of households in North St. Boniface was conducted by the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) to provide information in evaluating the activities of the program. The results of that survey contained a statistical "snapshot" of North St. Boniface at that time, and to the best of our knowledge, have never before been published.

In the survey, 151 households were randomly selected from a complete list of neighbourhood dwellings compiled by NIP in 1976. Although the Program boundaries excluded the small residential area north of the CNR high line, this area was included in the random selection process such that the survey area boundaries included all residences within the City of Winnipeg Neighbourhood Area boundaries defining North St. Boniface.

For the purposes of this report, the authors obtained the coded, raw survey data. This data was transcribed into a computer file on the University of Winnipeg's VAX-11/750 mainframe system. Frequency distributions, applicable statistics and contingency tables were calculated using the Statistical Analysis System (SAS) software package.

2.3.1. Variables

The questionnaire generated an array of 96 unique variables pertaining to five general areas of inquiry:

   a. demographic
   b. socio-economic
   c. housing
   d. neighbourhood perceptions
   e. NIP evaluation

Within the set of 96, there were 19 variables in which more than one unique response was recorded on the questionnaire and incorporated into the analysis.
Within the subset of 19 there were two distinct categories. The first category dealt primarily with neighbourhood perceptions such as "What services and goods would you like to see sold on Provencher Boulevard?" The second category pertained to demographic and socio-economic information regarding individuals within the observational household, such as the age of each child. In both cases, additional variables were created for the SAS program in order to account for supplementary information and to maintain consistent accuracy. In the first category, returning to Provencher Boulevard as an example, three variables were used to accommodate multiple responses to the question, with each variable spanning the full range of observational responses. In the second category, using the ages of children as an example, five variables were used in order to accommodate households having up to five children.

The number of additional variables created for the subset of 19 was determined by those who conducted the survey and the array of variables were analysed in their original format. Although this organizational method prevented the conventional calculation of contingency tables using variables from the subset of 19, it facilitated a larger sampling of individual opinions and greater accuracy. Including the 63 additional variables created for the subset of 19, a total of 159 variables were processed. The vast majority of the questions were structured in a binary or discrete format.

2.3.2 Frequency Distributions

The following is a brief summary of the frequency distributions calculated from the survey data. Figures quoted have been rounded to one decimal place. Percentage figures may not add correctly in some cases due to rounding. A copy of the questionnaire is located in Appendix B.
a) Demographic

While 85.4% of the households were occupied by four people or less, none of the household population groups comprised a majority of those surveyed. The largest households contained seven people but comprised only 1.3% of those surveyed. Within the group of 85.4%, the frequencies of household populations were almost evenly split:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Population</th>
<th>Percent of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although a large variety of household types were found in the survey, the largest social status group was the "husband-wife family", which comprised 49.0% of the surveyed households. "Single person" households ranked a distant second at 17.2% while "couples" comprised 13.2%. Single parent families comprised 6.6% of the surveyed households. Within non-single person households, the average age of "husbands" was 42.5 years, while the average age of "wives" was 37.5 years. The average age of the children surveyed was 9.1 years, with girls comprising 51.7% of the sample and boys comprising 48.2%. The average age of "single" people was 45.3 years of which 69.6% were women and 30.3% were men.

b) Socio-economic

Household incomes varied between $2,000 and $75,000 annually, but 72.7%
of the households had an annual income of $27,000 or less. Of the households, surveyed, 54.7% earned between $9,000 and $27,000, while 46.4% earned between $2,000 and $18,000 annually. The largest household income group were those earning $18,000 to $27,000 who comprised 26.3% of the respondents. The complete breakdown of household income was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-9</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-13</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-18</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-27</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-35</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-50</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-75</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the "husband" income levels, 44.1% of the respondents earned between $18,000 and $27,000 annually. An equal proportion earned between $6,000 and $18,000 annually. While 64.7% of those surveyed earned between $13,000 and $27,000, only 3.9% earned more than $27,000 annually. Income levels of "wives" were generally less than "husbands", with nearly 78.0% annually earning $13,000 or less. The two largest groups of income earners were those in the $2,000 to $6,000 bracket (30.5%) and those in the $9,000 to $13,000 or less. The two largest groups of income earners were those in the $9,000 to $13,000 bracket (25.4%). Compared to the "husbands", only 8.5% of the "wives" earned between $18,000 and $27,000 annually. None of the "wife" respondents reported an annual income higher than $27,000. It is also interesting to note that while 102 "husbands" reported an income, only 59 "wives" indicated that they were income earners.

With regard to occupational status, 67.3% of the "husbands" worked in either the sales and services sector (35.5%) or the factory, construction and trades sector (31.8%), while 65.7% of the "wives" worked in either the sales and services sector (32.4%) or worked in the dwelling as housekeepers.
(33.3%). Of the responding "husbands", one individual indicated that he was occupied as a housekeeper. Almost equal proportions of "husbands" and "wives" worked in the managerial/administrative sector (6.5% and 6.3% respectively). The third largest group of "wives" worked in the medical and health services sector (12.6%) while the third largest group of "husbands" worked in "other occupations" (13.0%). Responding "husbands" and "wives" numbered 107 and 111 respectively.

While 65.8% of the "husbands" were employed full-time, 65.2% of the wives were either employed full-time (31.3%) or worked as housekeepers (33.9).

Although nearly equal proportions of "husbands" and "wives" had high school education or less (72.2% and 73.9% respectively), a larger proportion of "wives" were high school graduates, while a larger proportion of "husbands" had only completed elementary grades. The proportions of junior high and university levels of education were nearly equal for both groups.

The proportions of French ethnicity was also nearly equal among "husbands" (69.7%) and "wives" (69.9%), but "wives" had a slightly higher occurrence of English ethnicity. Among all responding households, the distribution for the language spoken at home was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>37.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French and English</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French and Other</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Income levels among "single" (i.e., non-married) persons did not exceed $27,000 and 54.2% of the respondents earned between $2,000 and $9,000 annually. An additional 18.6% earned $9,000 to $13,000 annually. 53.7%
of "single" respondents were employed in either the sales and service (29.6%) or the factory, construction and trades (24.0%) sectors. While 46.1% of "single" respondents were employed full-time, 23.0% were retired and 10.8% were unemployed. The majority of "singles" (73.7%) had at least a high school education, and within that group, 17.5% had completed junior high and 21.0% had only finished elementary grades. Equal proportions of "single" respondents (12.3%) had either completed a Bachelor's degree or graduated from technical school. French ethnicity accounted for 81.0% of "single" respondents.

Over 90% of the respondents lived an average of 2.9 miles from their place of employment. Of the 76.1% of households which identified the mode of travel to the place of employment, 60.9% travelled by car, 20.9% walked, and 14.8% used the public transit system. 79.5% of the sampled households owned vehicles, and of that group, 31.6% owned more than one.

Of the 79.9% of respondents who did their grocery shopping on or near Provencher Boulevard, 72.1% shopped on the south side and 27.9% shopped on the north side. Most respondents (74.1% of the sample) made their clothing purchases either in shopping centres (47.4% of variable responses) or in downtown Winnipeg (35.5% of variable responses). 66.2% of the responding households also purchased their household goods either in shopping centres (39.7% of variable responses) or in downtown Winnipeg (39.7% of variable responses). Of those who said where they made furniture purchases, 37.5% shopped in downtown Winnipeg while 32.1% shopped throughout the city. Of the responding restaurant patrons, 45.0% reported that they went to restaurants in St. Boniface, and 22.9% said they went to restaurants downtown. Some 14.6% of the sampled households required daycare services.

The length of time that households were established in North St. Boniface varied greatly, but 76.8% of the households surveyed had lived in the area for ten years or less, and 57.6% had lived in the area for five years or less. The mean length of residency in North St. Boniface was 9.3 years. However, 62.6% of the respondents said that their previous address was
either in North St. Boniface (26.6%) or St. Boniface as a whole (36.0%). Of the remaining respondents, 12.0% said they previously lived outside Winnipeg, 10.6% lived within Winnipeg, 8.0% lived outside Manitoba and 6.6% lived in St. Vital. The average length of stay at the previous address was 13.4 years, as indicated by 96.0% of the sample. At the previous address, 56.5% said they had lived there for ten years or less, while 44.8% said they had lived there for five years or less.

c) Housing

Forty percent of the households surveyed were located in structures having more than one dwelling unit, while 90 of the 150 variable respondents (60.0%) lived in single dwelling unit structures. The average number of dwelling units per structure was 2.6. Some 98.0% of the respondents said their dwelling units were self-contained. Of the 151 surveyed households, 65.6% owned their accommodation while 34.4% rented. A slight majority of the landlords (54.5%) lived outside the area.

The average age of an owned unit among the 84 responding households was 45.7 years, and 89.3% of the respondents lived in dwellings which were 26 years old or older; 60.7% of the dwellings surveyed were between 26 and 50 years old. Although not all homeowners knew the floor area of their dwelling, the average area was 988.20 square feet, with 60.3% of the units occupying 1000 square feet or less. Some 91.3% of the units had 1500 square feet or less.

Owned dwellings had an average of 2.96 bedrooms and 78.8% of the responding households had three bedrooms or less. The average estimated value of owned dwellings $45,231.25 and 66.3% of the respondents estimated the value of their dwelling to be between $31,000 and $50,000.

The average monthly charge on rented dwellings was $206.22 with 56.9% of the renters paying $200 a month or less. 48.0% of the renting
respondents lived in one bedroom units while 38.0% lived in two bedroom units. Three bedroom units comprised 12.0% of the respondents. Laundry dryers were the most frequently mentioned utility that was included in the rental cost.

When homeowners were asked if they had made any home improvements in the last five years, 85.9% of the respondents said they had. The mean cost of improvements made during that time was $6437.03. The breakdown of repair expenditures among the respondents was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100 - 1000</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001 - 3000</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3001 - 5000</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5001 - 10,000</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,001 and over</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although 80.0% of the respondents knew of the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), only 24.5% participated in the program when conducting home improvements. A somewhat larger majority of respondents (86.9%) knew of the Canadian Home Insurance Program (CHIP) which attracted a larger number of participating respondents (40.8%). The kinds of home improvements carried out by the respondents varied greatly, but the most frequent types of work were painting and decorating (14.4%), window and door repair or replacement (12.3%), electrical repairs (9.7%), general remodelling (9.7%) and the installation of thermal insulation (9.2%).

d) Neighbourhood Perceptions

When asked why they rented in North St. Boniface, 63.5% of the rental household respondents mentioned either "tradition" (19.2%), "French Community" (15.4%), "good area" (15.4%), or "suitable-accommodations" (13.5%). When homeowners were asked the same question, 52.7% mentioned either "tradition" (17.9%), "suitable housing" (11.8%), "central location" (11.2%)
or "close to schools" (10.7%). When all households were asked if they planned to "remain a resident in the area", 84.8% said yes. For those who were not planning to remain in the area, 68.4% gave one of the following three reasons: they could not maintain the home due to their age (26.3%), they would be looking for a larger home (21.0%) or a change in employment was forcing them to move (21.0%). Respondents were also asked what they generally liked about the neighbourhood and while a wide variety of responses were given, the most frequently mentioned attributes were quietness (25.2%), proximity to amenities (13.9%), friendliness of other residents (11.3%), and "French Community" (10.0%).

When asked if they were disturbed by any of the industries in the area, 45.9% said yes and 54.1% said no. Those who said they were disturbed by industries listed Modern Dairies* (35.5%), Central Grain (17.7%), Pilkington Glass Works** (9.7%) and the CNR high line as the major sources of discontent. The most common types of disturbances listed by the respondents were noise, trucks, and dust. Traffic, and unpleasant odours were also mentioned, but noise was the most frequently mentioned complaint (26.4%).

When asked what they felt would be the most suitable form of new housing to be built in North St. Boniface, 56.5% of the respondents recommended single detached or duplex structures. An additional 34.4% said they only approved of low-density housing. Only 4.9% approved of the construction of small apartment blocks.

* Since the 1981 survey, Modern Dairies has been purchased by the Beatrice Corporation, a large dairy product firm based in the United States.

** Pilkington Glass is no longer in business. Their former site is now occupied by Scott Screen and Wire Ltd., and disturbances have continued.
When asked for their opinion on three major issues affecting the physical character of the neighbourhood, the vast majority of respondents were in favour of increasing tourism in the area and the development of riverbank parks and recreation areas, and were opposed to the construction of a rapid transit corridor parallel to the CNR high line. Respondents were also given the opportunity to list the improvements which they felt were needed in North St. Boniface. The most frequent requests were for the removal of industries (17.4%), the construction of new housing (11.8%), and commercial re-development (11.4%). Further to commercial re-development, respondents were also asked what types of businesses or what goods and services should be sold on Provencher Boulevard. The three most frequent responses, which accounted for 57.3% of the respondents, were drugstore (34.0%), restaurants (12.9%), and clothing (10.3%).

Respondents were also asked to give their dwelling and the neighbourhood a general rating, "taking everything into consideration." In both cases, a majority of the respondents said that their home and the neighbourhood were either "good" or "excellent". While 78.9% of the respondents said the neighbourhood had either "improved" (47.4%) or "much improved" (31.5%) in recent years, 73.5% said the future of the neighbourhood was "promising" if conflicts between the industries and the residents were resolved and new housing was built.

The use of neighbourhood parks by the respondents was high (75.0%), with the most popular parks being Provencher (57.4%), Notre Dame E. (16.6%), and Whittier (10.2%). Among the recreational facilities used by respondents, the most frequently used were the Franco-Manitoban Cultural Centre (37.6%), Community Centres (22.8%), and the facility located at 212 Dumoulin (14.2%). When asked what recreational facilities and programs were needed in the area, there was some agreement among respondents that an indoor pool was needed, but most responses were thinly spread among a wide variety of suggestions.
In measuring the perceived impact of NIP on the area, respondents were asked to separately rate the contributions to neighbourhood improvement made by NIP, RRAP, the Residents' Association and the District Plan. NIP received the strongest favour with 72.0% of the respondents indicating that it "very much contributed" to the improvement of the neighbourhood, while 56.0% gave the same rating to the Residents' Association. Both RRAP and the District Plan received slightly lower ratings; in both cases 43.8% of the respondents said they "somewhat contributed" to neighbourhood improvement and 33.3% said they "very much contributed".

Respondents were also asked to separately rate the improvement in various community services. 91.1% of the respondents said that municipal services such as street repair and sewage removal had "improved" (22.0%) or "much improved" (69.1%), but 76.3% said that garbage removal had remained the same, and 75.7% said that police service had remained the same. Most respondents indicated that schools and street cleaning had either remained the same or improved slightly, while 88.6% felt that parks and recreation facilities had either improved (43.9%) or remained the same (44.7%).

The majority of the respondents (73.0%) felt that the $4.9 million expenditure by NIP was "worth it", but 32.8% said they were only kept "somewhat informed" of NIP's plans and actions. A majority of the respondents (60.8%) felt that the Residents' Association represented their interests "very well", as did the NIP staff (65.9%), while the RRAP staff received mixed reviews: 25.8% "very well", 48.3% "well" and 22.6% "poorly". Taking all things into consideration, 97.3% of the respondents felt that North St. Boniface needed the Neighbourhood improvement Program.
2.3.3 Contingency Tables

Following the calculation of frequencies, contingency tables were calculated with Chi-Square and Phi tests to determine statistically significant associations between discrete variables. Only those tables which possessed a statistical margin of error of 1% or less based on Chi Square were selected for interpretation. In some cases, the probability of the table results occurring purely by chance was less than one 1000th of a percent.

The variables used in contingency table tests were systematically selected with the intent of constructing a socio-economic profile of North St. Boniface residents in order to relate that profile to the housing data produced by the survey. In the vast majority of tests, over twenty percent of the cells contained less than five observations. In most instances this was due to the large number of values measured for each variable and/or a concentration of test observations in a few cells. In other cases the observations were spread relatively evenly among the cells, but the combination of test sample size and the range of values resulted in low cell frequencies.

Under these conditions, the SAS program issues a warning that Chi Square may not be a valid test. In order to overcome this problem, researchers will sometimes combine ("crunch") values having low frequencies in order to reduce the number of cells, and then re-test the contingency tables for statistically significant associations between variables. Due to our interest in all responses, our time constraints, the high confidence level used for Chi Square and the supporting evidence of the contingency co-efficient and Phi statistics, this procedure was not conducted on the survey data. In this section of the report, discussion will focus attention first on tests which pertain to the entire sample of households, and later on variables pertaining to spousal households. It should be noted here that tests conducted for this latter section included
some observations not classified as "husband-wife families" under the household status variable.

a) All Households

The cross-tabulation between household income and household population indicated two minor concentrations of observations and two interesting trends. The two concentrations occurred in one person households where the individuals earned $2,000 - $6,000 annually and in four person households where 51.5% earned $18,000 - $27,000 annually. These two groups each comprised 10.1% and 11.5% of the table sample respectively. Although income levels tended to increase with household population, they varied widely, and increased in range with increases in population.

When household population was cross-tabulated with household status, it was found that "husband-wife" families with three to five persons comprised 43.7% of the respondents. The cross-tabulation between household status and income indicated that "husband-wife" families constituted the majority of respondents among households earning $9,000 - $27,000 annually. The largest group of "husband-wife" families earned between $18,000 and $27,000 annually (38.7%) while equal proportions of 14.7% earned $13,000 - $18,000 and $35,000 - $50,000 annually.

The number of bedrooms for both rented and owned dwelling units were also cross-tabulated with household population to give some indication of household population densities. The ratio of bedrooms to individuals differed only slightly between rented accommodation (0.831 to 1) and owned dwellings (0.885 to 1). Some 30.0% of the rented dwellings were single bedroom units occupied by one person, while the largest group of owned dwellings (17.2%) were three bedroom dwellings occupied by four persons. These were among the concentration of observations in three bedroom dwellings which were occupied by two to four persons, a group which comprised 42.4% of the test sample.
The test conducted between household income and tenure indicated that at incomes of $13,000 and greater, there was a strong tendency for dwellings to be owned, while households with incomes less than $13,000 tended to occupy rented dwellings, although this latter trend was not as strong as the former. At incomes greater than $13,000 there was still a small proportion of renting households, but 60.8% of the renters earned $13,000 or less. The highest concentrations of observations occurred as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Tenure</th>
<th>Income (thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>24.32</td>
<td>own</td>
<td>18-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.81</td>
<td>own</td>
<td>35-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>10.14</td>
<td>own</td>
<td>13-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.46</td>
<td>rent</td>
<td>9-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.78</td>
<td>rent</td>
<td>2-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to household status and tenure, 41.0% of the respondents were "husband-wife" families who owned their dwelling while the second largest group were "single" person households who rented their dwellings. This group comprised 13.9% of the respondents while "husband-wife" families who rented their accommodation accounted for 9.3% of the respondents. "Single" person households held 40.4% of the rented dwellings, "husband-wife" families held 26.9% and "couples" held 15.4%. Of the owned dwellings, 62.6% were occupied by "husband-wife" families and 13.1% were occupied by "couples". Some 81.6% of "husband-wife" families owned their accommodation as did 61.9% of "couples" while 84.0% of "single" person households occupied rented dwellings.

According to the length of residency in North St. Boniface, 70.2% of the tested households lived in the neighbourhood for 1-10 years and 15.9% lived in the area for twenty years or more. This division appeared to be paralleled among owner-occupied households, where 67.7% lived in the area for 1-10 years and 22.2% had lived in the area for twenty years or more. Some 75.0% of the renting households had lived in the area for 1-10 years while an additional 17.3% had lived in the area for less than one year. 61.5% of the renting households lived in the area for 1-5 years and accounted
for 21.2% of the survey sample. Within the 1-10 year length of occupancy, 63.2% were owners and 36.8% were tenants. Among the households which lived in the area for twenty years or more, 91.7% owned their accommodation. Regarding household status and the length of residency in North St. Boniface, 42.4% of the surveyed households were "husband-wife" families who had lived in the area for ten years or less. Some 84.21% of the "husband-wife" families fell into this category.

b) Spousal Households

In this sub-section we shall examine in greater detail the socio-economic characteristics of spousal households. Since "husband-wife" families were the largest household status group, comprising 49.0% of the surveyed households, and occupied 62.6% of the owned dwellings (81.6% of "husband-wife" families owned their accommodation), consideration of this group was essential to developing housing policy recommendations. As noted earlier, tests conducted for this section included some observations not classified as "husband-wife" families under the household status variable. Since some households classified as "couple" were included in the calculations, observations pertaining to this section shall be described as spousal households. Also, because marital status is not necessarily relevant to the purpose of this analysis, the words "husband" and "wife" will continue to be printed in parentheses. Attention shall be focused on length of residency in North St. Boniface, ethnicity, and and employment related variables such as occupation, education and income. For these latter variables, data for "husbands" and "wives" were tested individually, according to sex, and in combination (e.g.: cross-tabulation of income for "husbands" with income for "wives").

i) Length of Residency

In order to gain some insight on the length of residency as it pertained to spousal households, the ages of "husbands" and "wives" were each cross-tabulated with the length of stay in North St.
Boniface and the length of stay at the previous address. In the first case, the table testing for association with the age of "wives" tended to support the evidence found in table testing for association with the age of "husbands", but did not pass the 99% confidence level for length of occupancy at the previous address.

According to the age of "husbands", two major groups appeared pertaining to length of residency in North St. Boniface. Spousal households with "husbands" 39 years of age and under and which had lived in the neighbourhood for 1-10 years comprised 55.0% of the test observations. The other group of spousal families, with "husbands" 50 years of age or over and which had lived in the neighbourhood for 20 years or more, comprised 14.4% of the test observations. This information may lend support to the hypothesis that spousal household migration to the neighbourhood had taken place in surges.

With regard to the length of residency at the previous address the results were more complex. Spousal households with "husbands" 40 years of age and over were resident at the previous address for widely varying lengths of time. Spousal households with "husbands" 29 years of age or younger fell into two groups; those which had lived at the previous address for up to five years (51.9% of the age-group observations), and those which had lived at the previous address for 15-30 years (40.7% of the age-group observations). Spousal households with "husbands" 30-39 years of age which had lived at the previous address for 1-5 years accounted for 23.8% of the test observations and 65.8% of the age-group observations. Spousal households with "husbands" 39 years of age and under and which lived at the previous address for 1-5 years accounted for 35.2% of the test observations.
ii) Ethnicity

In this area, the ethnicity of "husbands" and "wives" were both cross-tabulated with "language spoken at home". As expected, the French language and French ethnicity were strongly associated in both cases, but some less obvious results also occurred. Among "wives" for example, 40.0% of those who spoke English were of French ethnicity. Of the 11.6% of "wives" who said they spoke both official languages, 84.6% were of French ethnicity. Of the 8.9% of "wives" who said their ethnicity was Canadian, 77.8% spoke English. "Wives" of French ethnicity who said they spoke French were the largest group, comprising 43.8% of the test observations.

Among "husbands", 43.0% of the respondents were of French ethnicity and spoke French, while 18.7% were of French ethnicity and spoke English. These two groups comprised 62.2% and 27.0% of spousal French ethnics respectively.

iii) Employment Related Variables

Although identical sets of tests were conducted on both "husband" and "wife" variables, the latter group produced a slightly higher number of significant results based on the statistical methodology described earlier.

"Wives"

In the test between household income and the income of "wives", most observations were widely dispersed, but three minor concentrations occurred. In the largest group, 13.2% earned $2,000-$6,000 annually in households with an annual income of $18,000 - $27,000. 10.3% and 8.8% respectively earned $9,000 - $13,000 and $13,000 - $18,000 in households with an annual income of $35,000-$50,000.
Of the "wives" who were full-time employees (who constituted 50.9% of the test respondents), 33.3% earned $9 - $13 thousand annually, 23.3% earned $6 - 9 thousand annually, and 20.0% earned $13-18 thousand annually. The largest concentration of observations occurred among those full-time employees who earned $9-$13 thousand annually, which accounted for 17.0% of the test respondents. The largest proportion of part-time workers (46.7%) earned $2000-$6000 annually.

When occupation was tested with employment for "wives", 32.4% of the respondents said they were both employed and occupied as a housekeeper in the spousal household. The second largest groups (17.1%) worked full-time in the sales and services sector of the economy. Part-time sales and service workers comprised 9.9% of the respondents. Only 3.6% of the respondents were employed as full-time managers or administrators, and more women worked as housekeepers than all full-time employed test respondents combined. Among full-time employees, 54.3% worked in the sales and services sector while 25.7% worked in the medical/health services sector. In the medical/health services sector 64.3% worked full-time while in the sales and services sector 52.8% worked full-time. Some 68.8% of the part-time employees worked in the sales and services sector.

The role of education in the employment trends of "wives" living in spousal households was illustrated by the test between occupation and education level. Of the test respondents, 42.3% had junior high or elementary education. The largest concentrations of test respondents occurred in the sales and service occupations where 12.6% had a high school education and 11.7% had a junior high education. Equal proportions of test respondents (10.8%) were housekeepers with high school or junior high education. Of the 19.8% of test respondents with university education, equal pro-
portions of 22.7% worked either in the medical/health services sector or as housekeepers within the household. As the level of education increased, the proportion of respondents occupied as housekeepers decreased.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Elementary</th>
<th>Junior High</th>
<th>High School</th>
<th>University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Housekeepers</td>
<td>43.75</td>
<td>38.71</td>
<td>34.29</td>
<td>22.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Decrease By Level</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.04</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>11.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Decrease From Elementary Level</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.04</td>
<td>4.46</td>
<td>21.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among test respondents whose response to the question regarding household status was "husband-wife family", 10.4% were employed part-time, 17.4% were employed full-time and 32.2% were housekeepers. When household status was tested with the occupation of "wives" it was found that 91.9% of housekeepers lived in "husband-wife" families and 46.0% of these families listed the "wife's" occupation as housekeeper. This group comprised 30.6% of the test respondent's. 58.3% of the sales and service workers lived in "husband-wife" families while 27.8% lived in "couple" households.

When the household status and employment status of "wives" were cross-tabulated, 32.2% of the test respondents listed the "wives" as housekeepers living in "husband-wife" families, a group that comprised 48.7% of the "husband-wife" family households. 55.6% of the full-time employed "wives" also lived in these households,
a group that comprised 17.4% of the test respondents. 75.0% of the part-time workers were also members of "husband-wife" families.

"Husbands"

When the household income was cross-tabulated with the income of "husbands", 23.5% of the test observations showed identical income brackets of $18-27 thousand annually. This group accounted for 66.7% of household incomes at that level and 53.3% of "husbands'" income at that level. Up to and including this bracket, the proportion of test observations in which "husbands'" and household incomes were identical increased at an almost constant rate (See Table 5).

TABLE 5

CHANGE IN PROPORTION OF TEST OBSERVATIONS OF MATCHING "HUSBAND" AND HOUSEHOLD INCOME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matching Income Level &quot;Husbands&quot; and Households Thousands of Dollars</th>
<th>% Proportion of Income Level Households</th>
<th>% Proportion of Test Observations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 - 13</td>
<td>46.15</td>
<td>5.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 - 18</td>
<td>56.25</td>
<td>8.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 - 27</td>
<td>66.67</td>
<td>23.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 68.6% of test respondents who were full-time workers 58.6% of the "husbands" earned $18-$27 thousand annually (40.2% of the test respondents), 24.3% earned $13-$18 thousand annually (16.7% of the test respondents) and 11.4% earned $9-$13 thousand annually.
With regard to occupation and income, 54.0% of the test respondents earned $13-$27 thousand dollars annually and worked in either the sales and services sector or the industrial, trades and construction sector. The breakdown of this group, in order of concentration is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Test Respondents</th>
<th>&quot;Husbands&quot; Income (Thousands)</th>
<th>Occupational Sector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>18-27</td>
<td>Sales/Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>18-27</td>
<td>Industry/Trades/Construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>13-18</td>
<td>Industry/Trades/Construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>13-18</td>
<td>Sales/Services</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Workers in the industrial, trades and construction sector tended to have less varying incomes than those in the sales and services sector. Of the full-time workers, who constituted 67.0% of the test respondents, 42.3% were employed in the sales and services sector, 39.4% worked in the industrial, trades and construction sector, 7.0% were teachers and 5.6% were managers or administrators.

In the test between the occupation and education of "husbands", a wide variety of cell concentrations occurred, but a number of trends were indicative from the data. Of those respondents with high school education, 50.0% worked in the sales and services sector which 35.7% worked in the industrial trades and construction sector. Of the respondents having junior high education, 51.7% worked in the industrial, trades and construction sector while 31.0% worked in the sales and services sector. For the breakdown of education levels of workers in those two sectors, see Table 6.
TABLE 6

EDUCATION LEVELS OF SALES AND SERVICES SECTOR WORKERS AND INDUSTRIAL, TRADES AND CONSTRUCTION SECTOR WORKERS ("HUSBANDS").

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATION LEVEL</th>
<th>% OF WORKERS INDUSTRIAL/TRADES/CONSTRUCTION</th>
<th>% OF WORKERS SALES AND SERVICES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>26.47</td>
<td>10.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High</td>
<td>44.12</td>
<td>24.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>29.41</td>
<td>37.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Wife-Husband" Cross Tabulations

In this subsection we shall examine four tests conducted in which variables pertaining to occupation, education, ethnicity and employment were cross-tabulated for both heads of the household. Other tests were conducted in the research, but were not statistically significant based on the methodology described earlier.

When occupational status was tested for "husbands" and "wives", the results were totally unexpected. Cell percentages indicated that women who shared households with men who worked in the industrial, trades and construction sector were more likely to be occupied as housekeepers than women who shared households with men who worked in the sales and services sector. Some 59.5% of women who were occupied as housekeepers shared households with men in the industrial, trades and construction sector while only 16.2% shared households with men working in the sales and services sector. This was supported by the fact that 64.7% of the men in the industrial, trade and construction sector shared households with women who were occupied as housekeepers. This group accounted for
21.5% of the test respondents. Of the men working in the sales and services sector, 55.6% shared households with women who also worked in the sales and services sector while 57.1% of women working in the sector shared households with men who also worked in the sector. This group constituted 19.2% of the test respondents. 7.7% of the test households were headed by women who worked in the sales and services sector and men who worked in the industrial, trades and construction sector. 5.8% of the test households were headed by men who worked in the sales and services sector and women who were occupied within the dwelling as housekeepers.

When the variables for education were tested with both heads of the household it was found that 46.3% of the households were shared by partners with equal education levels. Among the test respondents, women tended to stay in the public school system longer than men but nearly equal proportions of the test respondents had a university education.

The test for ethnicity indicated that in 58.9% of the test households both heads of the household were of French ethnicity. The remaining cells were relatively unconcentrated or contained thinly spread frequencies.

With regard to occupation, the largest concentration of test households (31.5%) were held by men who worked full-time and women who were housekeepers. In the second largest group, which comprised 18.5% of the test, both heads of the household worked full-time. While 87.2% of women who were housekeeping lived with men who were also working full-time. Of the men working full-time, 47.9% lived with women who were housekeeping, 28.2% lived with women working full-time and 14.0% lived with women who were employed on a part-time basis.
2.4 Summary

In this section, quantitative methods were used in an attempt to answer the question: "What are the people like in North St. Boniface and how is their residency characterized?" Although a wide variety of characteristics were revealed by the research, the neighbourhood can be essentially described as francophone working class - lower middle class with workers employed in the dominant sectors of the local economy, and a large number of family households living for the most part in modest, single-detached dwellings.

Underpinning these "ordinary neighbourhood" characteristics are a number of locational factors which are important to the consideration of the area's human geography. While the majority of neighbourhood residents are francophones, they dwell in a city dominated by the English language and anglophone institutions - a situation with a long and deeply involved history. Dotted and criss-crossed with mixed and often non-conforming land uses, North St. Boniface is a mere bridge-length from downtown Winnipeg, but has undergone an urban experience qualitatively different from other neighbourhoods which are of similar distance from but also directly adjacent to the city's central business district. This physical separation from Winnipeg has influenced the neighbourhood's historical development not deterministically, but interactively; that is, acting in conjunction with the economic, social and political processes operating west of the Red River.

Some may hypothesize that this interactive condition greatly contributed to the survival of the urban francophone culture and its evolution as a community; but if this is the case, one must also consider the tremendous effects on the urban development of St. Boniface (some of them detrimental) due to this 'degree of geo-historical separateness' from Winnipeg's decision-making power structure.

It is with this perspective on North St. Boniface as well as St. Boniface in general that the quantitative facts must be considered: as a temperature
reading or 'statistical snapshot' of an urban community which has experienced economic and physical changes greatly influenced by external sources of power, yet maintained an internal socio-economic stability anchored by the historical development of local institutions, language, and culture.

Turning to the conducted analyses, discussion, here shall focus on the interpretation of the results and some general directions on which specific planning policy recommendations may be based.

Considering the large outward migration from North St. Boniface which has taken place since 1971, and the age-group split in the current adult population, an influx of new residents (preferably young income-earners with dependents) would be most beneficial to neighbourhood development. One way to encourage such an inward migration would be to increase housing stock in the neighbourhood, both on an infill and new development basis.

Since most of the neighbourhood’s present housing stock is relatively old and exhibits architectural styles reflecting the period of construction, new housing should compliment rather than contrast the existing stock. Such a feature of new housing would enhance the marketing potential not only of individual structures, but of the entire neighbourhood. The latter potential - not just selling a house, but selling a neighbourhood - has achieved repeated success in Winnipeg. Given that residents liked the "tradition" of living in north St. Boniface, the factor could also be emphasized in the marking of new housing.

In considering the design of new housing, development participants and architects should emphasize the optimum use of designated land, as well as maximum spatial efficiency of the living structures themselves. Regarding the target price, new houses should fall within the upper range of existing market prices within the neighbourhood, as well as considering trends in the Winnipeg market for moderately priced single detached units.
Since most of the households responding to the NIP survey had been located in the neighbourhood for 10 years or less, an influx of new residents in the near future could not occur at a more opportune time.

While changes in economic and demographic conditions have taken place since 1971, the area residents appear to have maintained a relatively consistent perception of the neighbourhood as a tightly woven community, underpinned by the locally evolved urban francophone culture. Questions regarding the nature of the relationship between the local culture and its economic and demographic history are beyond the scope of this report and may be answered, perhaps, by researchers from other disciplines. But the significance of this relationship must not be ignored when considering the impact of future developments in the urban economy and urban landscape, on the existing community. For example, to what extent would the local urban cultural identity be maintained under continuing conditions of outward migration? Furthermore, what would be the social and cultural impact on the status quo if, perhaps, an inward migration of non-francophones were to occur?

Questions such as these are essentially qualitative, but are vitally important to the situation in St. Boniface. The quantitative evidence presented here considers the equally important socio-economic base from which any future development may take place.

The evidence outlined appears to indicate that despite an overall decline in population, gradual migration to the neighbourhood is continuing to take place as housing vacancies occur. What remains to be considered, are site-specific planning policies particularly in the development of housing and the harmonization of land use, which take into account the past and present human geography of the neighbourhood as well as anticipated trends in both assisted and non-assisted economic development.
3.0 NORTH ST. BONIFACE PLANNING POLICY

This section provides an overview of planning policy in North St. Boniface from the district plan (1976) to present day. Implementation of the district plan through such tools as the NIP program, ARC, and Core Area Initiative will be considered.

3.1 District Plan

The North St. Boniface District Plan was established on January 21, 1976. In 1977, under the authority of the City of Winnipeg Act, city council passed Bylaw 965/75, making the District Plan an Action Area Plan - the first legal planning document since the St. Boniface Town Planning Scheme enacted in 1951.

The definition of a District Plan according to the City of Winnipeg is as follows:

District Plan means a plan for a district within the city or additional zone which consists of text and maps or illustrations formulating in such details as the council think appropriate, proposals for the development and use of land in the district, and a description of the measures which the council considers should be undertaken for the improvement of the physical, social, and economic environment and transportation with the district.*

The District Plan established eight policy areas: neighbourhood character, housing, parks and recreation, industry, community services, commercial services, transportation, and municipal services. Policy formation was to be conducted by the Department of Environmental Planning in conjunction with a special committee from the Residents Advisory Group. There were two parts to the policy

formation. The first was to formally document the existing situation according to the eight areas of interest. The second was to propose policy for the conservation of North St. Boniface as a residential community. Once these policies were adopted, it was the intention of decision-makers to utilize NIP (Neighbourhood Improvement Program) in order to implement the policies.

Documentation of the existing situation resulted in several general areas of concern being noted in the District Plan:

1. Neighbourhood Character
   - the general population had been decreasing, particularly the number of families
   - municipal services were substandard
   - the community lacked many services and amenities required for a residential community
   - land use was a mixture of industrial and residential, the latter being more dominant in the western portion of the district.

2. Housing
   - the condition of homes was generally poor to fair, including many which lacked basements
   - there was a lack of rental accommodation and single family residences
   - some homes were unmaintained due to anticipation of land use changes
   - overzoning and non-conforming land uses made some land unattractive for housing development
   - large tracts of land were undeveloped.

3. Parks and Recreation
   - there was a lack of play space for children
   - amenities such as riverbank lands and large areas of undeveloped land were not utilized.
4. Industry

-the western sector of the district was dominated by industrial uses

-accredited to the residents as well as the Greater Winnipeg Development Plan, these industries were incompatible

-it was also noted that the intent of the Greater Winnipeg Development Plan was to relocate these industries to a planned industrial park

-industries needed to upgrade and maintain their property.

5. Transportation

-North St. Boniface was isolated from the rest of the community

-Provencher Boulevard, the CNR high line and associated spur lines divided the neighbourhood, resulting in many planning problems

-the proposed location of a transit and transportation corridor adjacent to the CNR high line would further divide the community

-there was a desire to formulate a collector street system to funnel trucks and heavy traffic in the area east of the Seine River.

6. Municipal Services

-due to the age of North St. Boniface, updated services were required

-overhead hydro links were viewed as an eyesore.

7. Community Services

-play equipment and recreation facilities were needed

-community associations were needed to represent resident interests

-day care facilities were non-existent.
8. Commercial Services

- there was a need for a business association to represent the merchants of Provencher Blvd. in view of the Marion/Goulet commercial strip competition.

In response to this situation, the following policies were set out in the District Plan:

1. Neighbourhood Character

- encourage the maintenance and continued development of North St. Boniface as a residential community

- encourage family households to locate in North St. Boniface through the adoption of suitable policies pertaining to housing, parks and recreation, transportation, commercial and community services

- encourage the maintenance of the character of the existing community through the provision of community services and the support of existing and additional services

- encourage the recognition of the historical significance of the confluence of the Seine and Red Rivers.

2. Housing

- encourage families to locate in North St. Boniface through the provision of a wide variety of housing types

- encourage rehabilitation and maintenance of the existing housing stock

- provide advisory services to assist the area residents wanting to rehabilitate their dwellings

- ensure that development in North St. Boniface is compatible with the area by encouraging the development of small parcels of land into housing reasonably in character with existing housing

- rezone large land parcels for development only on application and subject to a zoning agreement when deemed necessary by the city

- encourage the provision of conveniently located senior citizens' housing in the area.
3. Parks and Recreation

- act immediately to acquire the riverbank land along the Red and Seine Rivers and to develop them as an integral part of the park system in North St. Boniface

- preserve Whittier Park as a major link in the linear park system along the Red and Seine rivers

- develop an internal park system within the community when suitable sites become available.

4. Industry

- establish a set of development, maintenance and operation standards for industrial and commercial uses located in North St. Boniface which will endeavour to ensure that these uses are compatible with residential uses

- encourage the upgrading of the physical appearance of both industrial and commercial establishments which remain in the area

- establish a program to encourage and assist the relocation of non-compatible industries

- endeavour to acquire all industrial land along the riverbank for public use.

5. Transportation

- establish public transportation within North St. Boniface in consultation with the residents

- endeavour to ensure that adverse environmental effects are reasonably minimized if any public transportation thoroughfares are situated in the area

- encourage the removal of those spur tracks which are no longer required

- define a collector street system in North St. Boniface through logical alternations of the existing grid pattern.

6. Municipal Services

- prepare a program for the replacement and upgrading of the municipal services in North St. Boniface (and complimentary landscaping program)
-establish a program of resurfacing streets and lanes
-encourage the replacement of overhead hydro/telephone distribution lines with underground services when replacement is warranted.

7. Community Services
-encourage the establishment of community services in North St. Boniface
-encourage the location of these services in the existing Tache school building.

8. Commercial Services
-prepare an action area plan for the commercial sector of Provencher Blvd. in conjunction with the local merchants and residents
-establish standards for off-street parking, including paving, landscaping and screening, which will endeavour to ensure that these facilities are compatible with adjacent uses.

3.2 Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP)

The objective of NIP was to "conserve and rehabilitate the housing stock of older neighbourhoods while essentially maintaining the area's character"*. The program costs of NIP were shared among the three levels of government. Generally, the federal agency's share was 50% with 25% equally shared by provincial and municipal authorities. The exception was the cost of municipal services for which the city was expected to pay 50% of the costs.

NIP was administered by the NIP Branch of the City of Winnipeg's Department of Environmental Planning. The duration of the program was to be four years, from 1976 to 1980 in the case of North St. Boniface. The program consisted of

* North St. Boniface Neighbourhood Improvement Program, Department of Environmental Planning, Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, page 12.
three phases: 1) site selection stage (selects a specific community), 2) planning stage (identifies the needs of the community through a survey of the neighbourhood and recommends actions to be taken), 3) implementation (projects are undertaken). All three stages were to be conducted with resident input through a formal committee. In North St. Boniface, there were five areas that each elected members to an advisory group which met every two weeks. From the advisory group an executive was elected that met once a week.

In conjunction with NIP, CMHC offered the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP). This program made loans available to landlords, non-profit organizations, homeowners, and housing co-operatives located in NIP designated areas for the rehabilitation of residential properties. The funding provided incentives to those who guaranteed occupancy for five years or more.

Once North St. Boniface was selected as a NIP community, a geographic boundary had to be determined. Originally, the area north of the CNR high line was to be included within the funding boundary but was later omitted. With the boundary completed, the community was awarded $4.9 million for planning and implementation. In May 26, 1976, the NIP office was opened and occupied by a program manager, secretary-receptionist, inspector and community service workers. In the summer of 1976, a survey was conducted by university students to determine the residents' needs and concerns. It also served as a means to inform the residents about NIP and the programs it would offer, such as RRAP. In addition, it was through this contact that the North St. Boniface advisory group was formed. This group became involved with short and long-term planning policies in conjunction with the NIP officials.

NIP projects included:

1. At a cost of $2.5 million municipal services such as streets, sidewalks, watermains, and sewage system were replaced (except for the area north of the CNR high line). To complement this, a tree planting program was launched after construction.
2. To enhance parks and recreation facilities in the community, $179,927.23 was spent on a foot bridge to connect the east and west banks of the Seine River. The two existing tot lots (Provencher and Archibald, Notre Dame & Nadeau) were redesigned. The play equipment at Marion, Tache and Provencher schools was upgraded. NIP granted funding for a new tot lot at the corner of Notre Dame and Dumoulin, the enlargement of the Tache School gym which was to be used by the community, and an ice rink at Notre Dame Community Centre.

3. Other community facilities installed were the senior citizen centre in the Fire Hall and the Mini Franco-Fun Day Care.

4. In order to create more family housing and remove the non-compatible land uses, NIP created a property acquisition program. NIP's inability to deal with such property owners as CNR, and other industries led to a poor rate of acquisition. Of those properties acquired, most were run-down homes and small apartment blocks, which were turned over to the Core Area Initiative's Ownership Assistance Program.

5. On the matter of needed land-use/zoning amendments as outlined in the district plan, NIP was not very aggressive. There was the creation of a new zoning category referred to as R2-T to replace R4. Also at this time, the city felt justified in placing a building freeze on the area north of the CNR high line until such time as its future use was decided. Much of this land was bought by the city for the proposed transit/transportation corridor. The advisory group with NIP staff developed a zoning policy proposal.

Perhaps NIP's most noteworthy achievements were accomplished through its complementary program, RRAP. There were 155 approved loans of which 142 were completed in 1982 at a cost of $585,994.00. City by-laws pertaining to Untidy and Unsightly Premises, and Maintenance and Occupancy were used to encourage landlords and homeowners to upgrade and maintain their properties. These by-laws were also used by NIP inspectors as standards for loan recommendations under RRAP.

"NIP was intended to conserve and rehabilitate the housing stock, to improve municipal services and social and recreational amenities, and to promote maintenance of a neighbourhood at the termination of the program."*

* North St. Boniface, NIP, p. 41, para 1.
The citizen participation component of NIP resulted in the establishment of two major community groups: the North St. Boniface Residents' Association and l'Association des Commercants du Vieux Saint Boniface. Through the residents' association, NIP's effort could be sustained and the unresolved policy/planning issues pursued. In the case of the merchants' association, their mandate was to revitalize Provencher Boulevard's commercial sector in order to compete with the Marion and Goulet corridor.

3.3 ARC and Main Street Program

In order to revive Provencher Boulevard, l'Association des Commercants du Vieux Saint Boniface sought funding from the Main Street Program under the Core Area Initiative (CAI). In 1984, the merchants' association received $685,000.00 to enable the association to revitalize the north and south side of Provencher from the Provencher Bridge to Aulneau Street. The objective of E.J. Gaboury and Associates' design for the boulevard was to create a French Canadian theme to the commercial sector as well as creating a tourist attraction.

In order to further strengthen the tourism theme, the residents' association along with the merchants' association, supported the development of the Red River banks for recreation purposes. Under the Canada/Manitoba agreement for Recreation and Conservation on the Red River (ARC), money was allocated to the restoration of the Provencher Bridge and the riverbank along Tache Avenue. Docks were to be located in front of St. Boniface Cathedral and at Whittier Park to create accessibility to tourist sites.

3.4 Summary

The District Plan identified policies to conserve and enhance North St. Boniface as a residential community. NIP was a tool to implement the policies of the District. Programs such as the CAI's Main Street and ARC have provided funding required to implement the policy objectives of the District Plan.
4.0 NORTH ST. BONIFACE LAND USE AND ZONING TRENDS

In this section existing zoning during the period 1975-1984 will be identified. Associated issues arising from conflicting uses of the neighbourhood's land during this time will also be considered.

Land use and zoning of 1975 will be compared to that of 1984. Changes leading to current conditions will be considered as they relate to trend development. The arising issues will be reviewed. The main source of information was the Winnipeg Department of Environmental Planning's neighbourhood characterization maps on land use and zoning for North St. Boniface as well as personal interviews with the various actors involved in planning and policy for the area.

Land use conflicts have been found to be the cause of the neighbourhood's decline (Smith, 1970). Smith used McLenore's (1975) definition of decline which states that declining areas are characterized by:

1. Continuing loss of population, particularly the economically mobile, leaving an increasing concentration of low income people;

2. An exodus of families with a corresponding increase in the percentage of non-family and elderly households;

3. Worsening housing and environmental conditions;

4. A loss of business establishments;

5. Property values which are increasing at a much slower rate than the metro averages, or in some cases are actually declining;

6. Lack of community organization, and a corresponding inability to deal with the area's problems;

7. Often an increasing proportion of tenants and non-resident ownership.

These seven conditions were identified in the District Plan.
4.1 1975

4.1.1 Land Use

Historically, mixed land uses have been a source of conflict in the North St. Boniface community. The main source of concern for residents has been the industrial component. This problem is identified in the District Plan along with the associated planning policy which intended "to establish a program to encourage and assist the relocation of non-compatible industries as well as to establish a set of performance standards for industrial and commercial uses to ensure compatibility with residential uses."* Therefore the policy objective of the District Plan was to significantly change the land use mix which was a major factor in the decline of the North St. Boniface area.

The total area of North St. Boniface is 1.84 square miles. The land use breakdown in 1975 is shown on Map 2.

One of the major land use conflicts/challenges was the C.N.R.'s railway lines that passed through and thus segmented the essentially residential com-

* District Plan, p. 23.
NORTH ST. BONIFACE
District Plan
1975

LEGEND
- Residential
- Commercial
- Industrial
- Park & Recreation

EXISTING LAND USE

MAP 2

0 200 400 800 feet

The department of environmental planning
munity. Industries requiring the use of such transportation developed: Modern Dairies (now Beatrice); Supercrete; Dowse Woodwork; Pilkington Glass (now Scott Screen & Wire); Trevi-Tiles; and other smaller firms. These industries occupied prime land along the river. When the railway began to decline as the major transporter of goods, trucking agencies such as Grandin Trucking located in the area.

From the residents' perspective, a very unsatisfactory mix of land uses had developed. Industry dominated the western sector of the community, predominately around Tache Avenue. The residential area was divided by CNR lines and truck routes were generating traffic noise. There was a general lack of recreational open space. In addition, there was a general lack of maintenance of the area's industries. The available housing stock was predominately (50%) in poor to very poor condition. Conditions were not considered ideal for attracting families to the neighbourhood.

4.1.2 Zoning

North St. Boniface zoning, in 1975, "reflected the speculation that much of the neighbourhood would be transformed into an industrial area."* Map 3 shows the existing zoning. The predominate categories were M1 and M2 followed by R4. It should be noted that the R4 zoning promoted redevelopment in the form of high rise apartment blocks. (See Appendix C for description of zoning categories). The stability of what was currently a single family residential area was in doubt and outmigration of family households was evident before and during this time period. Riverbank lands were zoned M2 further advancing the image of the area as an industrial area and diminishing the potential of this land for recreational or open space use.

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* Kent Smith, P. 111.
EXISTING ZONING

LEGEND
- - - - - - Zoning Districts
C2, C3-B Commercial
M1, M2 Light Industrial
R4 Multiple Family
O1 Office & Institutional
F Flood Plain

0 200 400 600 feet

4.1.3 Conflicts and Issues

The existing situation represented a series of conflicts between land use and zoning. Many of the area's residential and riverbank areas were zoned for industrial use. In addition, a significant proportion of the R4 area was dominated by single family residences (46.0%*). It was the hope of interested local groups and individuals that the District Plan policies would be implemented.

In response to the existing land use conflicts, residents expressed concern for and promoted protection of their community from further residential erosion. There was identified a need to change zoning of certain lands in the community to promote low density residential development. The R4, M1, M2, zonings needed to be amended to lower density residential categories such as R1, R2 as well as promoting C1 and C2 zoning on appropriate commercial streets. Open space needed to be created and protected by zoning. It was hoped that with zoning rationalization and a program of industry relocation, land use would evolve in a way favourable to the promotion of a residential community.

4.2 1984

4.2.1 Land Use

In 1984, the major land use change was an increase in vacant land. Industrial use along the riverbank changed with the introduction of commercial activity. The key industrial sites remained: Modern Dairies; Pilkington Glass (Scott Screen & Wire); Couture Motors; and Trevi-Tiles. There was the designation of a regional park, Whittier Park, located north of the CNR High-line and east of St. Joseph Street. In conjunction with the regional park,

* N.I.P. Plan, p. 6.
Fort Gibraltar is presently being constructed by the Fort Gibraltar Foundation. South of the CNR lines is the historic Lagimodiere homestead, presently an agricultural land use. (See Map 4).

In the area east of the Seine River, south of the CNR lines and bounded by Provencher and Archibald, there exists a relatively homogeneous residential neighbourhood with very little infiltration of non-residential uses. Higher density commercial and multiple unit residential dwellings are limited to the major streets of Provencher and Archibald leaving the remaining area as low density dwellings.

The area west of the Seine River is not as homogeneous. Land use is a mixture of multiple unit residential dwellings, industrial, commercial, public/institutional buildings and vacant land, that increases in density approaching Tache Avenue. It is evident that the residential stabilization objectives of the District Plan, which were to be implemented through the N.I.P. plan, were not realized over the period 1975 to 1984.

Significant actions to note are:

1. The closing of Supercrete which is a land holding of the CNR. The land is now vacant.
2. Presently, Manitoba Housing is developing plans for housing on land purchased under N.I.P. from Grandin Trucking.
3. The development of a regional park called Whittier Park.
4. Lands the City acquired north of the CNR lines for a proposed transit and transportation corridor, has been amended under Plan Winnipeg to only a transit corridor. During the implementation of N.I.P., this area was not included in the program in order to discourage residential development in the area. There were building freezes placed on the structures and efforts were made by the City to purchase these homes and relocate the residents. Now the city-owned properties are being considered under the Core Area Initiative.
4.2.2 Zoning

Zoning in 1984 indicates the addition of several new zoning categories. Map 5 shows the 1984 zoning. Descriptions of the zoning categories are found in Appendix C. These additional zoning categories indicate a change in the range of residential development expected/desired in the community and is consistent with the objectives of the District Plan. In addition, the area along the Seine River has been rezoned to the parks and recreation category while the riverbank lands along the Red River have not. They remain M2 (industrial). Conflict exists over the most appropriate zoning for the lands along the Red River. Industrial, residential or parks and recreation have been considered and various amendments made to the District Plan and the zoning. Currently it is the desire of Manitoba Housing to amend the District Plan in order that a parks and recreation designation can be changed to residential. The area is currently zoned M2. Manitoba Housing has proposed two 5-8 storey apartment blocks for the Dowse Woodwork site.

There have been attempts to rezone five industrial sites; Modern Dairies and its garage site; Scott Screen & Wire; Trevi-Tile; and Couture Motors. (See Map 6). On October 20, 1983, after a series of hearings at the community committee level, these five industrial sites were redesignated from "industrial" to "residential" (By-law Number 3381/83). After a series of court hearings involving the City of Winnipeg and Scott Screen & Wire, the Bylaw was quashed (April 5th, 1984). In April of 1985, a codes official proposed that the site be amended to a C3-B zoning which has not yet been passed but is currently under discussion at the community committee level.

This particular zoning issue has some important ramifications for the community. The goal of the District Plan as supported by the N.I.P. plan, was to relocate the non-compatible industrial uses and to develop the area as a residential community. If the current zoning is retained for the Scott Screen & Wire site, the other four sites will certainly appeal the rezoning of their
NOTE: See Table 7 for guide to numbered sites.
lands. The municipality's attempt to relocate industries from the area and to comply with residents' appeals for stabilization of the area as a residential community will be greatly reduced.

Another significant concern is Taché School. The school board has seriously considered its closure. Under the N.I.P. plan, the school was kept open due to its historical and cultural importance to the community. N.I.P. provided funding for gymnasium facilities and purchased land from Pilkington Glass (Scott Screen & Wire) for this purpose. Presently the school is operating at full capacity and needs to expand. Residents are pressing the school board to purchase the Scott Screen & Wire site for this expansion.

The imposition of new zoning has given some relief from pressures to intensify or change residential uses but has failed to address key issues of industrial development or the nature of development which will occur on vacant land in the community. Local residents and interest groups are keenly aware of the interest that exists in this land. It represents the City of Winnipeg's largest stock of developable land in the inner city.

To date, community groups have been unclear or disorganized in their efforts to influence planning policy for North St. Boniface. Conflict among groups has been evident. Thus, these groups as well as municipal and provincial government officials must accept responsibility for the current problems.

There are several possibilities to be considered in the current situation. What will be the impact of the C3-B zoning if it is enforced? Will the school board support the purchase of the industrial site in order to expand Taché School? What is the possible impact of the Manitoba Housing development proposal on the need for public school space?

In summary, conflicts between land uses and conflicts between zoning and existing land uses remain a major issue for the community. Table 7 lists the zoning conflicts which existed as of August 1985. (See Map 6 for locations.)
TABLE 7
ZONING CONFLICTS

AREA: NORTH OF THE C.N.R. HIGHLINE, WEST OF THE SEINE RIVER

1. East of St. Joseph, South of the Red River, North of the C.N.R. Highline,
   - Zoned M2
   - present use parks and recreation

2. East of Tache, West of St. Joseph, South of the Red River, North of Messager,
   - Zoned M2
   - present use public

3. West of Tache corner of South and North of Hebert,
   - Zoned M2
   - present use low density dwellings

4. East of Red River, West of Tache, North of Hebert,
   - Zoned M2
   - present use commercial

5. West of Tache, South of Hebert, North of the C.N.R. Highline,
   - Zoned M2
   - present use public

6. Corner of East Tache and South Messager, North of Hebert,
   - Zoned M2
   - present use public utilities

7. East of Tache, West of St. Joseph, South of Messager,
   - Zoned R2-T
   - present use industrial

8. East of Tache, West of St. Joseph, North of Darveau,
   - Zoned M2
   - present use parks and recreation

9. Corner of West St. Joseph and North Darveau,
   - Zoned M2
   - present use public

AREA: SOUTH OF THE HIGHLINE/EAST OF THE C.N.R. SPURLINE, NORTH OF PROVENCHER

10. East of the Red River, West of Tache, South of the C.N.R. Highline,
    - Zoned M2
    - present use commercial

11. a) Corner of East Tache and South of the Highline,
    - Zoned M2
    - present use low density dwellings

12. b) Corner of West Tache and North Grandin,
    - Zoned M2
    - present use low density dwellings

13. c) Corner of West St. Joseph and North of Rupert,
    - Zoned M2
    - present use low density dwellings

14. West of St. Joseph, South of LaVerendrye, North of Notre Dame,
    - Zoned R2
    - present use commercial

15. Corner of East Tache and South LaVerendrye, North of Notre Dame,
    - Zoned R3
    - present use low density dwellings
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area Description</th>
<th>Zoning</th>
<th>Present Use</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) East of Tache, West of St. Joseph, North of Dumoulin</td>
<td>R2</td>
<td>Multiple dwelling</td>
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<td>b) East of Tache, West of St. Joseph, South of Notre Dame, North of Dumoulin</td>
<td>R2</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Corner of East Tache and South Dumoulin</td>
<td>R3</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Corner of East Tache backlane and South Dumoulin</td>
<td>R3</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West of Tache, North of Provencher</td>
<td>C2</td>
<td>Low density dwellings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corner of West St. Joseph and South Notre Dame, North of Dumoulin</td>
<td>R2</td>
<td>Parks and recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East of St. Joseph, West of Langevin, South of LaVerendrye, North of Notre Dame</td>
<td>R4</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corner of West Langevin and North Dumoulin, South of Notre Dame, East of St. Joseph</td>
<td>R3</td>
<td>Public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corner of East Langevin and South Notre Dame, North of Dumoulin</td>
<td>R1</td>
<td>Parks and recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East of Langevin, West of St. Jean Baptiste, South of LaVerendrye, North of Notre Dame</td>
<td>R3</td>
<td>Low density dwellings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a &amp; b) East of Langevin, West of St. Jean Baptiste, North of Provencher, South of Dumoulin</td>
<td>R3</td>
<td>Low density dwellings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) East of St. Jean Baptiste, West of Thibault, South of Dumoulin, North of Provencher</td>
<td>R3</td>
<td>Low density dwellings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corner of West St. Jean Baptiste and North Dumoulin</td>
<td>R3</td>
<td>Low density dwellings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East of St. Jean Baptiste, West of Thibault, South of LaVerendrye, North of Notre Dame</td>
<td>R3</td>
<td>Low density dwellings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Area:</strong> East of the C.N.R. Spurline, West of Archibald, South of the C.N.R. Highline, North of Provencher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East of the C.N.R. Spurline, West of the Seine River, North of Provencher</td>
<td>C2</td>
<td>Parks and recreation as well as public utilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East of the C.N.R. Spurline, West of the Seine River, South of Dumoulin</td>
<td>C2</td>
<td>Low density dwellings and public land reserves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 7 (Continued)

33. Corner : East of the Seine River and North of Provencher, East of the
C.N.R. Spurline,
- Zoned C2
- present use industrial

34. East of LaFleche, West of Archibald, South of Dumoulin, North of Provencher,
- Zoned C1
- present use low density

35. Corner of East of the Seine River and North of LaVerendrye,
- Zoned Parks and Recreation
- present use low density dwellings

36. a) East of the Seine River, West of Archibald, North of Mission
- Zoned M2
- present use low density dwellings

37. b) East of the Red River, West of Archibald, North of Mission
- Zoned M2
- present use low density dwellings

38. East of the C.N.R. Spurline, North/West of the Seine River, South of the
Highline,
- Zoned M2
- present use agriculture
4.3 Summary

Comparing 1975 land use to that of 1984, it is evident that little change has occurred despite the intentions stated in the District Plan and the actions taken through N.I.P. Key changes are:

1. A trend towards commercial use along the Red River.
2. Manitoba Housing's plans for a multiple unit housing development on riverbank land.
3. Increase in vacant land available for development.

Greater activity is evident in zoning. Since 1975, and as a direct result of the N.I.P. plan, a significant amount of land has been downzoned to allow for low density residential and commercial development. Higher density development has been restricted to major streets in the community. Planning policy activities have failed to:

1. Reduce industry in the community. Attempts to rezone industrial sites for non-industrial uses have not been successful.
2. Reach consensus on the future use of riverbank lands along the Red River.
5.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the past ten years (1975 to 1985) a significant amount of money has been allocated to the redevelopment of North St. Boniface. The objectives of redevelopment were to create a more attractive residential community for both existing and future residents.

Planning tools consisted of: the District Plan (Action Area Plan), the only legal planning policy document for the area; and the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, through which the policy document would be directly applied to specific issues and appropriate action taken. Complementing programs under the CAI and ARC were to provide additional support to further the rehabilitation of the neighbourhood's environment.

What remains is the question, "has implementation of these programs been successful in transforming the District Plan's initial planning policy statements into a physical reality."

The following set of conclusions for each area of interest have been drawn from the information collected and presented earlier in the report. The recommendations reflect the authors' understanding of the community's situation.

5.1 Demography and Housing

5.1.1 Conclusions

1. The population of North St. Boniface fell by 25.7% from 1971 to 1981. This decrease occurred in all age groups.

2. 49.0% of the NIP Survey households were occupied by "husband-wife" families.

3. 53.6% of the 1981 area residents were francophones.
4. The District Plan recognized the declining population as being attributable to the declining environmental conditions of the community.

5. The community activists attribute the presumed decline in French families to the limited availability of suitable housing and community facilities. The community is losing its French component to other suburban areas.

6. NIP did not stimulate an influx of families into the community despite the allocation of funds for rehabilitation due to its failure to create new residential development.

7. 44.7% of existing dwelling units in North St. Boniface are single detached and 90.5% of these are owner-occupied.

8. North St. Boniface has a higher proportion of tenant-occupied units than the Winnipeg average.

9. 59.9% of 15-34 year olds living in the area reside in single detached units.

10. 56.5% of NIP survey respondents said that new housing in the area should be single detached units, while 34.4% called for "low-density" only.

11. 63.7% of 1981 owner-occupied dwellings were built prior to 1946.

12. 54.6% of 1981 owner-occupied dwellings had been occupied for more than ten years.

13. 69.1% of 1981 tenant-occupied dwellings had been occupied for two years or less.

14. The mean floor area of NIP survey households was 988.2 square feet.
5.1.2 Recommendations

1. That the present majority of francophone families be supported through recognition of the historical and cultural importance of the francophone community by the City of Winnipeg.

2. In order to promote the cultural identity of the neighbourhood, that community organizations take a lead role in promoting the community and in undertaking developments appropriate to the needs of the francophone community.

3. That private and public developers involved in revitalization be encouraged to include this identity as a positive selling point.

4. That environmental conditions that will encourage an increase in low-density residential development be enhanced.

5.2 Land Use

5.2.1 Conclusions

1. 45.9% of NIP Survey respondents were disturbed by industries in the neighbourhood.

2. 72.0% of NIP Survey respondents felt that NIP had "very much contributed to the improvement of the neighbourhood". This improvement could be interpreted as the aesthetic improvement of general environmental conditions under such NIP projects as the upgrading of municipal services, tree planting, allocation of land to open space and recreational use, funding for play equipment and the construction of the Seine River footbridge.

3. The district plan identified the need to decrease the large number of conflicting and non-compatible land uses in order
4. NIP did succeed in representing the residents' opinions in regards to the conflicting and non-conforming land use issue but it failed to develop a legal mandate to solve the existing situation.

5. There is a long history of industrial, railway and commercial activity in the community. Conflicts with the residential development of the community are also longstanding.

6. The vast majority of NIP Survey respondents were in favour of increasing tourism and riverbank park development.

7. The District Plan proposal to develop a linear park from Lyndale Drive to Whittier Park has been halted by a series of events. The ARC program was not renewed. ARC funds for the area were expended on the development of the Cathedral riverbank project. There has been no riverbank stabilization study published, thus the limitations of the riverbanks are unknown. The current status of the Riverbank Acquisition Program and its approved funding are unknown.

8. The proposed transit corridor is to run parallel to the C.N.R. Highline but is not scheduled for construction until some time after the year 2000, thus making planning for the area difficult.

9. The vacant land in the area has not been developed due to a lack of consensus among interest groups including the landowners and community organizations. The key owners are CNR, the City of Winnipeg plus a few private owners. The community organizations have not been effective in articulating their objectives, strategizing for their implementation, or seeking consensus among groups.
10. 74.0% of NIP Survey respondents made clothing purchases and 66.2% purchased household goods outside of the St. Boniface community. Provencher Boulevard did not attract the majority of local residents to shop within the community. This is a major problem currently facing the commercial sector of the community. Recently under Program 10 of CAI, Provencher Boulevard merchants received funds to undertake physical improvements to the commercial district.

5.2.2 Recommendations

1. That industrial and commercial users of riverbank property be removed and that a linear park be established using funds from the Riverbank Acquisition Program and under the professional guidance of the ARC officials.

2. That any associated commercial spinoffs generated by the riverbank development be restricted to Provencher and Taché.

3. That the present non-conforming/conflicting industries be relocated to allow for the development of a healthy residential community in accordance with district plan objectives.

4. That residential development in the area be encouraged. The available vacant land should be targeted for development of an appropriate type. This "appropriate type" should be low to medium density for the most part.

5. That the abandoned railway spurlines be removed or redeveloped into pedestrian ways. These spurlines presently serve as physical barriers isolating residential areas.

6. That the future use of land north of the C.N.R. highline be decided upon as quickly as possible. Decision-making should include all interested groups. Community organizations should seek consensus among themselves and take a lead role in decision-making.
5.3 Zoning

5.3.1 Conclusions

1. 40.2% of NIP Survey respondents called for the removal of industries; the construction of new housing; and commercial redevelopment as improvements which were needed in the neighbourhood.

2. The District Plan identified the need to amend the existing zoning and under NIP there were zoning changes which reduced potential densities for residential and commercial uses. Industrial zonings were not amended. This is considered the major failure of planning activities directed towards zoning rationalization.

3. There are still as many conflicting and non-conforming zoning situations.

4. The MHRC proposal for the redevelopment of the Dowse Woodwork site, into two apartment blocks is detrimental to the neighbourhood's character. To amend the District Plan to allow multiple unit residential dwellings of medium to high density on the riverbanks will only result in another Wellington Crescent/Roslyn Road situation destroying Winnipeg's accessible riverbank.

5. MHRC is also proposing the redevelopment of the Grandin Trucking site into townhouses. This is a positive proposal in keeping with the residential intent of the District Plan.

5.3.2 Recommendations

1. That industrial zoning on riverbank lands be removed and commercial zoning be restricted to Provencher and Tache.
2. That the five industrial sites currently the focus of a legal challenge be rezoned for residential use.

3. That MHRC be encouraged to proceed with townhousing on the Grandin Trucking site.

4. That Whittier Park be rezoned Parks and Recreation.

5. That the Supercrete site be rezoned for medium density residential development.

6. That zoning rationalization be pursued as a planning priority.
SOURCES


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City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, NIP Branch, North St. Boniface, NIP, December 1983.

City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning. North St. Boniface, District Plan, September 18, 19

Department of Environmental Planning District Plans Branch, Winnipeg Area Characterization, July 1978.


Klein & Sears, Damas & Smith Ltd. Core Area Housing Study Prepared for the City of Toronto, December 1974.


North St. Boniface Residents Association, Housing for North St. Boniface Submission to the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, January, 1983.

Seine River Environmental Action Committee, Response to City of Winnipeg Seine River Park Study, May 1981.


Winnipeg Core Area Initiative Program, North and Central St. Boniface Description of Projects.

# TABLE 8

**1981 CENSUS: PRIVATE OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BY STRUCTURAL TYPE AND TENURE**

**NORTH ST. Boniface**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Structural Type</th>
<th>Total Units</th>
<th>Row %</th>
<th>Col. %</th>
<th>Owned Units</th>
<th>Row %</th>
<th>Col. %</th>
<th>Rented Units</th>
<th>Row %</th>
<th>Col. %</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>53.8</td>
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<td>Single House</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>86.3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>23.5</td>
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<td>Apartment in Bldg. 5 Storeys</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duplex semi-detached</td>
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<td>13.9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>72.7</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<td>Other Dwellings</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<td>13.7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>28.5</td>
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<td>2260</td>
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<td>8.4</td>
<td>95</td>
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<td>880</td>
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<td>11.0</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>1060</td>
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* Example: Difference due to Census Canada rounding, error probably due to geocode sorting.
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<th>Structural Type</th>
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<th>Owners</th>
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<td>Row %</td>
<td>Col. %</td>
<td>Units</td>
<td>Row %</td>
<td>Col. %</td>
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<td>110,880</td>
<td>90.2</td>
<td>90.7</td>
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<td>940</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
<td>530</td>
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<td>7,620</td>
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<td>7.2</td>
<td>7,620</td>
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<td>4.7</td>
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<td>28.3</td>
<td>9,940</td>
<td>16.6</td>
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APPENDIX B

1. How many dwelling units are in the building? ______
2. Are they self-contained? Yes ( ) No ( )
3. Do you own or rent your place of residence? Own ( ) Rent ( )
   IF RENT: Who is the Owner?
   NAME ____________________________
   ADDRESS ____________________________
   TEL, NO, ____________________________
   (owners)
4. When was your building built? __________
5. Number of square feet? __________
6. How many bedrooms do you have? __________
7. What is the value of your property? __________
8. Have you made any house improvements in the last five years?
   Yes ( ) No ( )
   A) If so, what kinds? ____________________________
   B) What was the cost of these improvements? __________
9. Have you used the home repair program called RRAP? Yes ( ) No ( )
10. Were you aware of its existence? Yes ( ) No ( )
11. Have you used the insulation program called CHIP? Yes ( ) No ( )
12. Were you aware of its existence? Yes ( ) No ( )
13. Why did you buy a property in North St. Boniface? ____________________________
   (tenants)
14. How much rent do you pay a month? __________
15. How many bedrooms do you have? __________
16. Does your rent include:
   Parking ( )
   Hydro ( )
   Heat ( )
   Water ( )
   Laundry facilities ( )
   Other: ____________________________
17. Why do you rent in North St. Boniface? ____________________________
   (patterns)
17. Do you plan on remaining a resident of this area? Yes ( ) No ( )
   If you plan on moving, what is your reason: ____________________________
18. Do you have relatives living in this area? Yes ( ) No ( )
19. Do you have friends living in this area? Yes ( ) No ( )
20. How far do you live from your place of employment? __________
How do you get there? Car ( )
Bus ( )
Walk ( )
Other: ________________

22. Do you own an automobile, or automobiles? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, how many? ________________

23. Are you disturbed by the industries in the area? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, which one(s)? ________________
what disturbs you? ________________

24. What facilities do you use in the area?
the Cultural Centre ( )
the Community Centre ( )
the school gym ( )
other: ________________

25. Do you require daycare services? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, when? ________________

26. Where do you do most of your shopping for
groceries: ______________________
clothing: ______________________
household goods: ______________________
furniture & appliances: ______________________
restaurants: ______________________

27. What services and goods would you like to see sold on Provencher blvd.?

28. Do you support a tourist development scheme for this area?

29. If new housing is built in North St.Boniface, what kind should it be?

30. A rapid transit corridor and transportation corridor is planned to run
from Transcona through North St.Boniface along Provencher, and north
and south of the CNR mainline. Should it be built? ________________

31. What recreational programs would you like to see developed in the area?

32. Does your family use the local parks in the area? Yes ( ) No ( )
If yes, which one(s): ______________________

33. Do you think the city should develop the Seine and Red riverbanks
as parks? ______________________
34. Now taking everything into consideration, how would you rate your neighbourhood as a place to live?
   excellent ( ) good ( ) fair ( ) poor ( )
   Why? ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________

35. How would you rate your house or apartment as a place to live?
   excellent ( ) good ( ) fair ( ) poor ( )
   Why? ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________

36. Would you say that in the past several years, your neighbourhood as a place to live has much improved, improved, stayed the same, or is worse?
   much improved ( ) improved ( ) same ( ) worse ( )
   Why? ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________

37. How would you rate the following organizations' or programs’ contribution to the improvements in your neighbourhood?

   M.I.P.
   very much ( ) somewhat ( ) not really ( ) not at all ( )
   Comment ________________________________________________________________

   R.R.A.P.
   very much ( ) somewhat ( ) not really ( ) not at all ( )
   Comment ________________________________________________________________

   RESIDENTS’ ASSOCIATION
   very much ( ) somewhat ( ) not really ( ) not at all ( )
   Comment ________________________________________________________________

   DISTRICT PLAN
   very much ( ) somewhat ( ) not really ( ) not at all ( )
   Comment ________________________________________________________________

38. Have the following services improved compared to several years ago?
   a) Municipal Services - streets, sidewalks, etc.
   much improved ( ) improved ( ) same ( ) worse ( )
b) Garbage Collection
much improved ( ) improved ( ) same ( ) worse ( )

c) Police Protection
much improved ( ) improved ( ) same ( ) worse ( )

d) Parks and Recreation Facilities
much improved ( ) improved ( ) same ( ) worse ( )

e) Schools
much improved ( ) improved ( ) same ( ) worse ( )

f) Street Cleaning
much improved ( ) improved ( ) same ( ) worse ( )

g) What other improvements?

39. Do you feel that the expenditure of $4.9 million in North St. Boniface was worth it?
very much ( ) somewhat ( ) not really ( )
not at all ( )
Why? ________________________________

40. Were you kept informed of N.I.P's plans and actions?
very much ( ) somewhat ( ) not really ( )
not at all ( )
Comment. ________________________________

41. Did the Residents' Association represent your interests well?
very much ( ) somewhat ( ) not really ( )
not at all ( )
Comment. ________________________________

42. How did the local N.I.P staff do their work?
very well ( ) well ( ) poorly ( ) badly ( )
Comment or criticism ________________________________
43. How did the R.R.A.P provide people with needed funds to repair their homes?

very well ( ) well ( ) poorly ( ) badly ( )

Comment or criticism.

44. What are the things you like about North St. Boniface?


45. What would you like to see improved in North St. Boniface?


46. What do you see as North St. Boniface's future?


47. Do you feel this area needed a Neighbourhood Improvement Program? Why?


## ZONING DISTRICTS

### The St. Boniface Town Planning Scheme 1957

- "A1" Agricultural
- "PR" Parks and Recreational
- "F" Flood Plain
- "RR-2" Rural Residential
- "RA" Suburban
- "R1S" Special One-family
- "R1" One-family
- "R1-4" One-family
- "R1-5" One-family
- "R1-5.5" One-family
- "R1-6" One-family
- "R2" Two-family
- "R2-T" Two-family Transitional
- "R-PL" Planned Residential
- "R3" Limited Multiple-family
- "R4" Multiple-family
- "R4B-ONE" Planned Building Group
- "R4B-TWO" Planned Building Group
- "R4B-THREE" Planned Building Group
- "R4B-FOUR" Planned Building Group
- "R4B-FIVE" Planned Building Group
- "O" Office and Institution Planned Building Group
- "C1" Limited Commercial
- "C2" Commercial
- "C2-B" Commercial Planned Building Group
- "C3-B" Commercial Planned Building Group
- "MP-1" Industrial Park
- "MP-2" Industrial Park
- "MP-3" Industrial Park
- "M1" Light Industrial
- "M2" Light Industrial
- "M3" Heavy Industrial

### The St. Vital Town Planning Scheme 1951

- "A1" Agricultural
- "PR" Park and Recreational
- "F" Flood Plain
- "RR-2" Rural Residential
- "RA" Suburban
- "RA-S" Special Suburban
- "R1" One-family
- "R1-4" One-family
- "R1-5" One-family
- "R1-5.5" One-family
- "R1-6" One-family
- "R2" Two-family
- "R-PL" Planned Residential
- "R3" Multiple-family
- "R3B-L" Low Density Multiple-family
- "R3B-ONE" Planned Building Group
- "R3B-TWO" Planned Building Group
- "R3B-THREE" Planned Building Group
- "R3B-FOUR" Planned Building Group
- "R3B-FIVE" Planned Building Group
- "MH-P" Mobile Home Park
- "MH-S" Mobile Home Subdivision

### Other Areas

- "C1" Limited Commercial
- "C2" Commercial
- "CP" Planned Commercial
- "M1" Light Industrial
- "M1S" Special Light Manufacturing
AGRICULTURAL

"A1" Agricultural District

Uses associated with general agricultural activities and such other purposes which would not be incompatible with agricultural operations are permitted on a lot with a minimum area of 5 acres and a minimum lot width of 300 feet. Certain other uses which would not be incompatible with agricultural operations are permitted on smaller lots, example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minimum Site Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libraries, museums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public utility, public service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanitaria or hospitals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(maximum 50 beds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle dairies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 acres

20 acres

PARK AND RECREATIONAL

"PR" Park and Recreational District

The intent and purpose of this District is for the conservation of areas of land in public ownership used for park and recreational purposes and to acknowledge and preserve areas of land in private ownership that is used for recreational purposes.
FLOOD PLAIN

"F" Flood Plain District

This District is intended to provide for the control of development in areas which are liable to periodic flooding. Summer cottages and cabins for temporary occupancy, recreational and certain agricultural uses are permitted. The minimum lot area required is one-half (1/2) acre and a minimum lot width of 100 feet is required by the St. Boniface Town Planning Scheme 1957.

RESIDENTIAL

'RR-2' Rural Residential District

This District is intended to accommodate non-farm residential holdings where public sewer and water utilities are unavailable. Institutional uses normally associated with a residential area, such as churches, hospitals and community centres are permitted, as well as limited agricultural activities that would not be incompatible with the residential character. The minimum lot area in the District is 8094 m² (2 acres) and the minimum lot width is 55 m (180 feet).

"RA" Suburban District

This District provides a low density transitional zone for one-family dwellings located between urban development and agricultural land and where public sewer and water are not available. The minimum lot area is one-half (1/2) acre and a minimum lot width of 150 feet is required in the St. Boniface Town Planning Scheme 1957. Other uses compatible with the residential environment are permitted, however agricultural activities are required to maintain the larger lot sizes characteristic of the "AI" Agricultural District.
"RA-S" Special Suburban District

The St. Vital Town Planning Scheme 1951 provides for interim residential development on land where the installation of municipal sewer and water are expected to occur in the foreseeable future. Single-family dwellings and churches are permitted on lots with a minimum area of 10,000 square feet and a minimum width of 100 feet, but resubdivision into lots 5,000 square feet in area is allowed once public sewer and water utilities are installed and in operation.

"R1S" Special One-family District

The permitted uses are identical to the "R1" One-family District uses, but the minimum lot area in the "R1S" Special One-family District is 20,000 square feet and the minimum lot width is 80 feet. The density of dwellings per acre is approximately two.

"R1", "R1-4", "R1-5", "R1-5.5", "R1-6" One-family Districts

Districts in this category are reserved primarily for single-family homes and land uses commonly associated with residential neighbourhoods, such as parks, day care facilities and institutional uses of a religious or educational nature. The St. Vital Town Planning Scheme 1951 permits the use of a transitional lot, abutting a less restrictive zoning district, for a two-family dwelling or a limited office use located within a house. The bulk regulations are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Minimum Lot Width</th>
<th>Minimum Lot Area</th>
<th>Approx. No. of Dwelling Units per Acre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;R1&quot;</td>
<td>50 feet</td>
<td>5,000 sq. ft.</td>
<td>5½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;R1-4&quot;</td>
<td>40 feet</td>
<td>4,000 sq. ft.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;R1-5&quot;</td>
<td>50 feet</td>
<td>5,000 sq. ft.</td>
<td>5½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;R1-5.5&quot;</td>
<td>50 feet</td>
<td>5,500 sq. ft.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;R1-6&quot;</td>
<td>60 feet</td>
<td>6,000 sq. ft.</td>
<td>4½</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"R2" Two-family District

In addition to the development of two-family dwellings, the regulations of this District permit any use allowed in the "R1" District. The St. Vital Town Planning Scheme 1951 permits a transitional lot adjoining the boundary of a less restrictive district to be developed with a multiple-family dwelling. The minimum lot width is 50 feet and the minimum lot area is 5,000 square feet, or 2,500 square feet of site area per dwelling. Depending upon the mix of single-family and two-family dwellings, the number of dwelling units may vary from 5½ to 11 per acre.

"R2-T" Two-family Transitional District

This District is intended to regulate change in older low-density residential areas that are experiencing redevelopment to multiple-family land uses. The permitted uses in the "R2-T" District are identical to those in the "R2" District. Single-family and two-family homes require a minimum lot area of 5,000 square feet and a minimum lot width of 50 feet. In locations where a multiple-family dwelling would not be considered inappropriate, the Community Committee may approve an application to construct an apartment building with a dwelling unit density up to 55 units per acre, or 800 square feet of site area per dwelling. The overall density in the "R2-T" District could range from 5½ dwelling units per acre for single-family housing to 55 dwelling units per acre for apartments.

"R-PL" Planned Residential District

This District is intended to provide for a comprehensive approach to the development of single-family housing where the location and design of each house is an integral part of the planning and design of the overall district and is commonly referred to as the zero lot line district. The minimum lot area is 2,500 square feet with minimum lot widths of 20 feet with a public lane and 30 feet without. Approximate number of dwelling units per acre varies from 6 to 12.
"R3" Limited Multiple-family District

This District is reserved for multiple-family dwellings, apartment buildings and two-family dwellings only. Single-family homes, rooming or boarding houses, commercial or industrial uses are not considered appropriate for the "R3" District. The minimum site area is 5,000 square feet with a minimum width of 50 feet. The maximum permissible densities are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dwelling Unit Type</th>
<th>Minimum Site Area per Dwelling Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two-family</td>
<td>2,500 sq. ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment</td>
<td>800 sq. ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>400 sq. ft.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The density in this District may vary from approximately 11 units per acre for two-family dwellings to 80 units per acre for mixed apartment and bachelor units.

"R3" Multiple-family District

Multiple-family dwellings, two-family dwellings and a limited range of institutional uses, such as churches, schools and clubs are permitted in the "R3" District. For two-family dwellings and non-residential land uses, the minimum lot area and width are 5,000 square feet and 50 feet, respectively. Multiple-family development is governed by the following density regulations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Dwelling Units</th>
<th>Minimum Lot Area per Unit</th>
<th>Minimum Lot Area</th>
<th>Minimum Lot Width</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2,000 sq. ft.</td>
<td>6,000 sq. ft.</td>
<td>60 ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,750 sq. ft.</td>
<td>7,000 sq. ft.</td>
<td>60 ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,500 sq. ft.</td>
<td>7,500 sq. ft.</td>
<td>60 ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 or more</td>
<td>1,250 sq. ft.</td>
<td>7,500 sq. ft.</td>
<td>60 ft.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The density in the "R3" District is approximately 35 dwelling units per acre.
“R4” Multiple-family District

This District is intended to accommodate the transition from low to medium density development in older neighbourhoods where such change appears to be suitable. All types of multiple-family residential development are permitted, as well as single-family and two-family dwellings, boarding and rooming houses, hotels and institutional uses. The minimum lot area and width are 5,000 square feet and 50 feet, respectively, with a minimum site area of 800 square feet required for each dwelling unit. The density ranges from approximately 5½ units per acre for single-family dwellings to 55 units per acre for multiple-family development.

“R3B-L” Low Density Multiple-family District (St. Vital Town Planning Scheme 1951)

This District is intended to provide for and encourage the construction of improved types of low density residential development by providing freedom of choice in the grouping and site planning of two-family and multiple-family dwellings such as townhouses and garden court apartments. In this District it is required to provide 2,500 square feet of lot area per dwelling unit, which allows for a maximum density of 17 dwelling units per acre.

“R3B-ONE” Planned Building Group

Permits multiple-family dwellings at limited density so that development is compatible with adjoining single-family and two-family districts. Single-family and two-family dwellings are also permitted in these areas, together with public utility and service uses, and religious institutions.

Assuming an average of 1,000 square feet of building space per dwelling unit, the density of dwelling units in this District can vary between 33 to 35 per acre depending on whether parking is placed on the surface or underground. A minimum of 30% of the lot area must be in usable open space exclusive of parking areas, loading areas and driveways.

NOTE: In the St. Boniface Town Planning Scheme 1957, the district symbol is “R4B-ONE.”
"R3B-TWO" Planned Building Group

The uses permitted are the same as for the "R3B-One" District, but the density varies according to the amount of usable open space provided, half of which must be located at grade and shall not include parking areas, loading areas or driveways, and half of which may be within the building in the form of roof terraces, balconies and recreation rooms.

Assuming an average of 1,000 square feet of building space per dwelling unit, the density of dwelling units in this District can vary between 33 per acre with 30% usable open space to 65 per acre with 100% usable open space.

NOTE: In the St. Boniface Town Planning Scheme 1957, the district symbol is "R4B-TWO."

"R3B-THREE" Planned Building Group

The uses permitted are the same as for the "R3B-TWO" District.

Assuming an average of 1,000 square feet of building space per dwelling unit, the density of dwelling units in this District can vary between 55 per acre with 30% usable open space to 109 per acre with 100% usable open space.

NOTE: In the St. Boniface Town Planning Scheme 1957, the district symbol is "R4B-THREE."

"R3B-FOUR" Planned Building Group

This zoning is intended for high density apartment buildings in areas located near the Central Business District or other major centres of commercial activity. A limited range of retail and personal service uses are permitted within the larger apartment buildings primarily to serve the occupants of these buildings.

Assuming an average of 1,000 square feet of building space per dwelling unit, the density of dwelling units in this District can vary between 77 per acre with 30% usable open space to 142 per acre with 100% usable open space.

NOTE: In the St. Boniface Town Planning Scheme 1957, the district symbol is "R4B-FOUR."
"R3B-FIVE" Planned Building Group

The uses permitted are the same as for the "R3B-FOUR" District.

Assuming an average of 1,000 square feet of building space per dwelling unit, the density of dwelling units in the District can vary between 109 per acre with 30% usable open space to 218 per acre with 100% usable open space.

NOTE: In the St. Boniface Town Planning Scheme 1957, the district symbol is "R4B-FIVE."

"MH-P" Mobile Home Park District

This District is intended to provide land for the location of mobile homes. The entire land within a park district is owned and managed by one person or company. The spaces for a mobile home in a park district are rented or leased.

The minimum area for a park is 5 acres with a minimum lot width of 300 feet, with the density not to exceed 12 mobile homes per acre.

"MH-S" Mobile Home Subdivision District

This District is intended to provide land for the location of mobile homes. The spaces or lots within the mobile home subdivision may be owned by the persons occupying the mobile homes.

The minimum lot area and width for a mobile home lot in a mobile home subdivision is 4,000 square feet by 40 feet.

The uses, libraries, community centres, schools and religious institutions are also permitted in a mobile home subdivision.
COMMERCIAL

“OI” Office and Institution Planned Building Group District

The “OI” District is intended to foster the development of harmonious groupings of civic, institutional, cultural and office buildings through the application of the principles of civic design. The plans are subject to approval by Council. While no minimum site area is specified, it is anticipated that such projects will be constructed on larger parcels of land centrally located.

“C1” Limited Commercial District

This District is intended for those commercial uses serving the day-to-day needs of persons living in adjoining residential areas. Limited residential uses are permitted in The St. Vital Town Planning Scheme 1951, but only in conjunction with a primary commercial activity.

“C2” Commercial District

This District, in addition to permitting the “C1” District uses, is intended for general retail uses not permitted in a “C1” Limited Commercial District and includes all of the commercial uses usually found in central shopping districts.

“C2-B” and “C3-B” Commercial Planned Building Group Districts

These Districts are intended to stimulate the construction of improved kinds of commercial development by providing greater freedom of choice in the grouping of the various types of commercial buildings and by providing:

a) greater freedom of choice in the grouping of the various types of commercial and/or residential buildings; and

b) by permitting maximum flexibility in the site planning; and

c) for the separation of certain commercial uses not deemed suitable in combination with residential uses.
The "C2-B" Commercial Planned Building Group District allows any commercial use that is permitted in the "C2" Commercial District. Lot size, floor area and parking requirements are not specified in the Scheme, however all design features governing these matters are subject to Council approval.

In the "C3-B" Commercial Planned Building Group District, the uses allowed include multiple-family dwellings, stores of all kinds, banks, clubs, bowling alleys, motels, hospitals, limited wholesale businesses, etc. The floor area ratio varies between 1.25 with 30% usable open space (54,450 square feet of building floor area) to 2.50 with 100% usable open space (108,900 square feet of building floor area).

Assuming 1,000 square feet of building floor area per suite, the density produced if all the building is in dwelling uses varies between 55 units per acre with 30% of usable open space to 109 units per acre with 100% of usable open space.

"CP" Planned Commercial District

The "CP" Planned Commercial District is intended to accommodate a regional shopping centre. A wide range of commercial uses is permitted on a minimum site area of 7 acres. The maximum floor area ratio is 5.0; that is, 5,000 square feet of floor area can be constructed for every 1,000 square feet of site area, provided that all parking, yards and other open space requirements can be met on the site. Site plans and other features of project design are subject to approval by Council.

INDUSTRIAL PARKS

Industrial Park zoning districts are intended to provide areas for industrial development that would in no way detract from adjacent living areas or other uses. The Industrial Park District regulations include performance standards relating to noise, vibration, odorous, toxic and noxious matter, radiation hazards, fire and explosive hazards, glare and heat, which must be complied with.
"MP-1" Industrial Park District

In this District, the permitted uses are required to operate within a completely enclosed building on a landscaped lot in such a manner that no nuisance factor is created or emitted outside the enclosed building. This District may serve as a buffer between heavier industrial activities and business or residential districts.

"MP-2" and "MP-3" Industrial Park Districts

These Districts are intended for high quality industrial development in landscaped surroundings. The "MP-2" District permits development on smaller lots where existing features of an area do not lend themselves for subdivision into larger lots.

INDUSTRIAL

"M1" Light Industrial District

A limited range of manufacturing, assembly and distribution operations are permitted in this District, provided that all such activities are conducted within a building. The "M1" District also accommodates any use permitted in a "C2" District, with the exception of dwellings, and certain commercial activities involving a large storage operation which would not be appropriately located in a commercial area. These latter are required to screen all outside storage so that no visual nuisance is produced.

"MIS" Special Light Manufacturing District

The "MIS" District is intended to permit and regulate commercial and industrial activities adjacent to the Perimeter Highway. Commercial activities are restricted to those that would benefit from a highway location, such as automobile service stations, motels and farm implement dealers. A proliferation of retail enterprises unrelated to highway traffic is discouraged. For industrial uses, such as manufacturing, warehousing and limited automobile wrecking establishments, approval by the Director of Waterworks, Waste and Disposal is required so that environmental deterioration that may result from such activities may be avoided.
“M2” Light Industrial District

Any use permitted in the “M1” Light Industrial District can be located in the “M2” District, plus any other non-residential use, provided that it will not become obnoxious or offensive. Enclosure within a fence or building is not required.

“M3” Heavy Industrial District

This District is intended to accommodate heavy industrial activities, such as asphalt manufacturing, auto wrecking within a building, paint manufacture, freight classification yards and rolling mills. In addition, any use permitted in the “M2” District can be located in the “M3” District. Residential development is not appropriate in this District and is not permitted.