Core Area Report: A Reassessment of Conditions in Inner City Winnipeg

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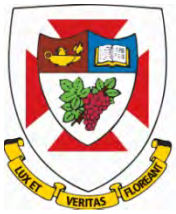
by Frank Johnston, with contributions from Stewart Clatworthy
1979

The Institute of Urban Studies



THE UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG

FOR INFORMATION:

The Institute of Urban Studies
The University of Winnipeg
599 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg
phone: 204.982.1140
fax: 204.943.4695
general email: ius@uwinnipeg.ca

Mailing Address:
The Institute of Urban Studies
The University of Winnipeg
515 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 2E9

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The Institute of Urban Studies is an independent research arm of the University of Winnipeg. Since 1969, the IUS has been both an academic and an applied research centre, committed to examining urban development issues in a broad, non-partisan manner. The Institute examines inner city, environmental, Aboriginal and community development issues. In addition to its ongoing involvement in research, IUS brings in visiting scholars, hosts workshops, seminars and conferences, and acts in partnership with other organizations in the community to effect positive change.

CORE AREA REPORT

A Reassessment of Conditions In Inner City Winnipeg

by

Frank Johnston

with
contributions from

Stewart Clatworthy
Sybil Frenette
Christine McKee
Cheryl Sherba

Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

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Frank Johnston

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1. AN INTRODUCTION TO WINNIPEG'S CORE AREA

In 1975, the report on Winnipeg's Core Area was published, At the time, it was the only publicly available study to attempt a broad assessment of conditions in the core. There has been a continued demand for this type of study. Accordingly, the second addition has been prepared to bring the original report up to date: major demographic trends are described comparing 1971 and 1976 census data; new indicators of health, citizen attitudes, housing and the physical environment are introduced; and some concerns identified in the first report are reviewed in light of recent studies. These include several social issues, the adjustment of natives to urban life and interventions in the housing market.

Our early research efforts confirmed the conclusions of the original study:[1]

1. The area as a whole has continued to experience a deterioration of the physical environment and the social fabric. Although some of the sub-areas within the core have remained stable or improved, the indicators characteristic of decline have continued to appear in previously unblighted areas.

2. Disparities between the core area and the rest of the city have increased.

3. Natives have continued to migrate into the city and the pervasive effects of poverty to which they are subject have shown no appreciable improvements.

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1. L. Axworthy and P. Christie. Winnipeg's Core Area, (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1975). pp. 105 - 108.

4. Interventions intended to ameliorate the physical and social problems of the core have continued to be either inadequately funded or inappropriately designed.

5. Social service agencies continue to allocate the largest proportion of their funds towards crisis-oriented services and remedial care.

Many reports on inner cities emphasize the negative aspects of living in the central area, often overshadowing its positive qualities. Obviously, this report has its share of bad news as well, but there have been promising developments: the more recent evidence shows that progress has been made in the fields of education and police services and a noted improvement in the physical environment has taken place in some communities within the core. In addition, surveys reveal that many of the area's residents wish to remain in the area, are optimistic about its future and are willing to improve their neighbourhood through individual and community-based actions.

The first Core Area Report was originally intended to serve as a background study for the Winnipeg police force. The police at that time were contemplating changes in staffing and patrolling as a means of easing some of the pressures on the force. But in the light of the above conclusions of the report, it became apparent that the police were facing a set of problems that they could not hope to resolve by themselves. Thus a large portion of the Core Report was designed to specify more clearly the nature of the problems of the inner city and to outline interventions that other public agencies should take in concert with the police. Thus the report advocates for many specific changes in public programs. The second report does not follow the original in this way. We felt that at this time there would be greater benefit in providing a more in-depth description of the issues rather than making recommendations for additional public intervention.

The issues of the inner city are complex; actions based on a poor understanding of them may in fact aggravate the very problems they were intended to help. For this reason, we have attempted to put together a basic "data book" on the major social, economic and demographic trends in the core. Where possible, we have provided interpretations of these trends in order to draw out the important implications of the data. Much of the information presented is already in printed form, but is often of little use because it is scattered through numerous reports. Thus this study should be of use to those people who require reasonably objective and summarized information on the core. Further, by presenting a broad overview of the conditions of the core, we hope that people reading the report will reflect on how their actions contribute to the larger picture.

The authors of the first core report began by observing the large extent to which conclusions on the state of the area -- and what should be done about it -- were based on the personal experiences of those professionals working on core area problems. In many instances, first hand opinions provide indispensable information in developing and assessing policies. However, exclusive dependence on this type of information can be misleading: it is often anecdotal, uncontrolled for the respondent's comparative knowledge and coloured by the people confronted each day while at work. In addition, no matter how well informed the person is, the information is only as good as the number of people who are in personal contact with him. If he leaves his position, the source of information is lost. One consequence of this type of information network is that new arrivals keep rediscovering the problems of the core area and residents keep finding themselves the subjects of an endless series of surveys.

In many working situations, an informal network of personal contacts ensures an adequate flow of information. But as the complexity of the problems of the core becomes apparent and solutions to the problems equally elusive, the reliance on traditional methods of communication is increasingly suspect. To argue that publications such as the Core Area Report can, by themselves, solve or even raise all the contentious issues is obviously naive, yet there is little hope that consistent and effective programs will be developed without the benefit of adequate information; and, there will be little commitment to take action unless a broader base of people are informed about the conditions of the core.

It is important to note that the provision of accurate and timely information is only one aspect in coming to grips with the problems of the inner city. In particular, there is an obvious and pressing need for immediate public actions to relieve the suffering of many of the area's residents. To wait for a full report on all of the relevant issues would be to delay any interventions unnecessarily. Moreover, the lack of a public response to the plight of the core area is not simply due to an absence of information about inner city conditions; there is a lack of will by both the public and private sectors to institute any substantive programs. In this sense, improving the quality of life in the core is as much a question of political support as it is of "objective" research.

The report has been divided into three sections to aid the reader in locating pertinent information. Also, a statistical appendix is included which provides socio-economic and demographic information at the level of the census tract. The first section

reviews the importance of people's perceptions of the core area. Based on a combination of theory and survey information, this chapter shows how the level of optimism held by the residents and the businessmen of the area can be an important determinant to viability of their neighbourhood. Although a majority of the residents appreciate an inner city location, many people would like to leave. In addition, we found that lending institutions perceived parts of the inner city to entail a high risk for lending mortgages--a perception which puts severe restrictions on house purchases in those areas. These attitudes and beliefs are shown to have important implications for the design and management of public interventions.

The second section, which includes chapters 3 through 7, describes current conditions within the core. Chapter 3 presents the major demographic, economic and social indicators for the inner city. When compared to the rest of Winnipeg these indicators show that a marked difference exists between the inner and outer parts of the city. These differences have continued to widen particularly with regards to income, age structure and household composition. The fourth chapter underlines these initial findings with a description of some of the health and social problems characteristic of the inner city. Chapter 5 describes the quality of the physical environment. Apart from some improvements to the central business district, few changes have occurred to stem the area's over-all decline. However, there are advantages to be gained by living in the inner city. Access to the business district and convenience of local services are two advantages which were noted by the residents and are examined in the chapter. Also included is an extensive review of housing in the core. It reaffirms the conclusion that the area has continued to decline. Parts of the inner city were found to have a weak housing market, a factor which has resulted in substantial losses of low-cost family housing.

Some of these more general trends are considered in detail as they apply to Winnipeg's native population. Although native people were identified as a group in particular need of assistance, it is likely that their immediate needs are similar to other recent immigrants to the city. Because the primary purpose of the chapter was to document socio-economic trends, many important native issues were not considered, including the native's struggle for constitutional rights and the history of the federal and provincial treatment of the native. This second section is concluded by a summary chapter. It reviews the evidence indicative of widespread decline and provides projections of future population changes.

Chapters 8 through to 10 present a summary of the on-going efforts by the public and private agencies in improving the physical, economic, and social aspects of the core area. Recent innovations include the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, the Winnipeg Police department's Operation Affirmative Action, the Community Schools Program and various employment programs. Without depreciating the importance of these efforts most interventions to date are too narrow in scope and have too few funds to make a substantial impact on the conditions of the core. Particular attention is paid to the lack of change in the provision of social services.

1-1 Defining the Core Area

The first core area report found that the boundaries of the core area varied according to the issues under study. It was recognized that there is no single definition that is universally applicable. However, there was a high degree of overlap between boundaries based on the criteria of physical deterioration, social problems and the operations of the City administration. The boundary used for the first core area study was defined as the best fit between the issue-related boundaries and census tract boundaries.

A more formal method was used to specify the current boundaries of the core area. Briefly, seven criteria were used to define as inner city any census tract with two or more of these characteristics:[2]

1. housing built before 1901
2. 30 percent or more of the housing stock in poor condition
3. population loss of 15 percent or greater in the 1971 - 1976 period
4. 25 percent or more of these families at or below the poverty line in 1971
5. tenants to occupy 60 percent or more of residential units
6. population of more than 40 persons per acre
7. household density of more than 10 households per residential acre

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2. Institute of Urban Studies, "Interim Report" Winnipeg Inner City Housing Study". (unpublished, 1978), pp. 1-15. The methodology is adopted from R. McLemore, C. Aass, P. Keilhofer. The Changing Canadian City, (Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, 1975), pp. 5-9.

On the basis of these characteristics, 23 census tracts were selected; another 4 were added as a result of a field check on conformity to inner city characteristics considered unique to Winnipeg.[3] The location of the core area within Winnipeg and its boundaries are shown in figure 1-1.

The outer city is then defined as the remainder of the Winnipeg Census Metropolitan Area. Although the census tracts with inner city attributes are mainly clustered in an area surrounding the central business district, inner city type areas need not be confined to the central city; problems typical of the inner city could apply to other parts of the city.

1-2 The Theme of Neighbourhood Change

The inner city of Winnipeg, like most other Canadian cities, is a diverse area, rich in character and interest. Because the report is intended to provide a comprehensive view of the area, there are a variety of issues included. But such a variety presents real difficulties in developing a consistent theme throughout the report. For this reason the reader may want to consider each chapter independent from the other.

One perspective we found particularly relevant to Winnipeg's core area is the theme of neighbourhood change. In the documentation of the social and demographic trends for the core area, we discovered quite early that the inner city is experiencing dramatic changes in population size and composition: most notable are the absolute decline of the area's population and the proportionate increases of non-family, elderly and single parent family households. In addition, the housing stock and physical services are wearing out and in need of extensive refurbishing. In short, the core area is reaching a critical period in its history where comprehensive intervention is required if the distinct possibility of widespread decline is to be avoided.

Other research has shown that some of the undesirable changes in the inner city can be tied to broader governmental and private policies.[4] Because of the substantial costs that would be incurred

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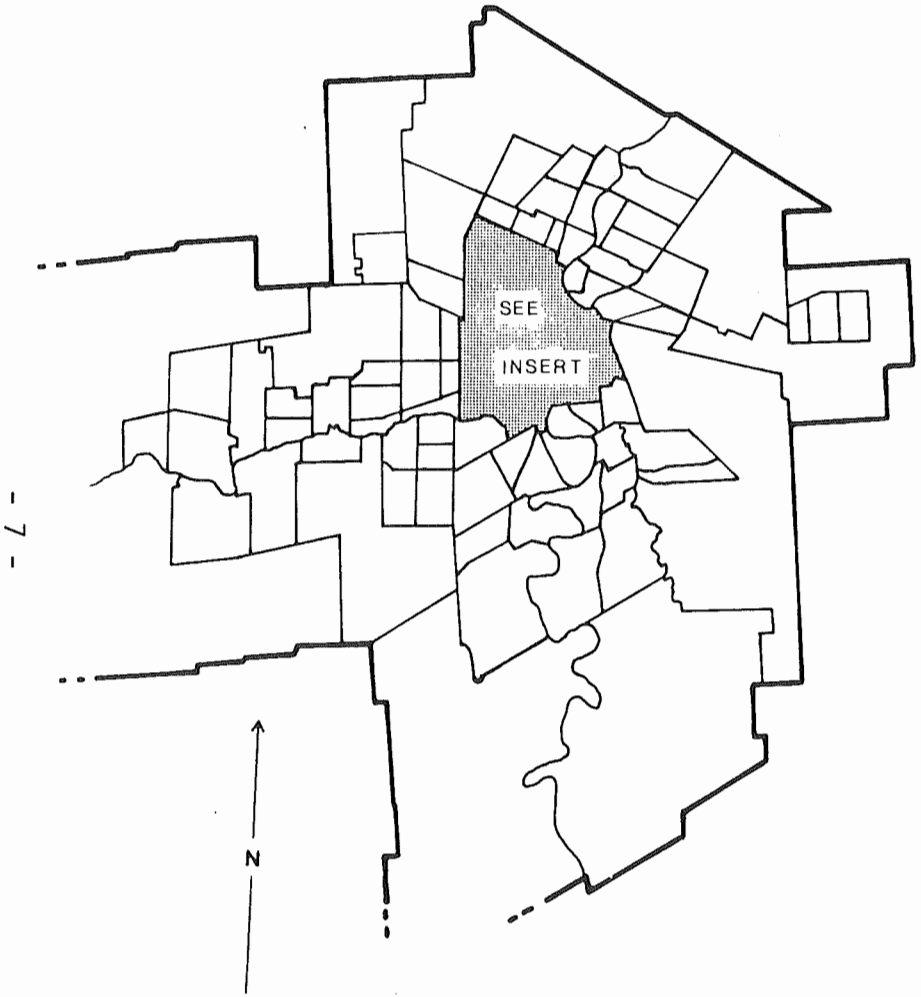
3. The characteristics included differences in demographic composition, percent of natives and household density.

4. L.S. Bourne. Perspectives on the Inner City , Research Paper No. 94, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1978.

FIGURE 1.1

LOCATION OF INNER CITY STUDY AREA IN RELATION TO WINNIPEG CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA



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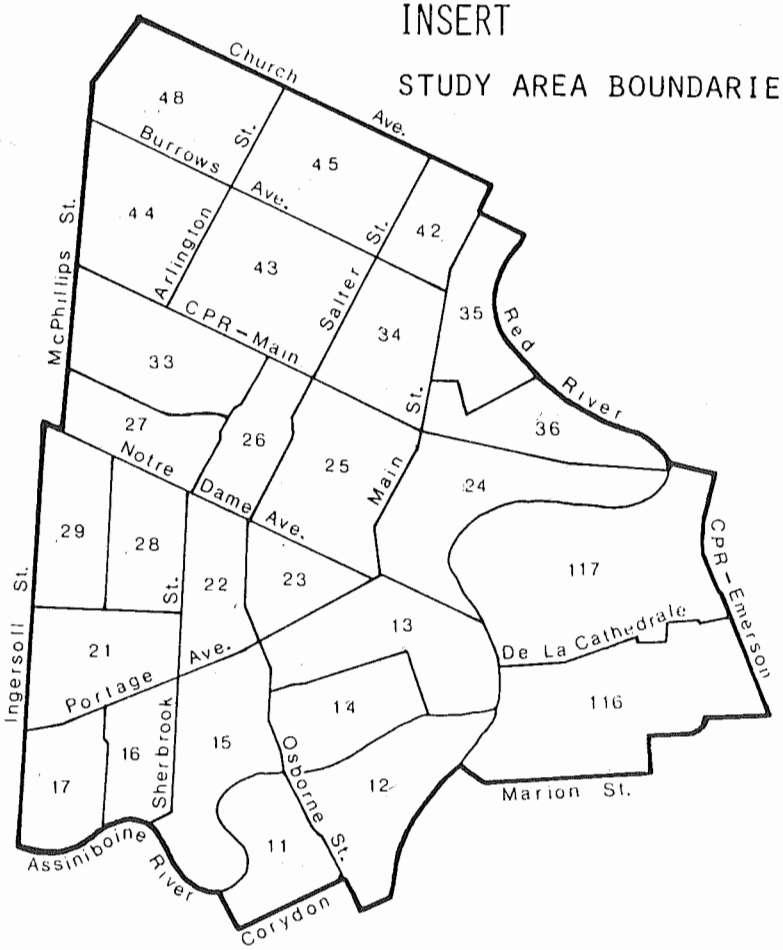
STUDY AREA BOUNDARIES



Numbers refer to census tract identifiers

Prepared by H. D. Maerz, 1979

through inner city decline, an examination of the forces affecting inner city change appears to be particularly appropriate.

The underlying reasons for the change can be examined from two perspectives -- from the actions of the individual resident and from the effects of broad institutional policies. The most direct impact a resident can have on a neighbourhood is his decision to relocate his household either in or out of an area. Indeed, in one review of research on the subject, the author stated that residential mobility is the "basic mechanism" for change in the composition and character of a neighbourhood.[5]

A model used to account for the mobility of households within a city is based on the "utility" or satisfaction the resident expects to gain by relocating his household in another part of the city.[6] Without defining satisfaction precisely, we use the term to suggest the individual's perception of how well the physical and social environment of his home and immediate surroundings match his needs and expectations. In other words, do his expectations correspond to the quality of the house in which he lives, the social and physical amenities of the neighbourhood; accessibility to employment, shopping and recreation sites; and, the provided level of municipal services?

Apart from involuntary moves for reasons of fires, evictions, demolitions and the like, there are two factors that can determine the resident's decision to relocate: (1) when family circumstances change whether for reasons of size, composition, income or place of employment; or (2) when the family perceives the opportunity to increase its satisfaction at the same cost (including moving expenses) in another location. Two dimensions reported to be most susceptible to rapid changes in perception are the prestige of the neighbourhood and the quality of local services.

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5. E. Moore. Residential Mobility in the City, Resource Paper No. 13, Association of American Geographers, 1972.

6. A review of the various models is given in B. Berry and F. Horton Geographic Perspectives on Urban Systems. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 395-413. This model is based on the work of G.R. Meadows and S.T. Call "Combining Housing Market Trends and Resident Attitudes in Planning Urban Revitalization", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, July 1978, pp. 297-305.

However, dissatisfaction with the home environment need not always be translated into a decision to move; there are a range of alternatives open to the resident. For example, a growing family can meet the demands for more space through additions and renovations; and, inadequate provision of public services could be addressed through political representations. More formally, the utility model proposes that the resident compares the present location to its alternative in the light of the benefits and liabilities future changes could bring. Families living in a declining neighbourhood may renew their commitment to the area if they perceive that the entry of new owner-occupant families and efforts of public organizations could revitalize their neighbourhood.

Within this model, the perception of the resident is identified as the key variable in determining whether he will want to leave the area, upgrade his home, actively seek favourable government treatment or accept his lot in life as ideal or unavoidable. Chapter 2 documents some of the attitudes and actions of Winnipeg's inner city residents as they affect the future of the area. In the third chapter, the material effects of mobility patterns are inferred from the presented demographic trends.

Although social and housing problems have a complex origin, they too can be attributed to the disruption of the social fabric that comes about through rapid neighbourhood change. Chapters 4 and 5 provide accounts of the extent of these problems in the inner city and as well, allow the reader to compare informally the residents' expressed concerns of crime, housing quality, etc. to more objective measures.

A weakness of the preceding model of resident mobility is that it is largely based on how demand for different types of housing affects mobility patterns; little consideration is given to understanding the broader forces that shape demand or influence the supply of alternative housing environments.[7] Hence, it is only appropriate that some attempt should be made to examine broader institutional policies. Specifically, we have reviewed the mortgage policies of financial institutions in Chapter 2 and government housing programs in Chapter 8. These private and public policies are shown to directly affect the viability of the inner city housing market. As well, recent initiatives by the police, schools and other social agencies are examined in Chapter 10 to evaluate how supportive their actions are of community

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7. E. Moore, 1972.

development and, more generally, how well they meet the social, financial and educational needs of the area.

From a more general point of view, housing and financial policies are but one part of the collection of decisions that make up the broader forces affecting inner city viability. The policies set by public and private agencies can define and establish the environment which the individual resident or businessman acts on, but at the same time, these policies are a response to public attitudes, demographic changes and market demands. An example from Chapter 2 shows on the one hand how the decision by banking institutions to not finance mortgages in certain "high risk" areas -- an action known as redlining -- effectively retards new home-ownership in that area. But on the other hand, this policy is shown not to be an arbitrary decision: it is in response to the perceived conditions of the area.

Although decisions of this type may be crucial to the viability of inner city areas, they are often made in isolation from each other and on an ad-hoc basis. Their influence on the city often occurs through the unintended consequences of policies in other fields of public concern. A commonly quoted instance of this is the federal government's promotion of new housing. By encouraging primarily new suburban develomment, it reduced the attractiveness of housing rehabilitation in the inner city and indirectly reduced the flow of money into the core area.[8] Similar examples can be drawn from the fields of transportation, taxation, and zoning and building regulations.

The reasons for neighbourhood change are neither simple nor well understood. The existing evidence does suggest that change can be understood from several perspectives, two can be used in this report to ground the empirical information on the core area of Winnipeg into a broader framework of cause and effect. Although the ideas presented are far from being a complete theory, they show that the undesirable changes in the inner city are not thecconsequence of natural or irreversible forces but the sum product of decisions made by residents, businessmen and governments. In particular, evidence from other cities has demonstrated the importance of active public intervention in reversing the processes of decline. To allow the undesirable changes occurring in Winnipeg to continue is not to accept the inevitable, but to allow decisions to be made by default.

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8. L.S. Bourne, 1978.

PART I

PERCEPTIONS

2. PERCEPTIONS OF THE CORE AREA

A casual polling of opinion on the core area of Winnipeg reveals a diversity of viewpoints. The opinions vary on whether it is a good or bad place to work or live, the degree to which the underlying causes of decline and revitalization are understood, and the extent to which public interventions, if any, are believed to be necessary. The first chapter suggested some general processes by which opinions become precursors to actions significant to the core. In particular, we suggested that the attitudes of residents towards their home and the immediate environment can be instrumental in effecting neighbourhood change.

2-1 Concepts

The process by which people perceive the world around them has been the subject of numerous studies, yet many aspects of perception remain poorly understood or ill-defined. Nevertheless, we do know that understanding people's perceptions of their neighbourhood is a first step in designing successful public policy. To state that people act on what they believe to be true and important to their lives sounds trivially obvious, but many policy-makers and planners overlook this fact and attempt to implement programs at odds with the residents' perceptions and sense of priorities. This chapter presents information collected on the perceptions of two groups important to the viability of the inner city, the residents and the lending institutions. To provide a basis for interpreting the survey results, a brief note is made of the concepts underlying this chapter.

There are three principle ways of viewing the process by which people's perceptions are translated into actions. The first is essentially a behavioralist model. According to the model, an individual receives some stimulus from the environment which he

interprets and then acts on according to a consistent set of rules. It is assumed that such factors as the person's education, culture, and personal experiences act as a filter so that his perception of the inner city is based on selective facts. Thus, what the resident or businessman reports to the interviewer indicates something of his needs, fears and expectations as well as the objective quality of the inner city. The ability to formulate a decision will depend on the person's ability to recognize the significance of the perception and his knowledge of alternatives. The actual decision to act on a perception will be closely tied to the individual's access to resources, personal abilities and in accordance to the individual's personal assessment of risks, cost and benefits. Thus we can postulate quite different behavior from, say, a young university educated professional and a retired, blue collar worker in response to their neighbourhood experiencing changes in types of residents and property values.

A major criticism of the behavioralist model is that it assumes the urban environment with its attendant institutions to be essentially neutral. In contrast, the structuralist model proposes that many of the actions the individual undertakes are in fact shaped and constrained by major urban institutions. For example, the behavioralist model accounting for household moves within a city assumes housing supply automatically adjusts to the aggregate demands of the households. The structuralists point out that the impact of mortgage policies, tax incentives, zoning, preferences of the construction industry and other market forces can severely constrain the choice of housing. The description of mortgage policies of lending institutions in Winnipeg shows how a major institution can effectively deter new homeownership in an area considered to be of high risk, regardless of where the individual would like to locate.

The third perspective accepts both the behavioralist and the structuralist arguments as being true in part, but attempts to integrate the two models by postulating interdependencies between individual action and the effects of institutions. This point is evident from the mortgage example cited above. The decision by banks to restrict funds is not an arbitrary policy, but has been motivated by the weak market conditions of the area which raises the risk of a greater number of mortgage defaults. The weak market has been brought about in part by the decision of many individuals choosing to leave the area. It is easy to see that once an area becomes known as an undesirable place to live as well as an undesirable place to lend mortgage money, that the actions of the banks and the individual residents reinforce each other.

2-2 Application

The point of understanding the perceptions of the groups of people important to the inner city is that it provides a guide to the development of more effective public policy. Generally, a government attempts to achieve its policies through incentives and regulations ("carrots and sticks"). They seldom have the capital or the mandate to engage in direct actions.[1] Consequently, if public actions are to be effective, then the government must anticipate how individuals will interpret and utilize available programs and services.

For example, an in-depth study of the Winnipeg Police Department's Operation Affirmative Action analyzed at length how people's perceptions of the police can influence the overall effectiveness of the police force. When the force increased their visibility through foot patrols and informal chats, an increase was found in the number of residents willing to help police. Also, there was a general improvement in attitude towards the police by the high need groups who received more police attention.[2]

Also, it may be possible to alter the policies of the major institutions which in turn would facilitate more productive action by individual residents. For example, in a recent seminar sponsored by I.U.S., members of the development industry, including non-profit corporations and lending agencies, expressed a considerable degree of pessimism vis à vis the success of private developments in the inner city. Although part of the problem can be attributed to the soft housing market in the city, the lack of government leadership in putting together renewal and rehabilitation schemes was noted as a chief reason for little inner city development.

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1. In addition, the use of incentives can often be more cost-effective. The findings of the Apartment Loss Study pointed out that the costs of providing new public housing would far exceed the financial incentives required to up-grade existing units. In one case study, the net present value of government costs for a 19 unit apartment block, ranged from $66,718 to assist a non-profit corporation to rehabilitate to $658,314 for providing new public housing, City of Winnipeg, Ad Hoc Committee on Housing. Committee of Environment, Apartment Loss Study (Winnipeg, 1978) p. 121.

2. Joyce Epstein, Neighbourhood Police Team Experiment, (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1978) p. 13.

2-3 Investment Behaviour of Financial Institutions

This section is based on the results of two studies of financial institutions undertaken by the Institute of Urban Studies in October 1976 and August 1978. It examines the availability and sources of mortgage funds for the purchase and/or rehabilitation of single and multiple unit dwellings in the inner city.

Private financial institutions are a major force in shaping the process of change in older neighbourhoods. These include such varied groups as banks, credit unions, mortgage and loan companies, insurance companies and trust companies.

The confidence which financial institutions place in a particular residential area or neighbourhood is reflected in their lending activities. The opinions of the lending institutions determines whether home owners or landlords will have access to mortgage funds at reasonable interest rates and whether loans are available for upgrading property. A lack of confidence or perception of a higher level of financial risk is associated with higher interest rates, higher downpayments, shorter repayment periods and in extreme cases, "redlining" of high risk areas and withdrawal from an area of conventional financial institutions.

2-3-1 General Observations on Mortgage Markets

There are varying degrees of specialization among lenders, but there is also considerable competition. Buyers can "shop around" among various types of financial institutions. The most conservative lenders are perhaps life insurance companies; the most flexible of lenders are some credit unions.

In deciding whether or not to lend, both the property which is subject to lending and the individual undertaking the commitment are important. The lender must have reasonable assurance that the capital will be returned without having to resort to legal means, or in the case of foreclosure, being left with a non-marketable property. High risk people or properties are not welcomed by even the most flexible lending agencies.

For an assessment of the physical structure and market value of a property, lenders rely on the judgement and report of an appraiser. An important criterion of an older building is its life expectancy which should be at least as long as the amortization period of the mortgage, usually around 25 to 30 years. In the case of borrowing for home ownership, income criteria are more influenced by private insurer policies than lending institution policies and involve an assessment of a borrower's total debt service, joint marital income, age and occupation.

Older apartment blocks represent a problematic segment of the older housing stock. In the past, these were often bought by professionals, real estate agents, and individuals requiring modest retirement income from investment.[3] This finding was confirmed by a recent City of Winnipeg study which suggests that ownership of older apartment buildings in Winnipeg is largely by individuals through private or family-held holding companies. However, ongoing work by I.U.S. has found corporate ownership to be more widespread than was previously believed; obviously more study is needed to resolve this issue.[4]

Many of these apartment blocks are no longer an attractive investment to buyers and lenders alike for several reasons: changes in tax legislation; rent control; an unpredictable re-sale market; and the additional investment needed to meet stricter municipal by-laws concerning maintenance and fire safety. Subsequent inquiries suggest that the position of lenders in relation to older apartment blocks may have worsened. The City of Winnipeg study suggests that securing financing is a major obstacle to purchasing and upgrading older rental properties.

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3. Marianne Bossen, The Role of Private Financial Institutions in Older Winnipeg Neighbourhoods, (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1976).

4. Ad Hoc. Committee on Housing, 1978; and S. Clatworthy "Small Rental Property Owners", (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, forthcoming).

2-3-2 Major Mortgage Institutions

Our survey of August 1978 showed that at that time, mortgage money was readily available. As a result competition has increased and resulted in innovative strategies such as open mortgages with slightly higher interest rates, and shorter fixed term closed mortgages with slightly lower interest rates. However, even when there is a soft financial market, the criteria for lending which are designed to protect financial institutions from high risk borrowing have not been relaxed. Despite a buyer's market, marginal borrowers and properties are not considered good risks.

Although some respondents were reticent to provide information on redlining, some respondents were prepared to identify areas in which they are reluctant to lend. The areas mentioned include census tracts 25, 26, 34, 35, 36 and 43. North Point Douglas, the Elgin/Logan area and the North End generally were identified as areas at which they would look very carefully before signing a mortgage contract. Our study further confirmed that there was general reluctance to finance older apartment dwellings, except in situations where borrowers have a good equity position. There was also reluctance to lend to owner occupants in areas with high tenancy levels and in areas showing obvious signs of decline. The majority expressed a positive attitude towards lending on existing buildings although one or two institutions preferred lending on new construction which commits major blocks of financial resources and is easier to administer.

There are secondary financial institutions that will lend on older properties in areas less preferred by major institutions, but lending rates tend to be 3% higher than prime lending rates.

Local financial institutions are often constrained in responding to local needs by policies which are formulated in head offices located in Toronto or Montreal. However, the majority have some leeway to make local decisions about the allocation of resources. They are generally, however, reluctant to enter into lending practices which involve high levels of risk in terms of the borrower, the unit, or the neighbourhood in which it is located.

2-3-3 Credit Unions

Credit Unions range in size from a handful of members to membership of well over 5,000. Almost 36% of our sample reported memberships of 1,500 to 5,000 members. Fifty-eight percent of our sample restricted membership to the particular interest group which the credit union represented. These include ethnic groups, union groups, and religious groups. Compared with larger financial institutions, money lent for residential purposes was relatively modest, almost half of the respondents reporting total loans of less than $1,000,000 during 1977. However, availability of mortgage funds was not reported as a problem. Sixty-seven percent of credit unions had more or similar amounts of money available in 1978 than in 1977.

Criteria for evaluating borrowers of residential mortgage funds are similar to banks and trust companies: the applicant's credit rating and job are the important factors. The flexibility of credit unions is more apparent when evaluating such criteria as the age of a borrower and debt service ratios. However, equity requirements for different types of units are in most cases comparable to that required by banks and trust companies and in some cases, (approximately 20%) appear to be more rigorous. A requirement of 25% equity is not uncommon.

Credit unions also appear to be flexible in relation to lending for older housing. Eighty-four percent reported that they had no restrictions on the age of buildings for mortgage purposes. Structural condition of the dwelling and potential lifespan are more important criteria. However, it is interesting that a much greater proportion (29%) will not lend in what they consider high risk areas. These were identified as the North End, the inner core and the downtown areas. Also, even those credit unions based in the downtown and inner city do not necessarily focus their lending on the area in which they are located. These findings suggest that credit unions are also cautious about lending in what are considered high risk areas. However, they do demonstrate flexibility in evaluating borrowers and do not, on the whole, discriminate against older property.

Recommendations made by this sector of the financial industry to improve the situation for mortgage lending and property upgrading in older areas include the following:

1. Extension of N.I.P. type programs to help stabilize areas.
2. Subsidization of interest rates.

3. Home Improvement Programs which extend payment periods.
4. Rent with option to purchase arrangements.
5. Provision of levers by public sector to encourage private sector co-operation.

2-3-4 Summary

The behavior of financial institutions is an important determinant in inner city housing markets and in the process of neighbourhood change.

Financial institutions, particularly banks, trust companies, and insurance companies are reluctant to lend to high risk borrowers or on high risk properties. The higher the risk, the more the person or property is penalized with higher equity requirements, higher interest rates, or a refusal to lend at all.

High risk borrowers are regarded as those people with insecure employment, high debt ratios and low incomes. High risk properties are older properties, particularly those not in good condition, located in areas which have high tenancy levels or are regarded as declining or unstable.

Older apartment blocks are regarded with particular caution by financial institutions in connection with mortgages and loans for upgrading.

Despite reticence among respondents to provide information, redlining is definitely taking place in some areas. These include census tracts 25, 26, 34, 35, 36 and 43. The North End generally, North Point Douglas and the downtown area are all regarded with caution by some financial institutions.

Secondary financial institutions are prepared to lend to marginal borrowers in marginal areas, but interest rates are likely to be as high as 3% above prime lending rates.

Compared with major financial institutions such as banks, trust companies and insurance companies, the role played by credit unions in providing mortgages and upgrading loans is modest. Some credit unions do, however, tend to be more flexible in assessing borrowers and do not significantly discriminate against older property, but are also cautious about the location of a property when lending.

2-4 Resident Attitudes In The Core

During the summer of 1976, personal interviews were conducted with 393 residents of the old core area; the interviewees were selected on a random basis to make up a 2% sample of the area's households.

The results of this survey have been supported to a large part by 2 subsequent studies: one was conducted by the Institute of Urban Studies using the same sample frame and similar questions; the other, as a part of the Social Planning Council Housing Needs Study.[5] The findings of these later studies will be noted where they add to the original survey.

2-4-1 The Sample Population

The interviewees, as expected, represented a highly mixed ethnic group, including residents who were British, French, German, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, Greek, Scandinavian, Portuguese, Indo-Pakistani, and East European. Their incomes were lower than for the city as a whole; and the incidence of single parent families, of senior citizens, and of immigrant groups was higher. In general, residential mobility in the core area is higher than that for the city as a whole, but there is also a sizeable portion, nearly one third, who have lived at the same core area address for over ten years. Median length of residence for this group is 18 years. Median age of interview population was 30 years, with a range of 15 to 92 years. A little over half (59%) of the interviewees were female.

Most (70%) of the interview population live in rented dwellings; 29% own their dwelling. Most (63%) live in some kind of multiple dwelling unit -- apartment building, duplex, triplex or rooming house -- with 32% living in single detached housing. About half the renters paid between $100 and $160 per month for rent, and about one quarter paid more. Almost half the owner-occupiers valued their houses between $20,000 and $29,000; 14% valued their houses at less than $20,000 and 33% at $30,000 or more. A fairly large proportion (19%) of owner-occupiers rent part of their house out to others. Among owners and renters, 4% reported they are landlords elsewhere.

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5. Institute of Urban Studies. "Public Attitudes to the Inner City" draft research paper, 1978; Social Planning Council, "Preliminary Results of the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg's 1978 Survey of Housing Conditions", September 1978 (mimeo).

2-4-2 Housing and Neighbourhood Attitudes: General Findings

Residents were asked, on a completely open-ended basis, what it is that they like about their present accommodation and the neighbourhoood in which it is situated. Respondents were permitted to give whatever and as many answers as they wished. Of the 393 respondents, 37 or 9%, could come up with nothing. Among the remaining 356 people, 662 responses were produced and are listed in table 2.1.

The single most common reponse given emphasized the convenience of living in the central city. This was phrased in various ways: about 30% of all interviewees said they liked being close to the centre of the city, 30% referred to the easy access to the centre, and 35% mentioned the desirability of being close to specific facilities.

The next most popular amenity, accounting for 23% of the sample population, was the people living in the neighbourhood. Responses indicated that interviewees had friends or relatives in the area, or that the people living in the area were in some way desirable as neighbours. Although low costs undoubtedly play an important role in residents being in the core, only 15% of the interviews pointed to a low rent or purchase prices as something they particularly liked about their accommodation, and even fewer (11%) cited the dwelling unit itself, in terms of its physical or aesthetic condition. This is in keeping with other studies of inner city areas, one of which noted that "low rent is rarely mentioned in discussing aspects of ... the apartments that were sources of satisfaction (but) that the neighbour relationship is of particular importance ... ".[6]

Residents were next asked to say what they dislike about their accommodation or neighbourhood. Here, 115 persons (30%) could offer no answer, and of the remaining interviewees, respondents averaged only about one response per person. In general, psychological research has shown that people are much more aware of what is wrong with their environment than what is right with it. The fact that exactly the reverse occurred with this particular population -- a population facing a large number of social problems -- is of considerable interest and more will be said about it later.

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6. Marc Fried and Peggy Gleicher. "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction In An Urban Slum" in Robert Gutman and David Popenoe (ed.) Neighbourhood, City and Metropolis (New York: Random House, 1970) pp. 730-745. Conversely, other researchers have found suburban residents to place greater emphasis on the house itself. See H. Gans "The Suburban Community and Its Way of Life" in Gutman and Popenoe, pp. 297-305.

Table 2.1
Sources of Housing and Neighbourhood Satisfaction

Source	Frequency	
	No.	%
Close to facilities	139	35.3
Close to City Centre	119	30.2
Easy access to City Centre	116	29.5
Friends and neighbours	90	22.9
Low rent or purchase price	58	14.7
House condition or appearance	43	10.9
Quiet	27	6.8
Safety from Crime	24	6.1
Open spaces, greenery	16	4.0
Longevity	16	4.0
Other	14	3.5

Table 2.2
Sources of Housing and Neighbourhood Dissatisfaction

Source	Frequency	
	No.	%
House condition or appearance	47	11.9
Condition of other houses	50	12.7
Property does not increase in value	22	5.5
Poor city services	32	8.1
Crime	39	9.9
People or neighbours	50	12.7
General urban conditions	33	8.3
Other	28	7.1

Unlike responses to the question of what is liked, there was no single strong common response to the question of what is disliked. Answers included, in descending order of frequency: the neighbours; the condition of other houses on the street; the condition of their own housing; fear of crime; poor city services; and the general urban condition: noise, dirt, traffic and crowding. Each of these responses was cited by 8 to 13% of the interviewees. Other reasons included the lack of adequate increase in their property value, and a variety of personal reasons, generally involving restrictions of freedom (can't have a cat, can't have parties, etc.).

There was a marked shift in the 1977 survey. Instead of a diffuse response as in the previous year, the interviewees had two principal complaints: the people in the neighbourhood (28.2%) and the urban ills of noise, dirt, pollution and traffic(28.5). Other items listed in the 1976 survey were reported with a correspondingly lower frequency.

In both years, however, few people volunteered any comments indicating dissatisfaction with the condition of their housing when independent surveys of the area and informal comments by the interviewers point to a high degree of substandard housing. This appears to be a common feeling: George Sternlieb observed in a New York City study of housing quality a discrepancy between reported tenant satisfaction and objective measurements of disrepair.[7]

Although only 10% of residents named crime, or fear of crime, as a reason for disliking their neighbourhood, other findings to be discussed later suggest that for this group of people, the effect is very marked. Twelve percent of residents had actually been victims of crime over the past year. About 30% of residents view their neighbourhood as being more dangerous than other neighbourhoods in the city, with a strong tendency for those who had been victims of crime to be more fearful. In response to further direct questioning about 44% think their neighbourhood is getting worse in terms of numbers of crimes, compared to only 14% who feel it is getting better. However, the opinions of the residents are by no means uniform: about an equal number thought the rate of crime to be about the same (41.9%). In addition 36% felt their neighbourhood to be as safe as the others, and another 33%, to be less dangerous. Nevertheless, there is a clear difference in perceived safety between the

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7. George Sternlieb, "The Dollars and Sense of Rehabilitation" in Christine McKee (ed.) Innovative Strategies for the Renewal of Older Neighbourhoods (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1977), pp. 5-26.

the core and suburbs. The SPC survey found that only 64% of the occupants of the core believed their area to be safe while 87.2% of the residents in the suburbs saw little danger in their neighbourhood.

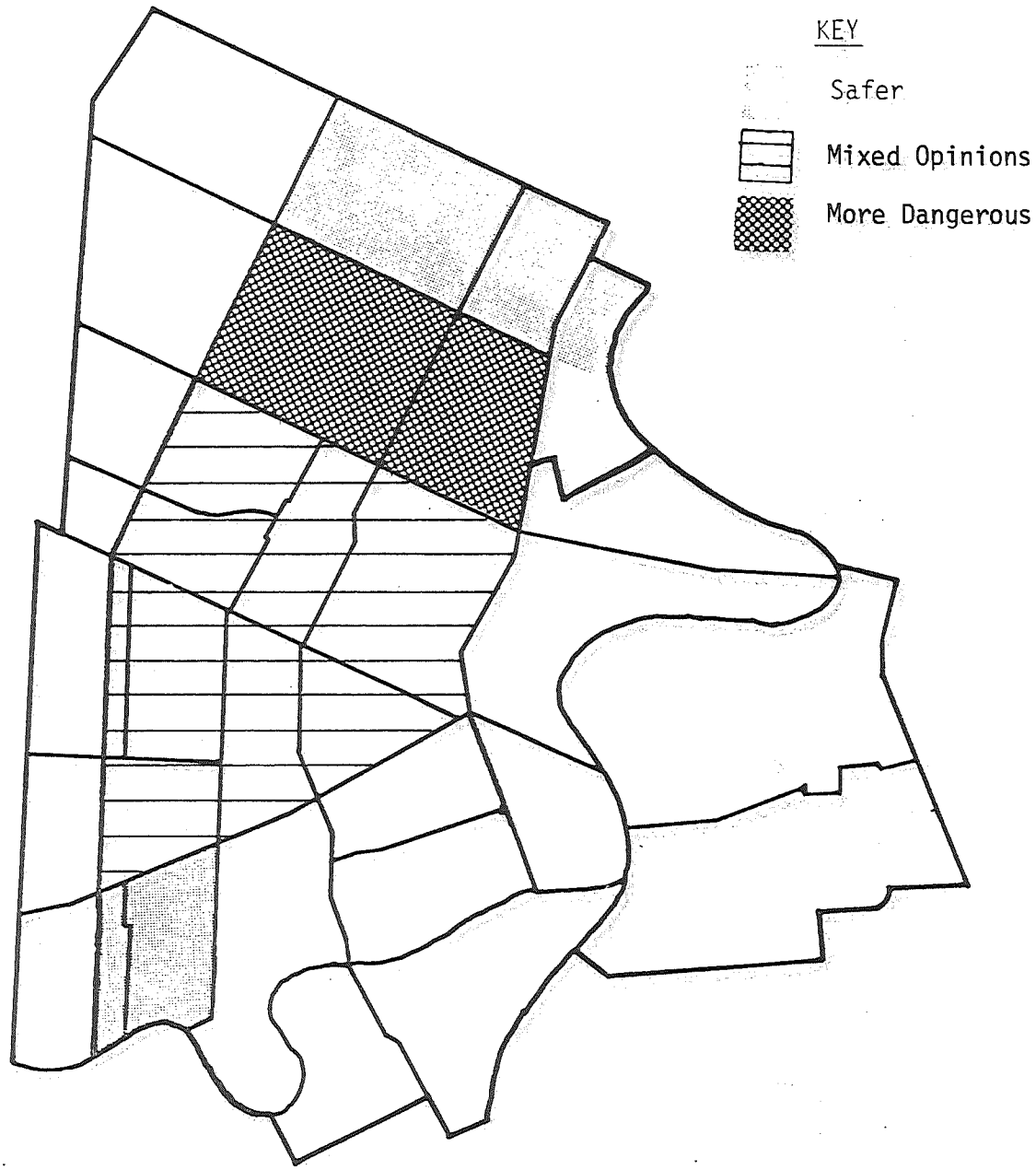
The 1977 follow-up study analyzed residents' opinions of neighbourhood safety by their location. The responses maintained the same general distribution with the exception of a greater proportion of people (55.0%) reporting their neighbourhood to be as safe as the others and a decline to 18.5% of respondents who felt their neighbourhood to be safer than other neighbourhoods. Only 2 of the 8 sub-areas had a significant number of respondents who thought their neighbourhood to be safer; one was clearly believed to be more dangerous; and the remaining five had mixed opinions. It is significant to note that, as is shown in the accompanying map (figure 2.1) the two areas believed to be safer are both on the fringes of the core.

After the open-ended housing questions were concluded, residents were asked specifically if their dwelling unit had problems with any of a specified list of housing features. It was hoped that by calling the resident's attention to specific areas of housing need, one by one, more information could be elicited. To some degree this was successful: of those who initially could name nothing about their house that they disliked, over one-third were able to identify problems in response to the interviewer's list. But 82% to 90% of respondents still answered "no problem" in response to each item listed. Of the remaining 10% to 18% of respondents, most rated problems as "slight", with only about 2% citing serious problems for any given housing feature. These figures can be compared to the findings of the Social Planning Council Survey. Although a larger sample was used (about 600), the chief difference was in phrasing the question to allow for only a choice among statements describing the condition of their dwelling; the statements and the responses were as follows:

1.	excellent, needs no repairs	23.3%
2.	good, could do with a few minor repairs	57.5%
3.	poor, needs major repairs done to it or terrible, needs to be condemned	19.2%

Figure 2.1

RESIDENT COMPARISON OF SAFETY OF
OWN NEIGHBOURHOOD TO OTHERS, 1977



SOURCE: Joyce Epstein, Neighbourhood Police Team Experiment, 1978, Table 97.

Interviewees were asked if they had ever heard of any of the following assisted repair programs: Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program, Winnipeg Home Improvement Program, and Manitoba Critical Home Repair. Only 13% had heard of RRAP, 28% had heard of WHIP and 13% had heard of MCHR. Of the 393 residents surveyed, only 12 (about 3% of the total sample and 9% of those who had heard of any assisted repair programs) had actually had assisted repair work done. The reasons given for not using a repair assistance program were: repairs were not needed (by resident's own estimation); the particular repairs desired were not eligible under the program; the resident's address was not covered by the program; too great an expense required by the resident; too complicated to get grant; and refused by program, with no reason given by resident.

Although our findings indicate that repair programs are largely unheard of, a considerable number of repairs are carried out on houses in the inner city. In 1976, 35% of the residents reported some repair activity. Comparison to the 1977 survey cannot be made directly because of the changes in the questions, but we find an increase to 52% of the residents engaged in repair work in this year. Table 2.3 gives a breakdown by the features of the house attended to; relatively minor work such as painting the interior walls is most common.

Table 2.3
Type of Repair Work Carried Out by Occupant, 1976

Repair	Number of Instances	
	No.	%
roof	25	11.8
exterior walls	34	16.0
doors, windows	23	10.8
structure, foundation	6	2.8
insulation	6	2.8
interior walls	13	20.3
heating, furnace	18	8.5
plumbing	23	10.8
electrical, wiring	9	4.2
floors	9	4.2
other	16	7.5

Table 2.4
Sources of Dissatisfaction by Desire to Leave Core Area

Source	Number of Citations			
	Want to Leave		Want to Stay	
	No.	%	No.	%
House condition	3	2.2	10	9.7
Condition of other houses	18	13.0	6	5.8
Property does not appreciate	1	0.7	5	4.9
Poor city services	5	3.6	7	6.8
Crime	10	7.2	8	7.8
People, neighbours	60	43.5	25	24.3
General urban condition	41	29.7	42	40.8
	138	100.0	103	100.0

In the 1977 survey, information on the type and frequency of repair work was collected to determine whether it was completed by an owner-occupant, tenant or absentee landlord. The data show that owner-occupants make more repairs than do landlords, and renters made the fewest. However, landlords appear to carry out the more crucial or basic repairs. They attend to such items as plumbing and wiring more frequently while owner-occupants spend proportionately more effort on the aesthetics of the units.

A major addition to the 1977 survey was a set of questions intended to examine the resident's desire to move elsewhere in the city. Of the total population, 37% expressed a desire to leave their present neighbourhood. Of those desiring to move, there was an overall preference to relocate in the suburbs. Of this group, a greater proportion of tenants (50%) were planning to leave within the coming year than were owner-occupants (24%), an indicator of the higher costs of mobility for homeowners.

The desire to move was closely related to neighbourhood dissatisfaction: although the movers were in the minority, they accounted for more than half of the complaints listed by all interviewees (Table 2.4). The people who wished to leave were more likely to cite the neighbours and the condition of other houses as reasons for moving. In contrast, there were people who wanted to remain in the core despite their greater dissatisfaction with the general urban condition, the condition of their house, poor city services and the low market value of their property. Moreover, the movers were likely to mention fewer aspects of the environment from which they derived any satisfaction.

2-4-3 Detailed Findings

The preceding section identified a number of concerns of the resident. These have been grouped in Table 2.5 into four principal categories: general characteristics of the neighbourhood, appreciation of the quality of the individual's home, level of maintenance carried out, and desire to leave the present neighbourhood. These four categories have been cross-listed against the characteristics of the respondents to isolate systematic variations in attitude by differences in ethnicity, education, age, income and household status. From this comparison, three broad groups can be developed in terms of their available resources and aspirations for the future.

Table 2.5

Principal Concerns
of Core Area Residents

1. General Characteristics of the Neighbourhood

   - Neighbourhood housing condition
   - Presence of neighbours or friends
   - Fear of crime/safety of area
   - Central location
   - Ability to articulate likes and dislikes

2. Individual Dwelling Unit

   - General quality of house
   - Number and type of repairs needed
   - Rent or cost of house
   - Property values

3. Maintenance

   - Number and type of repairs completed
   - Knowledge and use of assisted home repair programs

4. Mobility

   - Indicates desire to leave neighbourhood

Low Resources Group

People most likely to be in the low resource group are: natives or recent immigrants, have little education and low incomes and are single parents or senior citizens. The responses indicated this group to be less able to verbalize their likes and dislikes. This was especially true of recent immigrants and the elderly: the latter were particularly passive, expressing few complaints or aspirations.

Some segments of the group did show an appreciation for the basic necessities: Natives cited the low cost of their unit; residents paying low rents were generally uncritical of their housing and those people with low education valued their area for its friends and neighbours and its relative safety. The elderly, however, seldom mentioned neighbours as an asset; they noted more often their desire to have a central location in the city.

Not unexpectedly, the passive and uninformed nature of this group is reflected in their lack of knowledge of the assisted home repair programs and their tendency not to carry out their own repairs. People with low education differed from this general trend by doing more unassisted repair work than all other education groups.

Two general exceptions to this group were the single parent families and the immigrants from southern Europe. They both tended to be more involved and aware. Neighbours and the condition of other houses on the street were valued highly, and single parent families appreciated a central location and a safe neighbourhood. Both groups were more likely to identify serious problems with their housing; know of the existing repair programs; and to have carried out their own repairs.

The acceptant nature of this group is apparent in their proportionately lower desire to move out of their neighbourhood. Those with the lowest levels of education and income expressed on the average less desire than the total sample to leave. Of the subgroups, those over 60 years old more often wished to stay while single parent families and recent immigrants expressed strong desires to leave the core.

Middle Resource Group

This group comprises Europeans and Canadians, immigrants who have lived in Canada over five years; those people with high school educations and yearly incomes roughly between $10,000 and $25,000, and a mix of renters and owners.

As a group, they tend to be more articulate than the low resource group in stating their likes and dislikes and more informed of repair programs. The significant feature of this group is their above average desire to leave the core for the suburbs, 66% of the $20,000 to $30,000 income group fell into this category. Given this high proportion, it is not surprising to find that the members of this group have more complaints about their neighbours, the condition of their housing and the unpleasantness of the urban environment. Owners in particular are unhappy with the downward effect the neighbourhood is perceived to have on the property values. The safety of the neighbourhood is a concern as it is with other groups. However, they are generally satisfied with the condition of their own housing, carrying out their own repairs.

High Resources Group

This group can be thought of as those poeple best equipped to live in the inner city; their high incomes and university level educations permit them to exercise a degree of choice over the type of unit, neighbourhood and location in the city where they will live. In addition, they are the most informed group and best able to articulate their preferences. A concrete example of this is their ability to have their landlords repair their units more often than the other groups.

They expressed an appreciation for the convenience of a central location and they valued their friends and neighbours living in the area. In this sense they are more like the low resource group in their likes and dislikes; and similarly, are less likely to want to leave the core area than the middle resource group. The difference is, of course, that they have made the choice to live in the core area - more often concentrated in the new downtown apartment complexes - where the low resource group has no choice but to accept their present location and its attendant conditions. Although the attitudes of this group are encouraging, the overall small size of this group and their preference for new apartment style accommodation limits the impact it will have on rehabilitating the existing housing stock. It is the middle resource group living in the north-west and north end areas of the city that expresses the greatest desire to leave.

Table 2.6
Residents Wanting to Leave Neighbourhood

Resident Characteristics	Wants to Leave			
	Yes		No	
	N	%*	N	%
a) Level of Education				
elementary	9	20.9	33	76.7
junior high	34	36.9	57	61.9
secondary	54	46.9	58	50.4
university	13	31.7	28	68.2
Total	110		176	
b) Household Composition				
single adult	23	25.5	63	69.9
single parent, young children	13	64.9	7	34.9
single parent, older children	5	41.6	7	58.3
double headed family	40	51.9	36	46.8
childless couple	16	30.7	36	69.2
other	15	33.3	30	66.6
Total	112		179	
c) Immigrant Status				
born in Canada	62	36.2	106	61.9
immigrated over 5 years ago	39	36.4	66	61.6
immigrated less than 5 years ago	11	61.1	6	33.3
Total	112		178	
d) Income per year				
$\leq$ \$10,000	12	19.3	47	75.8
\$10,000 - \$19,999	67	39.9	100	59.8
\$20,000 - \$29,999	14	66.6	7	33.3
$\geq$ \$30,000	3	27.2	8	72.7
Total	96		72	
e) Age				
$\leq$ 25	31	47.6	31	44.7
26 - 40	44	50.5	41	47.1
41 - 59	26	38.2	39	57.3
$\geq$ 60	11	13.5	69	85.1
Total	112		180	

* Percent row totals do not sum to 100% because non-responses are included.

2-4-4 An Alternative View

In the fall of 1978, meetings were conducted by the Greater Winnipeg Development Plan Review team to elicit public opinions on housing. While the preceeding review presents, at best, a mixed set of opinions about the desirability of living in the core, the meeting conducted in the Fort Rouge Community Committee Area revealed an optimistic public.

Three main factors emerged from this meeting: an appreciation for the positive elements of the inner city environment; an awareness of housing problems; and a call for government intervention. People liked the character, style and ambiance of the inner city, and saw a need to preserve older houses within an overall plan for the city. The suggestion was that programs should be geared to making upgrading of existing houses the "in thing". The residents also appreciated the need to preserve and advertise the positive flavour of the inner city in terms of an age mix, ethnic mix, and housing variety. The urban/suburban split is perceived as a problem in Winnipeg. It fosters urban sprawl which is costly, in direct conflict with existing and future resource conservation objectives, and should be re-thought.

There was an awareness that in the inner city there was not enough low-rental housing or enough good housing for people on low incomes and that non-subsidized, low income housing is being lost through demolition and the closing of older apartment blocks. It was felt that there was a lack of incentives to upgrade inner city properties or maintain them in good physical condition. Some deterioration is attributed to too many absentee landlords. The consensus was for more public intervention to "promote government housing programs where private enterprise has failed"; to provide government funds for upgrading existing older housing stock; and, to deal generally with a basic human need. Finally, there was an expression of a need for the city to undertake greater initiative in solving existing housing problems.

The following represents a summary of the priorities and concerns related to the inner city raised through the four other housing meetings. The need to develop a city housing policy which would focus housing matters in the city administration and determine priorities was strongly emphasized in all the meetings. Participants suggested that the urban/suburban split at the political level had unfortunate results for the inner city. Further, they recognized that the inner city's problems are distinct and should not be treated the same as other areas. Regret was expressed that the municipal non-profit housing corporation was not fully functional.[8]

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8. Since the meeting the corporation was disbanded by City council. See chapter 8.

Several issues related to conservation of costs and energy were raised. Increases in the supply of downtown apartment units and encouragement of new housing and renovation in the inner city were seen as ways of coping with rising energy and transportation costs. The potential offered by limited growth was recognized as an opportunity to shift from quantity to quality in housing and support was expressed for inner city policies which encourage stability, preservation of neighbourhoods and rehabilitation of the older housing stock. The variety and diversity contributed to the city by older housing and neighbourhoods was considered a positive element in preserving the character and quality of Winnipeg's urban environment.

PART II
DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CORE AREA

3. THE PEOPLE

The profile of inner city presented in the first Core Area Report showed it to be markedly different from the outer ring of Winnipeg. It was losing population, particular family households, when the suburbs experienced net gains; there was a larger proportion of elderly and single parent families; and measures of educational attainment and income revealed substantial and growing disparities between the two parts of the city. With the release of the most recent census, these trends have been extended to the 1971 - 1976 period and were found for the most part to be continuing. This chapter discussses in order: demographic and social trends, patterns of migration and mobility, and economic characteristics. A statistical appendix is included for readers requiring data by census tract.

3-1 Demographic Characteristics of the Inner City

1. Population Change

The inner city has been steadily losing population since 1941 and this loss has accelerated dramatically since 1971. (See Tables 3.1 and 3.2). Loss from 1966 to 1971 was -2.3%, but from 1971 to 1976 population loss equalled -15%. For the period from 1941 to 1976 the overall loss was -29%. In contrast, the outer areas of Winnipeg have been showing a steady increase in population. Movement recently encouraged by new construction in the suburbs has resulted in a population increase of greater than 200% over the time period between 1941 and 1976. The net effects of this inner city loss and outer city gain show a modest incremental population growth for the City as a whole of 7%, 6% and 5% for 1966, 1971 and 1976 accordingly. The City is growing, but at a declining rate.

Table 3.1
Population, 1941 to 1976

Year	Inner City	%	Outer City	%	Winnipeg C.M.A.	%
1941	153,700	51%	146,300	49%	300,000	100%
1951	147,700	42%	206,400	58%	354,100	100%
1961	143,500	30%	332,500	70%	476,000	100%
1966	128,500	25%	380,300	75%	508,800	100%
1971	125,600	23%	414,700	77%	540,300	100%
1976	109,500	19%	457,300	81%	566,800	100%

Source: 1941-76 Census

Table 3.2
Population Change, 1941 to 1976

Year	Inner City % Change	Outer City % Change	Winnipeg C.M.A. % Change
1941-1951	- 4.0%	+18.0%	+41.0%
1951-1961	- 3.0%	+34.5%	+61.0%
1961-1971	-12.5%	+24.5%	+13.5%
1961-1966	-10.5%	+14.5%	+ 7.0%
1966-1971	- 2.5%	+ 9.0%	+ 6.0%
1971-1976	-13.0%	+10.0%	+ 5.0%
1941-1976	-29.0%	+213 %	+89.0%

Source: 1941-76 Census

2. Household and Family Formation

For analyzing housing need and demand for social services, a more effective variable than population is the household. Households in the inner city increased by 11% from 41,800 in 1966 to 46,500 in 1971. This trend appears to have "peaked out", with 1971-1976 period showing a loss of 2.5% in households. This situation can be explained by two factors, a decrease in household size (particularly an increase in single person households) and an exodus of families from the inner city. The average household size in the inner city decreased from 2.9 in 1966 to 2.3 in 1976.

Table 3.3
Household Formation, 1966 to 1976

Year	Inner City	%	Outer City	%	Winnipeg C.M.A.	%
1966	41,800	29%	101,900	71%	143,700	100%
1971	46,500	28%	120,200	72%	166,700	100%
1976	45,400	23%	148,800	77%	194,200	100%

Source: 1961-1976 Census

Table 3.4
Household Change, 1966 to 1976

Year	Inner City % Change	Outer City % Change	Winnipeg C.M.A. % Change
1966-1976	+ 8.6%	46.0%	+35.1%
1966-1971	+11.2%	+17.9%	+16.0%
1971-1976	- 2.4%	+23.8%	+16.5%

Source: 1966-1976 Census

Table 3.5
Average Family and Household Size, 1966 to 1976

	INNER CITY	OUTER CITY	WINNIPEG C.M.A.
Average Household size	Persons/household	Persons/household	Persons/household
1966	2.9	4.0	3.5
1971	2.7	3.4	3.2
1976	2.3	3.2	3.0
Average Family size	Persons/family	Persons/family	Persons/family
1966	3.3	3.7	3.6
1971	3.1	3.6	3.5
1976	NOT YET AVAILABLE	-	-

Source: 1966 - 1976 Census

The inner city's share of the total number of Winnipeg families has declined from 27,900 families in 1971 to 23,300 families in 1976, a loss of 16.5%, whereas during the same time the outer city family population grew from 105,000 in 1971 to 119,100 in 1976 for an increase of 13.4%.

3. Age Structure of the Population

The age and sex composition of the inner city distinguish it from the outer city. The inner city has a much smaller proportion of children under 15 years of age (17%) compared to the outer city (25%), and a significantly larger proportion of elderly, 17% compared to 8% of the outer city population. The aging of the population structure from 1971 to 1976 is evident in table 3.6 for both the inner and total city. Even though the inner city lost population and the total city gained, both experienced a similar aging pattern. The two areas have experienced a decline in young children and young adults, although the inner city's loss has been somewhat greater. The elderly population has increased substantially in the inner city when compared to the relative stability of the elderly population in the city as a whole.

Table 3.6
Change in Population by Age Cohort

Inner City

Age Groups	1966 % pop.	1971 % pop.	1976 % pop.	% 1966-1976
Under 15 yrs.	22	20	17	-5%
15 - 24	19	22	21	-2%
25 - 44	23	22	24	+1%
45 - 64	22	21	21	-1%
65+	14	15	17	+3%

Total City

Age Groups	1966 % pop.	1971 % pop.	1976 % pop.	% 1966-1976
Under 15 yrs.	29	27	23	-6%
15 - 24	17	19	19	-2%
25 - 44	25	25	27	+2%
45 - 64	20	20	20	0%
65+	9	10	10	+1%

Source: 1966, 1971, and 1976 Census.

4. Single Parent Families

In 1976 approximately 18% (4,250 families) of all inner city families were single parent families. This is an increase of 3% over the last five years. An increase in a particular family type is quite significant when there is an overall family loss in the inner city. Furthermore, the number of single parent families represents a much higher proportion of inner city families than the comparable outer city proportion of 10%. Since single parent families are often synonymous with low income, they will often require special assistance in coping with the problems of city life.

Table 3.7
Single Parent Families

	1971			1976		
	All Families	Single Parent Families	%	All Families	Single Parent Families	%
Inner City	27,895	4,390	15.7	23,275	4,250	18
Outer City	104,965	8,180	7.8	120,025	11,860	10
Winnipeg C.M.A.	132,860	12,570	9.5	143,300	16,110	11

Source: 1971 and 1976 Census.

5. Education

The level of educational attainment is slightly lower on average in the core area compared to the outer city. Significant variations occur within the inner city: over 50% of the population north of Notre Dame Avenue has less than grade 9, but 13% of the population south of Portage Avenue has attended university, a rate of attainment above the C.M.A. average of 11%.

6. Ethnicity

The inner city has a greater mix of different ethnic groups. As well, the 1971 census found a larger than average number of Ukranians, French, Polish, Italians, Asians and Hungarians living in the inner city. These ethnic groups tended to concentrate within sub-areas of the core: the Ukranians and Polish in the North End; the French in St. Boniface; the Italians between Notre Dame and Portage Avenue, and the Asians west of Main in census tract 25.

The 1976 census differed from the previous census by only asking for the language most often spoken in the home. As would be expected, English was the dominant language. The low response rate for European and Eastern languages makes inferences about changes in the ethnic composition of the core area population doubtful. Nevertheless, the data show that the core still contains a concentration of ethnic groups. Not including English, 30% of the area's population spoke one of the 8 most commonly cited languages.[1] In comparison, only 19% of the suburban population fell into the same category.

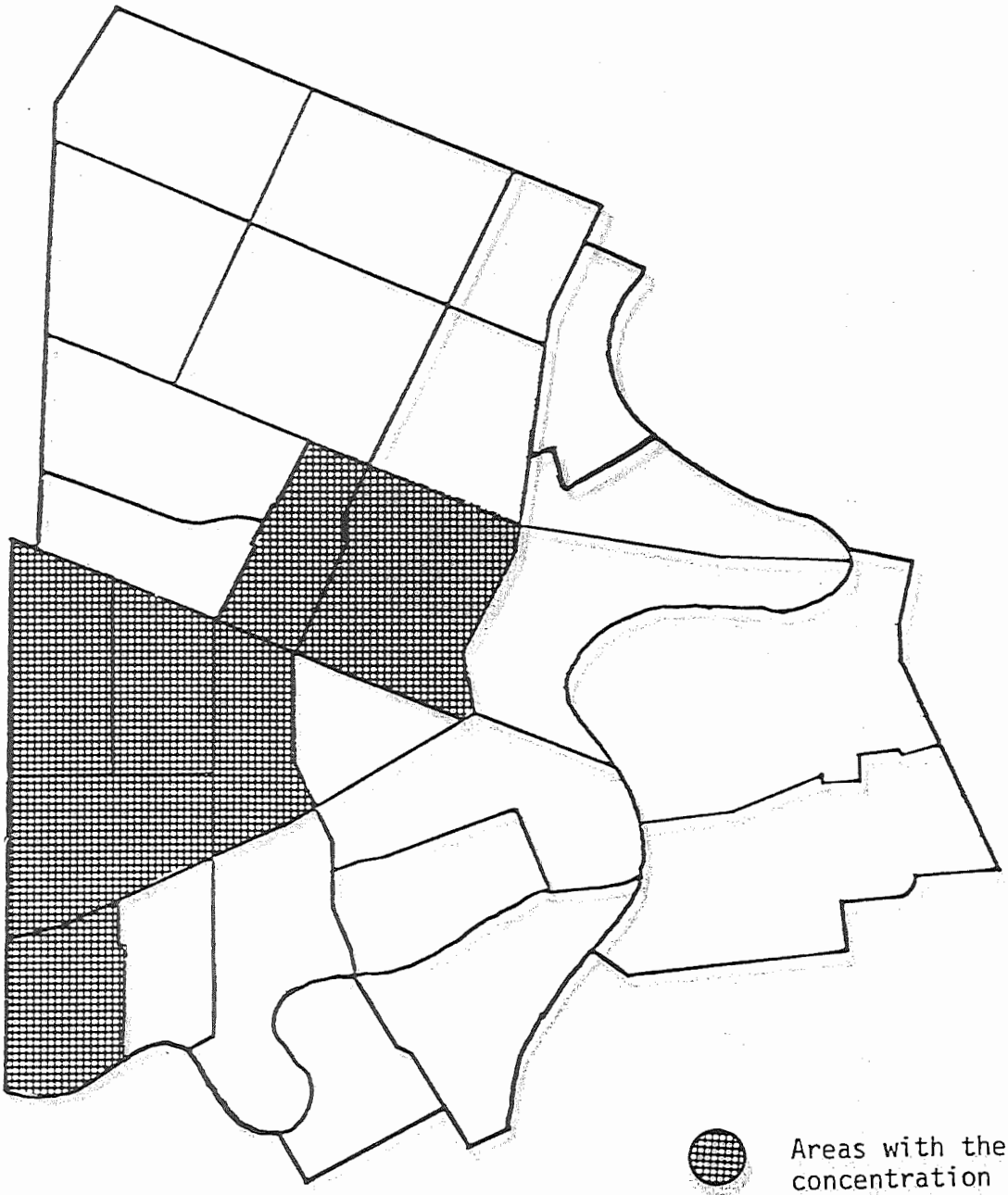
1. They were: French, Ukranian, German, Portuguese, British, Italian, Chinese or Japanese, and Native Indian.

Table 3.8
Ethnic Groups, 1971

	Inner City	%	Outer City	%	Wpg. C.M.A.	%
Total Population	125,600	23%	414,700	77%	540,300	100%
British	40,700	18%	191,400	82%	232,100	100%
%	38%		51%		48%	
Ukrainian	18,200	28%	46,100	72%	64,300	100%
%	17%		12%		13%	
French	15,200	33%	31,000	67%	46,200	100%
%	14%		9%		10%	
German	11,800	19%	50,200	81%	62,000	100%
%	11%		13%		13%	
Polish	8,100	31%	17,800	69%	25,900	100%
%	7.5%		4.7%		5.3%	
Scandinavian	3,400	19%	14,100	81%	17,500	100%
%	3.1%		3.7%		3.6%	
Netherlands	2,100	14%	12,900	86%	15,000	100%
%	1.9%		3.4%		3.1%	
Italian	3,900	41%	5,500	59%	9,400	100%
%	3.6%		1.4%		1.9%	
Asian	3,300	45%	4,000	55%	7,300	100%
%	1.3%		1.1%		1.5%	
Hungarian	1,200	31%	2,700	70%	3,900	100%
%	1.1%		.7%		.8%	
Russian	600	29%	1,500	71%	2,100	100%
%	.6%		.4%		.4%	

Source: 1971 Census
See also Appendix 2-14

Figure 3.1
IMMIGRANT RECEPTION AREA



Areas with the highest concentration of new immigrants

3-2 Migration and Mobility Patterns

3-2-1 Migration

This term is commonly used to refer to the relocation of people's residency in and out of the city; mobility, to changes in home addresses that occur within the city. Excluding foreign immigration, the province as a whole has been a net loser of migrants since 1921. Surveys by Statistics Canada have estimated recent losses to range from 2,200 in 1973 to over 7,000 in 1978.[2]

For Winnipeg, the 1971 census remains the most recent source of migration information. As the previous section on ethnicity would suggest, the core area has a higher proportion (28%) of immigrants compared to the outer city (17%). Their location within the core area is given in figure 3.1.

Table 3.9 details the flows of migrants in and out of the city by their origin and destination. Of the incoming residents, slightly more than one-quarter were from outside of the country with the remainder mainly coming from the rest of Manitoba (29%) and the smaller Canadian cities of Thunder Bay, Regina and Saskatoon, and Calgary (11.1%). Without the foreign immigrant, there would have been a net loss of people through domestic out-migration. Of those leaving, the primary destinations were the major Canadian Census Metropolitan Areas, accounting for over half of all out-migration. Of this group, 51% went to Vancouver, Toronto, or Calgary.

When the migration streams are analyzed by age-group, differences emerge between the in-coming and out-going groups. Although the 20-34 age group follows general trends by being the most mobile, out-migrants are also strongly represented in the 35+ age group. In-migrants, on the other hand, tend to be younger: the 15-19 age group from Manitoba are over represented as are foreign immigrants in the 20-34 age range. (See table 3.10)

These figures give the impression of an asymmetrical flow of migrants in and out of Winnipeg. Those people leaving are representative of the working population and are moving to those cities with high growth rates. Those people entering the city are younger, and are from rural and smaller towns or from outside

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2. Winnipeg Free Press, January 11, 1979, p. 1.

Table 3.9
Migration for Winnipeg, 1966 - 1971

DESTINATION/ ORIGIN	MIGRATION			
	Into Winnipeg		Out of Winnipeg	
	No.	%	No.	%
Manitoba: Total	26,045	29.2	16,130	23.9
Urban	9,885	11.1	6,725	10.0
Rural	16,160	18.1	9,405	13.9
OTHER C.M.A.'s	19,830	22.2	38,070	56.5
OTHER PROVINCES, except C.M.A.'s	12,715	14.2	13,250	19.6
OUT OF COUNTRY	23,780	26.6	-	-
NOT STATED	6,920	7.7	-	-
TOTAL	89,295	100.0	67,455	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada. Catalogue No. 92-796.

Table 3.10
Winnipeg Migration by Origin/Destination and Age

	Age Group							
	Total	5-14		15-19		20-34		35+	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total Out-Migrants	67,455	16,015	23.7	4,995	7.4	25,950	38.5	20,490	30.4
To CMA's	38,070	8,605	22.6	2,970	7.8	14,155	37.2	12,340	32.4
Total In-Migrants	89,295	17,930	20.1	9,575	10.7	38,885	43.5	22,905	25.7
From Manitoba	26,045	3,990	15.3	4,020	15.5	11,880	45.6	6,155	23.6
Outside Canada	23,780	4,855	20.4	1,565	6.6	11,750	49.4	5,610	23.6
Other CMA	19,830	4,935	24.9	1,675	8.5	7,500	37.8	5,718	28.8

Source: Statistics Canada. Catalogue No. 92-746.

of Canada. This group presumably represents those people who would just be entering the labour force and have fewer working skills.

Although the social and economic characteristics of these two groups is not known, the census figures do show a higher proportion of foreign and Manitoba immigrants in the core area, an area where there are more indications of poverty.

Table 3.11
Migration by Percent Total Migrants
to Winnipeg by Area

	Previous Residence of Migrants			
	Manitoba (Excluding Winnipeg)	Out of Province	Foreign	Within Winnipeg
Core	31.6	23.2	32.2	6.0
Outer City	22.5	34.0	19.6	19.0
CMA	25.0	31.1	22.5	16.0

3-2-2 Mobility

A high rate of out-migration from the core area became apparent when the 1971 and 1976 census populations were compared, but if estimates are to be made of mobility rates to specific age groups, it is necessary to account for changes in totals by age group because of the aging of the population. This is done through "an age-cohort survival model" and the estimates obtained are shown in table 3.12.

The result is a movement out of the area by all groups except for the young, aged 15-24. The rate of out-migration is particularly high among the 25-44 group and the elderly. The loss of the former supports the thesis in Chapter 2 that the middle resource group represents the people who are most likely to leave.

Some idea of where these movers are going, and what the overall pattern of movement is, can be obtained from the Social Planning Council survey. Table 3.13 shows that there is a two way movement between inner and outer areas, but on balance, a net loss of approximately 560 households from the core to the rest of the city. In addition, it also shows the core area receives a greater proportion of migrants from outside the city.

Table 3.12
Mobility Estimates for the Core Area
By Age Group and Sex, 1971-1976

Male Population

Age	Estimated	Actual	Net Mobility
5-14	8,405	6,095	- 2,310
15-24	8,671	10,610	+ 1,939
25-44	19,303	13,745	- 5,558
45-64	11,655	10,325	- 1,330
65+	10,495	7,390	- 3,105
TOTAL	58,529	48,165	-10,364

Female Population

Age	Estimated	Actual	Net Mobility
5-14	8,304	5,945	- 2,359
15-24	9,870	12,610	+ 2,740
25-44	19,442	13,040	- 6,402
45-64	13,823	12,205	- 1,612
65+	13,981	10,885	- 3,096
TOTAL	65,420	54,690	-10,735

Table 3.13
Pattern Of Last To Current Residence
By Households As Of 1978

	No. of Households of Area	
	Core N = 45,400	Non-Core N = 148,000
Non-Winnipeg to Winnipeg	11.3	5.5
Within Area	75.4	90.0
Core to Non-Core	-	4.5
Non-Core to Core	13.3	-

Source: 1976 Census. Net loss of households from Core is calculated as 45,400 x 13.3 - 148,800 x 4.5 = 557.

Because this information does not measure the changes of address within a fixed time period, the high rate of inner city mobility is missed. An alternative view is provided by records of transfers of primary students in and out of the core area. The study reviewed the records of all 54 schools of Winnipeg School Division #1. These schools are scattered within the old City of Winnipeg boundaries, an area much larger than the core area. Nevertheless, the 8 schools with the highest turn-over rates plus 6 of the next 10 were all located in the core. The turn-over rate ranged from 28.3% to 70.8% of the student population of these 18 schools (figure 3.2).

The 5 schools with the highest turn-over rates were selected for further study. Together, they accounted for 2,500 transfers or one-quarter of all changes of schools within the division. Of these transfers, 30% to 40% were to other "core schools" and another 10 to 15% to "fringe schools".[3]

In conjunction with informal observations by school teachers, the data suggests two patterns of movement: a "net" of inner city mobility

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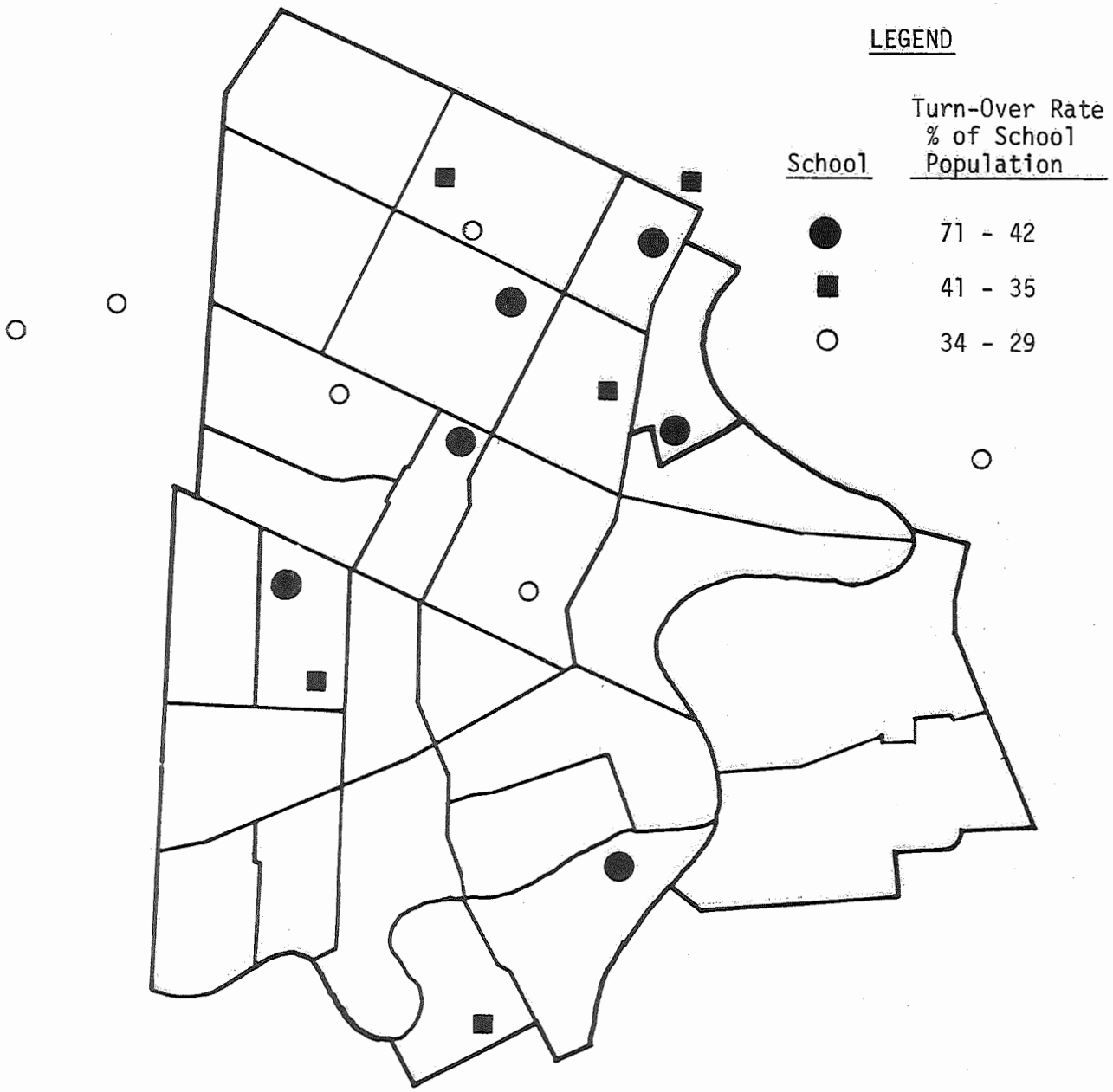
3. "Core" and "Fringe" schools refer to Winnipeg School Division definitions of core and fringe. Definitions are based on the indicators of income, turnover, unemployment, single parent families, education levels of parents, and number of children from public housing. Core schools were defined as having 3 or more indicators; fringe schools 1 or 2. There were 16 core schools and 13 fringe schools in 1977, from "Inner City Advisory Committee Report No. 393", Feburary 10, 1977.

Figure 3.2

Location of Schools with Highest
Turn-Over Rates for Winnipeg School Division No. 1



SOURCE: Winnipeg School Division No. 1, "Report of the Migrancy Committee", May, 1978.

and a spread of inner city residents into fringe areas. The first appears to be more common to the rural Manitoban who, once in the school division makes frequent transfers between schools in the core area, or returns to his rural home. The second pattern is believed to be more common to the foreign immigrant who may first live in the core, but moves out to fringe schools or other divisions when he can do so.

In a review of these findings, the teachers noted that frequent moves can greatly retard a child's education and cause social and emotional problems. Also, the teachers associated high mobility with poor housing and dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood.

3-3 Economic Characteristics

3-3-1 Income

The original core area report provided income information back to 1951. The data showed increasing disparities between the inner and outer city. For example, differences in the average male wage between the two areas increased from 11.0% in 1951 to 30.2% in 1971. This trend has persisted into 1978 where average household income from employment was estimated to be 32% lower in the core. Table 3.14 gives the distribution of population by income class.

Table 3.14
No. Of Households By Income Class, 1978

Income Class	Inner City %	Outer City %
≤ 5,000	36.8	25.8
5,001 - 9,999	21.3	8.9
10,000 - 14,999	17.0	14.2
15,000 - 19,999	11.6	16.2
≥ 20,000	13.3	35.0

This table provides a striking illustration of the disparities that exist within Winnipeg. The highest proportion of residents of each area are found at the opposite ends of the income scale.

3-3-2 Affordability

In Canada, average incomes grew faster than the cost of living over the 1974-1978 period, but not all groups experienced increases in their disposable incomes. When the 1978 figures are disaggregated into household types, the problems of inflation are found to be particularly acute for single parent families, the elderly and young singles in the inner city. The distribution of the first two groups by income is given in table 3.15.

Table 3.15
Distribution Of Single Parent Families
And The Elderly By Income Class In
The Inner City, 1978

Income %	Single Parents %	Elderly %
< 3,000	-	15.6
3,000 - 4,500	25.5	19.8
4,501 - 6,000	25.5	19.8
6,001 - 7,500	14.0	17.7
7,501 - 9,000	9.3	8.3
9,001 - 12,000	11.6	11.4
> 12,000	14.0	7.3

The incomes of these groups were then compared to the estimated expenditures necessary for the acquisition of minimal housing and non-housing needs. This defined the "affordability" of the basic necessities for specific household groups. As table 3.16 shows, the problem of affordability is most acute for renters for all Winnipeg and for people living in the core.

To illustrate what affordability means, we selected on the basis of income the bottom 10% of the single parent families for all of Winnipeg. The findings were as follows:

Actual Shelter Cost	$1,016	
Basic Necessities (estimate)	5,160	$6,176
Less Actual Income		2,800
Total Shortfall		3,376

Similarly, for a 2-person household under 65 years of age in the bottom 10%, the figures are: shelter $816; basic necessities $6,197; actual income $4,800; and the shortfall is $2,313.

Table 3.16

Percent of Households Experiencing Affordability Problems, 1978

Household Type	Total City	Inner City	Renters
Under 65 years of age			
1 person	22	30	26
2 persons	17	30	26
3 persons	12	19	27
4 persons	10	20	39
5 or more persons	13	22	39
single parent families	57	65	69
Over 65 years of age: single	37	62	50

3-3-3 Unemployment

Unemployment rates were higher in the inner city than the outer city. The greatest spread between the two areas was in the male labour force where, in 1976, 7.7% males were unemployed in the core compared to 4.0% in the outer city.

Estimates of the decline in job opportunities can be established on the basis of the three City of Winnipeg transportation studies:[4] These studies isolated routine trips to the same destination for the regular work week. It was assumed that the majority of these "patterned" trips are for journeys to work. When using a destination

4. P. Hudson. Economic Development In Winnipeg's Inner City; prepared for the Ministry of Corrective and Rehabilitative Services, 1978.

area slightly larger than the defined core area, the statistics show an overall decline of 8,000 pattern work trips from 1962 to 1976. By comparison, the total number of work trips for all of Winnipeg had increased by 48% from 149,764 to 221,640. These figures imply that the share of employment in the study area had declined from 56% to 34%. That there has been a loss of job opportunities in the core is substantiated by an increase from 36% to 45% of the core area residents forced to travel outside of the area for employment.

4. SOME HEALTH AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The demographic profile tells us that there are larger proportions of elderly, single parents, recent immigrants and natives living in the core. These groups are known to have special needs simply because of the circumstances within which they find themselves. When people grow older, for example, they become much more susceptible to chronic illnesses. As a result, they require a continuity of health care which includes screening and out-reach programs; the current health care system which is based on episodic needs and relies on patient initiated care may prove inadequate.[1]

But these high need groups are more often the people with the least personal resources -- income, education, or work skills -- to be able to fend for themselves. Moreover, their low incomes usually compel them to live in substandard conditions which if anything, aggravate their initial problems. Recent estimates of the distribution of social services show that residents of the core area are more likely to require some form of publicly sponsored assistance: the rate of receiving social assistance is four times higher than the suburban areas, cases of child neglect are five times higher, and youths are committed to the Manitoba Youth Centre for juvenile delinquency at a rate eight times higher.

What follows is a short discussion of some health and social problems that became apparent through either numerical analysis or discussions with informed professionals. It is not the definitive overview of health and social problems in the core; to a large extent, the identification of problems is a function of what data are available and whom the researchers contacted.[2]

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1. G. Clarkson. Plan for the Redevelopment of the Health Sciences Centre. Vol. 1, 1975.
2. Manitoba Department of Urban Affairs. Unpublished report. September 1968.

The recent "discovery" of the multi-problem family provides a good example of how the availability of information can alter our perceptions. At present, there are believed to be 300 to 500 multi-problem families in Winnipeg; each family relies on 4 to 10 different family and child agencies for support and consumes an estimated $20,000 to $30,000 per year in agency resources. Although social workers have long been familiar with the characteristics of this type of family, it was not until staff workers from the different agencies pooled their information that they were able to realize the extent of the problem.

Although out-dated the most comprehensive review of social conditions in Winnipeg is the Social Service Audit.[3] Completed in 1969, it examined the number and distribution of 14 indicators of social problems for all of Winnipeg. Generally, the largest proportion of the problems were found to occur in the downtown area bounded by the CPR yards, the two rivers and Ingersoll and McPhillips Streets. It has not been possible to duplicate the detail of Social Audit; the primary reason for this is the lack of comparable data between the different agencies. However, the consensus among many professionals in the core is that the area is still the seat of many of the social problems in Winnipeg and, if anything, the problems are worsening and spreading.

To a certain extent, efforts at detailing social problems as they occur within small sub-areas of the city may be misplaced. If the information on the high rate of inner-city mobility is correct, then it is unlikely that the frequency of problems within a small spatial unit will have much meaning. In addition, statistics on social problems more often document the results of more deeply rooted problems and give little indication of why the problem occurred and where intervention would be most effective. What would be more useful would be an analysis of the problems as they affect identifiable groups within the city.

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3. D.A. Thompson (chairman). Report of the Social Service Audit. Sponsored by the Government of Manitoba, United Way, Winnipeg Foundation and the Community Welfare Planning Council. May 1969.

4-1 Health Related Issues

1. Handicapped

A 1977 survey[4] found that an estimated 2.38% of Winnipeg's population have some form of handicap. This figure is believed to be an understatement of the actual rate.

Each community committee area was ranked according to the incidence of handicapped people living within its boundaries. Of the 5 community committee areas that lie partially within the core area, 3 were ranked among the top 5 of all community committees. (See table 4.1).

Generally, the number and age of handicapped people is proportional to the overall Winnipeg population structure. The elderly provide an exception to this; they have a much higher rate of handicaps explaining, in part, the above average rates that exist in the above community committee areas. The survey found physical handicaps to be the most frequent type of impairment followed by mental retardation and mental illness. City-wide rates for types of handicaps are compared to the Centennial area in table 4.2.

2. Death Rates

Differences in death rates are known to vary with social class. Lower class occupations tend to expose the worker to more hazards and higher incomes permit a person to more easily acquire better food, clothing, shelter and medical care. In addition, attitudes towards health care and knowledge of the medical system predispose the better educated to practice preventive care and to seek early treatment of illnesses.[5]

Because we know there are a great proportion of poor living in the inner city, we would expect to find higher death rates and lower life expectancy in the area. Studies on death rates in American cities have found enormous differences in mortality rates between inner and outer parts of the city. In Detroit, infant deaths were as high as 43.9 per 1,000 births in the

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4. The Read *Op Center Limited. Profile of Handicapped Persons Resident Within the City of Winnipeg. A report to the Manitoba Advisory Council on Recreation for the Handicapped. (Winnipeg, 1977)

5. B.J. Bell and C.L. Ross "The Interdisciplinary Study of Life Span" in M.G. Spence and C.J. Dodd (ed.) Understanding Aging (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1975).

Table 4.1

Distribution of Handicaps by Person
by Community Committee Area

Community Committee	Rank	Incidence of handicapped as percent of c.c. pop.
Centennial	1	3.56
Fort Rouge	4	2.87
Midland	5	2.82
Lord Selkirk	8	2.71
St. Boniface	9	1.85

Table 4.2

Incidence of Handicaps by Type

Type of Handicap	Centennial Community Committee (Rate per 1,000 pop.)	Winnipeg
physical	8.5	6.4
mental retardation	2.9	2.8
mental illness	8.5	2.1
visual	1.8	1.5
hearing	1.2	1.2
multiple	1.0	1.0
learning	0.3	0.5
other	-	-

ghetto areas compared to 10.7 in some suburbs.[6]

Although the differences are not nearly as large, the data suggests that the inner-outer city differentials identified elsewhere may prevail in Winnipeg. In 1976, death rates were calculated for the combined areas of the Centennial and Midland community committees. The crude death rate was 13.4 per 1,000 which compares to 7.9 for Winnipeg and 8.0 for Manitoba. To control for bias of a disproportionate number of aged in the combined area, age specific rates were also calculated and are shown in table 4.3 In all but two groups, the death rates remained higher for inner city residents and were substantially higher among the 0-4, 30-34 and 50-54 age groups.

In general, we know that apart from deaths due to old age and infant-specific causes of death, the principle causes of death in Canada are attributed to dangerous living conditions and self-imposed risks. Common causes of death, most of which can be avoided, include motor vehicle accidents, suicides, lung cancer and heart disease. We do not know how similar the inner city is to national trends in that many of the deaths could be prevented. Clearly, this whole issue needs more careful investigation. Infant deaths, however, are generally conceded to be avoidable, and the information presented here does give cause for concern.[7]

3. Morbidity

For each death, there is a proportionate number of people who will suffer from an associated illness or impairment. Unfortunately, there is no acceptable way of assessing the number of people who experience a reduced functional level of health without recourse to an elaborate survey. Discussion with the Winnipeg Public Health Nursing branch did indicate the following: venereal disease is increasing in frequency and the majority of cases are concentrated in the core area; diptheria has been observed to be increasing; alcoholism is widespread and by no means centered in the inner city; and efforts at reducing the 31,000 reported accidents in the schools are needed. Special problems were noted with the higher rate of respiratory and gastro-intestinal illnesses for natives and parasitic diseases for immigrants. Also, an increasing amount of time was spent providing care for the elderly, but it was felt that much more care will be required in the future.

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6. G.J. Washnis. Community Development Strategies. (New York: Praeger, 1974).

7. Marc Lalonde. A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1979), pp. 14-15.

Table 4.3

Deaths by Age Group
And Area, 1976

AGE GROUP	CENTENNIAL-MIDLAND (Deaths per 1,000 population)	WINNIPEG
0-4[a.]	5.0	3.1
5-9	0.9	0.3
10-14	0.4	0.3
15-19	0.9	0.4
20-24	0.6	1.0
25-29	1.4	0.7
30-34	2.7	1.1
35-39	1.0	1.3
40-44	2.7	1.8
45-49	7.8	4.0
50-54	13.2	6.2
55-59	10.8	9.3
60-64	19.2	15.5
65-69	29.0	22.9
70+	77.8	68.0

SOURCE: Manitoba Health and Social Development Special Request 1978 and Vital Statistics.
1976 Census: Cat. No. 95-831, 84-206

a. Deaths are probably overestimated for both areas because births after the 1976 census (June 1) are not included in the 0-4 population, but deaths are included.

4-2 Social Problems

The changing population base plus changes in the social mores of the 1970's have altered the composition and origin of the social problems: new problems are becoming evident but many of the basic issues are still with us. Ideally, policies designed to affect current social problems would be derived from the results of a direct survey of the population. In the absence of such a survey, it is necessary to rely on the perceptions of professional workers in the area. As was mentioned in Chapter 2, this method of analysis can introduce an unknown bias. It is uncontrolled for the value base of the respondent; often limited in generality; and it fails to identify people with problems who never seek assistance. In this section, we have chosen to present several alternative perspectives instead of trying to build a unified view of social needs. This discussion is then followed by a few indicators of social problems.

The first perspective is obtained from agency files. In this case, the records of "Contact" give an indication of the type of help people need, but are unable to find. The primary purpose of Contact is to provide information and referrals to telephone callers from all of Winnipeg who are seeking assistance.

Table 4.4 presents the distribution of telephone calls amongst the 9 most frequent categories of requests for the month of January 1979. When calls for "general assistance" or "government information" are excluded from the total, the remaining 7 categories account for 62% of all calls for the month. This shows that the basic problems of money, health, legal affairs, and the need for home care are persisting. Also, there were a moderate number of calls for child care, education, employment and housing but relatively few requests related to drug abuse, consumerism or handicapped services. Of the people making requests, there were a disproportionate number of adult women (50%) and elderly (14%). However, this was felt by the agency staff to be as much a reflection of their advertising strategy as an indication of need.

Of the people requiring referrals to other organizations, Contact directed 73% to private agencies: an indication of the dependence Winnipeggers exhibit for non-governmental assistance. More informally, the agency staff noted that a number of callers requested services that are not provided in the city. These include services for seniors, particularly transportation, and day care facilities for infants.

Table 4.4

Number of Telephone Requests by Type, January 1979

CATEGORY OF TELEPHONE REQUEST[a]	HANDLING OF CALLS		
	INFORMATION	REFERRAL	TOTAL[b]
Financial Assistance	13	18	31
Health Care	11	22	34
Home Services	14	32	46
Legal	12	21	33
Counselling/Family	7	18	25
Clubs & Associations	12	10	23
Recreation & Social Activities	8	14	22
Total	77	135	214
All Requests	225	264	499

a. Includes 7 of 19 categories
b. Includes 2 requests where agency unable to assist

A markedly different view of Winnipeg's social problems is obtained from statistics provided by the Main Street Project (MSP). Located in the center of the Main Street strip, the data shows that MSP attracts a different segment than that served by Contact. About 80% of the clients are male and of the total group, 60% were Indian or Metis.[8]

Table 4.5 gives the breakdown of caseload by condition of the client. It shows the number of intoxicated clients has more than doubled over the 1975-1979 period while other problems have either remained stable or have declined. Particularly noteworthy has been the reduction in the number of violent incidents. This observation is partially substantiated by police statistics which indicate a decrease of violent crimes in the area.

A recent but limited survey was undertaken by the Institute of Urban Studies in 1978 to catalogue the concerns of professional social service workers in the core area. Many of the issues raised through the survey had to do with how well the existing social service network was responding to known needs. The issues included:

- multi-problem families must go to a different agency for each of their problems because of the fragmentation of service delivery
- most of the care provided is crisis-oriented rather than preventative. In addition, there is little provision for after-care or for out-reach services.
- longterm indepth psychiatric counselling is unavailable especially for isolated elderly and young children.
- youths known as "Main Street Children", typified by asocial behaviour, truancy at school and with poor concepts of discipline and responsibility, are often unable to get adequate care. They require good foster homes and proper parenting.

The social service workers have also noted new issues:

- children are turning up in increasing numbers and at younger ages with nervous breakdowns and psychoses.
- an increasing number of women, currently estimated at about 150 in the Main Street area, are homeless or transient and in need of shelter, food and counselling.

As a check to these findings, agencies which received a higher number of referrals from Contact were also surveyed. This exercise tended to amplify the following conclusions:

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8. Dave Sherlock, Main Street Project. Report for the Alcohol Foundation of Manitoba, 1977.

Table 4.5

Mean Monthly Intake of the Main Street Project

Condition	May 1975 - May 1976	1976	1977
intoxicated	730	929	1,642
sober	409	518	601
ill	105	94	45
injured	42	44	30
passed-out	36	75	20
seizure	6	6	6

SOURCE: Donald S. Schaeffer Growth and Change in the Main Street Project: 1975 to 1977

- young adults under 25 years of age require help for problems of a medical or sexual nature including venereal disease, unwanted pregnancies and birth control counselling. One commentator noted a profound need for sex education: his agency has assisted an alarming number of young women who have become pregnant without knowing why
- increasing numbers of the elderly are believed to be isolated from the community and in need of a broad range of services if institutionalization is to be avoided. Two of the agencies surveyed who were providing direct services report that they were unable to meet all requests for assistance. As an indication of demand, one agency which provides home services such as transportation (one-way), yard maintenance and minor home repairs, carried out 7,893 jobs for 1,796 people in 1978. These clients were located primarily in City Center - Fort Rouge (557) or Lord Selkirk - West Kildonan (633).
- recreation programs for youth are underfunded as is discussed in Chapter 5.

This small survey also underlined the fragile existence of many agencies. In particular, programs providing recreation services for some 70 to 100 youths, home services for the elderly and a housing registry service all relied on Canada Works grants: a source of funds about to be phased out. Other agencies dependent on provincial funds such as the community health centers are also facing an uncertain future as the government attempts to reduce its expenditures in the health and social field.

4-2-1 Detailed Indicators

The final way in which social conditions can be assessed is through the construction of "indicators". Drawn from vital statistics records, these measures confirm for the most part that the core area has the greater proportion of social problems; the problems have worsened for suicides and illegitimate pregnancies.

1. Suicide[9]

There were approximately 12.8 recorded suicides per year for every 100,000 people in Manitoba in the 1971 - 1975 period. There are believed to be 10 times as many attempted suicides

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9. Manitoba Department of Health and Social Development. Suicide and Suicide Attempts. 1977.

and an additional number of suicides that go unreported. For people aged 15 - 39, suicide is the second leading cause of death. Groups at risk include: Metis males aged 50 - 54, those divorced or widowed men aged 45 - 54 and women 45 - 54; and males living on Indian reserves aged 19 - 45.

Winnipeg has the third lowest rate of suicides of all Manitoba regions, an average of 12.5 per 100,000 for the 1971 - 1975 period. However, of the sub-areas of the city, the "inner city" had the highest rate of suicide (26.5) and attempted suicides (121.0) for males and the second highest rate of suicides (11.6) and the highest rate of suicide attempts (250.6) for females.[10]

Comparison to the Social Audit shows that the crude suicide rate for Metro Winnipeg has increased from the 1962 - 1966 period of between 8.9 to 10.8 to the 1971 - 1975 average of 12.5. Furthermore, the Social Audit reported that a quarter of all suicides in the City of Winnipeg in 1966 were concentrated in the central portion of the core area.

2. Illegitimate Pregnancies and Infant Deaths

In 1960 there were 7.6 illegitimate pregnancies for every 100 live births within the old City of Winnipeg boundaries. By 1970, this had increased to 24.2. In 1977, this rate was 24.9. This compares to the unicity rate of 16.1. There are internal variations; for example, the Midland Community Committee area had a much higher rate of 30.1 in 1976.[11]

Of particular concern is the increasing numbers of illegitimate births by young girls. Apart from the very severe problems of the social and emotional adjustment that must be made, there is greater risk of still births and infant deaths. In this regard, it is worth noting that deaths for infants less than a year old have increased from 12.6 to 16.3 per 1000 over the 1975 - 1977 period.[12] Whether or not

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10. Area includes the old City of Winnipeg plus Charleswood and Tuxedo.

11. Winnipeg Public Health Housing Branch interview; Winnipeg Vital Statistics Department "Statistics Summary" 1978; and Department of Health and Social Development, special tabulation.

12. Manitoba Department of Health and Social Development. Annual Report, 1977, p. 77.

illegitimate pregnancies have contributed to this increase in infant death rates is not known, but the available data and the informal comments of professionals in the field suggest that this may be so.

Unfortunately, the problem is not confined to an increase in infant deaths; a strong association is known to exist between the infant death rate and the children who survive but are born with congenital abnormalities or are mentally retarded. The implication is that the rising infant death rate also means an increasing percent of children are living who will require special assistance because of their handicaps. A large proportion of these problems could be avoided through proper pre-natal care.

3. Social Assistance

Since 1975, the number of people living in Winnipeg who are receiving some form of social security payments has declined. Tables 4.6 and 4.7 shows that the number of cases receiving long-term provincial support fell by 745 for the 1974-1978 period and the number of cases of short-term assistance (less than 90 days) handled by the City has also decreased by 241 cases for peak periods between 1975 to 1979. The average cost per case for assistance provided by the municipalities has increased from $179.91 in 1976 to $185.25 in 1977 for the city and $162.18 to $169.58 for the provincial average.[13]

The decline in the case load appears paradoxical given the other social and economic indicators which would lead us to expect the exact opposite. Discussion with officials from the Province and the City did provide some suggestions although these ideas have not been confirmed by any systematic analysis of the data. They include:

- Federal transfer payments, particularly the Canada Pension Plan are thought to be supplementing some of the elderly's need for provincial assistance. Unemployment Insurance recipients on the other hand have declined since 1975.
- the economic situation has remained relatively stable.
- the type of person receiving the "mother's allowance", the largest category of social assistance, has been changing. Mothers now receiving payments tend to be younger, have better educations and smaller families which makes it easier for them to become financially independent.
- day care allows a greater number of single parent families to hold jobs
- recent work programs have given a number of welfare recipients the job skills and confidence necessary to re-enter the regular work force.

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13. Ibid, p. 90.

Table 4.6

Case Loads for City Center -
Fort Rouge and Lord Selkirk Communities

DATE	EMPLOYABLES AND MARGINALLY EMPLOYABLES*				SUPP TO FULL TIME EMPLOYMENT**		
Peak: January Low Period: June	MALE FAMILY HEADS	FEMALE FAMILY HEADS	SINGLE MEN	SINGLE WOMEN	MALE FAMILY HEADS	FEMALE FAMILY HEADS	TOTAL CASES
January 31, 1975	640	391	985	435	82	24	2557
June 30, 1975	428	294	753	396	75	16	1962
January 31, 1976	572	179	1259	418	46	10	2484
June 30, 1976	441	190	1002	397	42	11	2083
January 31, 1977	647	138	1433	445	35	6	2704
June 30, 1977	458	166	1160	371	24	5	2184
January 31, 1978	517	153	1378	427	19	2	2496
June 30, 1978	419	160	1104	445	17	2	2147
January 31, 1979	500	154	1185	459	17	1	2316

* A high percentage have employment handicaps.
** Supplementation is a special program designed to augment the income of persons whose net income from wages falls below the entitlement they would receive from welfare (example: minimum wage, 5 dependents).

SOURCE: The City of Winnipeg Public Welfare Department

Table 4.7

The Average Number of Provincial Social Allowances Cases Registered at Winnipeg Income Security Offices from Fiscal Year 1974-75 to 1977-78

YEAR	SOUTH/WEST		CENTRAL	NORTH	TOTAL
	SOUTH	WEST			
1974-75	3,608	2,609	2,647	3,283	12,143
1975-76	6,453		2,754	3,470	12,677
1976-77	6,049		2,647	3,382	12,078
1977-78	5,540		2,549	3,309	11,398

4. Truancy

The reasons for chronic non-attendance of school are many. One explanation put forward by the school principals is that it is the product of parental neglect and is abetted by a lax set of laws and enforcement practices.[14] The total number of truants for Winnipeg School Division No. 1 is estimated at 800, of which 600 live in the downtown area.[15] These estimates are exclusive of the unknown number of children who have never been registered with the school system. The absentee rate for many inner city schools is placed at 15 - 20% which compares to the overall City rate of 2%.

4-3 Crime

The authors of the original core area report reviewed the Dubienski-Skelly study[16], The Winnipeg Police Report on Juveniles[17], and compiled detailed crime statistics for selected crimes from a sample of police records (table 4.8). Both studies raised similar concerns: a high proportion (37.8%) of the sample of crimes for all of Winnipeg occurred within the old core area boundaries[18], a substantial number of these crimes were either directly or indirectly attributed to alcohol abuse; and of the arrests made under the "Intoxicated Persons Detention Act" (IPDA) and the Liquor Act, a disproportionate number (47.1%) of those charged were natives. Juvenile crime was also identified as a concern: an estimated 9% of all Winnipeg children between the ages of 7 to 17 were involved with the police. The concentration of juvenile crime in 1969 was located in the area bounded by Arlington, William, Redwood and Main Streets[19].

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14. J. Carroll (President) Winnipeg Branch, Manitoba Association of Principals. "Brief to the Juvenile Justice Committee." (unpublished, February, 1979).

15. Board of Trustees, Winnipeg School Division No. 1. A Brief Submitted to the Premier and Minister of Education of the Province of Manitoba (1978), p. B-10.

16. Ian Dubienski and Stephen Skelly "Analysis of Arrests for the Year 1969 in the City of Winnipeg with Particular Reference to Arrests of Persons of Indian Descent". September 1, 1970.

17. City of Winnipeg, Winnipeg Police Department. A Report Respecting Juvenile Delinquency Within the City of Winnipeg. (Winnipeg, 1970).

18. Throughout this section, the Core Area refers to the old boundaries as defined in Winnipeg's Core Area, 1975; that is the area bounded by the two rivers, Arlington St. and Church Avenue.

19. City of Winnipeg. Juvenile Delinquency, p. 10.

Table 4.8

Crime

OFFENCE		OFFENDERS' HOME LOCATION			RACIAL ORIGIN			EMPLOYMENT DATA					SEX		AGE	
		CORE	NON-CORE	NFA	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	NOT KNOWN	EMPLOYED	UNEMPLOYED	WELFARE	STUDENT	NOT KNOWN	MALE	FEMALE	ADULT	JUVENILE
IPDA (299)	%	54.8	21.1	24.1	51.2	36.7	12.00	27.8	38.5	17.2	.01	15.8	78.9	21.0	100	0
	No.	164	63	72	153	110	36	83	115	51	3	47	236	63	299	0
LIQUOR ACT(91)		64.8	31.9	3.3	34.00	12.0	53.8	24.1	42.8	13.1	10.9	8.7	71.4	28.5	69.2	30.7
		59	29	3	31	11	49	22	39	12	10	8	65	26	63	28
SEXUAL OFFENCES (16)		56.2	31.2	12.5	31.3	31.3	37.5	43.7	37.5	6.25	0	12.5	87.5	12.5	75.0	25.0
		9	5	2	5	5	6	7	6	1	0	2	14	2	12	4
ASSAULT (24)		54.1	41.6	4.1	20.8	50.0	29.1	54.1	33.3	0	8.3	4.1	75.0	25.0	75.0	25.0
		13	10	1	5	12	7	13	8	0	2	1	18	6	18	6
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY ACT (35)		62.8	37.1	0	62.8	11.4	25.7	2.8	25.7	51.4	0	20.0	65.7	34.2	2.8	97.1
		22	13	0	22	4	9	1	9	18	0	7	23	12	1	34
THEFTS UNDER $200 (99)		54.5	37.3	8.0	18.1	26.2	55.5	20.2	35.3	6.0	14.1	24.2	65.6	34.3	49.4	50.5
		54	37	8	18	36	55	20	35	6	14	24	65	34	49	50
THEFTS OVER $200 (27)		59.2	22.2	18.5	18.5	74.1	7.0	14.8	44.4	3.7	33.3	3.7	85.2	14.8	44.4	55.6
		16	6	5	5	20	2	4	12	1	9	1	23	4	12	15
BREAK & ENTER (68)		67.6	20.5	11.7	39.7	51.4	8.8	20.5	39.7	7.3	29.4	2.9	76.4	23.5	29.4	70.5
		46	14	8	27	35	6	14	27	5	20	2	52	16	20	48
ROBBERY (18)		38.8	44.4	16.6	38.8	33.3	27.7	11.1	66.6	0	11.1	11.1	83.3	16.6	72.2	27.7
		7	8	3	7	6	5	2	12	0	2	2	15	3	13	5
CHILD WELFARE ACT (33)		42.4	57.5	0	66.6	24.2	9.0	9.1	33.3	0	48.4	9.0	30.3	69.6	0	100
		14	19	0	22	8	3	3	11	0	16	3	10	23	0	33
NARCOTICS CONTROL ACT (24)		29.1	58.3	12.5	0	33.3	66.6	41.7	37.5	4.1	8.3	8.3	45.8	54.1	87.5	12.5
		7	14	3	0	8	16	10	9	1	2	2	11	13	21	3
OFFENSIVE WEAPONS (5)		80.0	0	20.0	0	80.0	20.0	80.00	20.0	0	0	0	100	0	100	0
		4	0	1	0	4	1	4	1	0	0	0	5	0	5	0
HOMICIDE (1)		100	0	0	0	100	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	100	100	0
		1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
%		56.2	29.4	14.3	39.8	33.7	26.3	24.8	38.3	12.8	10.5	13.3	72.5	27.4	69.4	30.5
TOTAL		416	218	106	295	250	195	184	284	95	78	99	537	203	514	226

Since the publication of Winnipeg's Core Area, the number of crimes increased for all of Winnipeg until the 1977-1978 period. In 1977, crimes against persons which include assault, robbery, homicide and sexual offenses have decreased. Property crimes including break and enter, theft and fraud increased marginally in 1977, but decreased by 3% in the first 6 months of 1978.[20] Total crimes for all of the city are compared in table 4.9 to crimes occurring in police district 1, the downtown and West End area. The table confirms that the central area continues to account for a large proportion of crimes that occur in Winnipeg. However, juvenile arrests constitute a smaller percentage of all district 1 crimes than they do of the city as a whole.

More generally, police officers working in the juvenile division have noted that apart from the overall increase in juvenile crimes (table 4.10) there has been a marked increase in violent crimes committed by juveniles. The participation of youth in crimes of violence has not grown at a uniform rate, however. There was a decline in this category of 14% from 1975 to 1976 followed by a 19% upturn in the following year. An extreme case of the variability of violent crimes is the near doubling of arrests of juveniles in district 1 for the 1976-1977 period. In addition to the increase of crimes of violence, the increased incidence of sniffing and child abuse cases have also been recognized as priority problems.[21] Finally, the continued involvement of repeaters in the majority (85%) of juvenile crimes remains a concern as it did in 1969.

The police did not believe there to be any localized area where juvenile crimes occurred; the mobility of youths was felt to reduce the tendency of crimes to be committed within the same neighbourhood as the juvenile's home. However, the police did suggest that there was a concentration of juvenile crime in the area north of Portage to Selkirk and between Arlington and Main Streets.

The first Core Area Report recommended several changes to the current policing procedures and partly on the strength of these recommendations, the Winnipeg Police Department implemented Operation Affirmative Action, an experiment in neighbourhood

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20. "Fewer youths reason behind crime drop?" Winnipeg Tribune. 12 October 1978.

21. City of Winnipeg Police Department. Annual Report, 1977; Both child abuse and sniffing were noted in the earlier police study (footnote17) and in Winnipeg's Core Area as problems.

Table 4.9a

Number of Crimes in Winnipeg and District 1, 1976-1977

LOCATION	CRIMES AGAINST			
	PERSONS		PROPERTY	
	1976	1977	1976	1977
Winnipeg	2,449	2,316	32,550	35,151
District 1	1,011	983	10,393	10,870
District 1 % of total	41.3	42.4	31.1	30.9

Table 4.9b

Persons Charged by Adult or Juvenile Status by District, 1976-1977

LOCATION	CRIMES AGAINST			
	PERSONS		PROPERTY	
	1976	1977	1976	1977
Winnipeg				
Adults	844	846	3,440	3,729
Juveniles	302	361	4,172	3,990
District 1				
Adults	400	399	1,536	1,704
Juveniles	68	127	1,638	1,604

Table 4.10

Number of Police
Contacts with Juvenile

AREA	YEAR	NUMBER
City of Winnipeg	1969[1]	6,101
Unicity	1975	8,878
	1976	9,844
	1977	10,999[2]

1. September 1/68 - August 31/69
2. Increase mostly due to inclusion 998 traffic violations.

Table 4.11

Percent Changes in Number of Crimes
For Winnipeg and the Core Area, 1976-1977

CRIME CLASSIFICATION	WINNIPEG TOTAL	CORE TOTAL	CORE SUB-AREAS		
			I	II	III
CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS					
Sexual	-9.5	8.8	22.0	21.2	-32.1
Assault	-4.6	-10.7	-17.9	8.1	-30.0
Robbery	-4.4	-11.8	-10.4	-19.0	1.7
Total	-5.4	-9.7	-11.8	1.5	-24.0
CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY					
Break and Enter	6.5	-2.5	-4.7	6.5	-7.0
Motor Vehicle Theft	-2.4	-27.9	-32.0	-16.6	-30.0
Theft	10.0	-8.3	6.9	-16.1	-4.9
Total	8.0	-3.0	1.0	-9.4	-7.8
LIQUOR ACT	25.3		0.6	27.0	-23.2
INTOXICATED PERSONS	14.1	11.1	22.5	1.6	20.9
DETENTION ACT		11.5			

policing. Table 4.11 presents changes in the number of crimes by selected category for the years immediately preceding and following the implementation of OAA. As was mentioned above crimes have generally declined throughout Winnipeg, but when the core area is compared to overall city changes, it generally shows a higher than average decline in crime. When calculating the core area's share of the City's crimes, we found for the 1976-1977 period that the core's share of crimes against persons declined from 45.4% to 43.4% and crimes against property fell from 28.2% to 25.4%.. Particularly noteworthy are the decreases in crimes which often occur on the street such as assault, robbery, break and enter and motor vehicle theft. These crimes are believed by the police department to be most affected by OAA. Unfortunately, there were percentage increases in sexual assaults, even though absolute increases were relatively small.

The incidence of crimes within the core has been broken down into 3 sub-areas as is shown on the accompanying map. Table 4.11 shows that there has been no consistent pattern of change in crime among the 3 sub-areas. Generally, the area north of the CPR tracks has led the 3 areas in the reduction in number of crimes, and is followed by the downtown area. The changes in the number of crimes in the section of the city between Notre Dame and the CPR tracks have been more ambiguous.

An alternative method of estimating changes in crime rates is to count the number of victims of criminal activity. Surveys conducted before and after the establishment of OAA provide estimates of victimization rates for residents and businesses within the area.[22] Analysis revealed a decline in the victimization rate from 11.5% to 7.9% for residents and an increase from 17.5% to 22.9% for businesses. However, in both cases, the reported differences were not large enough to be statistically significant.[23]

Care should be taken when interpreting the above data. In particular, to attribute the larger number of crimes to the "criminal pathologies" of the area's inhabitants does not follow from the data since crimes are only recorded by place of occurence and not by the criminal's home address. In fact, the data collected for the first core area study showed that of the crimes occurring within core, 30% of those people charged lived outside the area and another 14% had no fixed address.

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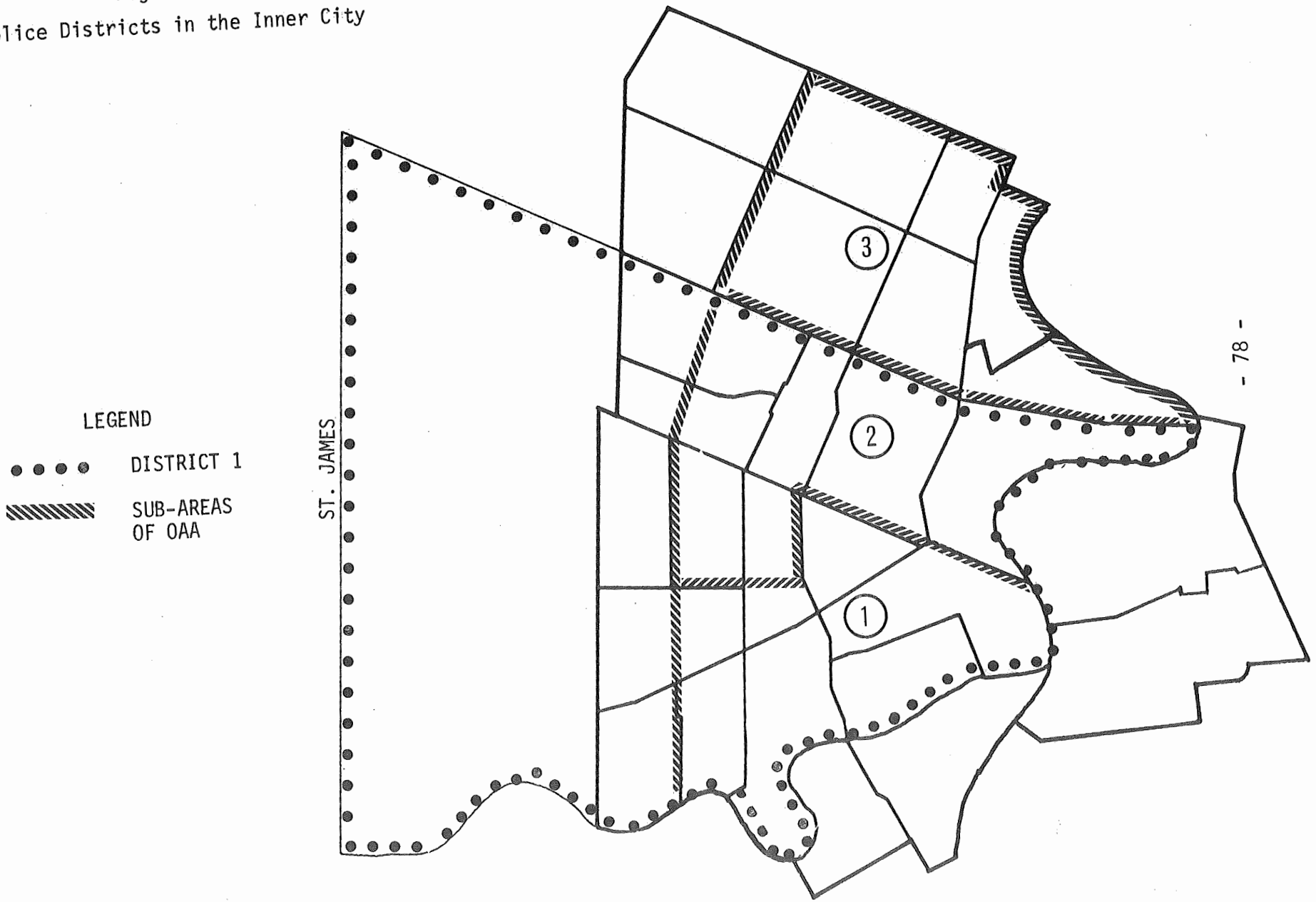
22. Joyce Epstein. Neighbourhood Police Team Experiment. (Winnipeg: I.U.S., 1978)

23. Chi-square tests at the 0.05 level proved insignificant.

Figure 4.1
Police Districts in the Inner City



An alternative explanation for the large proportion of criminal activity within the core area is that the area's concentration of retail, commercial and entertainment activities attracts people with criminal intentions. For example, of the total number of crimes committed within the core area, sub-area 1, the downtown, accounted for 69% of all frauds, 89% of all shoplifting offenses and 49% of all break and enters. As well, sub-area 2, the Main Street "strip", had 46% of all assaults.

It is also important to recognize that the large increases in arrests under the Liquor Act and the IPDA do not necessarily imply increases in alcoholism. The police have explicitly recognized alcohol abuse as an underlying cause of many types of crimes. Through OAA, they have encouraged more rigorous enforcement of the acts to reduce the number of victims and perpetrations of criminal actions involving the influence of alcohol.

Finally, the reader should appreciate that official police statistics will vary in the accuracy to which they measure the true number of crimes. Major crimes against property are believed to have close to a 100% reporting rate; crimes against persons, particularly sexual offenses and assaults, are believed to be greatly underreported. For example, evidence from other cities points out that not more than 40% of all rape victims report the crime to the police and some sources have estimated the reporting rate to be as low as 4-10%.[24]

The first core report discussed some of the causes of crime. Drawing largely from the 1969 Winnipeg Police report and interviews, the authors concluded that juvenile crime was associated with 3 factors:

1. the parent-child relationship
   - juveniles characteristically came from homes where the parents were irresponsible or overprotective, and where one parent, usually the father was absent.
   - the 1969 study found 31% of the juveniles to be from "broken homes and 22% to be from families receiving welfare."
2. schools
   - many juveniles were consistently truant and professed a dislike for schools

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24. Lorenne Clark. "Rape-Position Paper". National Action Committee. November 1977, pp. 11-16.

When commenting on the cause of crimes in general, the Core Report stated that

> much of the . . . problem stems from our failure to find solutions to the problems of poverty, alcohol abuse and lack of economic opportunity.

The police officers interviewed in 1970 all recognized the potential of preventive programs in reducing crime. In particular, characteristics of juvenile crime suggest that there is a real need to build a co-ordinated program involving police, the schools and social service agencies. Unfortunately, none of these institutions feels that it has the resources or the mandate to assume a co-ordinating role.

4-4 Summary

The first Core Area Report identified a number of social problems within the inner city; information presented in this chapter shows that many problems have continued to persist or worsen:

- measures of health reveal the inner city resident to be disadvantaged when compared to the suburban population
- fundamental social problems are on the increase as indicated by the rise in suicides, illegitimate pregnancies and truancy from school
- the elderly, young adults, multi-problem families and asocial youth are facing problems for which there has not been an adequate institutional response
- a significant number of people in need are dependent on agencies whose future is uncertain for lack of assured funding.

Against these indicators of a deteriorating social environment are the statistics which show an overall reduction in crimes and decreases in the number of people dependent on social assistance. As best as can be ascertained, these improvements were gained only through direct intervention: neighbourhood policing helped to reduce the crime rate and various social programs enabled more residents to become financially independent. The lesson is that problems which have continued to persist are unlikely to go away by themselves.

5. THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

In the late 1950's, a series of urban renewal studies documented some of the ills of the physical environment of the core area. These problems still persist today. They include: the railways and rights-of-way which divide the residential districts and hinder north-south movement; substandard industrial premises; a system of traffic arteries which are inadequate for transportation and disruptive to the residential neighbourhoods; and, an aged and deteriorated housing stock.

Since the final urban renewal report was submitted, the prospect of a massive rebuilding effort fell into public disfavour, not the least of the reasons being the costs involved. The alternatives, however, have been limited to some localized rehabilitation programs and a number of proposals; nothing of substance has been accomplished to reverse the physical decline of the area.[1]

A review of recent public and private developments in the inner city shows that the preponderance of capital investment was committed to the downtown area. Figure 5.1 presents a map of the locations of the major projects in the city. With the exception of the neighbourhood improvement project (NIP), most city-sponsored projects have been geared to supporting commercial and business activities in the CBD. In particular, the Convention Centre, the Osborne Street bridge reconstruction and the pedestrian concourse and parking garage at Portage and Main provide few direct benefits for the residents of the core. Similarly, private developments have been confined primarily to expensive high rise apartment, hotel and office construction.

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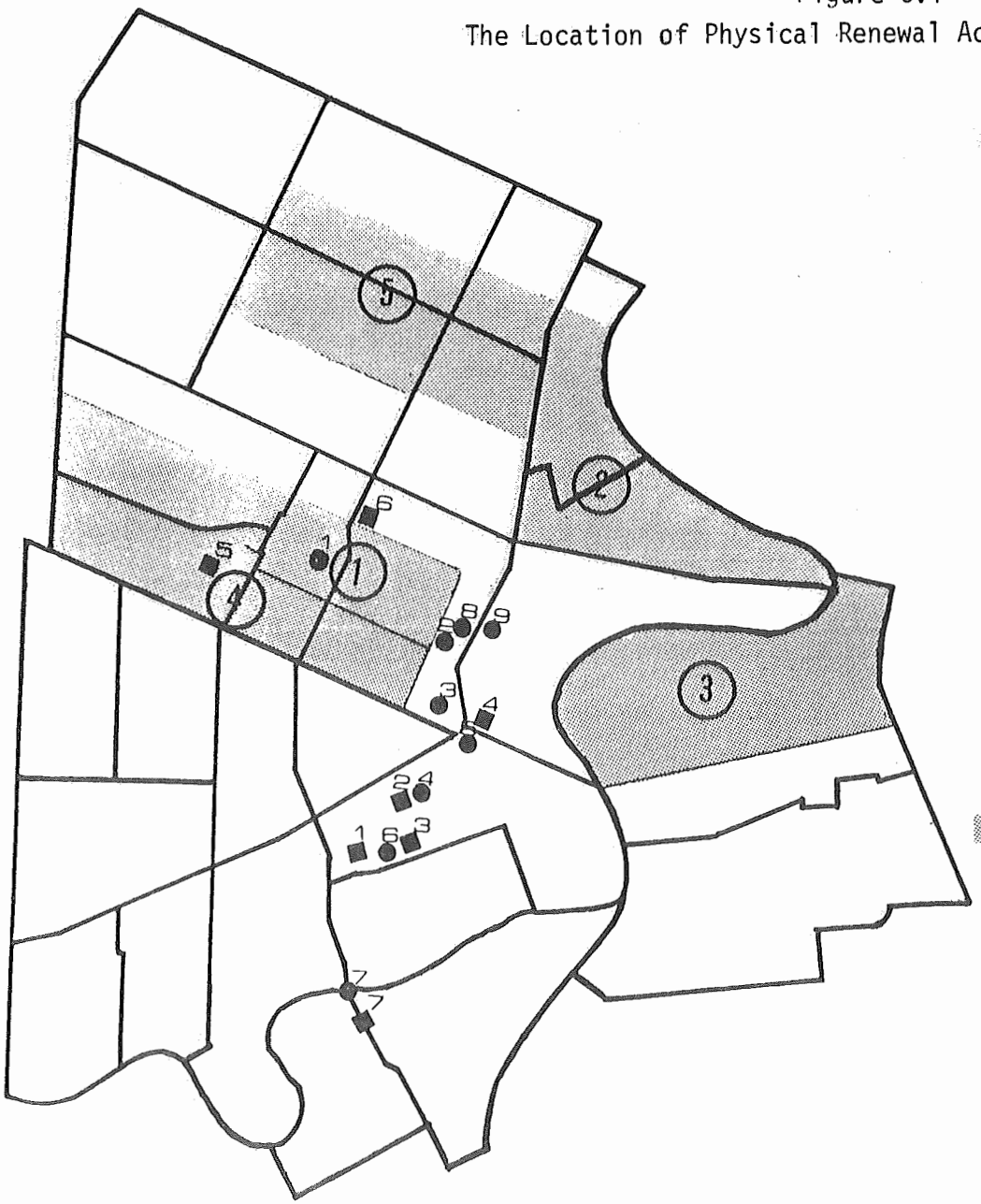
1. Social Planning Council. Main Street: A Position Paper, 1975.

Figure 5.1
The Location of Physical Renewal Activities in the Core



● City-Sponsored Activities

1. Freight Shed Community Centre Restoration & Recreation Area
2. Market Square redevelopment
3. Albert St. restoration
4. the Centennial Library
5. pedestrian concourse & parking garage at Portage and Main
6. the Convention Centre
7. the reconstructed Osborne bridge
8. new City Hall
9. Centennial Concert Hall

■ Privately Initiated

1. Ruperts Land Square
2. Eaton's Place
3. Lakeview Square
4. Winnipeg Inn & Richardson Building
5. Health Sciences Centre
6. Indian & Metis Friendship Centre
7. Osborne St. redevelopment

▒ NIP Areas

1. Centennial
2. North Point Douglas
3. North St. Boniface
4. West Alexander
5. William Whyte

The first core report noted the promise that NIP held for the inner city. At the time, 2 neighbourhoods were designated to receive NIP funds. Since then, the program has been expanded to include 5 neighbourhoods and extended an extra year to the end of 1979. Total funds committed for the 1973 - 1978 period amount to $22.6 million. As is discussed in greater detail in chapter 8, these selected neighbourhoods experienced marked improvements in the physical infrastructure and in community services. However, the authors of the first core area report were correct in anticipating that the funding has been insufficient to carry out extensive rehabilitation work.

The first chapter outlined how dissatisfaction with the physical environment can induce residents to leave the area. If the rate of out-migration is high enough, there will be a decline in the value of the housing stock which in turn will discourage owners from carrying out the rehabilitation and maintenance work on their units. In the second chapter, the review of resident perceptions identified a number of respondents who were unhappy with the physical condition of the houses in their neighbourhood and the general urban ills of noise, dirt, pollution, traffic and the like. These dislikes were balanced to some extent by their attachment to the area and the convenience of a central location. As well, other studies have noted that the quality of publicly provided services can affect resident satisfaction. These services include recreation facilities, schools, the maintenance of vacant lots, plus the "softer" services of fire protection, policing and medical care.[2]

Some of these physical attributes of the core are described to illustrate the concurrence between the residents' perceptions and the actual facts. This is followed by a more detailed review of the housing situation in the core area.

5-1 Aspects of the Physical Environment

5-1-1 Transportation

Surveys of the Winnipeg transportation system were undertaken in 1962, 1971, and 1976. For the downtown and inner city areas,

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2. G.R. Meadows and S.T. Call, "Combining Housing Market Trends and Resident Attitudes in Planning Urban Revitalization", Journal of the American Institute of Planners, July 1978, pp. 297-305.

traffic loads appeared to reach a peak in 1971. Since then, the amount of traffic has decreased; for example, the 1971 - 1976 period saw a decrease in regular commuters to the downtown area of 6,900.[3] In contrast, traffic flows within the older built up areas of the city and in the suburbs continued to increase over the same period for an overall gain of about 13%. This suggests, if anything, that the volume of traffic and the noise and pollution associated with it ought to have eased, reducing the detrimental effects of traffic.

However, the core remains as the principal focus of the transportation system. This means a higher density of major arterial roads through the area, and, because of the grid pattern of streets and avenues, the rush hour traffic can easily spill off the arterial roads onto the residential streets. As a result, the twice daily rush hour traffic permeates through a greater proportion of the core. In contrast, traffic in the suburbs is typically confined to the major arterials. (See figure 5.4). An additional indication of the overloaded street system is apparent from the number of street intersections where normal capacities were exceeded during peak hours. From 1962 to 1976 this measure increased by 72% as is shown below in table 5.1.[4]

Table 5.1
Street Intersection Capacity

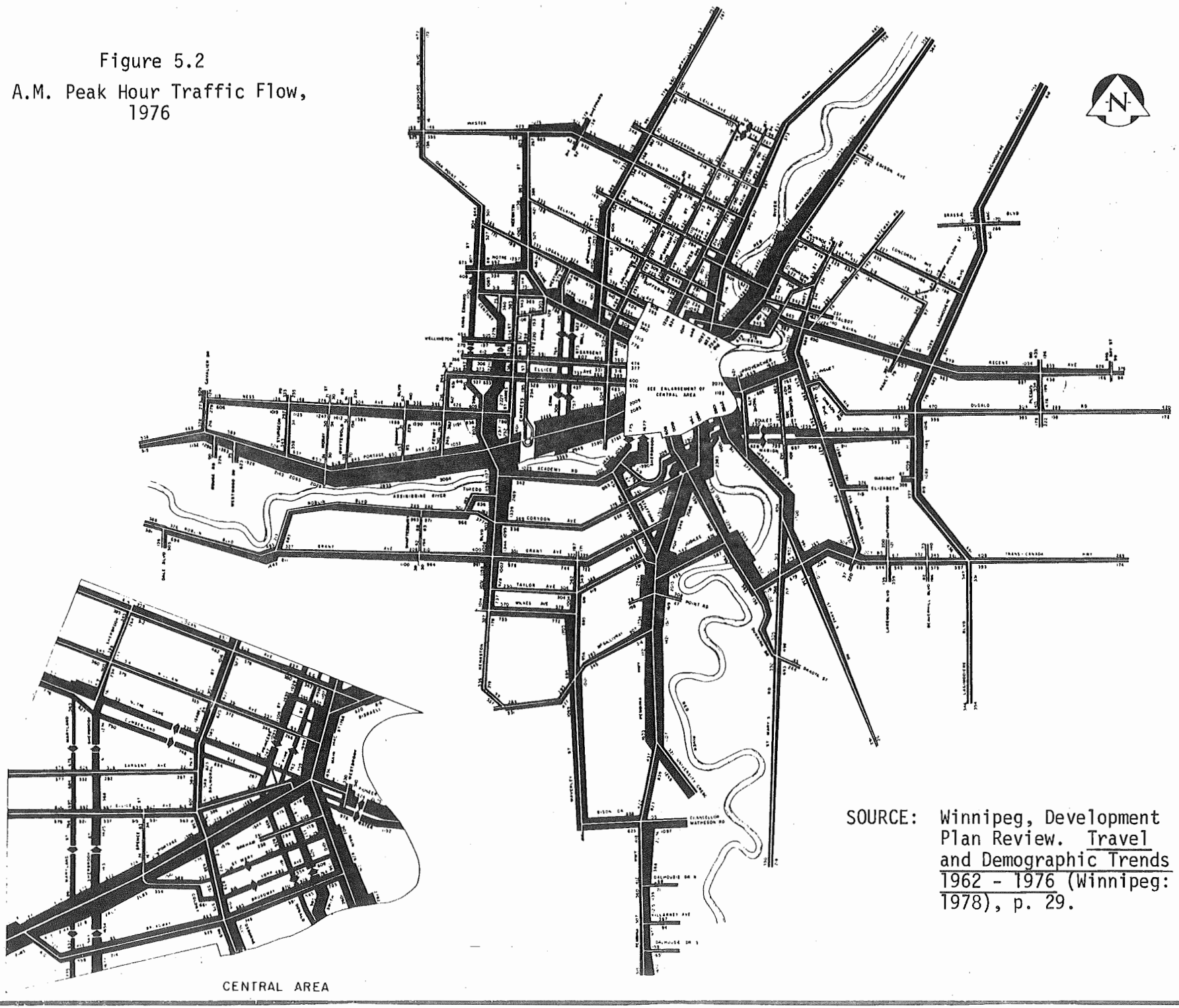
	Number of Intersections			
	Volume Exceeds Design Capacity		Volume Near Design Capacity	
	1962	1976	1962	1976
Core Area	25	43	45	40
Non-Core Area	6	43	13	33

3. The downtown area in this case is defined as the area bounded by both rivers, the CPR tracks and Spence Street. Winnipeg, Development Plan Review, Travel and Demographic Trends 1962 - 1976, (Winnipeg: 1978), p. 9.

4. Ibid. p. 33.

Figure 5.2

A.M. Peak Hour Traffic Flow, 1976



SOURCE: Winnipeg, Development Plan Review. Travel and Demographic Trends 1962 - 1976 (Winnipeg: 1978), p. 29.

The impact of traffic on an area is not simply one of aesthetics. Although findings are inconclusive, studies elsewhere have shown that high traffic volumes can reduce the sale value of houses, and can be injurious to health through stress inducing noise, the production of toxic exhaust fumes and through accidents between pedestrians and motor vehicles.

5-1-2 Convenience

Travel times by car or bus give one indication of the relative convenience of an inner city location. During the 1976 transportation study, most of the core area was found to be no more than 5 minutes by car and 15 minutes by bus to downtown (the corner of Portage and Donald). The equivalent times from the fringe of the built-up area were 20 minutes by car and 45 minutes by bus.[5] There is a clear advantage to living in the core for those without cars and this advantage is reflected in the lower car ownership rates in the inner city. Households in the downtown area, for example, had an ownership rate of less than half of the metro average.[6]

The convenience of the core area can also be indicated by how close a household is to such services as regular bus routes, supermarkets, stores, schools and parks. Of the core area residents, 66% had a location that was rated "highly accessible" to the above services, whereas only 42% of the outer city were in the same category.[7]

This means, for example, that a person without a car living in the core would more likely be able to comfortably walk to the nearest grocery store on a day-to-day basis. In the suburbs, the same person would have to incur either long walks or expensive taxi rides. For people with limited mobility and incomes such as the elderly, the loss of reasonably accessible stores and other services can threaten their independence and ultimately force them into a more institutionalized setting.

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5. Ibid, p. 22 - 23.
6. Ibid, p. 48.
7. The ratings were a function of the distance by street blocks to the services weighted by the size of the household, from the Social Planning Council "Housing Survey", unpublished statistical report. September 1978.

5-1-3 Recreation

The first core area report documented a serious deficiency in park and recreation space and in recreation programming. In 1975, the amount of land available for parks and recreation in the core area was far below the City of Winnipeg standard of 8 acres per 1,000 population. One area north of the CPR yards (census tracts 34, 42, 43, and 45) had as few as 0.4 acres per 1,000 population. The recreation programs offered in the core were criticized for being too sports oriented with too few activities for women and senior citizens.

Over the 1973 - 1978 period, 32.3 acres of park and recreation space have been added to the inner city inventory. Except for Whittier Park, the rest of the land acquisitions are in small scattered parcels.[8]

The Parks and Recreation development budget indicates that the land is under intensive use. Of the total $4.1 million expended for 1973 - 1978 period, about 80% was used to construct or upgrade recreation buildings and sports facilities.

Programming by the Parks and Recreation Department still puts a strong emphasis on sports. To some extent, this emphasis is predetermined by the inflexible design of the older community club facilities. However, a shift away from the traditional offerings of sports and arts and crafts is occurring. It is now possible to choose from a wider range of leisure activities and non-competitive sports. As well, there are specific programs for senior citizens, parents and toddlers, and handicapped children. Linkages between schools and Parks and Recreation have been developed. The Department now sponsors numerous after-school activities within the schools.

Overall, the programs still tend to be object-oriented, that is having specific goals with few opportunities for informal social gatherings for teenagers. For example, the summer calendar for the City Centre - Fort Rouge Community lists only 4 youth drop-in centres. Also, an independent study of the two centres run by the Winnipeg Boys and Girls Club found them to be the only youth

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8. O. Johanson. Director of Planning, Development and Central Services, personal communication.

drop-in centres of their kind in the north part of the core.[9] Other agency directors have pointed out that either their agency is the only one providing the service in their immediate area or the demands for services outstrip the agency's capabilities.[10] More generally, the City council's investigation into youth programs reported that the needs of the Winnipeg youth are "the last priority in the community".[11] While we have not documented total expenditures by the City for recreation, several informed observers have found that a disproportionately smaller amount of funds are spent for recreation in the inner city. This merely confirms that disparities identified in the previous core report have persisted.

5-1-4 Other Aspects of the Physical Environment

The preceeding discussion is only illustrative of some of the aspects of the physical environment. An overall appraisal is impossible without a more complete study. Other topics that would need to be investigated include: the number of fires in homes, the presence of rodents and vermin, problems of residential parking, the quality of public services, air and noise pollution, and the extent of incompatible land uses. As well, we would also want to know the extent to which the unique character of the inner city, its tree-lined streets and traditionally styled houses, is appreciated as an asset to inner city living. But as best as could be discovered, there are no systematic studies on any of these aspects. Problems of on-street parking in residential areas, for example, are dealt with on an ad-hoc basis.

The regulation of noise pollution provides a good example of some of the difficulties of enforcing existing regulations designed to protect the environment.[12] Although the City has defined the maximum acceptable level of noise as a part of its industrial zoning by-law, the monitoring of any infractions is the responsibility of the Province. Enforcement is further complicated

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9. Centres are located on Ellen and Dufferin Streets. The Winnipeg Boys and Girls Club Inc.: A Review prepared by the Read *OP Centre Ltd. for the United Way of Winnipeg (1978).

10. Milton Sussman. (West Central Youth Outreach Project Director), Winnipeg Free Press (Letter to the editor) November 25, 1978; Sister Mary McNamara (Director, Rossbrook House) personal interview, March 1979.

11. "Youth Last on City's Priority List: Report". Winnipeg Free Press, March 21, 1979.

12. Interview with James McKay, Department of Mines, Natural Resources and the Environment (Winnipeg, Manitoba: 2 April, 1979).

because the criteria used by the City requires a different monitoring system than is used by the Province. Even if these problems could be resolved, they would do little to control traffic noise, a major source of urban noise. Recent work by C.M.M.C. has directly related noise levels to traffic volumes which was indicated to be much greater in the inner city.

5-2 Housing in the Inner City

5-2-1 Housing Stock Profile

There are approximately 44,363 dwelling units within the inner city study area. Apartment blocks including privately-owned apartment buildings, public housing and non-profit buildings comprise 24,083 units or 53.3% of this total housing stock. Single detached, single attached, row dwellings and duplex dwellings make up the remaining 20,280 inner city units. A more detailed breakdown of the inner city housing stock is found in table 5.2.

1. Tenure

A much greater proportion of the housing stock is tenant occupied in the inner city, 70.3% compared to 32.8% in the outer city. The percentage of tenant-occupied dwellings has steadily increased in the inner city from 65% in 1966 to 70.3% in 1976. The trend towards rental accommodation is not exclusive to the inner city as the outer city has also shown an increase of 7.8% in tenant-occupied dwellings. However, the number of owner-occupied dwellings has decreased in the inner city by slightly less than 1,000 units while the outer city shows a continuing increase from 76,595 in 1966 to 99,390 in 1976.

2. New Construction

There were 4,953 new housing unit starts in the inner city between 1972 and mid-1978. New construction in the inner city during this time was predominantly apartment construction (91%). Private sector housing accounted for only 15% of the total inner city housing constructed since 1972. Much of this private residential housing construction has been smaller apartment units which do not provide housing opportunities for families. Subsidized housing has made up the greatest quantity of new construction in the inner city, 60% being public housing and 24% non-profit housing. Between 1970 and 1977, 431 family

Table 5.2
Inner City Housing Stock 1977

Inner City Housing Stock Summary	
Total Apt. Buildings (over 5 units)	861
-total no. of units	19819
Total Public Housing Units (41 projects)	3051
-EPH	2620
-FPH	431
Total Non-Profit Units (11 projects)	1213
-senior citizen	644
-hostel	178
-beds	391
Total Single Detached	13195
Total Semi, Row, Duplex, Attached	7085

Total Inner City Unit Stock 1978	
Apts.	19819
Public	3051
Non-Profit	1213
Single	13195
Semi	7085
	44363

Total Inner City Rental Stock 1978	
Apts.	19819
Public	3051
Non-Profit	1213
Single	2790
Semi	4945
	31818

% Rental Stock of Total Stock
72%

Sources: C.M.H.C. Housing Inventory Map
City of Winnipeg Apartment Inventory 1977
Statistics Canada, Occupied Private Dwellings by Tenure and Structural Type 1976 - CTDHHA 11

public housing units and 2,620 elderly public housing units were built in the inner city. This amounts to 22% of all family public housing and 57% of all elderly public housing build in Winnipeg.

3. Demolitions

There has been a considerable loss of inner city housing stock through demolition in the order of 1,462 units between 1972 and mid-1978. It is likely that these demolitions are reducing the family housing stock; 603 single family dwellings and 523 attached units were lost in the 1972 - 1978 period in addition to another 816 apartment units. M.H.R.C., the chief builder of inner city housing, has provided only 431 units of family public housing, an amount less than one-half the total number of family units lost. Private apartment construction has similarly emphasized the development of smaller bachelor and one bedroom units.

4. Housing Trends

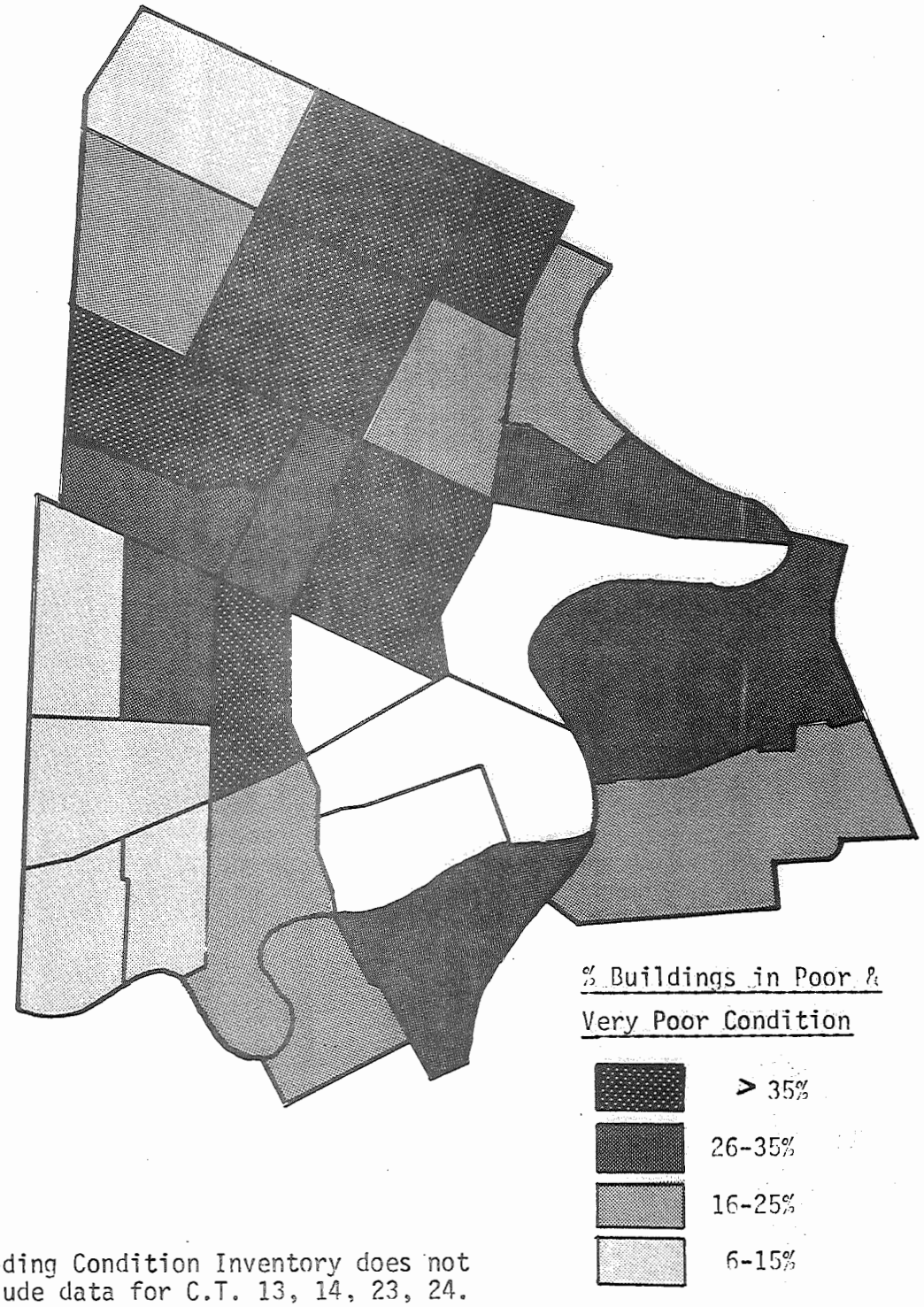
Despite a steady increase in family dwellings in the city as a whole, little has been accomplished in replacing these losses of family units in the core. One consequence of these losses is that vacancies in apartment buildings are critically low for those buildings constructed before 1970. The inner city vacancy rate is a low 0.7% compared to the overall vacancy rate for the city of 1.8% (which in itself is very low). The only inner city housing that has substantial vacancy rates are the recently built units. (The vacancy rate for units constructed between 1971 and 1975 was 5.7%). These newer, non-subsidized units are not affordable to persons on a low or moderate income.

5-2-2 Housing Quality

Sixty-nine percent of the housing stock was constructed before 1946 and only 14% of the existing stock was constructed after 1960. Partly due to the age of the housing stock, there exists a significant number of deteriorated dwellings. Of the total inner city housing stock, 23% is in very poor condition.

FIGURE 5.3

DISTRIBUTION OF POOR QUALITY HOUSING IN THE INNER CITY



* Building Condition Inventory does not include data for C.T. 13, 14, 23, 24.

Source: District Planning Branch, City of Winnipeg Housing Condition Survey

Table 5.3
Housing Condition in the Inner City 1978

Good		Fair		Poor		Very Poor	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
5,049	28.2	8,610	48.2	3,836	21.5	346	1.9

Source: District Planning Division, City of Winnipeg Planning Department, Field Survey Notes, February 1978.

The area north of Portage Avenue, particularly those census tracts bordering the CPR yards show the greatest number of buildings in poor condition. The River/Osborne area (census tract 12) is the only southern tract with a large ratio (33%) of the housing stock rated in poor condition. At the extreme northern boundary of the study area, both census tracts 42 and 45 show pockets of badly deteriorated housing with 49% and 42% of their total stock in poor or very poor condition. (See figure 5.3).

Through comparison of present building condition tabulation and historical building condition information, it is possible to distinguish areas where housing maintenance appears to have curbed the process of deterioration and other areas where housing stock decline has continued. The census tracts in the central part of our study area, north of Portage, (tracts 36, 35, 34, and 25) have shown slight improvement in terms of building condition possibly due to the activities of the NIP and RRAP programs in North Point Douglas and Centennial as well as extensive public housing construction. Census tracts which show evidence of decline since the last housing condition inventory are tracts 17, 22, 28, 33, and 43. These areas show no particular clustering pattern although they are all on the edge of the central core area, perhaps an indication that decline in building condition is spreading away from the city centre as the housing stock succumbs to either the aging process or poor maintenance programs.

The degree of absentee-ownership is often equated with neighbourhood instability; those neighbourhoods with a high incidence of rental occupancy are often thought to be more prone to negligent maintenance. In the inner city, for every owner-occupied dwelling there are 2½ tenant-occupied units. However, the problem is not so much that of tenancy but rather that of unit upkeep. The increasing costs of maintenance are compounded by the costs of meeting the City's Upgrading and Maintenance and Occupancy By-laws. Rent Controls and the difficulty in obtaining rehabilitation loans in high risk areas of the city also discourage investment in maintenance. As explained in the City's own Apartment Loss Study,

> The prospects for obtaining far more substantive building improvements appear better if an owner's credit worthiness and motivation are good, the neighbourhood is sound, and income streams will improve. The only way the last can be achieved is by carrying out more noticeable and comprehensive improvements at a cost of several thousand dollars a unit. Unfortunately, however, this would mean that rents would be increased to a level that low income people would no longer be able to afford.[13]

5-2-3 House Prices in the Core

Another indication of the perceived quality of the residential environment is revealed through the housing market. Changes in house prices in the core area relative to other parts of the city can be interpreted as the expressed preference for living in the typical inner city neighbourhood. Eight inner city districts as developed by the Winnipeg Real Estate Board are used to present information on house sales. Although the districts do not directly coincide with the core area, there is enough overlap to determine variations in housing price and re-sale trends for inner city areas.

The re-sale market for housing in the inner city appears weak. In 1978, of all properties listed for sale using the multiple listings service, only 34% were sold. The sales to listings ratio for the inner city has fallen by 7% since 1973. However, the ratio for the entire city has fallen at a much greater rate, 19% over the same period of time.

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13. City of Winnipeg, Apartment Loss Study, 1978, p. 37.

A more detailed analysis of the sales to listings ratio by real estate district reveals where the weakest areas of the inner city housing market lie. (See table 5.4).

The results from table 5.4 may be summarized as follows:

Both the Osborne/Corydon Area and St. Boniface have the healthiest real estate market in the inner city.

After a slump in 1977, the North Point Douglas area appears to be improving in terms of housing marketability.

Both the Wolseley and the West Inner City districts have shown a stable market.

The North End and the residential areas paralleling the CPR Tracks show a decline in marketability particularly during the last three years.

The most central inner city real estate district has consistently shown the lowest ratio of properties listed to properties sold. On the average only one fifth of the properties listed are sold. Since 1974 there has been a slight improvement in this situation, although the central inner city remains the area of lowest marketability.

Average housing prices in the inner city are markedly lower than housing prices for the city as a whole. The Multiple Listings Service annual summaries show a difference in average housing prices between the inner city and the total city of approximately $13,000. The difference has remained uniform since 1975. Furthermore, the rate of price increase is equal between the inner city and the total city.

Marked variations between different sub-areas of the core exist; the difference in average sales was as great as $15,000 in 1978. Figure 5-5 illustrates the following trends in inner city neighbourhood real estate values:

The area of the most rapid increase in property value is the central city area.

The areas showing the lowest property values are the central city, the land paralleling the CPR tracks and the North End.

Table 5.4
Units Sold As A Percentage Of Units Listed
By Real Estate District

District	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973
11	44.7 %	41.8 %	41.8 %	44.8 %	48.0 %	55.3 %
21	43.4	35.9	41.0	38.9	46.6	47.5
41	34.9	24.1	32.1	27.3	35.2	36.2
42	30.4	27.2	28.6	31.2	38.6	34.8
51	34.7	31.9	35.3	35.2	43.8	43.7
52	26.6	27.0	28.9	33.9	35.9	33.5
53	35.4	35.0	38.2	41.9	49.6	43.5
90	22.2	20.9	18.9	17.6	16.7	22.1
Average	33.9	30.4	33.1	33.8	39.3	39.5

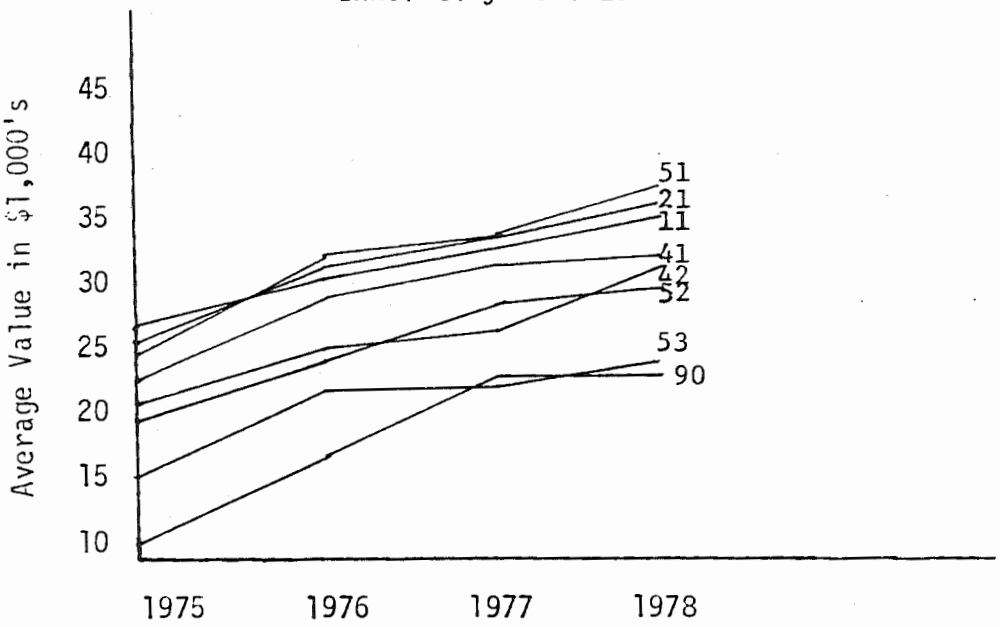
Source: Winnipeg Real Estate Board, MLS Summaries 1973-1978.

Real Estate District Legend

District No.	General Location
11	North Osborne, Corydon Street Area
21	St. Boniface
41	North Point Douglas
42	North End - North of CPR Tracks
51	Wolseley Area
52	Parallel to and south of CPT Tracks
53	West Inner City
90	Central Inner city

Figure 5.4

Changes In Real Estate Value By
Inner City Real Estate Districts



Real Estate District Legend

District No.	General Location
11	North Osborne, Corydon St. Area
21	St. Boniface
41	North Point Douglas
42	North End - North of CPR Tracks
51	Wolseley Area
52	Parallel and South of CPR Tracks
53	West Inner City
90	Central Inner City

Source: Winnipeg Real Estate Board, MLS Annual Summaries, 1975-1978

The North Point Douglas Area has shown an increase in property value since 1977.

The Wolseley Area, the North Osborne/Corydon St. Area, and the St. Boniface Area show the areas of highest priced inner city housing.

In conclusion, the market for existing residential units in the inner city has remained relatively stable over the last six years and seems less prone to major fluctuations in the number of sales and the value of those sales in comparison to the total city. Housing is considerably less expensive than in the suburban areas, particularly those locations where residential land uses are competing with industrial and more noxious commercial enterprises.

5-3 Summary

The Winnipeg inner city has had a physical environment which has long been in need of rehabilitation and renewal. To date, most major improvements have been confined to the downtown area. Large scale public works and private commercial developments have been built at the expense of upgrading the residential areas. However, there have been some improvements in the provision of park space and recreation services.

Residents of the inner city were at an advantage when transportation times and accessibility to local services were considered. But the grid pattern of the streets permits the intrusion of commuter traffic into residential areas. Traffic congestion in the inner city has increased since 1962 to the detriment of the inner city. There are other aspects of the physical environment that could be influential in attracting residents and encouraging them to remain in the core. However, it is unlikely that policies will be established to enhance the attributes of the inner city or to control its negative aspects.

Special consideration was given to the inner city housing stock because it is a key variable in determining the future of a community. Data on housing trends revealed that overall, the housing is of poor quality primarily due to its age and lack of maintenance. Demolitions are aggravating an already tight supply of low cost housing for families, yet past efforts by M.H.R.C.

and the private sector have failed to replace the units lost through demolitions. The low demand for inner city houses is indicative of the perceived quality of the residential environment and provides one reason for demolitions and the inadequate level of maintenance and rehabilitation. There were distinct inner city sub-markets, however. The St. Boniface and the southern area of the core have stable markets while the areas bounding the CPR yards and parts of the downtown have remained weak.

6. WINNIPEG'S NATIVE POPULATION

The native population in Winnipeg has long been recognized as a special needs group in relation to the delivery of social, health and housing programs. Current estimates indicate that Winnipeg's native population may double between 1975 and 1985. Much of this increase is expected to take place in the core area of the city. This chapter attempts to set the numbers and needs of native people living in the inner city into a comparative context, involving a discussion of the Canadian and Manitoban statistics, and information on Winnipeg as a whole.

6-1 Definitions

The term native refers to those persons of Indian, Metis and Inuit origin. Indians may be categorized into two groups; status and non-status. Status Indians are registered with the federal government. An Indian is registered[1] if he or she is a member of an Indian Band; is entitled to use the lands of the various tribes and bands in Canada, or is a descendent of a male of one of the above categories. A female Indian loses her status if she marries a non-Indian.[2] A non-status Indian is one who has received compensation in return for Treaty rights or is of Indian descent but is not considered an Indian under the terms of the Indian Act; an enfranchised Indian is one who has

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1. Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of Cabinet, Province of Manitoba. "Federal Programs" in Program Analysis of Government Services to Status Indians in Manitoba, 1976.

2. J.S. Frideres, Canada's Indians, Contemporary Conflict. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 2.

surrendered his or her legal status; and a Metis is defined as having mixed white and Indian ancestry. Inuits are commonly known as Eskimos.

Because of the special legal obligations, provincial and federal departments tend only to record statistics on status natives; data on non-status and Metis are particularly difficult to obtain. The use that can be made of records of social agencies is limited. They do not always separate statistics for natives from other clients, nor do they distinguish between status and non-status Indians. As a result, there is very little data available that has been collected and can be used in a systematic matter. Instead we have relied on expert opinion and exploratory surveys.

6-2 Canadian Native Population: Some Comparisons

The total native population in Canada in 1976 was estimated at 784,400. Although the growth rate of the native population has steadily declined from 3.4% per year in the 1950's to 2.8% in the 1970's, it is still much higher than the total Canadian population rate of increase of 1.5% per year.[3]

Other socio-economic comparisons between the Canadian average and the native population show that the native people are far from being a part of the mainstream of Canadian society. In comparison to the average Canadian lifespan of 72 years, the average lifespan for an Indian in 1970 was 34 years.[4] A more detailed comparison of death rates is found in table 6.1.[5]

Table 6.1
The Registered Indian and the General Canadian Population: A Comparison of Mortality Statistics

	Registered Indians	Canadian Population
Mortality Rate	8.32/100	7.42/1,000
Infant Death Rate	61.12/1,000	15.30/1,000
Violent Death Rate	2.80/1,000	.74/1,000

3. Subcommittee of Cabinet, "Federal Programs", p. 2.
4. Frideres, p. 19.
5. Subcommittee of Cabinet, "Federal Programs", p. 2.

Other statistics indicate that for Canadian native people, the drop out rate in schools is 84%; 50% of all native housing is substandard, 41% of all native people are on welfare and only 32% of all natives in urban areas are employed. Manitoba statistics on status Indians paint a similar picture of native people as a disadvantaged group.[6] It was estimated that in 1975, 73% of the status Indian population was unemployed or underemployed, 35-45% of all parole work in Manitoba was related to native offenders and 26.3% of the population of adult correctional institutions is estimated to be status Indian.

6-3 Manitoba's Native Population

Estimates of Manitoba's native population vary considerably. According to 1971 census data, Manitoba ranked fourth in terms of numbers of natives residing within the province, but along with Saskatchewan had the highest ratio of native to non-native population, 4.4 natives per 100 population.

Table 6.2 presents various population estimates of the Manitoba native population. The M.H.S.C. statistical series shows that the reserve population grew at a rate of 4.5% per year from 1972 to 1975 and by 2.1% from 1976 to 1977.

Despite the decline in average birth and fertility rates for natives (table 6.3) the growth rate for the next decade is expected to average around 3% per year.[7] The continued rapid increases are attributed to the young demographic structure of the native population: 60% of the natives are less than 20 years old. In addition, the calculated fertility rates could be understating the true rate. Almost 30% of the women included in the fertility rate calculations are 15 to 19 years old, yet current statistics show that the highest proportion of births occur amongst women aged 20 to 24.[8]

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6. Subcommittee of Cabinet, "Program Analysis".

7. Ibid. p. 22; Ronald Newman, personal communication November 1978. Estimates based on Department of Indian and Northern Affairs population projections which utilized an age-cohort survival model.

8. Manitoba Department of Health and Social Development. Population of Manitoba by Health and Social Development Regions, by age, group and sex, June 12, 1977.

Table 6.2
The Native Population of Manitoba: 1971 - 1977

Source	Year	Classification of Native			
		Band	Non-Band	Status	Non-Status and Metis
Census Canada[a]	1971	33,365	9,670		
Manitoba Health Services Commission[b]	1972	30,451			
	1973	31,771			
	1974	34,407			
	1975	35,148			
	1976	40,219[c]			
	1977[d]	41,056			
Program Analysis[e]	1971			36,851	75,400
	1975			42,000	
Department of Indian Affairs	1976	42,303			

a. Statistics Canada, Special Census Tabulation (Manitoba Digest of Statistics, July 1974, p. 65).

b. 1972 - 1976 figures from Maternal & Child Care Vital Statistics "Update 1976 Manitoba Vital Statistics", (Manitoba Department of Health & Social Development, May 1978).

c. The large increase between 1975 and 1976 can be accounted for by an audit conducted by M.H.S.C.

d. Population of Manitoba by Health and Social Development Regions by Age Group and Sex (Manitoba Department of Health & Social Development, June 1, 1977).

e. Subcommittee of Cabinet, "Program Analysis", p. 22 and "Federal Programs", p. 3.

Table 6.3
Birth and Fertility Rates in Manitoba[a]

Year	Birth Rates[b]			Fertility Rates[c]		
	Indian Reserves	Manitoba	Winnipeg	Indian Reserves	Manitoba	Winnipeg
1972	32.9		16.1	166.5	72.3	63.7
1973	21.5		15.5	113.1	69.3	60.7
1974	17.9	17.1	15.2	86.8	67.8	58.8
1975	14.8	16.8	15.0	74.6	66.7	57.7
1976	12.6	16.8	14.4	61.3	63.5	54.9

a. Maternal and Child Care Vital Statistics: Update 1976, Manitoba Vital Statistics, (Manitoba Department of Health and Social Development, May 1978).

b. Number of infants born alive per 1,000 population.

c. Number of infants born alive per 1,000 females aged 15 - 49.

6-4 Winnipeg's Native Population

Winnipeg represents a major catchment area for Manitoba Indians leaving the reserve. When compared to twelve other Canadian centres, Winnipeg has ranked amongst the top four cities in terms of the numbers of native people living in urban centres since 1961.[9] (See table 6.4)

Table 6.4
Indians and Inuit In Urban Centres[a]

City	1961		1971		1976	
	Native Population	Rank	Native Population	Rank	Native Population	Rank
Calgary	335	10th	2,265	7th	475	6th
Edmonton	995	3rd	5,205	5th	1,255	4th
Hamilton	841	5th	1,925	8th	180	9th
London	340	9th	1,175	10th	100	11th
Montreal	507	8th	9,540	1st	1,500	3rd
Prince Albert	225	11th	1,050	12th	-	-
Prince Rupert	880	4th	1,780	9th	120	10th
Regina	539	6th	2,860	6th	290	8th
Saskatoon	207	12th	1,070	11th	350	7th
Toronto	1,196	1st	6,475	3rd	1,655	1st
Vancouver	530	7th	7,325	2nd	875	5th
Winnipeg	1,082	2nd	6,420	4th	1,640	2nd

Source: 1961 Perspective Canada, p. 244
1971-76 Census of Canada, "Ethnic Origin"

a. Ranking results were similar when the number of natives were calculated as a percent of the total city population.

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9. Native person is defined as persons of Indian 'ethnic origin' by Canada Census between 1961 and 1971. 1976 statistics are derived from Canada Census 'mother tongue' statistics. The latter is known to underestimate the numbers of native people.

It is estimated from Census Canada 'mother tongue' statistics that in 1971 approximately 68% of native Indians and Inuit located in Winnipeg were living within the I.U.S. study area boundary as shown in table 6.5. Census tracts 22, 25, 26, 34 and 43 exhibit the largest relative concentrations of native people.

Table 6.5
'Mother Tongue', Eskimo and Native Indian Population of Winnipeg

1971 Census

Part of City In which Population Located	Eskimo and Native Indian Population	Total Population	% of Total Population	% of Winnipeg's Native Population
Inner City	1,710	125,573	1.4	67.7%
Outer City	815	414,675	.20	32.2%
Wpg. C.M.A.	2,525	540,260	.47	100.0%

Source: 1971 Census of Canada, Special Request 1973, Mother Tongue Population of Winnipeg.

6-4-1 From the Reserve to the City

There are no accurate assessments available on the rate or size of native migration to Winnipeg. Using a comparison of Band Lists and 1976 Manitoba Health Services (M.H.S.C.) records, rough approximations have been developed to estimate the proportion of status Indians living in urban areas and on reserves.[10] From a sample of 9,584 status Indians, 2,880 or 30% were found to have Winnipeg addresses. The survey examined only those Natives from reserves near Winnipeg which prevents generalizations being made about the total population. As Schaeffer reports, the reserves closer to Winnipeg tend to have a higher proportion of their band living "off reserve" than do the reserves located in more isolated parts of Manitoba.[11] In addition, the comparison of the Band Lists and

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10. The Tripartite Target Population Analysis Committee. Interim Report Phase 1, (mimeo) July 22, 1977.

11. Donald S. Schaeffer. In-Migration of Native People to Winnipeg: A Review of Literature and Discussion, (Canadian Council on Rural Development, 1978) mimeo. pp. 17-18.

M.H.S.C. files revealed enough inaccuracies to render both data files useless for establishing population counts for the Winnipeg Natives. Nevertheless, these figures do indicate that a significant proportion of status Indians live off-reserve and that Winnipeg is a primary place of residence for this group. This tends to confirm earlier statements made by Frideres on nation-wide patterns of migration and I.U.S. findings on in-migration to Winnipeg.[12] Current opinion pegged the 1976 status population between 10,000 to 15,000 estimates for 1978 are slightly greater at 12,000 to 14,000, with an outside figure as high as 20,000.[13]

The total native population is estimated on the basis of ratios between status and non-status Indians. This ratio varies, however, from 1:1 to 1:2, depending on the definition of 'non-status' used by the expert consulted. Consequently, the total native population is currently believed to range between 24,000 (12,000 status and 12,000 non-status) to 42,000 (14,000 and 28,000).

The rate of migration off reserves is estimated by finding the difference between increases in the overall Manitoba status population, births less deaths, and population increases on reserves. Winnipeg is believed to be the principal destination of most natives leaving reserves in Manitoba as well as for natives from eastern Saskatchewan and north-western Ontario. The overall number of status Indians arriving in Winnipeg is estimated at 1,200 - 1,300 per year.

6-4-2 Future Population Size

Projections of the native population expected to reside in Winnipeg can be made under assumptions that recent trends will continue. This method of estimating future growth is extremely simplistic because there is no recognition of the reasons for migration or of the size of the potential population most likely to migrate. Assuming that for status Indians:

a) the Manitoba population will be between 54,000 and 62,000 in 1985

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12. Frideres, Canada's Indians; and L. Axworthy and P. Christie, Winnipeg's Core Area (Winnipeg: I.U.S., 1975).
13. Schaeffer, In-Migration, p. 13.

b) migration into Winnipeg will increase from the current net gain of 1,200 to 1,300 per year; or an equivalent of 70 to 85 percent of the total migrants.

The Winnipeg status population in 1985 is estimated to lie between 18,000 and 25,000. These projections should not be accepted without question. A recent polling of key representatives of native service agencies found there was considerable uncertainty about the size of the native population and the rate of migration.[14]

6-4-3 Reasons for Migration

Frideres has documented a number of Canadian case studies that examined why native people leave the reserve for the city. Although poorly understood, the reasons cited are a combination of "push" and "pull" factors which precipitate the decision to leave the reserve and attract migrants to the city. "Push" factors include high levels of unemployment on the reserves, poor housing, and an increasing reserve population faced with sharing a fixed supply of land. "Pull" factors include the hope of employment, the search for education, the desire of younger Indians to demonstrate independence and the belief that they will 'make it' in the city.

Schaeffer points out that native migration is part of the general shift of population from rural to urban areas. Thus, he argues that of those migrating to the city, the 20 to 34 age group will be over-represented and the older age cohorts under represented.[15]

The Indian-Metis Probe[16] undertaken in Winnipeg in 1970 tends to confirm that these factors apply in the local Winnipeg situation. It found that over half of its respondents living in the city were under 30 years old and had a comparatively better education than their reserve counterparts. Their principal reasons for coming to the city were for employment (43%) and education (11%), indicating a highly motivated group.

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14. Canadian Council on Rural Development, Technical Advisory Committee, Interviews on the Migration of Native People to Winnipeg, Manitoba (mimeo) 1978.

15. Schaeffer, p. 16.

16. The Indian-Metis Probe, The Indian-Metis Friendship Centre and the Institute of Urban Studies, 1971.

Similarly, a 1977 nation-wide study found economic necessity to be the primary reason for migration. The survey showed that 74 percent of those natives living in cities would prefer to return to the country if they had a real choice.[17]

6-4-4 Migration Patterns

There is evidence that for many migrants, the initial move to the city is not a permanent one. Some migrants will move between the reserve and the city without permanently settling in the city. This pattern is indicated both by M.H.S.C. data[18] which found that 17 percent of native people listed with Winnipeg addresses had returned to the reserve and by the Indian-Metis Probe which found that 28 percent of 184 respondents had lived in the city for less than a year. These numbers are substantiated by the comments of workers in the Main Street Project and the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre who have observed a large "floating" population. Other commentators have noted that migration into the city increases during fall and winter followed by increased return rates to the reserves during spring and summer. The cold weather makes living conditions more severe on the reserves by increasing the difficulty of obtaining wood and potable water.

It is hypothesized that once the native person has resolved in his own mind the comparative advantages of the reserve and the city, he is able to remain in the city for relatively longer periods of time. The Indian-Metis Probe found in 1970 that slightly less than one-half of 184 respondents had lived in the city for five years or more. The later target population analysis study of 1976 found that 40 of 60 respondents to be in the same category. These surveys were exploratory and informally designed making it difficult to generalize from the results. However, they do suggest the existence of a relatively permanent native population in the city. In addition, two studies of school transfers in the inner city found that in the short period between 1977 and 1978, native migrants are

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17. Preliminary Report by the National Association of Friendship Centres and the Secretary of State, "A Survey of Native People," June 1977. Cited by Schaeffer, p. 19.

18. Tripartite Target Population Analysis Committee, Interim Report.

increasingly remaining in the city rather than returning periodically to the reserve.

6-4-5 Location and Movement within Winnipeg

Where the migrant household first locates in the city and the frequency of subsequent moves within the city has important implications for housing and social policies. Usually, the native migrant has little choice about where he can live. His often low income dictates that he find the cheapest accommodation available. The older, substandard houses generally provide the least expensive source of shelter. These units are found most often in the inner city and the native's (as well as the other poorer ethnic groups) dependence on this supply is reflected by census data. It shows that the majority of the natives live in the core area.[19] Furthermore, this type of lower cost housing is more often subject to demolition or upgrading orders, forcing more frequent moves.

A recent study by the Department of Education[20] examined the mobility of children within the Winnipeg School Division Number One, an area contiguous with the old City of Winnipeg. The study did not discriminate between native and non-native movers but did find through a small number of follow-up interviews that 78 percent of those relocating were of native ancestry. Specifically, those families with a high propensity to move had the following characteristics:

- 56% were Metis
- 44% of the households were female-headed single parent families
- the typical family comprised 3 school age children and one pre-schooler
- average length of stay in one location was 8 months
- most common reason for moving was inadequate housing arrangements

A subsequent study was conducted by a committee of School District Number One to follow up on the 1976-1977 results. Comparison of the two sets of data led the committee to conclude that:

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19. The Indian-Metis probe found that 48% of the respondents first located in the center and 25% in the North End.

20. Evaluation, Research and Policy Analysis Branch, Department of Education, Province of Manitoba. "Migrancy Study Winnipeg School Division No. 1; Elememtary Schools". 1977.

- Norquay school is the major receiving school for native migrants locating in the city.
- Subsequent moves within the city by native migrants are generally confined within the inner city.
- Between 1976 and 1977 there was a 9% decrease in children leaving Norquay school for schools outside the city; suggesting an increased tendency for migrants to remain in the city or within the Norquay school area.
- The study stressed the availability of low-cost housing in determining where native migrants will locate.
- The demolition of housing stock in school district 1 was thought to be the cause of student transfers to locations on the fringe of the core and to the suburban areas of the city.

6-5 Living Conditions for Natives in the City

People working for native service organizations provide most of the available information on living conditions for natives living in Winnipeg.[21] This qualitative type of information has been supplemented by numerical data from the Indian-Metis Urban Probe, now somewhat dated, and a recent study of 88 native children living in Winnipeg and receiving ambulatory care at the Health Sciences Centre.[22] The households of these children had the following characteristics:

1. Poverty: 56 of 78 respondents had a monthly income of less than $500.

2. Dependence on government transfer payments: 45 of the 87 mothers received welfare payments; only 26 of the 44 fathers living in the households were employed.

3. Large family size: the average family size was 5 per household.

4. High density housing: despite the large family size, nearly half of the families lived in apartments with 53 of 78 households having 2 or fewer bedrooms. There was an average of 2.4 people per bedroom.

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21. Canadian Council on Rural Development.
22. J.C. Haworth, J. Ellestad-Sayed and L.A. Dilling. "Nutrition Assessment of Preschool Indian Children Attending a Children's Clinic." (Forthcoming).

Table 6.6
Comparison of Survey Results

Characteristic	1970 Indian-Metis Probe %	1975-76 Nutrition Study %
Marital Status		
Single	29.3	-[a]
Married	59.7	50
Single Parent	8.6	50
Average Household Size	3.5	5.0
Unemployed	17	54[b]
Receiving Welfare	12	51[c]
Household Income		
$2,400	-	31
< $3,000	35	-
< $4,000	50	-
< $6,000	-	71
Sample Size	184	88

a. includes common law marriage

b. only includes male parent living at home

c. only includes female parent

Because this sample was drawn from a particular sub-group of natives living in Winnipeg, we can only speculate as to how representative it is of the total native population. Comparison with the Indian-Metis Probe in table 6.6 suggests that the two surveys are from different sub-groups. Nevertheless, both surveys indicate that a segment of the native population is at a disadvantaged position, reaffirming the current opinions of those people acquainted with Indian issues.

An unfortunate aspect in developing a description of the natives in particular need is that it can lead to the stereotyping of all natives in Winnipeg, when in fact there are many natives who have succeeded in urban living. The diversity of natives' abilities and needs, while not always recognized by the mainstream society, is reflected by the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre. The organization has classified its members into the following groups: educated and trained, semi-skilled and often seasonally employed, older people and welfare recipients, and transient medical patients.[23]

From the above figures and from information presented earlier on the problems of natives in Manitoba and Canada in general, the conclusion emerges that the deprivation suffered by natives is not simply a matter of financial resources. Poor health, substandard housing, low levels of education, chronic unemployment, criminality and high rates of recidivism, and a dependence on government assistance contribute to a culture of poverty that is pervasive and highly interrelated. Because each element of the poverty chain acts to reinforce the debilitating effects of the other elements, attempts to resolve any one aspect of the poverty chain must, by necessity, deal with the whole problem.[24]

In this respect, the native Manitoban is caught in a cycle of deprivation common to cultural groups in many nations, but for the native who migrates to the city, there is the additional problems of having to cope with a society whose attitudes and behavior are markedly different from life on the reserve. Some

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23. Indian Metis Friendship Centre. Migrating Native Peoples Program, 1977, as quoted in Schaeffer, p. 18-19.

24. Subcommittee of Cabinet, "Program Analysis," p. 2.

Table 6.7
Differences in Orientation

Element	Indian	White
Time	Present Orientation Seasonal Values Age	Future Clock Values Youth
Human Relations	Extended Family Collaborative	Nuclear Individualistic
Decision Making	Consensual Refusal of Any Direct Form of Contradiction	Hierarchical Either/Or
Economic	Community Possession Giving & Sharing Seasonal Work	Saving Individual Possession Routine Work
Learning	By Example	By Explanation

Source: G. Gregory. The Role of the Church in Relation to the Native Community of Winnipeg, 1977.

of these differences are illustrated in table 6.7. The ability to rationalize these divergences will be important in the emotional and psychological well-being of the individual, and will clearly affect how well he "succeeds" in accomplishing the day-to-day tasks necessary in broader urban society.[25]

In addition to coping with these attitudinal differences, the migrating Native must also develop the "urban skills" necessary for survival in the city. Knowledge and skills that we commonly take for granted are simply not learned on a rural reserve. Being able to use the transit system, purchasing food in a supermarket, or locating accommodation can present intractable problems to the native as it would to any other group with no experience in urban living.[26]

6-5-1 Some Particular Problems

1. Health:[27]

Analysis of the 1974 Manitoba Health Services Commission records showed that status Indians were twice as likely to be hospitalized compared to all other Manitobans. This indication of the relative poor health of natives is supplemented by differences in rates and causes of death between status Indians and other Manitobans. There are variations depending on which age group is examined, but generally natives have higher rates for most major causes of death.

Deaths due to lower respiratory illnesses (for infants aged 0-4 years) were 8.8 times greater than for other Manitobans and for infections and parasitic diseases, 6.0 times as great. Major causes of death for other age groups are lower respiratory infections and parasitic diseases, tuberculosis, motor vehicle accidents, homocides and other external causes.

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25. A personal account of the problems faced by natives in an urban society is given by Wilfred Pelletier "For Every North American Indian that Begins to Disappear I also Begin to Disappear" in Frideres. In addition, the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre has noted that cultural conflicts may arise between 2nd or 3rd generation urban natives and the newly arrived immigrants. (Schaeffer, p. 35)

26. Gregory Grace. The Role of the Church in Relation to the Native Community. Research and Planning Council of the United Church, 1977.

27. Brian Gudmundson. "Manitoba's Health Services to Status Indians" in Intergovernmental Relations Sub-Committee of Cabinet.

It is unfortunate that most of these deaths are either the product of a destructive life style or could be avoided through public health and preventive care measures. The high rate of infant death is particularly unfortunate: "for each death, there will be a proportionate number for whom the future will not be bright because of retardation or minimal brain dysfunction related to these same causes."[28]

Commentators on native health problems in Winnipeg have observed similar patterns: respiratory and gastro-intenstinal illnesses, skin, eye and middle ear infections received special note. However, Schaeffer points out that the overrepresentation of natives in hospitals, as shown by M.H.S.C. records, may not be as large in Winnipeg as it is for all of Manitoba; and, there may be an underrepresentation of natives in acute psychiatric wards.[29] These facts can be interpreted to indicate that the major problems of adjustment are primarily economic and not psychological.

2. Social Problems

Alcohol and chemical abuse also figure prominently in the consideration of native health. Data drawn from the Main Street Project records give an indication of the severity of the problem. Of all their clients, natives were found to account for 60% to 80% of the caseload.[30] Moreover, the number of contacts made with intoxicated clients has nearly doubled within the 1976-77 period while the number of sober clients has remained stable. Schaeffer accounts for this increase as the result of in-migration from the reserves.

Observers have often commented on the destructive effects alcohol and chemical abuse can have on an individual's life and well-being of his or her family.[31] For the native, the problem can be

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28. Subcommittee of Cabinet. "Program Analysis", p. 5.
29. C.C.R.D., Interviews
30. Dave Sherlock. Main Street Project. Report for the Alcohol Foundation of Manitoba, 1977; and Schaeffer.
31. See for example, Donald E. Lange and Brent A. Schacter. Prevalence of Alcohol-Related Admissions to General Medical Units, School of Medicine, University of Manitoba, 1977; M. Pond. A Progress Report to the United Way - The East Kildonan Project, the Alcoholic Family Services Centre Inc., July 1976.

particularly acute: binges will absorb most of their already minimal income; criminal prosecutions are reported to be closely associated with chemical abuse, especially among juveniles; and the recent rise in congenital abnormalities is thought to be related to the fetal alcohol consumption syndrome.[32]

3. Child Welfare[33]

Natives were found to constitute 37% of the Children's Aid Society caseload in 1976, of which 3 to 8 percent were from Northern reserves. The native children differed from non-native cases in that their families were larger (average of 5.8 children versus 3.1) and were more often headed by a single parent (53% versus 45% of all families). C.A.S. involvement in native cases was more often due to a "lack of basic resources to provide adequate child care." The parental inability to control children was more common among non-native cases. In addition, native cases were complicated more frequently by problems of medical, financial, and chemical abuse.

4. Crime

The two reports on crime in Winnipeg found that natives were overly represented in arrests. The Dubienski-Skelly Report observed that natives constituted 53% of the criminal arrests in 1969; Axworthy et al found 40% (June-August 1975) to be native.[34] In addition, imprisonment appears to be more frequent for the Indian offender, and he has a higher rate of recidivism. However, the crimes for which natives are arrested tend to be less serious. Sixty-three percent of all charges against natives reported by Axworthy et al, were under the Intoxicated Persons Detention Act or the Liquor Act, with fewer arrests for violent crimes against person or crimes of property. This is reflected in incarceration rates which show that natives serve shorter average sentences, particularly for liquor and vehicle legislation violations. Jailing also occurs because of the inability to pay for fines.[35]

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32. Schaeffer, p. 30ff.
33. Ibid, pp. 21-24.
34. I. Dubienski and S. Skelly, Analysis of arrests for the year 1969 in the City of Winnipeg, with particular reference to arrests of persons of Indian Descent; and Axworthy and Christie.
35. D.A. Schneiser, The Native Offender and the Law. Law Reform Commission of Canada in Schaeffer In-Migration. pp. 28-29.

5. Costs[36]

Identified expenditures for status Indians in Manitoba by the 3 levels of government in 1975 amounted to $125 million or about $3,000 per registered Indian. Of this amount, some $58 million were for exceptional expenditures comprised of $25 million for welfare, housing and other forms of social assistance, $19 million for remedial health programs, $10 million for law enforcement and correctional services, and $4 million for special adult education. To this dollar figure should be added the costs of personal suffering, reduced life expectancy and the lost potential that comes from productive and creative citizens.

6-6 Some Recent Action In Service Provision

Since the early seventies, there has been, in general, a large increase in social service agencies in Winnipeg. This is reflected in the number of agencies serving natives either by design or by their location in the city. Estimates of the total number of organizations vary greatly, from 40 to over 100 and apart from the brief descriptions contained within the Manitoba Manual of Social Services, there is no complete description of which organizations are doing what. In early 1978, a survey of social service, health and commercial agencies and groups assisting natives was conducted. The following, brief description of these agencies has been extracted from the survey.[37]

1. Native Organizations and Groups

The Greater Winnipeg Indian Committee was organized to provide general support for registered Indians. The group uses the services of seven volunteer Indian counsellors.

Kinew Housing and Amisk Ltd.: This company employs Indian ancestry workers in a housing repair business and training program, and provides housing for those Indian people who need it.

The Indian and Metis United Church Reception Lodge: This group provides temporary lodging for Indian people who are searching

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36. CCRD. People of Indian Ancestry in the City - An Overview, (Ottawa: CCRD, 1978).
37. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

a permanent location in Winnipeg. There are four Indian employees who rotate through 24-hour shifts.

The Native Clan Organization Inc.: This agency provides a multiplicity of services to Indian people in correctional institutions. Services include parole planning and supervision, counselling, liaison, transportation, recreation, a half-way house for temporary lodging. The group employs 15 Indian workers in Winnipeg and two in The Pas, in addition to four non-Indian staff.

Native Alcoholism of Manitoba: This umbrella agency provides alcoholism counselling, educational, and referral services to Indian peoples and families. A residential treatment centre, an outreach program, and programs on reserves and in prisons are staffed by 50 Indian employees.

The Indian-Metis Friendship Centre: As a senior Indian ancestry agency, the group has developed numerous programs which subsequently became independent (e.g. Kinew Housing, Main Street Project, Native Teacher Aides). The Centre provides broad services to Indian people towards developing leadership and cohesiveness. Some 20 full-time Indian workers are employed.

Native Teacher Aides: The organization consists of Indian para-professional staff working in Winnipeg schools.

2. Health

The Alcoholism Foundation of Manitoba: This agency organized under the Manitoba government provides broad treatment, research, and prevention services for alcoholics and alcoholism. The Foundation employs some ten Indian workers in Winnipeg, Brandon, and Northern locations.

The Citizen's Health Action Committee: This comprehensive urban medical centre provides general medical services to a core area community. It employs one Indian worker.

Continuing care to the Needy Program, Manitoba Department of Health and Social Development: This program of the Manitoba government provides health and services to elderly Indian people, as well as cultural services to Indians. The program employs six Indian workers in community-based and clerical positions.

3. Other Groups

The Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce: The Chamber has encouraged hiring practices to increase employment and training of Indian people.

The YMCA: A reduced rate for Indian members has increased use of the facility for recreation by urban Indians.

The YWCA: The organization operates a residential sanctuary for abused women and their children. The women's residence houses a number of Indian women on referral from correctional, child welfare, and government agencies for temporary shelter.

Kinew Housing[38] is one organization that has tried to deal with the complex of problems encountered by the native, and as such could serve as a model for future development activities, The provision of adequate housing has remained the organization's chief priority, but this goal is seen in the context of the other problems. Consequently, Kinew has been active in providing employment and assisting in social development. To some extent Kinew has been successful, and in this regard, has served as a prototype for native housing corportations across Canada. However, their success has been limited partly because of the difficulties of tailoring standard governmental funding programs to their particular needs. Special financing arrangements with CMHC are required to cover some of the extra costs they incur and the short term nature of the employment programs tend to frustrate their goals of providing on-going employment and training activities.

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38. Institute of Urban Studies. "Non-Profit Housing in Winnipeg," (forthcoming July 1979).

7. SUMMARY VIEW OF THE WINNIPEG CORE

The preceeding chapters have dealt with the inner city on an issue by issue basis. There has not been an attempt to draw them together into a composite picture. Without engaging in any extensive review of the data, the emerging picture is of an area that is internally diverse but disadvantaged relative to the rest of the city. This characterization is apparent through both the demographic profile and the accounting of the social, educational and housing problems manifested in the area.

A summary view of conditions in the inner city has been prepared. This is to give the reader a basis for comparing the overall extent of the problems to the efforts of the public sector. To further aid this comparison demographic profiles of other Canadian cities are provided as well as some projections of future population changes.

7-1 Winnipeg In Relation to Other Canadian Inner City Areas[1]

Winnipeg is not unique in that its inner city is significantly different from the metropolitan areas as a whole. Substantial research indicates that other Canadian inner cities share several commonalities with Winnipeg.

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1. The statistics used in this comparative study of Canadian inner cities were based on the C.M.H.C. definition of the Inner city, not the I.U.S. definition, therefore direct comparisons should not be made between tables found in this section and other parts of the report.

Table 7.1
Population Age Structure - 1976

	Less than 19		65+	
	Inner	C.M.A.	Inner	C.M.A.
Edmonton	22%	36%	12%	6%
Halifax	27%	36%	12%	7%
Montreal	27%	33%	11%	8%
Ottawa-Hull	23%	46%	13%	9%
Quebec City	24%	34%	13%	7%
Regina	28%	36%	16%	9%
St. John's	37%	40%	11%	7%
Toronto	28%	33%	11%	8%
Vancouver	23%	31%	15%	11%
Winnipeg *	25%	33%	17%	10%

Table 7.2
Average Household Size - 1976

	Inner	C.M.A.
Edmonton	$6,718	$10,168
Halifax	9,281	9,881
Montreal	8,525	9,881
Ottawa-Hull	10,010	11,682
Quebec City	7,862	9,803
Regina	6,828	8,945
St. John's	7,459	9,091
Toronto	10,104	11,911
Vancouver	8,547	9,932
Winnipeg	7,335	9,380

Table 7.3
Unemployment - 1976

	Inner	C.M.A.
Edmonton	6%	4%
Halifax	8%	7%
Montreal	7%	6%
Ottawa-Hull	7%	6%
Quebec City	8%	7%
Regina	5%	3%
St. John's	13%	10%
Toronto	7%	6%
Vancouver	17%	8%
Winnipeg	15%	5%

Table 7.4
Average Household Income - 1971

	Inner	C.M.A.
Edmonton	2.2	3.1
Halifax	2.8	3.3
Montreal	2.7	3.0
Ottawa-Hull	2.4	3.0
Quebec City	2.7	3.3
Regina	2.3	3.0
St. John's	3.8	3.9
Toronto	2.8	3.1
Vancouver	2.5	2.9
Winnipeg	2.4	3.0

Table 7.5
Dwelling Type and Tenure - 1976

	SFD	APTS.	SFD	APTS.	% Owner Occupied Dwellings	
	Inner		C.M.A.		Inner	C.M.A.
Edmonton	26%	74%	62%	38%	23%	51%
Halifax	33%	67%	55%	45%	27%	49%
Montreal	3%	97%	26%	74%	19%	34%
Ottawa-Hull	17%	83%	49%	51%	23%	39%
Quebec City	5%	95%	39%	61%	19%	43%
Regina	46%	54%	71%	29%	40%	63%
St. John's	28%	72%	62%	38%	46%	61%
Toronto	23%	77%	83%	17%	41%	58%
Vancouver	39%	61%	60%	40%	41%	57%
Winnipeg	29%	71%	58%	42%	30%	58.3%

As illustrated in table 7.1, the smaller percentage of young adults and a higher percentage of the elderly in the inner city compared to the metropolitan population is characteristic of other large Canadian cities. Only St. John's, a much smaller city, has a large number of children living in the inner city. Tables 7.2 to 7.5 show that inner cities in Canada, when compared to their respective census metropolitan area, have smaller households, a higher proportion of the unemployed, and the inner city residents have lower average incomes and are more likely to be tenants.

Although Winnipeg shares certain inner city characteristics with other Canadian inner city areas, the above tables indicate some special factors about Winnipeg. Winnipeg in 1976 had the highest percentage of elderly living in the inner city area. Inner city unemployment was the second highest after Vancouver. Winnipeg also had the third lowest annual income in 1971. The situation is further exacerbated for low income households by record low vacancy rates, particularly in the older, more affordable apartment buildings.

Other problems which must be given greater attention include the population exodus from the inner city, the decline in family households and the growing concentrations of elderly people, single parent families and native housholds. The situation is being aggravated by the considerable loss of low cost housing caused by demolition, commerical conversions, closures, land clearance and general deterioration of the older housing stock.

7-2 Characterization of Areas Within the Core

Because an examination of the whole of the inner city does not reflect the special character of particular neighbourhoods, an attempt is made to identify different types of areas. The necessity for this kind of micro-analysis has been stressed by many authors. Leven, Little, et al. suggest that trends and relationships at the aggregate level tend to be distorted. They stress "the need to look at many individual neighbourhoods in considerable detail in order to untangle the complex process of neighbourhood change".[2]

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2. C.L. Leven, J.T. Little, H.O. Nourse, R.B. Read, Neighbourhood Change: Lessons in the Dynamics of Urban Decay, Praeger Special Series, (New York: Praeger, 1976), p. 16.

Analysis and assessment of Canadian inner cities and the development of neighbourhood typologies by planners and academics is based heavily on American experience. Reviews of the literature indicate that analytical frameworks relevant to the Canadian experience are sparse.[3] However, a typology developed by McLemore et al. provides a classification which can be applied to the Canadian context. This typology, based on physical, demographic and socio-economic indicators, identified four main types of inner city areas: declining, stable, revitalizing, and redeveloping. The broad criteria for characterizing the different types of areas are set out below.

a. Decline is the term applied to areas undergoing continuous and worsening physical deterioration, outflux of the economically mobile population, development of serious social problems, lack of community organizations, etc.

b. Stability is used to apply to areas which have become relatively stable, physically and socially, because of a function which the area continues to serve (e.g. working-class community, immigrant receiving area). Physical deterioration is characteristically low.

c. Revitalization is the term applied to areas which are experiencing an influx of people more affluent than the present population. These newcomers buy, rehabilitate and occupy existing homes, gradually improving the physical quality and changing the population composition of the area.

d. Redevelopment refers to areas where public or private redevelopment projects are drastically altering the physical form and population composition.

Previous research shows that each neighbourhood goes through a life cycle from the time it is built to the time it is demolished or falls apart. The life-cycle can be divided into stages: health and growth, relative stability, and decline, which in extreme cases can lead to abandonment. However, the neighbourhood life-cycle can be reversed. Decline can be avoided and neighbourhoods can be revitalized if appropriate policy and program interventions are made to save them.

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3. David Vincent, "The Inner City: A Winnipeg Example," in Lloyd Axworthy, et al., The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal, Future City Series #3, (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1973); McLemore, et al., The Changing Canadian Inner City, (Ottawa: Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, 1975), pp. 5-12.

Table 7.6
Inner City Neighbourhood Typology

Type of Area	Characteristics
1. Stable	a) No significant gains or losses in population. b) Stable income, educational and occupational levels. c) Mixture of family and non-family units. d) Majority of housing stock in fair to good condition. e) Housing and land costs increasing proportionately with metro average. f) Little or no pressure for redevelopment. g) Good balance in tenure. h) Good balance of unit types.
2. Transitory	a) Population loss. b) Average income for inner city. c) High proportion of elderly and young adults. d) High percentages of ethnic minority population. e) Building condition stable. f) Older housing stock. g) Significant proportion of tenant occupied dwellings. h) Property values lower than inner city average and increasing at a slower rate than metro average.
3. Redeveloping	a) Gain in population and/or households, particularly small households. b) Increase in income, educational and occupational levels. c) Stable or increasing proportion of elderly and small households. d) More than proportionate amount of good housing combined with poor, deteriorating housing awaiting redevelopment. e) High increasing levels of tenancy 80%+. f) High proportion of apartment stock. g) High residential density.
4. Declining	a) Population loss, particularly economically mobile. b) Concentration of special need groups such as the elderly, single-parent families, low income families and households, and native families. c) Below average income for inner city and population suffers from housing affordability problems. d) High tenant occupation 70%+. e) Housing stock in fair to poor condition. f) Older housing stock. g) Property values low and increasing at a slower rate than metro average or declining.

A cluster analysis technique was used to sort out the different area types within the inner city. This technique requires that each census tract be assigned a set of defining variables. A statistical procedure is then used to group similar census tracts. For the Winnipeg inner city, 20 variables were specified. They included measures of the housing stock, demographic composition and change, and socio-economic attributes.

The results of this operation were mapped and, as can be seen from figure 7.1, a set of relatively distinct sub-areas of the inner city have emerged. These areas have been labeled according to the typology developed by McLemore et al., but modified to suit the Winnipeg circumstances. The specific characteristics of each area type are given in table 7.6.

The cluster analysis approach can of course be questioned. In particular, many of the variables indicative of social stability of a neighbourhood were not included in the analysis. But an informal comparison of the results of the analysis with the previously mentioned social problems, tends to reinforce the original classification. In particular, the declining areas as marked on the map appear to closely parallel those areas of the inner city which have high rates of crime, school turnovers, social problems, and weak housing sales. An additional reinforcement to the validity of the overall analysis is provided through the City of Winnipeg's Area Characterization Study (figure 7.2). Table 7.7 is provided to facilitate comparison between the two methods of classifying inner city areas.

Table 7.7
Linkage Between Neighbourhood Change and Area Classification

Stage of Cycle Of Urban Development And Neighbourhood Change	Neighbourhood Characterization Area Types	I.U.S. Area Types
Growth	Emerging Area	Redeveloping (later stages)
Stability	Stable Area	Stable
	Conservation Area	
	Rehabilitation Area	
Decline	Major Improvement Area	Transitory
	Redevelopment Area	Declining
		Redeveloping (early stages)

Figure 7.1

NEIGHBOURHOOD TYPES AS DEFINED BY THE INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES

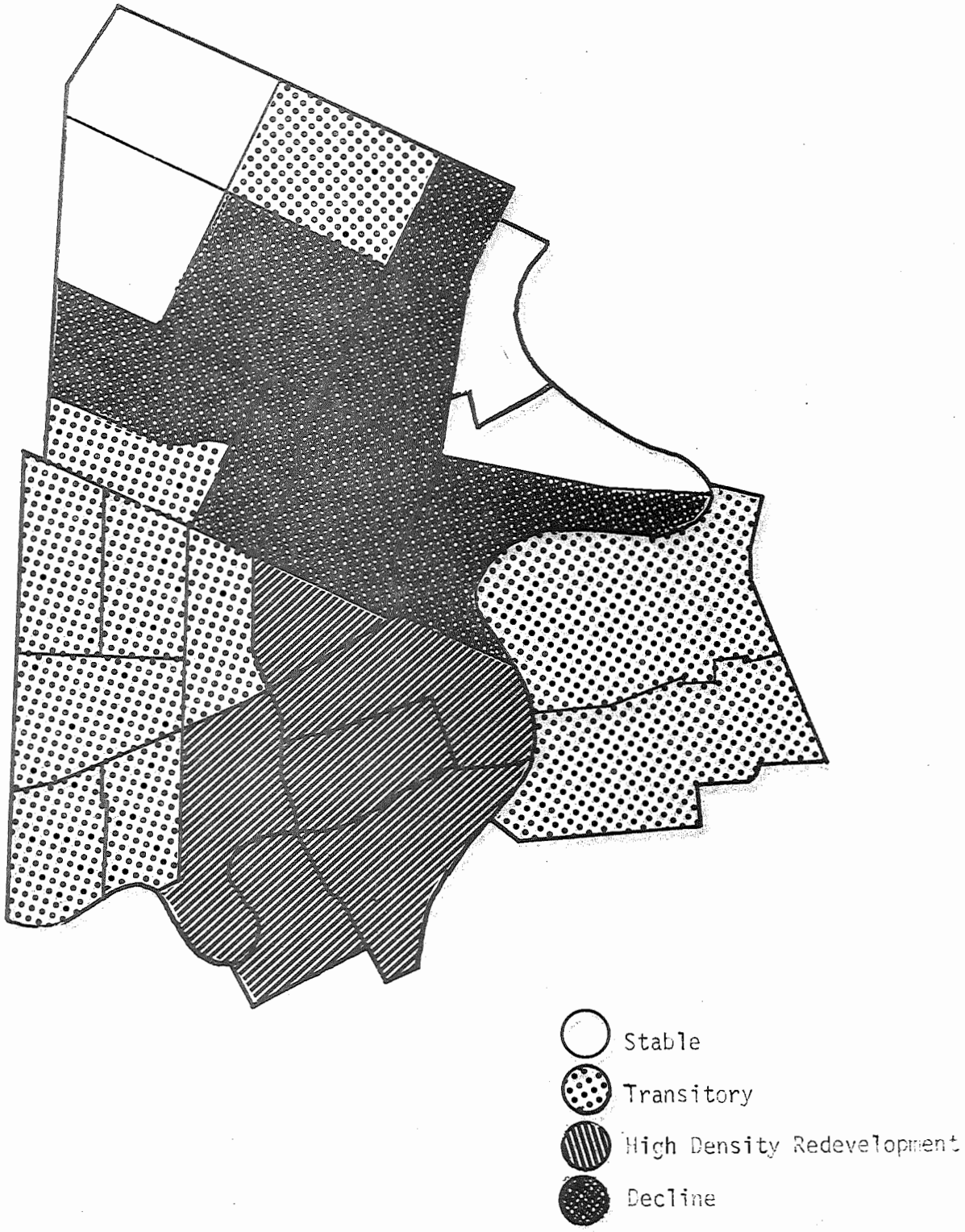
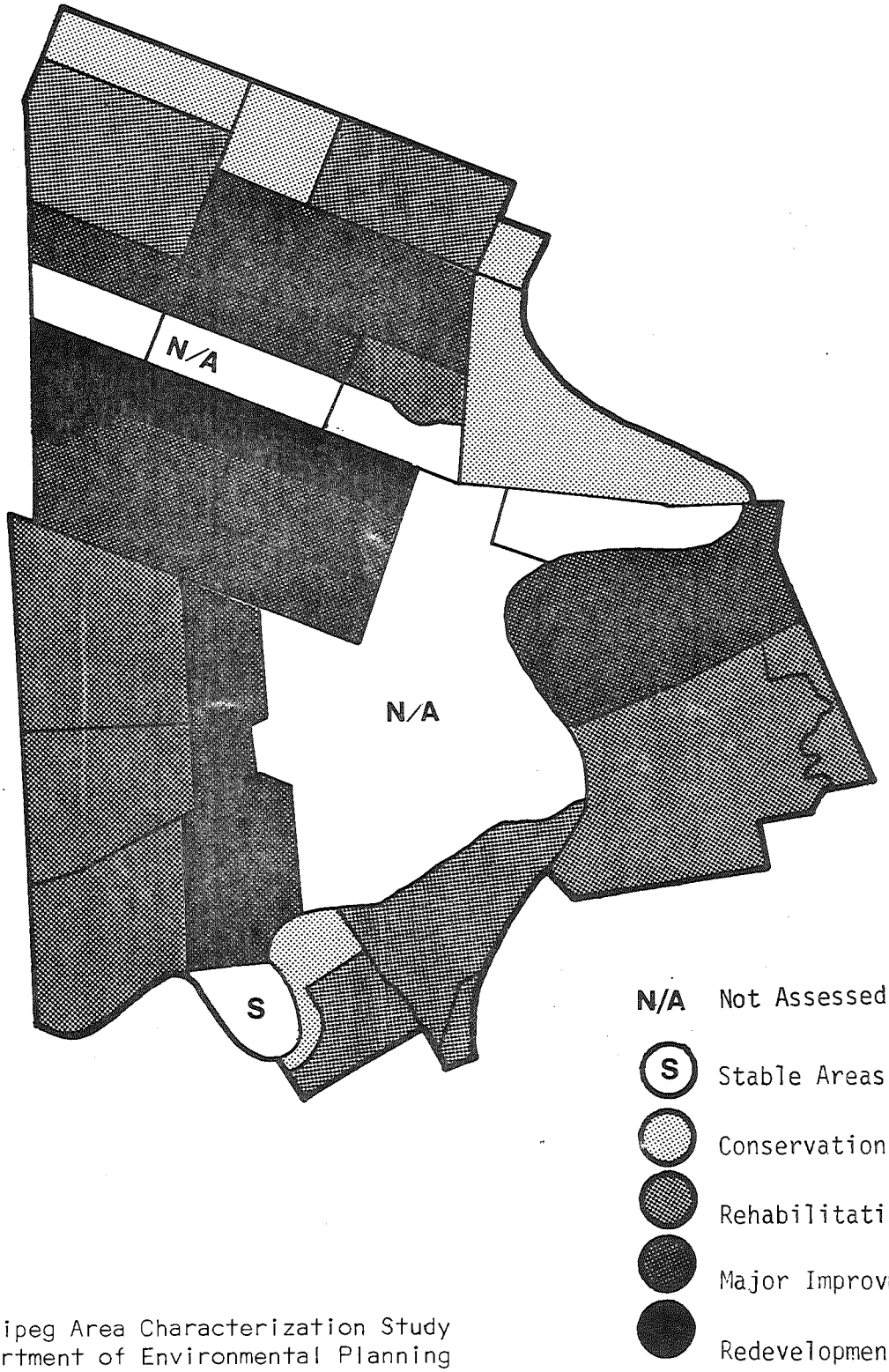


Figure 7.2

NEIGHBOURHOOD TYPES AS DEFINED IN NEIGHBOURHOOD CHARACTERIZATION STUDY



SOURCE: Winnipeg Area Characterization Study
Department of Environmental Planning
1978

7-3 Inner City Decline

Despite the differences in the two maps above, they both show that a significant part of the inner city is experiencing decline or is at the stage of its life cycle where decline could occur in the near future. Widespread decline of inner city neighbourhoods could constitute a serious threat to the city; indeed, many observers have noted how the core area has spread over the past 20 years. Because such a scenario is possible we believe it necessary to investigate the subject in more depth. This section, drawing primarily from the American experience documents some of the costs of decline and discusses some of the explanations for decline.

7-3-1 The Costs of Inner City Decline

A large number of articles have been devoted recently to the subject of inner city decline. Their authors often argue for actions to be taken to preserve and restore the core, but they seldom establish what is to be gained from a strategy of inner city revitalization.

A primary reason for revitalization is to avoid the excessive costs of inner city decline. These costs are borne by the city at large, and often fall disproportionately on the poor. Some are readily apparent and require only brief mention: increased rates of crime and fires associated with decline and decay pose threats to personal property;[4] the deteriorated environment can induce stress-related illnesses;[5] and the degraded aesthetics of the core can threaten its commercial and cultural functions. The consequences are an increase in city expenditures for protective services, personal inconvenience and suffering, and a decline in the local economy.

A number of broader issues add to the case for a revitalized inner city. For example, preservation of the inner city housing stock is necessary if families are to have thier choice of location. The loss of any additional single family dwellings may preclude families from living in the core, effectively denying them the advantages and lifestyles afforded by a central city location.

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4. W.W. Bunge. Fitzgerald: Geography of a Revolution, (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1971).

5. L. Gertler and R. Crowley. The Changing Canadian City (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), pp. 324-329.

Furthermore if decline was simply the result of dwelling unit obsolescence and aging there would be no great cause for concern. This, however, does not appear to be the case. Research in several other centers had demonstrated very clearly that decline affects structures which are in sound condition.[6] This accelerated deterioration and demolition of housing units represents an inefficient use of society's housing resources and a waste of public and private capital investment.

Although abandonment on a large scale is not believed to be a likely possibility in Winnipeg, the consequences of such an occurrence are grave. St. Louis, for example, has an estimated 10,000 units or 4% of the housing stock either vacant or derelict. In some areas of St. Louis, this figure is as high as 20%.[7]

Intervention in the inner city housing market could also counteract the tendency for the process of decline to spread from a deteriorated area to a stable one. Within declining neighbourhoods are found a variety of negative effects (externalities) such as increased crime, noise, pollution and what are considered to be "undesirable" residents. These externalities can depress the property and housing markets of the near-by neighbourhoods. Once house prices fall, it is then likely that the houses will receive less maintenance (disinvestment will occur) and those who can will leave the neighbourhood. In this way, the area of decline can expand.

7-3-2 Processes of Decline

We suggested in chapter 1 that community change can be viewed in two ways. The first is to examine how people respond to their perception of the world around them. Chapter 2 described at length a model and evidence to show how both positive and negative perceptions of the inner city can be instrumental in determining its future. The second way of viewing community change is to analyze the underlying forces which shape the individual's perception. This would include an account of how major institutions - banks, governments, key industries and the market system - determine the ground rules by which individuals make their day-to-day decisions. This second viewpoint has been assumed in various places through the report. For example,

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6. William G. Grigsby and Louis Rosenburg. Urban Housing Policy (New York: APS, 1975), pp. 157-158.

7. L.S. Bourne. Perspectives on the Inner City - Research Paper No. 94, (Center for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1978), pp. 71-72.

chapter 2 documented how a bank's lending policies can discourage home purchasing; and, chapter 5 illustrated how past policies on public housing can lead to a concentration of elderly in the inner city at the expense of weakening the supply of family housing units.

Because the first perspective on inner city decline has been discussed at length elsewhere, this section will review the second point of view only. As would be expected, the forces which underlie an area's decline are accounted for by a number of alternative explanations. Unfortunately, the lack of evidence and conceptual rigour of each explanation lessens its usefulness as a predictive tool. Instead they should be thought of as images of the problem: each one furthers our understanding of inner city decline. With one exception, existing images of inner city decline are closely tied with the functioning of the inner city housing market. The reader will find evidence throughout the report which supports in part each alternative image.

1. Filtering and Obsolescence

The traditional image of decline uses the notions of filtering and dwelling unit obsolescence. Proponents of this image argue that inner city decline arises from household preferences for suburban living and from the rise in incomes which allow these preferences to be satisfied. As households, in particular families, take advantage of increased incomes to move outward, they initiate a chain of turnovers in which successively lower income groups improve their housing conditions. Carrying the process through to its conclusions, the lowest income groups filter upward leaving behind the worst sectors of the inner city housing stock which in turn become obsolete, deteriorate rapidly, and initiate neighbourhood decay.

2. Low Income

The low income image of decline takes three forms. The first postulates that as the outward movement of higher income households occurs, the housing units left behind for lower income groups are actually in reasonable condition. Thus the poor who occupy these structures are unable to provide sufficient rents to pay for adequate maintenance. Over time the dwelling falls into a state of disrepair; adjacent properties are affected and the character of the neighbourhood eroded.

A recent variant of this image argues that it is not low income per se which initiates decay but the spatial concentration of the low income population. The image suggests that the concentration of the poor in distinct geographical areas aggravates housing and neighbourhood problems, not only in those areas but also in adjacent neighbourhoods. Decay and abandonment occur on the periphery of the low income areas as neighbouring groups move to avoid the spill-over effects produced by the low income concentration.[9]

The final variant of the low income image suggests that the problem of decline is not the result of insufficient funds for maintenance, but that their poor behavior, noise, property damage, etc. renders adequate maintenance impossible. In the face of such problem tenants, landlords are unwilling to provide adequate maintenance, thereby accelerating the process of decay.

3. Greedy Investors

This image contradicts the income image by postulating that decline and decay are caused primarily by a small group of unscrupulous landlords. In attempting to gain greater income from their properties they pursue a deliberate policy of under-maintenance, often referred to as "milking". It is further argued that these landlords hold a monopoly over certain spatial areas of the inner city. This allows them to extract grossly inflated rents and to acquire sufficiently large short-run profits to make poor maintenance unimportant.[10] This process is believed to accelerate deterioration of the housing stock and to spread the decline to adjacent areas. The landlord is able to increase the size of his monopoly by acquiring neighbouring properties at prices depressed by the spillover effects of his own holdings.

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9. H.O. Nourse, and D. Phares, "Socioeconomic Transition and Housing Values: A Comparative Analysis of Urban Neighbourhoods" in G. Gappert and H.M. Rose, ed., The Social Economy of Cities, (Beverley Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1975).

10. D. Harvey and L. Chatterjee, "Absolute Rent and the Structuring of Space by Governmental and Financial Institutions," Antipode, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1974.

4. Exploitive System

Arguments within the context of this image of decline are derived from a "structuralist" perspective of the housing and property markets. The image recognizes that many aspects of decline are basically correct, but regards the analysis developed in other images as secondary. The structuralist claims that a much broader view is needed to understand the system of allocating housing services to low income households. According to this image, solutions to the problem of decline lie in restructuring the institutions affecting the inner city housing market, in particular the financial institutions which regulate the flow of investment capital to inner city areas and the property taxation systems which places inner city neighbourhoods at a disadvantage relative to suburban communities.[11]

5. Destruction of the Social Fabric

In contrast with other images, this final image of decline explains the process in largely non-housing terms. It argues that unemployment, family instability, poor schools, and crime combine to push households capable of moving out of the inner city to suburban areas. The image further asserts that since those most capable of moving out generally include community leaders, those household groups which remain in the central city are less capable of dealing with neighbourhood problems. They are eventually overcome by a sense of apathy toward improvements. The community spirit and social cohesiveness of the neighbourhood are lost, triggering neglect for the housing stock as well as for public and private property.

7-4 Policy Implications

It is impossible to subject each of the above images to rigorous empirical testing, but the available evidence from research on other cities suggests that many of the mechanisms described in

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11. D. Harvey, "Government Policies, Financial Institutions and Neighbourhood Change in United States Cities," in M. Harloe ed. Captive Cities (New York: J. Wiley, 1977) pp. 123-139.
B. Harrison, Urban Economic Development: Suburbanization, Minority Opportunity and the Condition of the Central City (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1974).
M. Edel, "Development VS Dispersal: Approaches to Ghetto Poverty" in M. Edel and J. Rothenberg, eds. Readings in Urban Economics (New York: MacMillan, 1972).

the images are in fact operative. Since there are several factors involved in the process of decline, policies designed to reverse the process should ideally be multi-faceted. In other words, it is not sufficient to concentrate solely on housing issues nor on social service needs.

Throughout the report, we have tended to discuss the issues of the inner city sequentially, perhaps giving the erroneous impression that the policy-makers could address the needs of the inner city as though they were independent from each other. Even though this is an analytically tidy way to look at the inner city, the data would suggest that the inner city resident faces a much more complex world: the problems that must be overcome are linked together. The senior citizen, for example, is not faced simply with the problem of coping with a low income but often must also overcome physical disabilities, poor housing, a higher susceptibility to criminal acts, and, increasingly loneliness and isolation from the rest of society.

Moreover, each of these problems impinges on the other; physical disabilities will limit the choice of housing; already fragile health can be aggravated by a poor diet and low quality housing; and isolation from the rest of society can effectively prevent any assistance from reaching them. Similarly, children who have suffered from poor parenting are likely to have poor attendance at school and may in time drift into juvenile delinquency and other social problems: drug abuse, low academic achievement, poor employment prospects and unwanted pregnancies. Complexes of problems could be drawn for the other disadvantaged groups. Together these problems can present an impenetrable barrier to the individual. Without appropriate support and assistance, these people can become defeated, apathetic and dependent on public services.

These people, the native, the recent immigrant, the poor, the single parent and the elderly, are more likely to be both a part of the process of decline and most likely to suffer from the same process. Given the interrelated nature of the problems they experience, it is evident that more comprehensive attempts should be made to first, counteract the pervasive impacts that decline exerts on these disadvantaged people and second, reverse the processes of decline itself. It is simply not enough to address both the physical and social aspects of the inner city; the policy makers and service providers should recognize the interdependent nature of the problems they are dealing with.

Indeed, many workers in the core have realized that they cannot by themselves solve the social problems of the inner city; they are working at developing cooperative programs between agencies. Nevertheless, the inertia of many public and private agencies is to only respond to problems as they arise on an issue by issue basis, neglecting the complex origins of the problem.

7-5 Trends In Population Growth and Demographic Composition

Against the background of rising problems of the social, physical and economic environment, it is important to consider what could happen if existing trends persist into the future. This section of the report outlines the nature and extent of changes in population, age structure, household composition, and family composition. These are changes which are expected to occur in the inner city in the short run if current processes remain unaltered.

Changes in the number of residents or age-sex composition in any sub-area of the city are the consequence of four processes:

1. Changes in the supply of housing units in response to the housing market of the area;
2. Migration between cities or countries;
3. Demographic changes through births, deaths, aging and family formation or dissolution; and,
4. Movement of households in and out of the area.

Ideally, we would want to measure these processes directly in order to obtain more accurate projections, but the lack of data forces us to use less sophisticated methods.[12]

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12. Analysis and forecasts of the various dimensions of change have been accomplished using an average annual growth rate model commonly used by Statistics Canada (e.g. L. Stone, 1977). The model may be summarized as follows:

$$G_{t,t+i} = \frac{1}{i} \log e^{(P_{t+i}/P_t)}$$

where $G_{t,t+i}$ is the average annual rate of growth (loss) during the time period t,t+i

P_t is the population at time t

P_{t+i} is the population at time t+i

1. Population Change

Table 7.8 summarizes the average annual rates of inner city population change for selected five year intervals spanning the 1961-1976 time period. The table reveals that although there has been some variability in rates of population change, the inner city experienced losses in each five year interval. Average annual population loss for the 15 year period was 1.75 percent. Assuming a continuation of the 15 year trend, population in the inner city is expected to decline by more than 9,500 people to 100,000 by the year 1981.

2. Changes in Age Structure

Table 7.9 which summarizes average annual growth rates for selected age cohorts indicates that significant changes are occurring in the age structure of the inner city population. The young adult and elderly age groups have remained relatively stable in size over the 15 year period, but a sizable reduction has occurred in the cohort most likely to form families, that is in the 25 to 44 year age group. The expected age composition of the inner city population in 1981 is given by table 7.10. The major point to be made here is that if current trends persist over the next five years, young adults and the elderly will constitute a proportionately larger concentration of the inner city population. At the same time a sizable decline is expected in the absolute number of people in the age cohort likely to form families.

3. Changes in Household Composition

Historic data on household composition reveals that significant changes in household growth have occurred in the inner city, particularly since 1971. Table 7.11 shows that marked increase in households is due solely to increases in non-family households. In fact, the inner city has experienced a net loss of close to 8,000 family households since 1961. Based on 15 year trends, the expected composition of inner city households in 1981 is given by the bottom line of table 7.11. It indicates the proportion of non-family households is likely to exceed family households by 18 percent.

4. Changes in Family Composition

Quite significant changes are also expected to occur in the composition of family households. Table 7.12, for example, documents the loss of family households by type (single versus

Table 7.8

Historic Population Change
In Winnipeg's Inner City

Time Period	Population	Average Annual Rate of Growth (%)
1961	143,480	
		-2.21
1966	128,491	
		-0.46
1971	125,572	
		-2.73
1976	109,530	
		-1.75
1961-1976	—	

Table 7.9

Historic Trends by Age Cohort

year	young adult (15-24 yr.)		family formation (25-44)		elderly (65+)	
1961	24,161	GR	38,327	GR	18,952	GR
1966	23,144	-0.860	31,196	-4.117	19,068	+0.122
1971	27,160	+3.200	28,180	-2.033	19,085	+0.867
1976	23,220	-3.134	26,785	-1.015	18,275	-0.867

GR = growth rate

Table 7.10

Age Cohort Projection

year	total population	young adult	family formation	elderly
1977	107,560	23,159	26,014	18,231
1978	105,625	23,098	25,393	18,197
1979	103,725	23,037	24,787	18,144
1980	101,859	22,976	24,196	18,101
1981	100,027	22,916	23,619	18,058

Table 7.11

Historic and Expected Trends in Household Growth

Year	Total Households	Family Households	Non-Family Households
1961	40,568	30,017	10,552
1966	41,819	27,851	14,018
1971	46,500	26,810	19,175
1976	45,370	22,690	22,690
1981	49,754	20,659	29,095

Table 7.12

Expected Composition of Family Households

Year	All Families	Single Parent Families	All Families
1971	26,810	4,390	16.4
1976	22,690	4,250	18.7
1981	20,659	4,125	20.0

two parent) for the 1971-1976 period. The table indicates that it is two-parent as opposed to single parent families which account for the declining number of inner city families. Assuming a continuation of recent trends, the proportion of single parent families will increase 2 percent by 1981 to the point where this group will represent more than one-fifth of all inner city families.

The projections suggest that if recent population and demographic trends persist, the inner city will experience a net loss of about 9,500 people by 1981. Moreover, these population losses are not likely to be equally distributed among various demographic subgroups. Our projections, although admittedly crude, indicate that future losses are likely to be greatest among two-parent family households and age groups likely to form families. Continued loss among these subgroups will result in increasing concentrations of non-families, young adults, and single parent families in the inner city. It is these latter groups who are most likely to require assistance from public and private agencies because of their special needs for housing, education, health care and social services.

Although some of the changes in the composition of the inner city population noted above reflect general city-wide demographic changes, the loss of a sizable number of family households in the inner city cannot be accounted for within the broader context of changing urban demography. Explanations of the trends must look towards the operation of the housing market and the social and economic forces in the inner city neighbourhoods.

If these demographic changes are viewed within the context of the previously presented profiles of the inner city, then it becomes apparent that substantial decline of the core could continue into the future. Chapter 2 documented how the group most able to maintain and upgrade their housing, the "middle resource group", express the greatest desire to leave the core. Subsequent demographic analysis bears out the results of their intentions. Data presented on housing, health, education and social problems suggest that those people who remain will experience more frequently difficulties in day-to-day living and be less able to cope with these difficulties without outside assistance.

Furthermore, the loss of residents disrupts the informal networks of friends, family and community groups that are no longer able to afford protection or security. Many problems that were once

handled through informal networks now become the responsibility of public agencies. Especially crucial is the loss of talented and respected residents who are often the community leaders. This out-migration weakens the ability of the community to bring about government decisions that could aid in strengthening the area.[13] Thus at a time when the core area is faced with unprecedented problems that threaten to become worse, the possibilities of revitalization through concerted community action are being eroded.

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13. L. Axworthy. "Position Paper - Solutions" in C. McKee Innovative Strategies for the Renewal of Older Neighbourhoods, (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1977).

PART III
INTERVENTIONS

INTERVENTIONS

The preceding pages identified Winnipeg's inner city as a diverse area. It provides for a range of opportunities and lifestyles that are unavailable elsewhere in the city. Indications are that many people appreciate living in the central city. But at the same time, the core area is the home for many people who endure physical, social and economic hardships. The concentration of these problems in parts of the inner city is reflected in the deterioration of the physical environment and the breaking down of the social fabric. Without some form of concerted public action there is the distinct possibility that the decline of inner city neighbourhoods could become widespread. The result would be significant public and private costs and individual suffering.

The conditions within the core have yet to be fully assessed. At best, the origin of the problems within the inner city can be attributed to:

- the difficulty that recent arrivals to the city experience in adjusting to an urban lifestyle;
- an aged housing stock which is quickly wearing out, without the benefit of a strong housing market to encourage renewal and replacement;
- deeply rooted structural factors including;
  - the location of Winnipeg within the Canadian economy that perpetrates such conditions as below average incomes, a weak inner city housing market, and conservative business practices;
  - a breakdown of traditional values and social patterns that contributes to social pathologies;
- public agencies that for reasons of inappropriate political direction and administrative practices remain unresponsive to the needs and wishes of the inner city resident.

Action is required on a number of fronts: previous chapters have documented the need for publicly-sponsored interventions into the physical, social and economic dimensions of the inner city. The relationship between issues indicates that the interventions in each area of concern should be linked to produce a coordinated effort. Furthermore, the efforts by public agencies should attempt to both eliminate the causes of the problems and attend to the immediate needs of those people already in distress. Finally, some attempt should be made to encourage those who are self-sufficient to remain within the core area. An active and capable populace, supported by public agencies, could make a lasting contribution to the character and stability of the inner city.

8. INTERVENTIONS IN THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

Large parts of the inner city were found to be either in decline or at the critical threshold where decline is imminent if coordinated public action is not taken. Chapter 5 reviewed some of the recent improvements to the physical environment of the core and found, unfortunately, that most improvements were confined to the downtown and to the benefit of commercial and suburban interests. For the sake of comparison, this chapter examines proposals which were to improve the lot of inner city residents. For the most part these proposals have not been implemented. One major impediment to renewing the inner city has been the lack of funds directed to the area. Three examples of where public resources are being directed to the suburbs at the expense of the inner city are provided. This more general review is followed by a detailed examination of interventions in the housing market.

8-1 Proposals for the Inner City

In 1975, the Social Planning Council described some of the current plans for revitalizing parts of the inner city;[1] recent research conducted for I.U.S. has brought this history of plan-making up to date.[2] Some of the more recent plans are as follows:

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1. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg. Main Street: A Position Paper. (Winnipeg: 1975).
2. Public Interfaces Ltd. An Envelope of Programs: An Analysis of Inner City Housing Policies and Programs. (Ottawa: 1978).

1. In 1977, the Province of Manitoba attempted to take the lead in coming to grips with the housing problem of the inner city. Earmarking $30 million for its "Inner City Housing Action Program", the Province through the MHRC and the Manitoba Non-Profit Housing Corporation took steps to develop 800 family public housing units and to acquire and rehabilitate 500 existing units. MHRC proceeded to expropriate land and buildings from so-called "slum landlords". A proposal call for family public housing on the expropriated land was advertised and plans to build and to rehabilitate the targetted number of units were moving ahead smoothly when the provincial election intervened. The new Government has shelved the Inner City Housing Action Program and several parcels of the expropriated land and buildings have been returned to the original owners. Some 200 family housing units were developed through the Government's Inner City Housing Action Program and no apartment units have been rehabilitated.

2. In its election platform, the Progressive Conservative Party of Manitoba announced its intentions to implement the "Uphill Neighbourhood Program". The objectives of this Program are to reverse the deterioration of older neighbourhoods. This will be facilitated through a program of loans and forgiveable loans to first-time home buyers to purchase existing dwellings in "Uphill Neighbourhoods and to renovate these homes".[3]

   As well, proposals were made to conserve older apartment blocks through a low interest loan program and to permit the elderly to continue living in their neighbourhood through the provision of smaller residences on a local basis. However, the government has yet to make a start on any of these proposed programs.

3. In 1977, the City's Ad Hoc Committee on Housing chaired by Councillor Wong was recommending the establishement of a Municipal Non-Profit Housing Corporation to recycle existing housing units. The Committee hoped that the proposed corporation "would fill a void left by other levels of

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3. The Manitoba Progressive Conservative Party. "An Urban Strategy: Programs and Policies for Addressing the Problems of the City of Winnipeg". (Winnipeg: October, 1977), p. 3.

government" and "would initiate the development of a housing policy for Winnipeg by indicating a City commitment toward housing action".[4]

The planned activities of the Corporation were modest: some 310 units were to be rehabilitated and sold over a 5 year period. The bulk of the costs were to be paid by the Province. Despite the small financial commitment, the Corporation required from the City -- an estimated $20,000 for the first year of operation -- the Corporation was disbanded by City Council. The reason given was that the provision of housing is not a municipal government responsibility.

4. Property owned by the Midland Railway Company was purchased many years ago by the Urban Renewal partnership of the City, Province, and CMHC. Originally, the land was intended for new housing, but approximately two-thirds of the site remains undeveloped. Commercial usage persists and much of the land is vacant and unkempt.

5. Other proposals for inner city redevelopment have been put forward by various private concerns. The Winnipeg Chinese Development Corporation, an organization of Chinese businessmen, has called for the redevelopment of Chinatown. A major component of the 1974 feasibility study focused on housing development. Neeginan Inc. was established in 1973 by native organizations to promote the development of an urban native community in the Main Street area. A major thrust of the proposal called for decent residential accommocation for native people. The East Yard Study Group was established to promote the development of the CN East Yard located at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. It was to be a new "living-in, working-in, shopping-in, playing-in project downtown on 'the most important piece of land remaining in Winnipeg' ".[5]

A characteristic common to all of these proposals is that they are either shelved or stalled. The lack of success of these proposals points to the differences between projects intended

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4. City of Winnipeg, Ad Hoc Committee of Housing. Report to the Committee of Environment. May 2, 1977.
5. Brochure prepared by the East Yard Study Group.

to serve broader social goals and the usual commercial developments. The uniqueness of the former's goals, clients to be served and funding sources requires a high degree of co-ordinating between the 3 levels of government. In the final report on urban renewal for Winnipeg, the authors called for the formation of an institutional structure to co-ordinate the proposed redevelopment scheme.[6] The absence of such a structure is still seen as a major impediment to revitalizing the inner city. In addition, several projects have failed to get beyond the proposal stage because they have been unable to negotiate the bureaucratic maze or have died for lack of political will.

8-1-1 The Distribution of Public Funds

Many people have noted informally how municipal and provincial funds are not being directed to the people and areas of highest need; the distribution of public funds is felt to be biased towards the suburbs. Without a lengthy examination of the government accounts this is a difficult claim to substantiate. Nevertheless, the three examples which follow support the initial impression.

1. Schools

Schools in the inner city and throughout the province are faced with declining enrollments. Because provincial support is dependent on the size of the school population, the loss of students is causing a shrinking fiscal base. However, the inner city school district is unique in that an increasing proportion of its students are requiring some form of special assistance, be it language classes for new Canadians or crisis and emotional support for the disturbed child. These special needs, in addition to the costs of maintaining an older physical plant, have imposed a severe strain on the budget of the Winnipeg School District #1.

Despite these fiscal problems, the current "Greater Winnipeg Education Levy" has been working to the disadvantage of the inner city. In 1977, an estimated $5.5 million was raised through the school levy on inner city properties and given over to the suburban school districts. From 1973 to 1978, the total sum of the funds redistributed from the school district #1 to other suburban school districts has amounted to $31.1 million.[7]

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6. Social Planning Council. 1975.

7. The Board of Trustees, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, "A Brief submitted to the Premier and the Minister of Education of the Province of Manitoba", February 1978.

2. Water and Sewage Expenditures

A basic requirement of any urban residential area is that it be adequately serviced by storm and sanitary sewers and watermains. Over time, these services will need to be replaced as they wear out. The provision and repair of these services is expensive: $30.6 million was allocated to the 1978 budget for repair and upgrading, the hydraulic relief program and new regional services. Yet the allocation for new regional services -- the provision of services for new suburbs -- accounted for 67 percent of the budget. In other words, a significant part of the City of Winnipeg budget is going towards suburban development at the expense of inner city renewal and rehabilitation.[8]

3. Planning Staff

A recent study on the costs of suburban growth in Winnipeg found that 66 percent of the total cost of running the Department of Environmental Planning can be attributed to new developments.[9] One of the consequences of this allocation of resources for suburban development is that planning for the inner city has been neglected. The exception to this general rule has been the designated NIP areas. Nevertheless, without adequate planning, it is extremely difficult to know what the issues are, to diagnose the problems and to implement an effective public response.

8-2 Intervention In the Housing Market[10]

This section reviews recent undertakings by the public and private sectors in building new units (development) or in repairing and upgrading existing structures (rehabilitation). The discussion is followed by an analysis of the impacts building codes have had on the housing stock in the inner city.

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8. Peter Barnard Associates, "Housing in Winnipeg" prepared for the Greater Winnipeg Development Plan Review, January 1979, pp. 36-37.

9. Drew McArton. Winnipeg: The Impact of Growth 1972-1978, Summary Report (Winnipeg: Urban Development Institute, 1978), p. 7.

10. Unless otherwise noted, the information contained in this section is abstracted from S. Clatworthy, S. Frenette and C. McKee. Inner City Housing Study prepared for the Winnipeg Development Plan Review. (Institute of Urban Studies, forthcoming).

8-2-1 Private Residential Development Activity

Private sector activity has accounted for only 19% of new construction in the inner city from 1972 to 1978. Of the units intended for renting, the majority of multifamily units in both the inner and outer areas of the city have been built under the Assisted Rental Program (ARP). Despite the relatively attractive nature of the former ARP program, only four major rental projects were started under this program in the inner city between 1975 and 1978. A distinct preference is shown by developers for downtown, central locations for ARP projects. In addition, during the same period, 42 row and semi-detached houses were built by the private sector for home ownership in the inner city under the Associated Home Ownership Program. Generally the development costs and consequent rent levels of inner city multifamily development is high. AHOP single family attached dwellings have comparable per unit costs.

It is obvious that the existing federal funding programs provide few inducements to private developers to build in the core area. However, the introduction of the new federal non-profit housing program could offer an attractive alternative. Table 8.1 shows that non-profit programs provide units at much lower rent levels than the current assisted rental program. But the success of the program may require a partnership between the development industry, the City, and the non-profit sponsors. The City's role would be to act as a facilitator by developing a housing strategy and by providing specific incentives such as tax deferrals.

8-2-2 Private Rehabilitation Activity

There is visible evidence that some rehabilitation of the older housing stock in the inner city is taking place. Neighbourhoods which have been identified as having exterior signs of renovation activity are:

West Balmoral
River/Osborne
North Pt. Douglas N.I.P.
Centennial N.I.P
Redwood/College area in the North End
South of Broadway/Assiniboine
Wolseley
West of Sherbrook, north to the CPR tracks

The form and nature of private rehabilitation varies from neighbourhood to neighbourhood depending on the motivations of the individuals involved in the reconstruction work. In the River/Osborne area, the 'whitepainting' phenomena is common. Structural and cosmetic renovations are undertaken to improve the real value of the property or to convert the property to a commercial

Table 8.1

Simplified Comparison of ARP and Non-profit Costs and Rent Levels

Program	Per Unit Costs	Per Annum Payment		
ARP	$30,000	@ 10%	$3000	
			650	Taxes p.a.
			1250	Operating Expenses
			$4900	Total p.a. cost
			$ 408	Monthly rent
Non-profit	30,000	@ 1%	$ 300	
			650	Taxes p.a.
			1250	Operating Expenses
			$2200	Total p.a. cost
			$ 183	Monthly rent

use. This type of rehabilitation is also occurring in the South of Broadway/Assiniboine Area. The Redwood and West of Sherbrook Areas reflect the activities of ethnic tradesmen through the customizing of their homes or the subdivision of housing into suites. Activity in the West Balmoral and Wolseley Areas is largely the result of first-time home buyers who wish to improve the structural integrity of their homes by repairing the plumbing, wiring, heating, and foundations.

Interviews with 9 rehabilitation companies in Winnipeg confirm an increase in rehabilitation activity in recent years. The volume of annual renovation activity is estimated at $13 million. This figure is considered a conservative estimate as it is based on an analysis of building permit activities only. Reasons for predicting an increasing market for renovation work were related to the trade-offs in costs for new housing versus renovation of an older house; the importance of established neighbourhoods and the quality of older homes versus new.

Regardless of the demonstrated need for an expanded rehabilitation industry, there remains the hesitancy of mortgagers to lend money in high-risk, problem areas of the city. As long as such a lending stigma is placed on particular neighbourhoods, it will be inopportune for the private sector to attempt a large scale renovation program. The City could assist the private sector in obtaining loans for high risk areas directly by creating a low interest loan program as suggested in their own Apartment Loss Study, or indirectly through local improvements in a community to upgrade its status and stability, thus encouraging investment.

8-3 Public Intervention In the Housing Market

The decade of the 1970's has been characterized by increasing levels of public sector involvement in urban housing markets. Public involvement has displayed a dual character. First, governments have taken a direct role in the supply of new housing units, particularly housing units geared toward low and middle income occupancy. Second, the nature of public activity in housing has been substantially broadened to include not only new supply but also infrastructure development, neighbourhood improvement and stabilization, rehabilitation, and community service development. The infusion of large amounts of public capital into the housing sector has clearly altered the character and composition of Winnipeg's inner city housing market.

What follows is by no means comprehensive because it deals primarily with public activities related directly to the supply and maintenance of inner city housing. Indirectly, all three levels of government affect the housing market through non-housing policies and programs such as investment and tax incentives, physical service regulations, transportation development. No attempt is made here to survey these indirect effects for this subject is poorly documented. The importance of non-housing activities on the housing market however, should not be underestimated for it has often been argued that the failure to integrate housing and housing-related activities at the municipal level is a major source of housing program failure.

Previous activity in terms of both policy and program formulation has tended to be dominated by the federal government. Although some provincial and municipal input has occurred in establishing federal policy and programs, this input has been marginal; their role has been to implement the federal program alternatives. In essence, the province and municipality were relegated to selecting a mix of housing programs which best suited their perceived needs. Thus, public activity in the housing sector is best regarded as a reflection of past federal funding and program opportunities rather than the result of a comprehensive provincial or municipal housing policy. Such a policy was, and continues to be, poorly enunciated for Manitoba and for the City of Winnipeg.

8-3-1 Previous Public and Third Sector Development Activity[11]

Public funding for residential development in the inner city has been quite substantial during the 1970's and has resulted in the addition of more than 4,600 new housing units (see table 8.1). The bulk of development activity has taken place under Section 43 of the National Housing Act by Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation.

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11. The term "third sector" as employed here refers to private non-profit or co-operative organizations incorporated under the provincial Companies Act legislation. These non-profit agencies differ, of course, from public non-profit agencies established by provinces and municipalities.

This program has produced in excess of 3,300 rent assisted units since 1970 in the inner city. The data indicates the marked bias in MHRC Section 43 activity in favour of senior citizen housing in the core area. This fact is illustrated more clearly in table 8.3 which documents the distribution of Section 43 family and senior citizen units for the inner and outer city areas. The table indicates that although MHRC housing units tend to be equally distributed between inner and outer city areas, the types of units constructed differ substantially. Approximately 57 percent of MHRC senior citizen units are located in the core as opposed to 22 percent of MHRC family housing. The location of MHRC developments in the core area is shown in figure 8.1. The figures appearing in tables 8.2 and 8.3 show that MHRC has taken great strides in tackling the affordability problems of the elderly, but it has lagged somewhat in addressing affordability problems for low income families, particularly those who desire (or are unable to leave) the inner city.

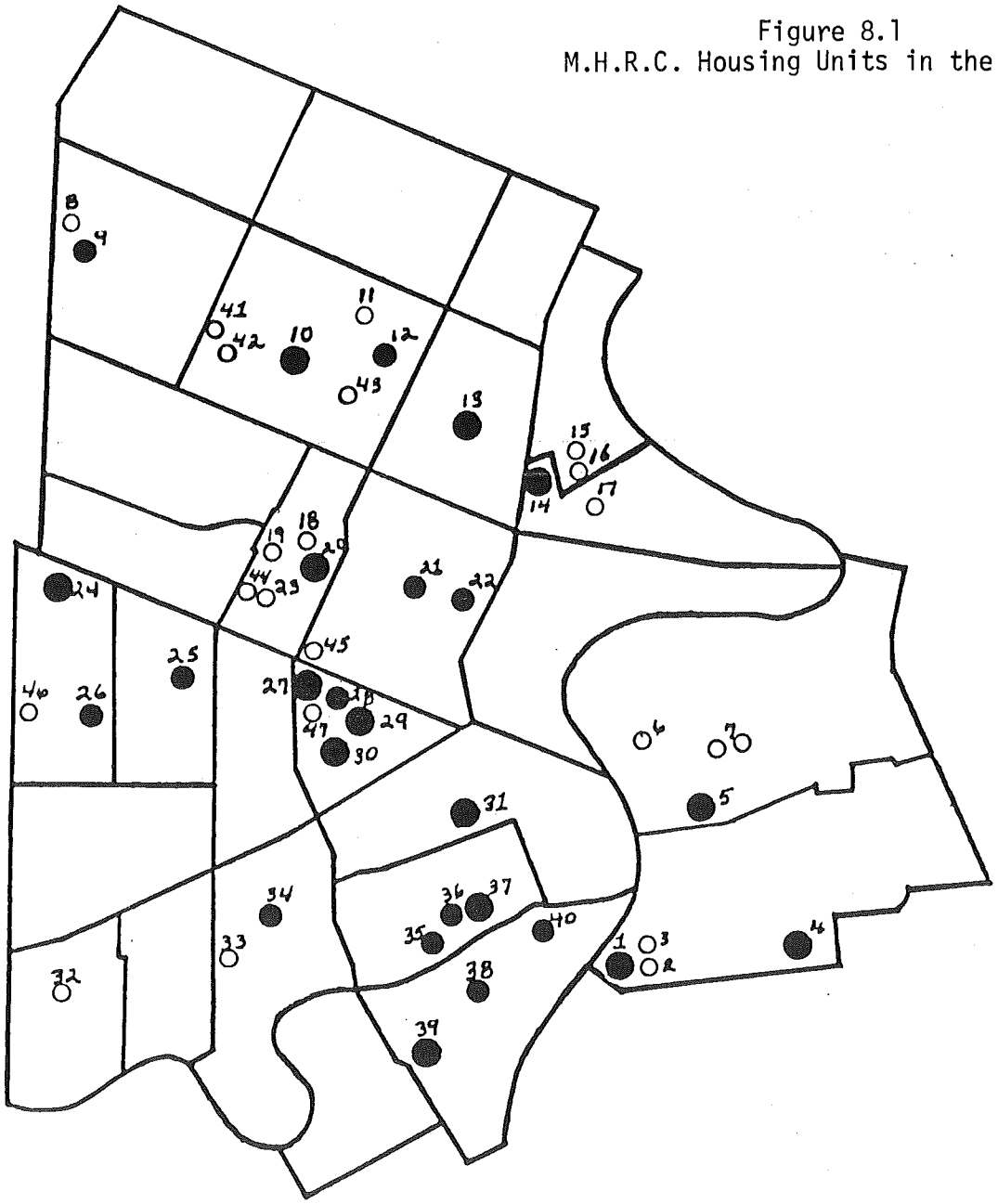
Table 8.2 also indicates that the need for assisted family housing in the inner city is not presently being met through the private non-profit housing movement. To date no private non-profit family housing units have been constructed in the inner city. The non-profits, however, have built a considerable amount of housing for the elderly.

In summary, statistics relating to the nature of past development suggest that the housing needs of the elderly are being met at a satisfactory rate through public and private non-profit development in the inner city. The same is not true for the needs of low income families. The nature of past development activity suggests a need for the province and city to rethink the role of public and third sector involvement in the inner city and to consider seriously the provision of additional family housing in the core.

8-3-2 Public and Third Sector Rehabilitation Activity

In comparison with housing development activity, the performance of public rehabilitation and renewal programs has been much less impressive even though more than $50 million in public funds have been allocated to inner city renewal and rehabilitation. Table 8.4 provides general documentation of renewal and rehabilitation activities through public sector initiatives. Since 1973 the bulk of public sector activity has been carried

Figure 8.1
M.H.R.C. Housing Units in the Core Area



- less than 20 units
- between 21 and 100 units
- 101+

Key to Location of M.H.R.C. Housing Units In the Core Area

Elderly Public Housing	1,4,5,10,12,13,14,20, 22,24,26,27,29,31,35, 36,38,39
Family Public Housing	2,3,6-9,11,15-19,21,23, 25,32,33,40-47
Mixed Elderly and Family Public Housing	28,30,34,37

Table 8.2

Public and Third Sector Development Activity
Winnipeg Inner City 1970 - 1977*

Program	Time Frame	Units Developed	Cost ($ x 1 million)
Public Housing (Section 43 NHA)	1970-77	650 Family 2676 Seniors	57.9
Non-Profit (Section 15.1 NHA)	To 1977	644 Seniors 178 Hostel Units	18.2***
A.R.P. (Section NHA)	1975-77	464 Apartments	13.5***
AHOP (Section NHA)	1975-77	42 Semi's (or Row)	1.5***
TOTAL		4634 Units	91.1**

* Source: MHRC, CMHC
** Average cost per unit -- $19,600
*** Estimates

Table 8.3

MHRC Development Activity Under Section 43
of NHA, Winnipeg 1970 - 1977

Location	Type of Unit		
	Seniors	Family	Total
Inner City	2676 (57.1)	650 (22.0)	3326 (43.5)
Outer City	2007 (42.9)	2305 (78.0)	4312 (56.5)
TOTAL	4683 (100)	2955 (100)	7638 (100)

Number in parentheses refer to percentages of total units of that type.

Source: MHRC, CMHC

out under the framework of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (N.I.P.) and the complementary Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (R.R.A.P.). NIP differs from earlier public strategies by concentrating not on slum clearance and redevelopment but rather on conservation, preservation and rehabilitation in specific neighbourhood areas.

During the 1975-78 period in which NIP has been active in Winnipeg, substantial improvements in select neighbourhood environments have been accomplished. Relative to the experiences of many communities, NIP in Winnipeg has been highly successful in improving physical infrastructure and community services. NIP staff in Winnipeg have made good use of federal and provincial monies for social and recreational facilities. In North Point Douglas, monies have been used for tennis courts and a swimming pool; and in Norquay Park, tot lots, baseball diamonds, playgrounds, parks, day care facilities and a group home. In the Centennial NIP area, Roosevelt Park has been developed, a community centre has been established, and parks have been put into place. In essence, NIP staff have not disregarded social and recreational needs and have obtained a reasonable balance between these needs and sewer and road requirements.

Housing rehabilitation under RRAP in NIP areas, however, has been less successful. Only 714 units have been "RRAP'ed" to date (see table 8.5) and 1978-1979 funding under RRAP remains small ($1.3 million) in comparision with the estimated 4,000 units in the inner city in need of rehabilitation.

There are two types of difficulties in limiting publicly assisted rehabilitation. Manitoba and the City of Winnipeg have not, in the past, received sufficient NIP and RRAP funding to carry out an extensive rehabilitation program. Second, the take-up of RRAP loans in the city's six NIP areas has been sluggish as many homeowners and landlords do not appear to be willing (or able) to borrow RRAP funds for rehabilitation.

Activity by public and private non-profit organizations is also facilitated under the RRAP program. To date, however, the numbers of units rehabilitated by non-profit groups has been small. The bulk of non-profit rehabilitation activity has been carried out by the Kinew Corporation which has acquired and rehabilitated where necessary, approximately 150 family housing units for occupancy by native families.

Table 8.4

Public and Third Sector Rehabilitation Activity
Winnipeg Inner City to 1977*

Program	Time Frame	Units Rehabilitated or Constructed	Cost ($ x 1 million)
Urban Renewal	1954-77	Slum Clearance 314 Public Units	25.2
Neighbourhood Improvement Program	1973-78	6 Neighbourhood Areas. Designated	22.6
R.R.A.P. (Via N.I.P.)	1975-78	265 Homeowner 382 Rental	2.7
TOTAL	to 1978	—	50.5

Table 8.5

Utilization of RRAP in Winnipeg
Inner City 1975 to 1978*

Year	Homeowners		Landlords	
	# of Units	Average Loan ($)	# of Units	Average Loan ($)
1975	132	3022	116	3452
1976	79	3980	182	6334
1977	54	4137	84	3020
to Sept. 1978	23	N.A.	67	N.A.
TOTAL	288	3535**	449	4730**

* Excludes units RRAP'ed by non-profit corporations.
** Average loan for total excludes 1978 data.

Although we should not underrate the success of the City's N.I.P. program or that of the Kinew Corporation, we must conclude that past progress has been much too slow. The available evidence suggests that it is time to seriously reassess the current role of the public sector regarding inner city neighbourhood improvement and rehabilitation. Questions as to whether current programs should be expanded, redirected, or terminated in favour of utilizing public capital to facilitate greater private rehabilitation activity must be addressed. The time to settle this issue is now as recent federal program changes have led to the termination of N.I.P. Clearly some structure is required at the municipal level to coordinate rehabilitation and improvement activities, be they private, public or joint private/public initiatives. Thus, it may be advisable that the expertise and structure which is currently embodied in the N.I.P. agency be retained and redirected to fulfilling a new mandate relating to housing rehabilitation in the inner city.

8-3-4 Code Enforcement and Apartment Upgrading

The key municipal activities which have recently impacted directly on housing in the inner city are the establishment and enforcement of residential structure and occupancy codes. These codes which have been formalized as municipal bylaws are intended to ensure adequate standards of health, safety and security for occupants. These bylaws have been directed primarily (although not entirely) toward older housing in the rental sector. The three major bylaws include:

1. the Health Bylaw,
2. the Maintenance and Occupancy Bylaw, and
3. the Apartment Upgrading Bylaw.

Because they focus principally on physical deficiencies in the residential structure, their impact has been greatest in the inner city where housing is generally older and in poorer condition. Most important in this regard is the Apartment Upgrading Bylaw (now the Residential Upgrading Bylaw) enacted in 1975. It was designed to ensure better fire safety in older apartment buildings.

In contrast to the other two bylaws, the Apartment Upgrading Bylaw has been enforced rigorously. To date, close to 400 structures have been identified for failing to meet the requirements of the bylaw.

Although code enforcement can in general provide a municipality with an effective vehicle for improving specific elements of the housing stock, it has in Winnipeg played a major role in the loss of low income rental units in the inner city. Estimates of apartment losses through code enforcement are provided in table 8.7.[12]

The reason for these losses is due to the precarious economic position of many inner city landlords. The application of rent controls and the removal of tax incentives to landlords during the mid-1970's has made it difficult for some rental property owners to realize a rate of return on investment which would permit and encourage reasonable maintenance and improvements. When confronted with the additional burden of a compliance order some apartment owners found it easier to close apartment buildings rather than upgrade them to required code levels. Difficulty on behalf of landlords in complying with upgrading orders is evident from records kept of compliance under the Apartment Upgrading Program during the 1975-78 period. The record is far from impressive. For example, for orders issued prior to June 1976, which would provide two years for compliance, less than 27 percent of the structures involved have had improvements completed. At the same time, about 20 percent of the non-complying structures were closed or demolished and an additional 53 percent remain legally in violation of the upgrading bylaw.

The poor compliance record is difficult to comprehend in light of the generally low costs of compliance. Many non-complying structures lack only elements of fire safety and could be brought up to acceptable levels at a modest cost (estimates of $600 - $1,000/suite). This fact suggests very strongly that the problems associated with bylaw compliance are not unmanageable in size, however, some municipal involvement may be necessary to assist landlords in meeting requirements. Failure to take action in this regard may result in additional losses to the stock of low income housing through code enforcement.

8-4 New Development Versus Rehabilitation Costs

Although direct comparisons of new development and rehabilitation costs cannot be made with a great deal of precision, the past activities of public and third sector agencies are sufficient to

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12. It should be noted that actual losses of units are likely to be much higher than suggested here for the figures relate only to demolitions. A sizeable number of additional units have likely been removed from the stock through closure.

Table 8.6

Multiple Family Rental Units Lost By Closure And Demolition
City of Winnipeg - January 1, 1972 - June 1, 1978
(excluding rooming units)

	Primary Cause of Loss	Estimated No. of Units
1.	Apartment Upgrading By-Law	283
2.	Health By-Law	88
3.	Maintenance and Occupancy By-Law	291
4.	Fires	380
5.	Primary Cause Undetermined	645
		1,687

Source: City of Winnipeg, Research Branch, Department of Environmental Planning, June 1978.
Extracted from the Apartment Loss Study, Ad Hoc Committee on Housing, City of Winnipeg, 1978.

provide crute estimates of the relative costs incurred under alternative strategies.

Relative to new housing construction (which costs approximately $30,000/unit) major renovations can be accomplished for approximately one-third of the cost, while acquisition and renovation of structures from the existing inner city stock can be accomplished for about two-thirds of the cost. In light of the size of these cost differentials, a major rehabilitation program represents a more cost-effective means of ensuring an adequate future supply of housing in the inner city, particularly if most of the financing comes from the private sector. The substantially higher costs associated with new publicly assisted developments suggests that this form of housing should not be employed as a major strategy for upgrading the inner city housing stock.[13] Such housing, however, may play a very crucial role in certain neighbourhoods where housing is badly deteriorated and in easing the affordability problems of specific target group populations, especially single parent families and the elderly.

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13. In addition to higher costs, significant improvement to the overall stock through new development is likely to take a very long time.

9. EMPLOYMENT [1]

Both the federal and provincial governments offer a variety of job creation and skills upgrading programs. The majority of the programs are not specifically designed to alleviate employment problems in the inner city, but they do tend to draw the majority of their clients from the inner city -- the chronically unemployed and the disadvantaged.

All of the employment and educational upgrading programs listed in the original Winnipeg Core Area Report are presently operational, with the exception of the Local Initiatives Program (L.I.P.) New programs have been added, including Young Canada Works, Canada Works, the Work-Stay Program, and the Inner City Employment Program.

In 1978/79, an approximate total of 832 jobs were provided in the inner city by the various job creation programs.[2] The budgets of these programs amounted to approximately $5,094,000, which was paid by the federal and provincial governments. In addition, skills training and job placement programs were used by many more clients (refer to table 9.1).

The following is a more detailed description of the various employment and skills upgrading programs.

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1. Information in this section was collected largely through interviews with representatives of the various programs.
2. Canada Works, Young Canada Works, L.E.A.P., Inner City Employment Programs, W.H.I.P.

Table 9.1

Employment and Job Skills
Upgrading Programs in Winnipeg

PROGRAMS		JOBS/TRAINEES	FUNDING
JOB CREATION PROGRAMS			
1. Canada Works[1]			
	1976/77	23	203,321
	1978/79	280	2,140,674
2. Young Canada Works[1]			
	1977 (Summer)	151	226,884
	1978	236	527,885
3. Local Employment Assistance Program[1]			
	1978	124	1,200,000**
4. Inner City Employment Program[2]			
	1977/78	255	887,041
	1978/79	47	299,357
	1979/80	non-operational	no funding
SKILLS UPGRADING AND EMPLOYMENT PLACEMENT			
1. Work Stay Program[2]			
	1977/78	149*	400,000*
	1978/79	45	276,000
2. New Careers[2]			
	1977/78	225	1,270,000
	1978/79	no additional trainees	747,300
	1979/80	potential of 50	868,300
3. Winnipeg Home Improvement Project[3]			
	1977/78	211	
	1978/79	145	926,000
	1979/80	--	750,000
LIFE SKILLS, ACADEMIC UPGRADING			
1. Winnipeg Native Pathfinders[1]			
	1978/79	Approximately 110 clients monthly	169,000
	1979/80		125,000
2. Red River Community College[1]			
	Canada Manpower Training Program	10,00+	12,500,000
	Off Campus Training Centres	159	25% of total for C.M.T.P.

1. Employment and Immigration Canada - Federal
2. Department of Labour and Manpower - Provincial
3. Department of Health and Social Development - Work Activity Project - Provincial
* Budget amount and # of trainees carried over 2 fiscal years (1977/78, 1978/79)
** Approximate figure

9-1 Job Creating Programs

CANADA WORKS: Canada Works attempts to provide short-term employment for people who need financial assistance while looking for more permanent work. Jobs are created by a local community organization sponsoring a community-oriented project. Because project funding is available for a maximum of one year only, projects should not build up a clientele dependent on the projects series. Yet, as the project must attepmt to meet a certain community need, a balance often difficult to achieve.

Since its inception in 1976, Canada Works has funded a variety of community projects, including community outreach and drop-in centers, consumer credit counselling, and teaching programs. Native organizations have sponsored almost half of the projects in Winnipeg. It is anticipated that the 1979-80 budget will be less than the previous years, since federal policy now emphasizes concentrating on longer term, self-sustaining job creation programs.

YOUNG CANADA WORKS: Young Canada Works is designed to fund projects to benefit the community and to provide work experience for students during the summer months. The program has sponsored many recreational and community outreach projects in Winnipeg's Core Area.

Funding for the program has increased yearly since 1977 in response to the high level of unemployment of the 15-24 age group in Manitoba. The $2.9 million budgeted for the summer of 1979 is a 5 fold increase over the 1978 budget.

LOCAL EMPLOYMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM (L.E.A.P.): LEAP is a long-term job creation program intended to increase the economic self-sufficiency of the chronically unemployed. This is achieved through the establishment of businesses which provide jobs for the chronically unemployed and by funding the projects that develop skills suitable for the regular labour market.

LEAP officials determine potential target areas and a joint proposal is prepared by the LEAP official and a sponsoring group. Funding is provided for a maximum of 4 years (1 developmental year and 3 project years) and total $850,000.

It is hoped that project businesses will be self-sufficient by the time federal support is withdrawn. LEAP projects range from an insulation-manufacturing plant operated by native people to a toy shop making and marketing wooden toys.

9-2 Skills Upgrading and Employment Placement

A number of programs administered by the provincial government offer work skills upgrading along with an employment position in either the private or public sector. Although the programs are not inner-city specific, they generally carry a "disadvantaged" criteria for acceptance into the program, and are filled largely by core-area residents.

THE WORK-STAY PROGRAM: This Program provides employment opportunities for youths aged 16-24 who have difficulties finding and holding a job. The client spends most of his time in a work position with the remaining time given to life skills upgrading. The salary is shared by both the provincial government and the employer. Program officials estimated that the majority of the young people who make it through the first week of the program eventually complete the program and are happy with their job placements.

NEW CAREERS: The New Careers Program accepts individuals who are unemployed and lack work skills, but who appear "motivated". The client is placed in a work position for a 2 year period, cost-shared by the Provincial and the Federal Governments. Upon successful completion, the job is guaranteed to the trainee, eliminating the problem of training individuals for non-existent jobs. The new direction of the program seems to be in private sector job training rather than in government agencies placement as had been the case.

WINNIPEG HOME IMPROVEMENT PROJECT (W.H.I.P.): This Program attempts to provide employment and to improve poor conditions in low-income inner-city homes. First designed to be an employment rehabilitation program, the focus of WHIP has been the inner city, the area where most of the work has been undertaken.

9-3 Life Skills, Education Upgrading, Job Retraining Programs

In addition to the job creation and placement programs, both the Federal and Provincial Governments offer general upgrading and retraining programs. Many of these programs are designed to assist people with work or educational disadvantages, but attendance in the programs is not dependent on professional referral.

RED RIVER COMMUNITY COLLEGE OFF-CAMPUS COURSES: RRCC sponsors off-campus courses at training centres located throughout the city, the majority located in the inner city. Individualized instruction is offered, such as academic upgrading, job readiness and English as a Second Language. The courses are designed to bring participants to the level where they could enter the regular program at RRCC.

R.R.C.C. - CANADA MANPOWER TRAINING PROGRAM: Canada Manpower subsidizes certain courses at RRCC, and provides the student's tuition, books, and a training allowance once he is accepted into a program of studies.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SERVICES OUTREACH: This program is aimed at people who are unemployed and who lack the ability to find jobs on their own. In addition to youths who register independently, referrals are accepted from Children's Aid, probation officers, and group homes.

The program is designed to teach young people job-hunting skills. The training period lasts for 1 week after which the Manpower Office is used as home base for a job search. Support and encouragement are given for as long as it takes the individual to find a job. An estimated 85% of the participants who complete the course are able to find a job.

WINNIPEG NATIVE PATHFINDERS: This program emphasizes individual counselling and a personal approach to finding work and training opportunities. There is no specific program; the native person may use Pathfinders Services for as long as it takes to find employment and long after for support and encouragement.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICES: The Employment Services Division of the Department of Health and Social Development acts as a last-resort agency. Clients are either eligible or are receiving some form of social assistance.

Each client is counselled individually for however long it takes to find employment or however long the client wishes to be a part of the program. An inventory of the individual's skills is taken, assistance is given in making decisions or in general skills upgrading and referrals are made.

9-4 Conclusions

People are unemployed because there are either no jobs available or their skills, experience or motivations make them unsuitable for regular work. Usually, the chronically unemployed suffer from a combination of both factors: it is the low skilled worker who is more likely to lose his job during an economic recession. From the preceeding descriptions of the various employment programs, it is apparent that most programs operate in a piecemeal fashion, focusing on either the problems of job placement or skills training for specific target groups.

Canada Works, the major program to date, has offered the potential of creating short-term employment. Although short-term employment may provide a good source of temporary financial assistance, longer term employment is necessary to provide any measure of job security and a chance "to get on one's feet". This point is supported by officials of the municpal welfare department who have noted that their clients are more likely to become regularly employed if the first job provides meaningful work over a longer period of time at a good wage.

The Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP) provides a sheltered work environment and a longer period of support with the opportunity of acquiring marketable work skills. However, the jobs provided under this program are too few in number to make any measurable difference in the unemployment rates.

Work skills and academic upgrading programs are offered to many inner city residents. Unfortunately, employment is not the automatic result of a skills upgrading program; individuals are often retrained for a non-existent job. Studies elsewhere have found that the marginally employed are more likely to move through cycles of employment programs, short periods of work, unemployment insurance and welfare.[3] The New Careers and Work-Stay Programs

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3. Michel Bergeron, Social Spending in Canada, (Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 1979) pp. 56-57.

attempt to solve this problem by guaranteeing employment after the completion of a training program.

Government cutbacks in funding have reduced the effectiveness of many programs. Provincial government employment services have been cut back by 1.3 million in the 1979/80 fiscal year.[4]

The Inner City Employment Program, once a major job and service supplier (255 jobs - 1977/78) is non-operational. WHIP, New Careers and Work-Stay Programs are just a few of the programs experiencing budget cuts.

Although Inner City employment programs are available, they are still too few and the funding too low to make a substantial impact. These programs are successful to the extent that they enable some individuals to find stable employment. Otherwise. these people would be confined to a life of chronic unemployment and dependence on government assistance.

Previous chapters outlined the extent to which rural Manitobans are migrating to the core area of Winnipeg in search of a better life. Unfortunately, the evidence suggests that these same people have few job skills and by inference, constitute a large portion of the clients utilizing the employment programs. In addition to the job placement and skills upgrading efforts, programs are needed that would:

1) revitalize the economy of the inner city and expand the limited pool of available job opportunities
2) stimulate economic development in rural Manitoba to provide some choice to the would-be immigrant.

Although not discussed in any detail in this report, other research conducted by I.U.S. has found such policies to be either absent or poorly articulated.[5]

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4. Winnipeg Tribune. Friday, March 2, 1979, p. 9.
5. Ministry of State for Urban Affiars. Settlement Strategies in Manitoba: An Examination of the Intentions of the Government of Manitoba, prepared by F. Johnston, (Ottawa, 1979).

10. SOCIAL INTERVENTIONS

Many people in the core area are having problems in their day-to-day life. Their problems include an inability to obtain regular and adequate incomes, family conflicts, physical and mental health problems, adjustment to an urban lifestyle, and an inability to function in the mainstream of society. When the immediate family or friends are unable to guide and support these individuals they become the responsibility of public and private social service agencies.[1] The frequent moves of many inner city residents and the decline of informal support networks is forcing increasing numbers of people to the formal agencies for assistance.

How the agencies located within the core area ought to respond to the above issues has been the subject of many reports. The range of issues which have been studied precludes any in-depth review of the reports; it should suffice to note that the findings and their interpretation have stimulated a lot of discussion. Yet for all the reports and inquiries, progress has been slow: problems which were pointed out in the Social Audit in 1969 are still with us as a 1977 City of Winnipeg study indicates.[2]

The inability of many of the providers of social services to agree on the nature of the problems to be attacked and what to do about them can be traced to several sources. First, certain fields of social intervention have no guaranteed methods of

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1. Alisa Poskanzer. "The Service Network and Truncated Families", 1978.

2. D.A. Thompson (chairman). Report of the Social Service Audit, Winnipeg, 1977;
City of Winnipeg, Ad-hoc Committee on Social Services, Report, October, 1977.

remedying problems. Individual social problems such as juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, and child abuse can have a complex origin. They are incompletely understood, which makes treatment imprecise and the general resolution of the problem understandably slow. Second, the theorists have been unable to agree on the causes of social and economic inequality. Explanations range from postulating personal deficiencies of the client to accounting for the existence of social problems as a result of the workings of social institutions. If the theory of social problems embraced by the agency determines its program of intervention, then we should expect a wide range of approaches to current social issues.

Apart from these issues of debate, substantial conflict is generated over the way the social service system sets policies and manages its day-to-day operations. The debate includes the issues of setting spending priorities (which activities should receive more money and which should be cut back?), the coordination of different agencies' activities, and the division of responsibilities among the agencies (which services should be provided by which agencies and how should they be grouped?).

Very generally, what is at question is the methods by which the social service system is guided in response to the environment around it. That is, how are decisions made in response to budget reductions, rising client needs, conflict with other agencies, etc.? To better answer these questions we should understand the way policies are established, the organizational characteristics of the system, and who has, and who should have, the authority and the responsibility for managing the system. It is important to realize that setting policy and managing the separate agencies as a system of services is seldom done with explicit intent. More often, bureaucratic inertia and the pressures of meeting daily obligations pre-empts the more major considerations.

At present, no one has yet devised a method of organizing and directing social services that would meet everyone's expectations. For example, it is extremely difficult for a service system to be both open to public participation and capable of quick decision making. Other objectives that the system should have may impose equally contradictory requirements on the agencies, their directors, and the clients they serve.[3]

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3. These include the requirements that public agencies should be accountable, equitable, efficient, and have fiscal integrity; after James Q. Wilson "The Bureaucracy Problem" in S.M. David and Paul E. Peterson Urban Politics and Public Policy, (New York: Praeger, 1973), pp. 27-34.

The intent of the following section is to review some alternative models for the organization and provision of social services in Winnipeg. These models, which have been drawn from reports specific to Winnipeg, are illustrative of the trade-offs which must be made within the confines of the present system. The discussion is limited because a full description of each model has not been provided and other ways of examining social services issues should be considered. For example, many people would argue that the major problem is simply a lack of resources to do the job properly. In addition, we have not advocated specific actions be taken. Although mention in chapter 4 was made of some gaps in the delivery of services, we have not been able to assign priorities for new program development. To do so would require extensive and detailed knowledge of other social service needs. Otherwise, low priorities could be promoted at the expense of unrecognized needs.

10-1 Trade-Offs Within the System

Before discussing specific issues it is necessary to first provide some background on the social service agencies. A description of the services available can be obtained from the Manual of Social Services in Manitoba, published yearly by the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg. It lists numerous independent agencies and government offices. One widely quoted estimate puts the number of agencies serving the inner city at 100. But this figure encompasses a number of government offices. Taken as a whole, these agencies constitute a system of organizations that can be characterized as being:

1. diffuse - the authority to set policy, disburse funds, direct activities and ensure accountability is in the hands of a number of agencies; there are no obvious leverage points where policy makers can intervene to obtain overall consistent actions.

2. ill-defined - the social services embrace a variety of tasks and a mix of professional and lay staff. The mandate of an agency may give it statutory powers to take action or it may depend entirely on the requests of clients. In addition, there are a number of other government agencies that have a social service objective as, for example the police and federal employment programs. As a result, there are no neat conceptual packages which can encompass all social services.

3. extensive - the services provided by Winnipeg's agencies respond to a wide spectrum of human needs. Traditionally, agencies have developed around single issues, making for both numerous and unique services. In addition, a number of agencies are very transient.[4] Thus simply monitoring the entire spectrum of social service activities is a large operation.

These characteristics make the guidance of the social service system an issue unlike those encountered within private business or government departments. The following section presents the various organizational models which have been proposed as a means of improving the management and direction of Winnipeg's social services:

1. Rationalization

A key point of the Social Audit was that the system was believed not to be operating in a rational and efficient manner. This conclusion was based on the failure of the system to conform to the conventional notions of how an organization should operate, i.e. diffuse decision-making, no clear-cut mandates, no hierarchy of control etc. The reporting committee recommended that key social services be brought under one organization's authority. A network of comprehensive neighbourhood centres was to be established and would subsume many previously independent agencies. This network was to be directed by the provincial government. Other social services such as day care, family services and group homes were also to become the responsibility of a central organization.

The effect of these recommendations would bring the responsibility for social services under the control of a few administrative heads. This, the committee agreed, would allow for a more efficient and effective response to a number of problems, some of which are listed below:

- gaps in service delivery
- better-follow-up on referrals to ensure that the necessary care has been received

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4. An estimated 4-5 agencies are added or deleted per month from Contact's lists of referral organizations.

- the systematic collection of data
- improved access to services by reducing complexity

Although much less detailed, a more recent study of the City of Winnipeg also stressed the need for an organization capable of effecting city-wide policies. The study committee noted that

> a major problem is the absence in the city of a body with the will, commitment, mandate and the funds to focus on social needs and social problems.[5]

In addition, the committee saw the need for a comprehensive strategy to give direction and purpose to social service activities in the central city.

It is generally known that under certain circumstances, a strong central management structure can make better use of available resources.[6] For the Winnipeg case, it has been noted how the present method of making decisions allows agencies which are no longer serving a useful function to continue receiving financial support. But the quest for rationalization has taken a more ominous turn. On the basis of the Task Force on Government Organization and Economy, the Province has eliminated numerous social programs in Winnipeg and elsewhere in Manitoba.[7] Health centres as well as programs for senior citizens, special education and employment have, among other social services, been threatened by the withdrawal of funds. While we would all expect public funds to be used effectively, the present round of cutbacks are not based on any systematic appraisal of the costs and benefits of operating these services. Although efficiency in theory is a simple enough concept, it is extremely difficult to apply this concept to the management of social services. How, for example, does one balance dollars spent against lives saved, reduced suffering or improved quality of life? Unfortunately, the government has not yet indicated how efficiency in social services is to be defined let alone measured.

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5. Ad-hoc Committee on Social Services.
6. This question of how the structure of an organization affects its performance has been the subject of extensive study. See Jay Galbraith, Organization Design (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1977).
7. Province of Manitoba, 1978.

2. Coordination of Special Services

A second problem of a "rational" and centrally directed system is that it often becomes unresponsive to identifiable groups of people who have special needs. Senior citizens, children, natives and other groups may have particular needs that are best met through the integration of a set of services into a coherent package. However, it is a characteristic of large organizations to improve efficiency through the increased specialization of departmental responsibilities.[8] The result of this practice is that people requiring assistance often have to match the rules and procedures of an organization rather than the organization tailoring its services to the unique needs of the individual.

In Winnipeg, there are now a number of organizations which respond to people's needs only if they fall within the narrow mandate of the organization. For multi-problem families, the effect of being dependent on a number of agencies is to split up the authority of the professional worker so that no one person has "continuous, complete governing power". Furthermore, the family loses any self-purpose as it becomes caught between the divergent and contradictory expectations of each agency.[9]

An excellent demonstration of usefulness of a coordinated approach was provided by the Multi-Service Project (MSP). Operated from 1963 to 1966, MSP was funded and staffed by a number of major agencies and was to operate as the primary point of access to social services for a fixed panel of multi-problem families. The follow-up evaluation showed that families assigned MSP exhibited marked improvement on a number of measures.[10] In contrast, the control group who received the same services in the traditional setting did not improve. An important factor cited in the success of MSP was that the MSP staff could assume a variety of roles -- counselor, dispenser of funds, disciplinarian -- and not be constrained by traditional jurisdictional boundaries.

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8. Victor Thompson. Bureaucracy and the Modern World (Morristown: General Learning Press, 1976).

9. Poskanzer

10. Alfred E. Levin, What Will You Answer? Research Findings on the Winnipeg Multi-Service Project of 1963 to 1966, (Winnipeg: 1971).

3. Decentralization

Although a coordinated set of services may work well for particular need groups, this approach tends to centralize resources thus presenting problems of access for people with less specific needs and less severe problems. In contrast to the coordinated approach, several studies on Winnipeg have recommended the establishment of small neighbourhood centres.[11] These offices are intended to provide easy-to-reach, integrated services and to avoid the impersonal nature of large organizations. The neighbourhood centre would be the primary entry point for social services and, if necessary, give referrals for more specialized care. Also, the centre could engage in outreach activities, preventive services, the provision of information and follow-ups on referrals. Extensive experimentation has been done with this model and this method has achieved reasonable successes in a number of urban areas.[12]

4. Specialization

The approach of the neighbourhood centre is to provide services from a "generalist" perspective, but the number of services that should be provided at the neighbourhood level is not obvious. At a certain point, the demand for a specific service will not be large enough to justify hiring a specialist to work in the neighbourhood centre, but will require skills which would prevent the generalist from carrying out the task. Thus, certain needs require the development of a specialist located in more centralized agencies. As was noted in one review of The Social Audit, many social service issues are now handled by the specialist in which it was argued that specialization provides better services for the client and better training for the worker.[13]

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11. Notably, the Social Audit and the Report of the Ad-hoc Committee on Social Services.

12. For an extensive discussion of the neighbourhood centre concept and its operation, see H. Philip Hepworth, Community Multi-Service Centres (Ottawa: The Canadian Council on Social Development, 1976).

13. The Study Committee on Child and Family Services of the Canadian Mental Health Association. "An Evaluation of the Final Report of the Social Service Audit"(Winnipeg: n.d.).

5. Competing Philosophies

Proponents for a centrally controlled system claim that there is a lot of duplication of effort. Closer analysis generally shows that the duplication may be in name only. Often, similar agencies operate in different areas of the city and respond to the same needs in markedly different ways. Rather than duplication, they are providing an element of choice for the client and a range of approaches to problems where there is seldom an obvious solution. Furthermore, the existence of several independent agencies engaged in the same problem makes the introduction of innovations easier: bureaucratic organizations are known for their ability to frustrate the implementation of new ideas.[14]

10-2 Conclusions on the Social Service System

Lack of progress in many fields of social intervention can be traced to inadequate models of treatment and differing theories of causes of social problems. However, many of the contentious issues can be related to the way in which the delivery of social services is organized and directed. The current network of social services, in attempting to respond to a wide range of human services, has grown into an extensive and hard-to-define system. These characteristics make the management and policy-setting tasks markedly different from the traditional firm or government office.

Moreover, many people have argued that in addition to meeting the day-to-day demands for service, the agencies should be contributing towards system-wide objectives, some of which are as follows:

- coordination of different services
- make efficient use of resources
- provide integrated services for special need groups
- provide a high standard of professional care
- be easily accessible to the general public
- treat clients as individuals
- engage in preventive services
- be accountable to the community they serve

Each objective, by itself, sets a laudable goal for a social service agency. But as was discussed above, directing an agency to achieve one objective may compromise the progress towards another.

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14. V. Thompson, p. 93.

In attempting to facilitate the attainment of certain objectives, different organizational models have been put forward. For example, centralizing management responsibilities, as was proposed in the Social Audit, could effect lower costs per client, but at the expense of rendering the system more impersonal and rigid. A decentralized system of service provision would have the reverse effect. However, it is mistaken to assume there is one "best" organizational model. Simply because one particular type of service is most effective when decentralized, it does not follow that decentralization is the best strategy for all social services.

Each of the proposed models for the delivery of social services in Winnipeg was conceived as a means of altering the over-all performance of the social service system. But the proposals seldom considered the complexity of the system which will defy any simple prescription; the trade-offs which each alternative model entails; or, a method by which the selected model would be implemented. The last point is particularly important. Within a well-defined organizational unit such as a private company, restructuring the unit can be a difficult process. To attempt the same process for a network of social service agencies is all the more difficult. In reviewing one aspect of introducing change to a set of agencies, that of improving coordination, Dennis Rondinelli notes that it presents a deceptively simple goal:

> 'Policies should be mutually supportive rather than contradictory. People should not work at cross-purposes. The participants in any particular activity should contribute to a common purpose at the right time and in the right amount to achieve coordination'. But in practice no amount of central control, punitive regulation, positive incentives or structural reorganization has succeeded in getting ... agencies ... to cooperate with each other, unless such coordination satisfies their own political and bureaucratic interests.[15]

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15. Dennis Rondinelli. "Policy Coordination in Metropolitan Areas: An Ecological Perspective", Administration and Society Vol. 10, No. 2, 1978, pp. 204-205.

Rondinelli goes on to point out how these traits of a system of agencies renders obsolete the usual policy prescriptions. Attempts to achieve better coordination (or to achieve other desired objectives) through the use of hierarchical organizations, central controls or administrative reform will not work; instead, he suggests that the strengthening of informal communication networks and strategies to facilitate voluntary cooperation will be more productive.

Agencies in Winnipeg have taken steps towards more active cooperation. For example, some of the principal child care and family service agencies are investigating the possibility of using a shared information system. This would allow the participating agencies to monitor the progress of clients receiving services from a number of agencies. In addition, individual agencies have perceived that the problems are too complex and interrelated to be tackled successfully by themselves.

However, it is simply not enough for an agency to realize that cooperative efforts are needed; there must also be a mechanism for harnessing these good intentions and stimulating further efforts. Some steps have been made in this direction by the Inter-Agency Group. The Group functions primarily as a forum for exchanging information, building consensus and forming subgroups to advocate for action on particular issues. Because membership in the Group is informal, it has no official mandate empowering it to bring about change. The Group relies primarily on the force of argument to get things done.

This absence of leadership could be filled by the major funding agencies. By taking a more active stance in setting social policy, such organizations as the City, the Province and the United Way could focus attention on the critical social issues of inner city and take on the role of broker in arbitrating among the different agencies.

The funding organizations could engage in a variety of activities that could facilitate more effective direction of Winnipeg's social services. An idea of the range of activities open to these organizations is suggested below.

- Research into management and policy related problems, i.e. measuring unmet needs, developing alternative organizational models, and introducing management tools such as data systems, budgeting techniques, etc.

- Develop policies that would establish the priorities for intervention into the social issues. This could serve both as a means of allocating funds and as a guide to action for the independent agencies. (It is worth noting that the City has yet to recognize or support any particular social issue as a priority item.)

- Sponsor coordinated efforts for agencies working on common issues. This activity could be carried out either through a forum similar to the Inter-Agency Group but with the formal endorsement of the participating agencies or through direct action as occurred with the Multi-Service Project.

- Establish a community development agency to have the responsibility of implementing a comprehensive program of social development. The tasks could include housing rehabilitation and renewal, economic development, job training, special education and health programs.

Clearly these possibilities are not developed enough to be considered serious alternatives to the present situation. They do suggest, however, that there is a variety of actions that could be contemplated. They range from the provision of information designed to clarify and expand each agency's perceptions of what could be done to more direct actions intended to redirect agencies by force of example and budget allocations.

10-3 Community Development

The current patterns for the delivery of services, the effects of the housing market and other social and economic forces are not operating to the benefit of the inner city resident. Furthermore, the findings of this section have shown the efforts by public and private agencies to be inadequate if the physical, economic and social conditions of the core are to be improved.

Numerous suggestions have been made throughout this report indicating how local agencies could intervene in the inner city; whether or not these agencies will be motivated to take action on the basis of the report is questionable. Many people, residents and concerned officials, remain skeptical about the ability or desire of the established institutions to introduce any programs of substance.

An alternative approach to description and analysis of the issues, as is done through most of this report, is the concept of community development.[16] The principle issue from the community perspective is to alter the existing distribution of power. If successful, community development activities would establish local control over private and public resources which are available to an inner city area. Unless people are able to take responsibility for themselves, their family and their neighbours, community development theory holds that it is unlikely that the marginal urban areas will experience any substantial improvements.

A variety of models of community development have been successful in Canada and the U.S. While the successes are encouraging, they are outnumbered by the failures. In addition, community development, even if successful, will not be able to resolve all the social and economic ills facing a disadvantaged area. Through community development, however, organizations outside of Winnipeg have been able to:

- improve the treatment clients receive from overly bureaucratic social service and welfare agencies;
- redirect private and public monies into disadvantaged areas to improve the economic base of the area;
- obtain changes in school board curriculum and other social programs in order to introduce services more supportive of the needs of the area's residents.

Thus community development holds considerable potential for the inner city of Winnipeg.

10-4 Community Development In Winnipeg

At present, there are no community development organizations active within the Winnipeg core, but some initial steps have been made in organizing the residents into an effective force. These are discussed below:

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16. The following comments are from the Institute of Urban Studies, Community Development For Central Winnipeg: A Review of the Seminar Held at the University of Winnipeg on February 23 and 24, 1979.

1. Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP)

Although the first priority of NIP was to improve the quality of the physical environment, the legislation also encouraged some degree of citizen participation. Nationally, the level of community participation has varied widely but in Winnipeg a conscientious effort was made to involve the residents. Although one report noted that the citizens should have been engaged much earlier in the process, NIP has nevertheless had a salutory effect in developing local groups who are concerned and willing to act to improve their neighbourhoods.

At present, the NIP staff are winding down their operations. However, community organizations originally intended to work with the staff show all appearances of continuing in one form or another. For example, the North Point Douglas residents have become involved in the issue of inner city schools and are cooperating with other groups in the construction of a new community centre and park. In Centennial, the residents' organization will cease to exist in the fall of 1979, but its members have moved on to the executive of other community agencies.

2. Community Schools

A community school is an old concept, but it has only recently been introduced to the inner city school district (Winnipeg School Division No. 1). Briefly, a community school

> is an educational alternative which attempts to design educational programs, materials, administrative procedures, and a physical layout which allow the surrounding community and the school to develop in complementary ways.[17]

The basis for community schools in Winnipeg was laid by the adoption of two provincial government programs, the "Community Assessment Program" and the "Schools for Urban Neighbourhoods". The funds from these programs allowed schools to hire local

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17. S. Vanderhoef. A Study of the Community Schools Concept (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1978), p. 19.

residents as teacher-community aides and community workers to organize local residents so that the residents could articulate their needs.[18] These programs met with some initial successes, but the overall effect of the effort has been limited by the short life-span of the programs. The community school workers are now seeking long-term funding and envisage an extensive development of the community schools concept.

Through the community schools program local leadership has been developed, employment opportunities created and an increased number of parents have taken part in the educational process.[19] Despite these successes and others, the school board has not yet formally endorsed the community schools concept.

With regards to the formation of a community development organization, a number of actions have been taken by concerned parents on other community issues. They have organized to have dangerous housing demolished, control the selling of solvents to children, establish a block parents program and improve traffic safety. In addition, the school committees have worked on mutual issues with other agencies, as for example, between health centres and public schools.

These inter-agency links have proven to be important in the era of government restraint. Through the organization of a coalition of community agencies, the local health centres were able to at least defer the proposed provincial government grant reductions. Elsewhere in Canada, coalitions of community organizations have provided an effective mechanism in obtaining a better deal for disadvantaged people.[20]

3. Seminar on Community Development[21]

In a recent seminar sponsored by the Institute of Urban Studies, approximately 120 participants came together to "address the needs of central Winnipeg and mobilize public involvement towards community solutions". Both the number of people in attendance

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18. S. Vanderhoef, p. 27-28.
19. Greg Selinger (coordinator). "A Community Schools Proposal Presented to the United Way for Funding a Community Development Agency", October, 1978.
20. Institute of Urban Studies, p. 6.
21. Ibid.

and the vigor of the debate indicate that considerable support for the community development approach exists. Not unexpectedly, many of the participants felt that some form of community action is necessary if the area is to have a better future. Unfortunately, there has been little progress since the seminar in building a community development organization.

The promise of community development is that it could obtain the needed changes where other approaches may fail. It has been successful elsewhere in Canada and the U.S. in reallocating public resources and in improving the practices and policies of the major public institutions. Although there is no community development organization currently active in the core, the basis for such an organization may be developing. Through the community schools and NIP programs, residents have established working committees and gained some initial experience in public decision-making. Also, actions by these same groups have shown the residents to be both concerned about their neighbourhood and capable of taking actions to improve it.

Established organizations could assist further progress in community development by:

- the provision of long-term funding to support community development workers and to provide seed money for specific projects;

- the cooperation of the service arms of the municipal and provincial governments. Vancouver, for example, decentralized its social services to 6 community areas to facilitate more local control on policy issues;

- the active support of respected community leaders and their organizations of a community development effort. These organizations could assist by contributing personnel, facilities, information to their own members and a legal umbrella for the community development worker.

11. EPILOGUE

The previous chapters have shown the Winnipeg core area to be a diverse but troubled area. Because of its diversity, a variety of lifestyles are possible and a broad mix of people have found the core area to provide the home and working environment they want. Yet the substantial problems of the core often obscure its positive benefits. Many households, particularly families, have decided to move out of the area rather than contend with the negative aspects of inner city life.

Evidence shows that increasing numbers of those people who remain in the core have no other choice in where to live. For these people, the indications are that their situation has shown no improvements from when the first core report was published in 1975. Particularly unfortunate has been the continued widening of the gap between the suburban and inner city areas in terms of the financial and human resources needed for day-to-day living and in the opportunities available for self-improvement.

Against these trends must be balanced the achievements of the various public agencies: for example, police efforts appear to be responsible for the drop in crime rates and the Neighbourhood Improvement Program has upgraded housing conditions. These improvements, however, have been limited to a few sub-areas of the core. Thus while it is far from becoming a ghetto on the scale of some American cities, the major social, economic and housing trends give little reason for complacency.

The efforts of public agencies in addressing the recognized problems of the core were also considered. The findings of this study reaffirm that the problems as revealed through such measures as crime, poor housing conditions, poverty, poor health, truancy

from school, drug and alcohol abuses, and an unsafe and unpleasant physical environment are due to a number of causes and are strongly inter-linked. Yet, for the most part, interventions designed to address these issues have continued to be narrowly conceived in their goals and poorly co-ordinated with other related public initiatives. By providing information on the range of issues facing the core and by describing some of the interventions that are currently taking place it was hoped that agencies could better relate their activities to the overall picture. Without a strong central agency to put together a comprehensive effort, it is only through the exchange of information that co-operative programs can be developed.

This is not to deny the importance of local services; there will continue to be a demand for immediate and effective care on a crisis basis and in a neighbourhood context. But these small scale efforts will leave unchanged the major structural forces that give rise to many of the problems of the core. People will continue to be in need of crisis and rehabilitative care as long as there are persistent problems of poor housing, a lack of job opportunities, inadequate education and poor parenting and social skills.

However, launching a successful attack on these structural problems is by no means an easy task. The authors of the first Core Area Report proposed a set of recommendations that if implemented would provide at least a start. They suggested the following:[1]

- the initiation of a city-sponsored program of low cost housing;
- the creation of a Core Area Economic Development Corporation;
- the establishment of major manpower training programs;
- the provision of community and social recreation centres; and
- the establishment of a Core Area Council to represent the government, the agencies and community to develop plans and co-ordinate activities for the area.

Apart from some explicit proposals on housing issues, we have not prepared a series of recommendations as has been done in other reports. Instead, we have emphasized the provision and analysis of information. There are two reasons for this. First, we are not reporting to a specific organization that could act on our

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1. L. Axworthy and P. Christie, pp. 110 - 112.

proposals. In addition, earlier reports have already specified the type of interventions that need to be initiated. In our opinion, the problem of what to do is not dependent on the composition of additional listings of actions plans. The second reason for not presenting recommendations is that only a minimal amount of information is available on most of the issues. In this regard we, like many other researchers, believe that more and better information should be obtained before coherent choices can be made from among different program options. This is especially true of the social services where even the basic information of numbers of clients served and the level of services provided is unaccessible or non-existent. Without this type of information, it is extremely difficult to plan in a rational way the expansion or addition of services: it is not possible to target programs to special need groups, to allocate funds to the most effective services, or to integrate different agencies' programs.

Nevertheless, the information presented within the report provides a strong case for direct and immediate interventions. There are clear and pressing needs in housing, health care, social services, education, policing, the provision of employment and income security. To postpone any actions until full and detailed plans have been drawn up is to condemn a substantial number of people to a marginal existence. As well, efforts should also be taken to conserve and promote the positive attributes of the core if we are to encourage a mix of people to continue living in the area. The proposals made in the first Core Area Report as listed above outline a strategy for resolving some of these issues.

But as was discussed in the final chapter, and has been evident to many observers, improving the quality of life in the inner city is not simply a matter of getting better information or encouraging more co-operative efforts. A major impediment to positive change in the core has been a lack of political will. The low priority given to the problems of the core has resulted in the failure to commit enough funds to the area to make a difference. Until the time that these obstacles are overcome, studies such as this one will provide no more than a first step towards improving conditions in the inner city.

APPENDIX

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC AND HOUSING STOCK TABLES

All information unless otherwise noted is from the Canada Census. The census metropolitan area totals are calculated on the basis of the 1971 C.M.A. boundaries.

Table 1
POPULATION COMPOSITION-1971

CENSUS TRACT		- AGE GROUP - 0-14	%	15-24	%	25-44	%	45-64	%	65+	%	Total
11	T	605	9.0	1,690	25.2	1,780	26.5	1,540	22.9	1,100	16.4	6,725
	M	315	4.7	725	10.8	940	14.0	610	9.1	355	5.3	
	F	290	4.3	965	14.4	840	12.5	930	13.8	745	11.1	
12	T	570	9.9	1,880	3.3	1,220	21.2	850	14.7	945	16.4	5,465
	M	295	5.1	820	1.4	660	11.5	325	5.6	285	4.9	
	F	275	4.8	1,060	1.9	560	9.7	525	9.1	660	11.5	
13	T	75	5.9	205	16.0	255	19.9	405	31.6	340	26.6	1,275
	M	40	3.1	95	7.4	165	12.9	195	15.2	150	11.7	
	F	35	2.7	110	8.6	90	7.0	210	16.4	190	14.8	
14	T	160	3.7	1,165	26.9	1,020	23.9	1,025	23.7	955	22.1	4,320
	M	80	1.8	480	11.1	555	12.8	385	8.9	330	7.6	
	F	80	1.8	685	15.8	465	10.8	640	14.8	625	14.5	
15	T	720	9.6	1,905	25.5	1,690	22.6	1,690	22.6	1,475	19.7	7,470
	M	355	4.7	820	11.0	920	12.3	690	9.2	485	6.5	
	F	365	4.9	1,085	14.5	770	10.3	1,000	13.4	990	13.2	
16	T	580	15.3	1,075	28.3	940	24.7	705	18.5	495	13.0	3,795
	M	275	7.2	410	10.8	485	12.7	280	7.3	160	4.2	
	F	305	8.1	665	17.5	455	12.0	425	11.2	335	8.8	
17	T	985	19.1	1,335	25.8	1,250	24.2	975	18.9	620	12.0	5,165
	M	455	8.8	570	11.1	620	12.0	390	7.6	220	4.3	
	F	530	10.3	765	14.7	630	12.2	585	11.3	400	7.7	
21	T	1,680	20.9	1,655	20.6	1,790	22.3	1,565	19.5	1,350	16.8	8,035
	M	875	10.9	775	9.7	955	11.9	675	8.4	555	6.9	
	F	805	10.0	880	10.9	835	10.4	890	11.1	795	9.9	

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POPULATION COMPOSITION -1971 (CONTINUED)

CENSUS TRACT		- AGE GROUP - 0-14	%	15-24	%	25-44	%	45-64	%	65+	%	Total
22	T	1,205	18.8	1,460	22.7	1,680	26.2	1,260	19.6	800	12.5	6,400
	M	595	9.3	685	10.6	915	14.3	570	8.9	360	5.6	
	F	610	9.5	775	12.1	765	11.9	690	10.7	440	6.9	
23	T	255	6.7	665	17.6	850	22.5	1,030	27.2	975	25.8	3,780
	M	125	3.3	295	7.8	500	13.2	490	12.9	385	10.2	
	F	130	3.4	370	9.8	350	9.3	540	14.3	590	15.6	
24	T	105	12.8	105	12.8	170	20.7	240	29.3	200	24.3	825
	M	55	6.7	65	7.9	115	14.0	185	22.6	165	20.1	
	F	50	6.1	40	4.9	55	6.7	55	6.7	35	4.2	
25	T	910	21.6	620	14.7	875	20.8	1,035	24.6	770	18.3	4,215
	M	450	10.7	305	7.2	495	11.8	670	15.9	610	14.5	
	F	460	10.9	315	7.5	380	9.0	365	8.7	160	3.8	
26	T	935	27.4	610	17.7	810	23.4	685	19.8	405	11.7	3,440
	M	460	13.6	275	8.0	405	11.7	350	10.1	210	6.1	
	F	475	13.8	335	9.7	405	11.7	335	9.7	195	5.6	
27	T	560	18.3	810	26.5	870	28.6	570	18.7	255	8.4	3,055
	M	280	9.1	230	7.5	430	14.1	250	8.2	115	3.8	
	F	280	9.1	580	19.0	440	14.5	320	10.5	140	4.6	
28	T	1,305	21.9	1,215	20.4	1,480	24.8	1,205	20.2	760	12.7	5,970
	M	655	11.0	515	8.6	730	12.2	500	8.4	295	4.9	
	F	650	10.9	700	11.7	750	12.6	705	11.8	465	7.8	
29	T	1,290	23.3	1,030	18.6	1,225	22.2	1,250	22.6	735	13.3	5,540
	M	650	11.7	520	9.4	610	11.1	540	9.8	305	5.5	
	F	640	11.6	510	9.2	615	11.1	710	12.8	430	7.8	
33	T	565	31.8	340	19.2	415	23.4	320	18.0	135	7.6	1,790
	M	280	15.8	170	9.6	230	13.0	155	8.7	70	3.9	
	F	285	16.0	170	9.6	185	10.4	165	9.3	65	3.7	

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POPULATION COMPOSITION - 1971 (CONTINUED)

CENSUS TRACT		- AGE GROUP - 0-14	%	15-24	%	25-44	%	45-64	%	65+	%	Total
34	T	1,205	29.6	670	16.4	805	19.8	795	19.5	595	14.6	4,060
	M	625	15.4	335	8.2	385	9.5	385	9.5	330	8.1	
	F	580	14.2	335	8.2	420	10.3	410	10.0	265	6.5	
35	T	665	21.6	430	14.0	570	18.5	625	20.3	780	25.4	3,075
	M	330	10.7	220	7.2	295	9.6	325	10.6	395	12.9	
	F	335	10.9	210	6.8	275	8.9	300	9.7	385	12.5	
36	T	285	25.3	165	14.7	245	21.8	265	23.6	165	14.7	1,135
	M	140	12.4	90	8.0	115	10.2	130	11.6	95	8.4	
	F	145	12.9	75	6.7	130	11.6	135	12.0	70	6.3	
42	T	1,000	26.5	705	18.7	855	22.7	715	19.0	495	13.1	3,775
	M	495	13.1	330	8.8	420	11.1	320	8.5	220	5.8	
	F	505	13.4	375	9.9	435	11.6	395	10.5	275	7.3	
43	T	2,195	29.8	1,280	17.4	1,480	20.1	1,460	19.8	955	13.0	7,355
	M	1,095	14.9	635	8.6	770	10.4	700	9.5	470	6.4	
	F	1,100	14.9	645	8.8	710	9.6	760	10.3	485	6.6	
44	T	695	21.9	605	19.1	655	20.6	740	23.3	475	15.0	3,170
	M	345	10.9	275	8.7	335	10.5	345	10.9	220	6.9	
	F	350	11.0	330	10.4	320	10.1	395	12.4	255	8.1	
45	T	2,030	25.3	1,495	18.6	1,695	21.1	1,695	21.1	1,090	13.6	8,020
	M	1,055	13.1	765	9.5	875	10.9	765	9.5	510	6.4	
	F	975	12.2	730	9.1	820	10.2	930	11.6	580	7.2	
48	T	1,505	23.9	1,200	19.0	1,210	19.2	1,690	26.8	705	11.1	6,315
	M	770	12.2	620	9.8	575	9.1	815	12.9	325	5.1	
	F	735	11.7	580	9.2	635	10.1	875	13.9	380	6.0	
116	T	1,595	20.3	1,060	26.2	1,645	20.9	1,545	19.7	1,010	12.9	7,850
	M	795	10.1	895	11.4	835	10.6	665	8.5	445	5.7	
		800	10.2	1,165	14.8	810	10.3	880	11.2	565	7.2	

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POPULATION COMPOSITION - 1971 (CONTINUED)

CENSUS TRACT		- AGE GROUP - 0-14	%	15-24	%	25-44	%	45-64	%	65+	%	Total	
117	T	785	22.0	785	22.0	700	19.6	795	22.3	500	14.0	3,550	
	M	395	11.1	370	10.4	345	9.7	335	9.4	190	5.3		
	F	390	10.9	415	11.6	355	9.9	460	12.9	310	8.7		
Inner City	T	24,465	19.5	27,160	21.6	28,180	22.4	26,675	21.2	19,085	15.2	125,570	
	M	12,285	9.8	12,290	9.7	14,680	11.7	12,045	9.6	8,255	6.6	59,555	47%
	F	12,180	9.7	14,870	11.8	13,500	10.7	14,630	11.6	10,830	8.6	66,010	53%
Outer City	T	118,535	28.6	76,745	18.5	104,370	25.2	82,905	20.0	32,165	7.8	414,695	
	M	60.465	14.6	38,625	9.3	51,630	12.5	39,725	9.6	13,760	3.3	204,205	49%
	F	58,070	14.0	38,120	9.2	52,740	12.7	43,180	10.4	18,405	4.5	210,515	51%
Winnipeg C.M.A.	T	143,000	26.5	103,905	19.2	132,550	24.5	109,580	20.3	51,250	9.5	540,265	
	M	72,750	13.5	50,915	9.4	66,310	12.3	51,770	9.6	22,015	4.1	263,760	49%
	F	70,250	13.0	52,990	9.8	66,240	12.3	57,810	10.7	29,235	5.4	276,525	51%

Table 2

POPULATION COMPOSITION - 1976

Census Tract		0-14	%	15-24	%	-Age Groups- 25-44	%	45-64	%	65+	%	Total
11	T	375	6.2	1,405	23.2	1,700	28.1	1,265	20.9	1,305	21.6	6,050
	M	175	2.9	525	8.7	905	15.0	555	9.2	430	7.1	
	F	200	3.3	880	14.5	795	13.1	710	11.7	875	14.5	
12	T	415	8.0	1,760	33.9	1,465	28.2	715	13.8	840	16.2	5,195
	M	200	3.8	790	15.2	815	15.7	290	5.6	200	3.8	
	F	215	4.1	970	18.7	650	12.5	425	8.2	640	12.3	
13	T	40	1.8	290	13.3	530	23.3	530	24.1	755	34.6	2,145
	M	20	.9	110	5.1	330	15.1	245	11.1	265	12.2	
	F	20	.9	180	8.2	200	8.2	285	13.0	490	22.4	
14	T	110	3.0	915	24.6	1,060	28.5	845	22.7	790	21.2	3,720
	M	55	1.5	330	8.9	565	15.2	325	8.7	230	6.2	
	F	55	1.5	585	15.7	495	13.3	520	14.0	560	15.1	
15	T	540	9.0	1,495	25.0	1,580	26.4	1,270	21.2	1,100	18.6	5,985
	M	265	4.4	675	11.3	895	14.9	545	9.1	380	6.4	
	F	275	4.6	820	13.7	685	11.5	725	12.1	720	12.2	
16	T	430	14.6	830	28.4	800	27.1	545	18.3	335	11.3	2,940
	M	225	7.6	370	12.9	435	14.8	225	7.6	110	3.7	
	F	205	7.0	460	15.5	365	12.3	320	10.7	225	7.6	
17	T	855	18.4	1,150	24.7	1,310	28.2	765	16.3	555	11.9	4,635
	M	430	9.3	530	11.4	695	15.0	335	7.1	240	5.1	
	F	425	9.1	620	13.3	615	13.2	430	9.2	315	6.8	

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POPULATION COMPOSITION - 1976 (CONTINUED)

Census Tract		0-14	%	15-24	%	25-44	%	45-64	%	65+	%	Total
21	T	1,565	21.3	1,495	20.3	1,800	24.5	1,300	17.7	1,195	16.2	7,355
	M	770	10.5	710	9.7	890	12.1	565	7.7	490	6.7	
	F	795	10.8	785	10.7	910	12.4	735	10.0	705	9.6	
22	T	885	17.1	1,170	22.8	1,550	30.0	940	18.0	585	11.4	5,130
	M	445	8.6	545	10.6	785	15.2	470	9.0	265	5.1	
	F	440	8.5	625	12.2	765	14.8	470	9.0	320	6.3	
23	T	195	5.7	585	17.0	865	25.2	780	22.9	1,000	29.2	3,425
	M	110	3.2	245	7.1	455	13.2	350	10.3	360	10.5	
	F	85	2.5	340	9.9	410	12.0	430	12.6	640	18.7	
24	T	110	15.7	95	13.6	155	22.1	205	29.3	135	19.3	700
	M	60	8.6	50	7.1	95	13.6	155	22.1	105	15.0	
	F	50	7.1	45	6.4	69	8.6	50	7.1	30	4.3	
25	T	650	19.0	480	14.0	790	23.0	855	45.8	670	19.5	3,450
	M	330	9.6	245	7.1	405	11.8	560	16.3	460	13.4	
	F	320	9.4	235	6.9	385	11.2	295	29.5	210	6.1	
26	T	640	22.4	550	19.7	805	28.3	550	19.5	335	11.8	2,880
	M	325	11.4	275	9.7	375	13.2	285	10.1	195	6.5	
	F	315	11.0	285	10.0	430	15.1	265	9.4	150	5.3	
27	T	455	18.9	485	20.2	740	30.8	465	19.3	260	10.8	2,405
	M	240	10.0	210	8.7	375	15.6	195	8.1	120	5.0	
	F	215	8.9	275	11.4	365	15.2	270	11.2	140	5.8	

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POPULATION COMPOSITION - 1976 (CONTINUED)

Census Tract		0-14	%	15-24	%	25-44	%	45-64	%	65+	%	Total
28	T	1,250	22.4	1,195	21.4	1,595	28.6	1,000	17.9	540	9.7	5,580
	M	635	11.4	540	9.7	760	13.6	430	7.7	230	4.1	
	F	615	11.0	655	11.7	835	15.0	570	10.2	310	5.6	
29	T	1,085	20.8	990	19.0	1,320	25.3	1,025	19.6	800	15.3	5,220
	M	575	11.0	450	8.6	665	12.7	445	8.5	285	5.5	
	F	510	9.7	540	10.3	655	12.5	580	11.1	515	9.9	
33	T	450	33.5	220	16.4	315	23.4	240	17.8	120	8.9	1,345
	M	245	18.2	105	7.8	165	12.3	115	8.6	50	3.7	
	F	205	15.2	115	8.6	150	11.2	125	9.3	70	5.2	
34	T	900	26.0	560	16.2	665	19.2	660	19.1	670	19.4	3,455
	M	470	13.6	285	8.2	300	8.7	325	9.4	310	9.0	
	F	430	12.4	275	8.0	365	10.6	335	9.7	360	10.4	
35	T	405	16.2	345	13.8	445	17.8	550	22.0	780	31.2	2,525
	M	200	8.0	165	6.6	220	8.8	285	11.4	325	13.0	
	F	205	8.2	180	7.2	225	9.0	265	10.6	455	18.2	
36	T	225	22.2	145	14.4	175	17.3	240	23.8	225	22.3	1,010
	M	105	10.4	80	7.9	95	9.4	125	12.4	130	12.9	
	F	120	11.9	65	6.4	80	7.9	115	11.4	95	9.4	
42	T	825	24.9	660	19.8	810	24.4	620	18.9	390	12.0	3,305
	M	395	11.9	320	9.6	395	11.9	275	8.4	180	5.6	
	F	430	13.0	340	10.2	415	12.5	350	10.5	210	7.4	
43	T	1,415	24.7	1,020	17.9	1,175	20.5	1,245	21.8	865	15.1	5,720
	M	745	13.0	495	8.7	580	10.2	620	10.9	430	7.5	
	F	670	11.7	525	9.2	595	10.3	625	10.9	435	7.6	

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POPULATION COMPOSITION -1976 (CONTINUED)

Census Tract		0-14	%	15-24	%	25-44	%	45-64	%	65+	%	Total	
44	T	540	20.3	500	18.8	510	19.2	660	24.7	445	16.7	2,660	
	M	290	10.9	250	9.4	265	10.0	280	10.5	205	7.7		
	F	255	9.6	250	9.4	245	9.2	380	14.3	240	9.0		
45	T	1,600	23.0	1,405	20.2	1,570	22.6	1,435	20.6	950	13.6	6,960	
	M	820	11.8	680	9.8	760	10.9	650	9.3	430	6.2		
	F	780	11.2	725	10.4	810	11.6	785	11.3	520	7.5		
48	T	1,060	19.5	965	17.8	1,100	20.2	1,580	29.1	730	13.4	5,435	
	M	530	9.8	480	8.8	560	10.3	740	13.6	320	5.9		
	F	530	9.8	485	8.9	540	9.9	840	15.5	410	7.5		
116	T	1,090	15.5	1,740	24.7	1,305	18.6	1,545	22.0	1,330	19.0	7,010	
	M	560	8.0	785	11.2	635	9.1	630	9.0	475	6.8		
	F	530	7.6	955	13.6	670	9.6	915	13.1	855	12.2		
117	T	595	18.2	760	23.2	650	19.9	695	21.3	580	17.4	3,270	
	M	310	9.5	365	11.2	325	9.9	305	9.3	180	5.5		
	F	285	8.7	395	12.1	325	9.9	390	11.9	390	11.9		
Inner City	T	18,710	17.1	23,220	21.2	26,785	24.4	22,525	20.6	18,275	16.7	109,510	100%
	M	9,530	18.5	10,610	9.7	13,745	12.6	10,325	9.4	7,390	6.7	51,600	47%
	F	9,180	8.4	12,610	11.5	13,040	11.9	12,205	11.1	10,885	9.9	57,920	53%
Outer City	T	113,820	24.9	88,775	19.4	123,460	27.0	91,745	20.1	39,535	8.6	457,335	100%
	M	58,360	.8	44,285	9.7	61,000	13.3	43,370	9.5	16,420	3.4	223,435	49%
	F	55,475	12.1	44,490	9.7	62,480	13.7	48,365	10.6	23,150	5.1	233,960	51%
Winnipeg C.M.A	T[1]	132,530	23.4	111,995	19.8	150,245	26.5	114,270	20.2	57,810	10.2	566,820	100%
	M	67,890	12.0	54,895	9.7	74,745	13.2	53,695	9.5	23,810	4.2	274,975	49%
	F	64,655	11.4	57,100	10.1	75,520	13.3	60,570	10.7	34,035	6.0	291,830	51%

Source: 1976 Census, Microfiche CTDEMA 11

Table 3
MARITAL STATUS-1971

CENSUS TRACT	TOTAL POPULATION 1971	SINGLE MALES OVER 15	%	SINGLE FEMALES OVER 15	%	TOTAL SINGLES OVER 15	%
11	6,725	840	12.5	1,125	16.7	1,965	29.1
12	5,465	930	17.0	1,125	20.6	2,055	37.6
13	1,275	270	21.2	200	15.7	470	36.9
14	4,320	680	15.7	1,045	24.2	1,725	39.9
15	7,470	1,265	16.9	1,520	20.3	2,785	37.3
16	3,795	565	14.9	820	21.6	1,385	36.5
17	5,165	615	11.9	830	16.1	1,445	27.9
21	8,035	950	11.8	850	10.6	1,800	22.4
22	6,400	1,055	16.5	905	14.1	1,960	30.6
23	3,780	790	20.9	635	16.8	1,425	37.7
24	825	305	37.0	15	1.8	320	38.8
25	4,215	1,070	25.4	350	8.3	1,420	33.7
26	3,440	490	14.2	380	11.0	870	25.3
27	3.055	345	11.3	620	20.3	965	31.6
28	5,970	615	10.3	810	13.6	1,425	23.9
29	5,540	615	11.1	545	9.8	1,160	20.9
33	1,790	225	12.6	140	7.8	365	20.4
34	4,060	600	14.8	330	8.1	930	22.9
35	3,075	405	13.2	255	8.3	660	21.5
36	1,135	175	15.4	125	11.0	300	26.4
42	3,775	400	10.6	295	7.8	695	18.4
43	7,355	935	12.7	610	8.3	1,545	21.0
44	3,170	345	10.9	275	8.7	620	19.6
45	8.020	910	11.3	635	7.9	1,545	19.3
48	6,315	730	11.6	530	8.4	1,260	19.9
116	7,850	1,025	13.1	1,280	16.3	2,305	29.3
117	3,550	415	11.7	585	16.5	1,000	28.2
INNER CITY	125,570	17,565	14.0%	16,835	13.4%	34,400	27.4%
OUTER CITY	414,695	39,835	9.6%	34,085	8.2%	73,920	17.8%
WINNIPEG C.M.A.	540,265	57,400	10.6%	50,920	9.4%	108,320	20.0%

Table 4

MARITAL-STATUS - 1976

CENSUS TRACT	TOTAL POPULATION 1976	SINGLE MALES OVER 15	%	SINGLE FEMALES OVER 15	%	TOTAL SINGLES OVER 15	%
11	6,050	900	14.9	1,205	19.9	2,105	34.8
12	5,185	1,085	20.9	1,220	23.5	2,305	44.5
13	2,190	380	17.4	335	15.3	715	32.6
14	3,745	670	17.9	1,080	28.8	1,750	46.7
15	5,990	1,175	19.6	1,365	22.8	2,540	42.4
16	2,955	615	20.8	585	19.8	1,200	40.6
17	4,645	815	17.5	825	17.8	1,640	35.3
21	7,315	905	12.4	950	13.0	1,850	25.3
22	5,155	880	17.1	825	16.0	1,710	33.2
23	3,425	635	18.5	690	20.0	1,330	38.8
24	675	215	31.9	50	7.4	270	40.0
25	3,440	435	12.6	440	12.7	870	25.3
26	2,855	400	14.0	405	14.2	810	28.4
27	2,385	310	13.0	325	13.6	635	26.6
28	5,600	665	11.9	790	14.1	1,460	26.1
29	5,240	575	11.0	660	12.6	1,235	23.6
33	1,365	125	9.2	120	8.8	245	17.9
34	3,475	485	14.0	320	9.2	805	23.2
35	2,510	345	13.7	220	8.8	565	22.5
36	1,025	145	14.1	55	5.4	195	19.0
42	3,315	395	11.9	365	11.0	760	22.9
43	5,725	780	13.6	555	9.7	1,335	23.3
44	2,675	300	11.2	235	8.8	535	20.0
45	7,965	810	10.2	730	9.2	1,540	19.3
48	5,450	595	10.9	450	8.3	1,040	19.1
116	7,010	985	14.1	1,170	16.7	2,150	30.7
117	3,245	435	13.4	625	19.2	1,055	32.5
INNER CITY	109,610	16,060	14.7%	16,595	15.1%	32,650	29.8%
OUTER CITY	457,205	47,020	10.3%	41,080	9.0%	88,100	19.3%
WINNIPEG C.M.A.[1]	566,815	63,080	11.1%	57,675	10.2%	120,750	21.3%

Source: 1976 Census Microfiche CTECOB42.

Table 5
LONE-PARENT FAMILIES - 1976

CENSUS TRACT	TOTAL FAMILIES	LONE PARENT FEMALE FAMILIES	%	LONE PARENT MALE FAMILIES	%	TOTAL LONE PARENT FAMILIES	%
11	1,350	160	11.9	25	1.9	180	13.3
12	850	130	15.3	15	1.8	145	17.0
13	290	20	6.9	5	1.7	30	10.3
14	585	75	12.8	10	1.7	85	14.5
15	1,050	175	16.7	30	2.9	200	19.0
16	555	100	18.0	10	1.8	110	19.8
17	950	145	15.3	25	2.6	170	17.9
21	1,665	230	13.8	40	2.4	270	16.2
22	1,025	140	13.7	25	2.4	165	16.1
23	475	55	11.6	5	1.1	70	14.7
24	95	20	21.0	5	5.3	20	21.0
25	550	125	22.7	25	4.5	145	26.3
26	590	110	18.6	15	2.5	125	21.2
27	565	55	9.7	10	1.8	65	11.5
28	1,300	195	15.0	35	2.7	230	17.7
29	1,280	150	11.7	35	2.7	180	14.1
33	330	65	19.7	10	3.0	75	22.7
34	740	215	29.0	35	4.8	255	34.4
35	440	80	18.2	10	2.3	85	19.3
36	215	40	18.6	10	4.7	50	2.3
42	800	160	20.0	15	1.9	175	21.9
43	1,320	295	22.3	55	4.2	355	26.9
44	705	100	14.2	25	3.5	125	17.7
45	1,785	320	17.9	50	2.8	370	20.7
48	1,535	180	11.7	35	2.3	215	14.0
116	1,540	240	15.6	15	1.0	255	16.7
117	690	90	13.0	5	N/C	100	14.5
INNER CITY	23,275	3,670	15.8%	570	2.4%	4,250	18.3%
OUTER CITY	120,025	10,280	8.6	1,590	1.3	11,860	9.9
WINNIPEG C.M.A.	143,300	13,950	9.7	2,160	1.5	16,110	11.2

Source: 1976 Census microfiche CTFAMA 11.

Table 6

BIRTHPLACE AND IMMIGRATION - 1971

CENSUS TRACT	BORN IN CANADA	% OF TOTAL POP.	BORN OUTSIDE CANADA	%	IMMIGRATED AFTER 1945	%
11	5,050	75.1	1,680	25.0	1,035	15.4
12	4,260	78.0	1,225	22.4	755	13.8
13	915	71.8	340	27.0	140	11.1
14	3,355	77.6	980	22.6	415	9.6
15	5,515	73.9	1,945	26.1	1,045	14.0
16	2,765	72.8	1,020	27.0	720	19.0
17	3,795	73.5	1,360	26.4	950	18.4
21	5,355	66.7	2,670	33.3	1,720	21.4
22	4,095	64.0	2,305	36.0	1,725	27.0
23	2,575	68.1	1,225	32.4	615	16.3
24	510	61.6	290	35.0	80	9.7
25	2,735	65.0	1,485	35.0	840	19.9
26	2,355	68.5	1,085	31.5	800	23.2
27	2,045	70.0	850	27.9	625	20.5
28	3,885	65.1	2,080	34.9	1,565	26.2
29	3,755	67.8	1,785	32.2	1,240	22.4
33	1,310	73.2	615	34.4	510	28.5
34	2,650	65.4	1,400	34.5	775	19.1
35	1,885	61.3	1,255	40.8	615	20.0
36	795	70.1	315	27.8	135	11.9
42	2,540	67.3	1,240	32.9	715	18.9
43	5,455	74.2	1,900	25.8	1,040	14.1
44	2,345	74.0	825	26.0	390	12.3
45	5,630	70.2	2,400	29.9	1,340	16.7
48	4,755	75.3	1,555	24.6	735	11.6
116	6,905	88.0	950	12.1	540	6.9
117	3,205	90.3	365	10.3	180	5.1
INNER CITY	90,440	72.0	35,145	28.0	21,245	16.9
OUTER CITY	342,395	82.6	72,280	17.4	43,245	10.4
WINNIPEG C.M.A.	432,835	80.1	107,425	19.9	64,490	11.9

Table 7

POPULATION - 1941 to 1976

1941-66 CENSUS TRACT NO.	1971-76 CENSUS TRACT NO.	1941	1951	1961	1966	1971	1976
42	11	3,591	3,963	4,459	5,286	6,728	6,046
38	12	4,831	4,537	5,669	5,459	5,465	5,187
36	13	4,451	3,245	1,576	1,316	1,274	2,171
37	14	4,659	5,414	4,447	3,960	4,322	3,734
35	15	10,286	9,564	8,664	8,012	7,468	5,975
34	16	4,574	4,512	4,613	4,228	3,797	2,945
33	17	5,624	5,713	5,981	5,857	5,169	4,642
32	21	9,121	8,269	8,308	8,350	8,035	7,332
21	22	9,097	7,649	7,490	6,930	6,397	5,152
20	23	6,327	5,402	3,925	3,829	3,781	3,422
18	24	3,210	2,738	1,554	1,355	828	683
19	25	7,896	6,666	5,927	5,051	4,212	3,443
22	26	5,475	4,715	4,576	3,861	3,440	2,860
24	27	3,908	4,009	4,215	3,712	3,055	2,384
25)	28	13,490	12,553	13,147	6,400	5,966	5,603
25)	29	-	-	-	5,927	5,540	5,237
23	33	2,249	2,163	2,145	1,930	1,790	1,362
10	34	6,531	6,010	5,796	3,700	4,058	3,447
12	35	4,230	3,931	3,857	3,299	3,075	2,508
11	36	2,319	2,169	1,688	1,439	1,134	1,021
9	42	4,075	3,962	4,218	3,933	3,774	3,316
5	43	9,926	8,972	8,904	7,859	7,355	5,731
4	44	3,481	3,699	3,495	3,168	3,170	2,660
6	45	9,764	9,364	9,200	8,551	8,022	6,961
3	48	4,914	7,004	7,399	7,013	6,316	5,446
50	116	4,486	7,454	7,812	7,966	7,854	7,012
49	117	3,054	4,048	4,415	4,003	3,547	3,250
INNER CITY		153,669	147,725	143,480	128,491	125,572	109,530
OUTER CITY		146,268	206,344	332,509	380,268	414,693	457,283
WPG C.M.A.		299,937[1]	354,069	475,989	508,759	540,265	566,813

Table 8

POPULATION CHANGE - 1941 - 1976

1941-66 CENSUS TRACTS	1971-76 CENSUS TRACTS	% CHANGE 1941-51	% CHANGE 1951-61	% CHANGE 1961-66	% CHANGE 1966-71	% CHANGE 1971-76	% CHANGE 1941-76
42	11	+10.4	+12.5	+18.5	+27.3	-10.1	+68.4
38	12	- 6.1	+25.0	- 3.7	NC	- 5.1	+ 7.4
36	13	-27.1	-51.4	-16.5	- 3.2	+70.4	-51.2
37	14	-16.2	-17.9	-11.0	+ 9.1	-13.6	-19.9
35	15	- 7.0	- 9.4	- 7.5	- 6.8	-20.0	-41.9
34	16	- 1.4	- 2.2	- 8.3	-10.2	-22.4	-35.6
33	17	+ 1.6	+ 4.7	- 2.1	-11.8	-10.2	-17.5
32	21	- 9.3	+ .5	+ 0.5	- 3.8	- 8.7	-19.6
21	22	-15.9	- 2.1	- 7.5	- 7.6	-19.5	-43.4
20	23	-14.6	-27.3	- 2.4	- 1.3	- 9.5	-45.9
18	24	-14.7	-43.2	-12.8	-38.9	-17.5	-78.7
19	25	-15.6	-11.1	-14.8	-16.6	-18.3	-56.4
22	26	-13.9	- 2.9	-15.6	-10.9	-16.9	-47.8
24	27	+ 2.6	+ 5.1	-11.9	-17.7	-22.0	-39.0
25)	28	- 6.9	+ 4.7	- 6.2	- 6.7	- 6.1	-19.6
25)	29			- 6.2	- 6.5	- 5.5	
23	33	- 3.8	- .8	-10.0	- 7.3	-24.0	-39.4
10	34	- 8.0	- 3.6	-36.2	+ 9.7	-15.1	-47.2
12	35	- 7.1	- 1.9	-14.5	- 6.8	-18.4	-40.7
11	36	- 6.5	-22.2	-14.8	-21.1	-10.0	-56.0
9	42	- 2.8	+ 6.5	- 6.8	- 4.0	-12.1	-18.6
5	43	- 9.6	- 0.8	-11.7	- 6.4	-22.1	-42.3
4	44	+ 6.3	- 5.5	- 9.4	NC	-16.1	-23.6
6	45	- 4.1	- 1.8	- 7.1	- 6.2	-13.2	-28.7
3	48	+42.5	+ 5.6	- 5.2	- 9.9	-13.8	+10.8
50	116	+66.2	+ 4.8	+ 2.0	- 1.4	-10.7	+56.3
49	117	+32.5	+ 9.1	- 9.3	-11.4	- 8.4	+ 6.4
INNER CITY		- 3.9	- 2.9	-10.4	- 2.3	-12.8	-28.7
OUTER CITY		+41.1	+61.1	+14.4	+ 9.1	+10.3	+212.6
WINNIPEG C.M.A.		+18.0	+34.4	+ 6.9	+ 6.2	+ 4.9	+89.0

NC: No Change

Table 9

FAMILY FORMATION-1966 to 1976

CENSUS TRACTS 1966	1971 1976	NO. OF FAMILIES 1966	CHANGE 1966-71 TOTAL	%	NO. OF FAMILIES 1971	CHANGE 1971-76 TOTAL	%	NO. OF FAMILIES 1976
42	11	1,330	+ 370	+27.8	1,700	- 350	-20.6	1,350
38	12	1,207	- 127	-10.5	1,080	- 230	-21.3	850
36	13	203	- 13	- 6.4	190	+ 100	+52.6	290
37	14	772	+ 28	+ 3.6	800	- 215	-26.8	585
35	15	1,541	- 181	-11.7	1,360	- 310	-22.8	1,050
34	16	828	- 88	-10.6	740	- 185	-25.0	555
33	17	1,355	- 135	-10.0	1,220	- 270	-22.1	950
32	21	2.013	- 128	- 6.4	1,885	- 220	-11.7	1,665
21	22	1,492	- 167	-11.1	1,325	- 300	-22.6	1,025
20	23	662	- 72	-10.9	590	- 115	-19.4	475
18	24	164	- 49	-29.9	115	- 20	-17.4	95
19	25	840	- 140	-16.7	700	- 150	-21.4	550
22	26	813	- 98	-12.1	715	- 125	-17.5	590
24	27	783	- 93	-11.9	690	- 125	-18.1	565
25)	28	3,099	- 229	- 7.4	1,445	- 145	-10.0	1,300
25)	29				1,425	- 145	-10.2	1,280
23	33	443	- 33	- 7.4	410	- 80	-19.5	330
10	34	789	+ 76	+ 9.6	865	- 125	-14.5	740
12	35	666	- 61	- 9.2	605	- 165	-27.3	440
11	36	312	- 77	-24.7	235	- 20	- 8.5	215
9	42	1,035	- 35	- 3.4	1,000	- 200	-20.0	800
5	43	1,798	- 153	- 8.5	1,645	- 325	-19.8	1,320
4	44	848	- 13	- 1.5	835	- 130	-15.6	705
6	45	2,251	- 186	- 4.3	2,065	- 280	-13.6	1,785
3	48	2,788	- 73	- 2.6	1,715	- 180	-10.5	1,535
50	116	1,633	+ 107	+ 6.6	1,740	- 200	-11.5	1,540
49	117	869	- 69	- 7.9	800	- 110	-13.8	690
INNER CITY		29,534	- 1,639	- 5.5%	27,895	- 4,620	-16.6%	23,275
OUTER CITY		92,888	+12,077	+13.0%	104,965	+14,175	+13.5%	119,140
WPG. C.M.A.		122,422	+10,438	+ 8.5%	132,860	+10,415	+ 7.8%	143,275

Source: 1966-1976 Census, 1976 Microfiche CTFAMA 11

Table 10

HOUSEHOLD FORMATION-1966 to 1976

CENSUS TRACTS 1966	CENSUS TRACTS 1971 1976	NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS 1966	CHANGE 1966-71 TOTAL	CHANGE 1966-71 %	NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS 1971	CHANGE 1971-76 TOTAL	CHANGE 1971-76 %	NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS 1976
42	11	2,228	+ 1,072	+48.1	3,300	+ 135	+ 4.1	3,435
38	12	2,149	+ 366	+17.0	2,515	+ 265	+ 10.5	2,780
36	13	507	+ 103	+20.3	610	+ 800	+133.3	1,410
37	14	2,064	+ 466	+22.6	2,510	+ 20	NC	2,530
35	15	3,051	+ 604	+19.8	3,655	- 470	- 12.9	3,185
34	16	1,163	+ 272	+23.4	1,435	- 140	- 9.8	1,295
33	17	1,783	+ 182	+10.2	1,965	- 235	- 12.0	1,730
32	21	2,649	+ 181	+ 6.8	2,830	- 155	- 5.5	2,675
21	22	2,117	+ 638	+30.9	2,755	- 755	- 27.4	2,000
20	23	1,775	- 25	NC	1,750	+ 160	+ 9.1	1,910
18	24	214	+ 1	NC	215	+ 5	+ 2.3	220
19	25	1,068	+ 122	+11.9	1,190	- 60	- 5.0	1,130
22	26	996	- 31	- 3.1	965	+ 125	+ 13.0	1,090
24	27	962	+ 18	+ 2.9	980	- 75	- 7.7	905
25	28	3,746	+ 399	+10.7	2,265	- 210	- 9.3	2,055
25	29				1,880	- 35	- 1.9	1,845
23	33	480	+ 70	+14.6	550	- 185	- 33.6	365
10	34	1,183	+ 102	+ 8.6	1,285	- 5	NC	1,280
12	35	871	- 11	- 1.3	860	- 220	- 25.6	640
11	36	420	- 85	-20.2	335	+ 55	+ 16.4	390
9	42	1,356	- 46	- 3.4	1,310	- 125	- 9.5	1,185
5	43	2,228	+ 2	NC	2,230	- 260	- 11.7	1,970
4	44	1,006	+ 54	+ 5.4	1,060	- 45	- 4.2	1,015
6	45	2,681	- 71	- 2.6	1,610	- 160	- 9.9	2,450
3	48	1,937	- 12	NC	1,925	- 25	- 1.3	1,900
50	116	2,091	+ 359	+17.2	2,450	+ 420	+ 17.1	2,870
49	117	1,091	- 26	- 2.3	1,065	+ 55	+ 5.2	1,120
INNER CITY		41,819	+ 4,681	+11.2%	46,500	- 1,130	- 2.4%	45,370
OUTER CITY		101,891	+18,280	+17.9%	120,170	+28,595	-23.8%	148,765
WPG. C.M.A.		143,710	+22,960	+16.0%	166,670	+27,495	+16.5%	194,165

Source: 1966-1976 Census, 1976 Microfiche CTDHHA21

NC - No Change

Table 11

AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY SIZE - 1960 to 1976

Census Tract	Average Household Size 1966	Average Household Size 1971	Average Household Size 1976	Average Family Size 1966	Average Family Size 1971	Average Family Size 1976
11	2.3	2.0	1.7	2.7	2.5	
12	2.3	2.0	1.7	2.7	2.6	
13	2.1	1.6	1.3	2.7	2.4	
14	1.7	1.6	1.4	2.3	2.2	
15	2.4	1.9	1.8	2.8	2.7	
16	3.3	2.4	2.2	3.1	3.0	
17	3.1	2.6	2.5	3.1	3.0	
21	3.1	2.7	2.7	3.3	3.2	
22	3.1	2.3	2.5	3.0	3.0	
23	1.8	1.7	1.5	2.6	2.5	
24	3.5	2.9	2.4	3.4	3.2	
25	3.8	3.0	2.6	3.7	3.6	
26	3.7	3.4	2.6	3.6	3.6	
27	3.3	2.7	2.5	3.2	3.0	
28	3.2	2.6	2.7	3.2	3.1	- not yet available-
29		2.9	2.8		3.2	
33	4.0	3.2	3.6	3.8	3.8	
34	3.0	3.1	2.6	3.5	3.6	
35	3.2	3.0	2.9	3.4	3.3	
36	3.2	3.3	2.5	3.4	3.6	
42	2.9	2.9	2.8	3.2	3.1	
43	3.4	3.2	2.8	3.7	3.6	
44	3.1	2.9	2.6	3.3	3.2	
45	3.2	3.0	2.8	3.3	3.3	
48	3.6	3.3	2.8	3.6	3.4	
116	3.4	2.9	2.3	3.7	3.4	
117	3.3	3.1	2.6	3.6	3.4	
INNER CITY	2.9	2.7	2.3	3.3	3.1	
OUTER CITY	4.0	3.4	3.2	3.7	3.6	
WPG. C.M.A.	3.5	3.2	3.0	3.6	3.5	

Source: a1976 Census Microfiche CTOHHA16B.

Table 12

EDUCATION LEVELS-1971

CENSUS TRACT	POPULATION 5 YEARS & OLDER	%	LESS THAN GRADE 9	%	9-13 WITH NO OTHER TRAINING	%	9-13 WITH OTHER TRAINING	%	UNIVERSITY	%
11	6,435	95.6	1,155	17.9	2,355	36.7	1,055	16.3	1,860	28.9
12	5,185	94.9	1,295	25.0	1,920	37.0	845	16.3	830	16.0
13	1,240	97.3	405	32.7	560	45.2	140	11.3	135	10.9
14	4,250	98.4	855	20.1	1,830	43.1	830	19.5	725	17.1
15	7,170	96.0	2,245	31.3	2,775	38.7	990	13.8	1,160	16.2
16	3,570	94.1	1,260	35.3	1,275	35.7	560	15.7	475	13.3
17	4,755	92.1	1,685	35.4	1,720	36.2	770	16.2	585	12.3
21	7,460	92.8	3,620	48.5	2,615	35.1	780	10.5	450	6.0
22	5,910	92.3	2,900	49.1	1,925	32.6	645	10.9	430	7.3
23	3,670	97.1	1,430	39.0	1,375	37.5	480	13.1	375	10.2
24	780	94.2	480	61.5	235	30.1	35	4.5	35	4.5
25	3,885	92.2	2,650	68.2	940	24.2	165	4.2	125	3.2
26	3,105	90.2	1,910	61.5	885	28.5	215	6.9	90	2.9
27	2,695	88.2	945	35.1	750	27.8	565	21.0	435	16.1
28	5,475	91.7	2,550	46.6	1,900	34.7	640	11.7	390	7.1
29	5,150	92.9	2,455	47.6	1,795	34.9	590	11.4	300	5.8
33	1,730	96.6	1,205	69.7	390	22.5	80	4.6	65	3.8
34	3,695	91.0	2,410	65.2	920	24.9	240	6.5	125	3.4
35	2,870	93.3	1,935	67.4	755	26.3	115	4.0	55	1.9
36	1,050	92.5	670	63.8	270	25.7	65	6.2	40	3.8
42	3,410	90.3	1,890	55.4	1,080	31.7	255	7.5	185	5.4
43	6,620	90.0	4,245	64.1	1,755	26.5	400	6.0	225	3.4
44	2,965	93.5	1,555	52.4	1,070	36.1	230	7.8	100	3.4
45	7,380	92.0	4,085	55.4	2,330	31.6	610	8.3	355	4.8
48	5,900	93.4	3,085	52.3	1,965	33.3	505	8.5	330	5.6
116	7,345	93.4	2,865	39.0	2,625	35.7	1,010	13.8	845	11.5
117	3,315	93.5	1,460	44.0	1,010	30.5	1,115	33.6	440	13.2
INNER CITY	117,015	93.2	53,155	45.4	39,025	33.3	13,930	11.9	11,165	9.5
OUTER CITY	380,055	91.6	144,375	38.0	141,550	37.2	49,540	13.0	44,325	11.7
WINNIPEG C.M.A.	497,070	92.0	197,530	39.7	180,575	36.3	63,470	12.8	55,490	11.2

Table 13

MALE OCCUPATIONS - 1971

CENSUS TRACT	TOTAL	MANAGERIAL/ PROFESSIONAL	%	CLERICAL/SALES SERVICE	%	TRANSPORTATION/ MANUFACTURING LABOUR	%	OTHERS	%
11	2,135	735	34.4	780	36.5	405	19.0	80	3.7
12	1,600	445	27.8	485	30.3	485	30.3	95	5.9
13	430	65	15.1	145	33.7	110	25.6	30	7.0
14	1,270	300	23.6	450	35.4	330	26.0	75	5.9
15	2,120	390	18.4	650	30.7	695	32.8	155	7.3
16	1,060	150	14.2	380	35.8	290	27.4	80	7.5
17	1,410	240	17.0	385	27.3	575	40.8	110	7.8
21	2,235	235	10.5	705	31.5	925	41.4	170	7.6
22	1,880	135	7.2	555	29.5	815	43.4	130	6.9
23	1,180	175	14.8	395	33.5	310	26.3	100	8.5
24	275	10	3.6	65	23.6	90	32.7	20	7.3
25	1,030	30	2.9	255	24.8	425	41.3	120	11.7
26	815	10	1.2	180	22.1	325	39.9	95	11.7
27	765	175	22.9	135	17.6	290	37.9	75	9.8
28	1,495	140	9.4	395	26.4	710	47.5	145	9.7
29	1,495	130	8.7	495	33.1	650	43.5	130	8.7
33	495	30	6.1	115	23.2	245	49.5	50	10.1
34	890	55	6.2	205	23.0	465	52.2	105	11.8
35	660	30	4.5	120	18.2	330	50.0	80	12.1
36	250	15	6.0	50	20.0	95	38.0	25	10.0
42	925	85	9.2	215	23.2	485	52.4	90	9.7
43	1,710	100	5.8	395	23.1	845	49.4	220	12.9
44	770	65	8.4	205	26.6	380	49.4	70	9.1
45	2,165	175	8.1	590	27.3	1,045	48.3	215	9.9
48	1,710	135	7.9	470	27.5	830	48.5	225	13.2
116	2,075	395	19.0	625	30.1	765	36.9	140	6.7
117	960	130	13.5	330	34.3	310	32.3	100	10.4
INNER CITY		4,580	13.6	9,775	28.9	13,225	39.1	1,930	5.7
OUTER CITY		23,650	20.3	39,835	34.3	38,640	33.2	7,930	6.8
WINNIPEG C.M.A.		28,230	18.8	49,610	33.1	51,865	34.6	10,860	7.2

Table 14
FEMALE OCCUPATIONS - 1971

CENSUS TRACT	TOTAL	MANAGERIAL PROFESSIONAL	% OF TOTAL OCCUPATIONS	CLERICAL/SALES SERVICE	%	TRANSPORTATION/ MANUFACTURING LABOUR	%	OTHERS	%
11	2,015	670	33.3	1,120	55.6	80	4.0	20	0.1
12	1,610	475	29.5	970	60.2	70	4.3	25	2.2
13	280	35	12.5	185	66.1	25	8.9	5	1.8
14	1,505	305	20.3	970	64.5	25	1.7	30	2.0
15	2,125	475	22.4	1,290	60.7	130	6.1	60	2.8
16	1,010	200	19.8	550	54.5	125	12.4	25	2.5
17	1,295	245	18.9	760	58.7	130	10.0	60	4.6
21	1,565	235	15.0	905	57.8	255	16.3	60	3.8
22	1,425	150	10.5	760	53.3	305	21.4	55	3.9
23	880	185	21.0	450	51.1	110	12.5	15	1.7
24	55	5	9.1	25	45.5	10	18.2	15	27.3
25	500	40	8.0	215	43.0	155	31.0	25	5.0
26	570	35	6.1	225	39.5	160	28.1	40	7.2
27	940	545	58.0	220	23.4	160	17.0	40	4.3
28	1,380	225	16.3	715	51.8	265	19.2	70	5.1
29	1,045	150	14.4	610	58.4	160	15.3	35	3.3
33	265	15	5.7	95	35.8	110	41.5	20	7.5
34	535	30	5.6	285	53.3	125	23.4	40	7.5
35	390	30	7.7	155	39.7	125	32.1	25	6.4
36	115	5	4.3	70	60.9	15	13.0	5	4.3
42	635	75	11.8	350	55.1	115	18.1	15	2.4
43	950	70	7.3	490	51.6	250	26.3	60	6.3
44	555	50	9.0	345	62.1	90	16.2	30	5.4
45	1,270	90	7.1	775	61.0	265	20.9	55	4.3
48	1,050	65	6.2	735	70.0	130	12.4	80	7.6
116	1,740	530	30.5	920	52.9	95	5.5	35	2.0
117	835	200	24.0	390	46.8	45	5.4	35	4.2
INNER CITY		5,135	19.3%	14,580	55.0%	3,530	13.3%	990	3.7%
OUTER CITY		12,740	19.0	42,700	63.5	4,015	5.0	1,845	2.7
WINNIPEG C.M.A.		17,875	19.1	57,280	61.1	7,545	8.0	2,835	3.0

Table 15
FEMALE LABOUR FORCE - 1971

CENSUS TRACT	FEMALES 15 AND OVER	IN THE LABOUR FORCE	%	EMPLOYED	%	UNEMPLOYED	%
11	3,480	2,030	58.4	1,910	94.0	120	5.9
12	2,800	1,645	58.7	1,510	91.8	130	7.9
13	570	285	50.0	265	93.0	20	7.0
14	2,440	1,515	62.1	1,435	94.7	75	5.0
15	3,820	2,160	56.6	1,980	91.7	180	8.3
16	1,875	1,025	54.8	935	91.2	85	8.3
17	2,385	1,330	55.9	1,230	92.5	100	7.5
21	3,400	1,595	46.9	1,465	91.8	125	7.8
22	2,655	1,445	54.5	1,355	93.8	90	6.2
23	1,860	895	48.1	820	91.6	75	8.4
24	160	55	34.4	50	90.9	-	-
25	1,195	520	43.6	475	91.3	45	8.7
26	1,260	580	46.2	540	93.1	40	6.9
27	1,450	960	66.2	915	95.3	45	4.7
28	2,635	1,430	54.3	1,315	92.0	115	8.0
29	2,250	1,050	46.8	980	93.3	75	7.1
33	610	275	45.1	245	89.1	25	9.1
34	1,410	560	39.8	455	81.3	110	19.6
35	1,185	405	34.2	365	90.1	40	9.9
36	450	125	27.8	105	84.0	20	16.0
42	1,470	645	43.7	570	88.4	75	11.6
43	2,585	980	37.9	865	88.3	115	11.7
44	1,310	575	43.9	520	90.4	50	8.7
45	3,075	1,300	42.3	1,155	88.8	140	10.8
48	2,450	1,075	43.8	975	90.7	100	9.3
116	3,430	1,775	51.7	1,665	93.8	120	6.8
117	1,535	860	56.0	815	94.8	45	5.2
Inner City	53,745	27,095	50.4	24,915	91.9	2,160	8.1
Outer City	152,240	68,900	45.3	63,180	91.7	5,740	8.3
Winnipeg C.M.A.	205,985	95,995	46.6	88,095	91.8	7,900	8.2

Table 16

MALE LABOUR FORCE - 1971

CENSUS TRACT	MALES 15 AND OVER	IN THE LABOUR FORCE	%	EMPLOYED	%	UNEMPLOYED	%
11	2,645	2,155	81.6	2,025	94.0	125	5.8
12	2,110	1,625	77.1	1,475	90.8	150	9.2
13	630	430	68.3	375	87.2	55	12.8
14	1,735	1,280	73.7	1,150	89.8	130	10.2
15	2,910	2,170	74.6	1,890	87.1	285	13.1
16	1,325	1,085	81.9	965	88.9	115	10.6
17	1,785	1,435	80.4	1,320	92.0	115	8.0
21	2,965	2,260	76.3	2,070	91.6	195	8.6
22	2,535	1,915	75.5	1,665	86.9	250	13.1
23	1,690	1,205	71.2	1,055	87.6	145	12.0
24	550	290	52.8	260	89.7	35	12.1
25	2,105	1,100	52.2	850	77.3	250	22.7
26	1,245	865	69.5	715	82.7	155	17.9
27	990	775	78.3	700	90.3	75	9.7
28	2,030	1,520	74.9	1,375	90.5	150	9.9
29	2,000	1,520	76.0	1,360	89.5	165	10.9
33	660	500	75.8	455	91.0	50	10.0
34	1,495	930	62.4	780	83.9	150	16.1
35	1,200	675	56.1	610	90.4	65	9.6
36	425	265	62.3	235	88.7	30	11.3
42	1,325	955	72.0	835	87.4	120	12.6
43	2,600	1,780	68.6	1,540	86.5	240	13.5
44	1,170	780	66.8	705	90.8	75	9.6
45	2,930	2,195	74.8	1,975	90.0	210	9.6
48	2,345	1,760	75.2	1,600	90.9	155	8.8
116	2,830	2,115	74.7	1,915	90.5	200	9.5
117	1,255	965	76.9	910	94.3	55	5.7
INNER CITY	47,485	34,550	72.8	30,810	89.2	3,745	10.8
OUTER CITY	143,865	117,510	81.7	110,730	94.2	6,775	5.8
WINNIPEG C.M.A.	191,350	152,060	79.5	141,540	93.1	10,520	6.9

Table 17

FEMALE LABOUR FORCE - 1976

CENSUS TRACT	FEMALES 15 AND OVER	IN THE LABOUR FORCE	%	EMPLOYED	%	UNEMPLOYED	%
11	3,270	1,795	54.9	1,715	95.5	75	4.2
12	3,690	1,505	40.8	1,370	91.0	135	9.0
13	1,120	485	43.3	450	92.8	30	6.2
14	2,205	1,275	57.8	1,205	94.5	70	5.5
15	2,975	1,515	50.9	1,385	91.4	130	8.6
16	1,355	800	59.0	735	91.9	65	8.1
17	1,975	1,055	53.4	990	13.8	70	6.6
21	3,135	1,370	43.7	1,290	94.2	80	5.8
22	2,160	1,155	53.5	1,115	96.5	35	3.0
23	1,835	890	48.5	855	96.1	35	3.9
24	180	60	33.3	55	91.7	5	8.3
25	1,105	465	42.1	450	96.8	15	3.2
26	1,140	580	50.9	555	95.7	20	3.4
27	1,015	560	55.2	535	95.5	25	4.5
28	2,395	1,240	51.8	1,205	97.2	35	2.8
29	2,295	1,095	47.8	1,035	94.5	60	5.5
33	490	205	41.8	180	87.8	25	12.2
34	1,340	410	30.6	380	92.7	30	7.3
35	1,110	310	27.9	290	93.5	25	8.1
36	355	60	16.9	55	91.6	10	16.7
42	1,310	600	45.8	565	94.2	35	5.8
43	2,180	755	34.6	690	91.4	65	8.6
44	1,125	430	38.2	410	95.3	20	4.7
45	2,835	1,195	42.2	1,100	92.0	95	8.0
48	2,275	970	42.6	915	94.3	50	5.2
116	3,360	1,705	50.7	1,630	95.6	75	4.4
117	1,510	825	54.6	780	94.5	45	5.5
INNER CITY	48,140	23,310	48.4%	21,940	94.2%	1,360	5.8%
OUTER CITY	179,050	85,115	47.5%	80,660	94.8%	4,460	5.2%
WPG. C.M.A.	227,190	108,425	47.7%	102,600	94.7%	5,820	5.3%

Source: 1976 Census, Microfiche CTEC0842.

Table 18
MALE LABOUR FORCE 1976

CENSUS TRACT	MALES 15 AND OVER	IN THE LABOUR FORCE	%	EMPLOYED	%	UNEMPLOYED	%
11	2,405	1,840	76.5	1,710	92.9	130	7.1%
12	2,080	1,640	78.8	1,500	91.5	140	8.5
13	970	595	61.3	565	95.0	35	5.9
14	1,440	1,045	72.6	975	93.3	70	6.7
15	2,465	1,740	70.6	1,595	91.7	145	8.3
16	1,170	900	76.9	820	91.1	85	9.4
17	1,810	1,305	72.1	1,210	92.7	95	7.3
21	2,635	1,755	66.6	1,605	91.5	150	8.5
22	2,050	1,410	68.8	1,330	94.3	85	6.0
23	1,430	880	61.5	805	91.5	80	9.1
24	430	255	59.3	215	84.3	35	13.7
25	1,680	780	46.4	680	87.2	100	12.8
26	1,090	675	61.9	580	86.0	90	13.3
27	920	685	74.5	655	95.6	35	5.1
28	1,925	1,455	75.6	1,345	92.4	110	7.6
29	1,850	1,360	73.5	1,295	95.2	70	5.1
33	425	270	63.5	250	92.6	20	7.4
34	1,195	620	51.9	545	87.9	75	12.1
35	1,000	485	48.5	450	93.8	30	6.2
36	415	180	43.4	170	94.4	10	5.6
42	1,180	800	67.8	730	91.3	65	8.1
43	2,135	1,245	58.3	1,110	89.2	135	10.8
44	985	595	60.4	560	94.1	35	5.9
45	2,525	1,640	65.0	1,535	93.6	105	6.4
48	2,110	1,500	71.1	1,405	93.7	90	6.0
116	2,570	1,735	67.5	1,620	93.4	115	6.6
117	1,135	830	73.1	785	94.6	45	5.4
INNER CITY	42,025	28,220	67.2	26,045	92.3	2,180	7.7
OUTER CITY	165,065	127,870	77.5	122,765	96.0	5,100	4.0
WPG. C.M.A.[1]	207,090	156,090	75.3	148,810	95.4	7,280	4.6

Source: 1976 Census, Microfiche CTEC0842

Table 19

INCOME LEVELS FOR FAMILIES AND WAGE EARNERS - 1971

	Average Census Family Income (1970 dollars)	% FAMILIES EARNING LESS THAN $3,000	% OF MALE LABOUR FORCE EARNING LESS THAN $3,000	% OF FEMALE LABOUR FORCE EARNING LESS THAN $3,000	% OF MALE LABOUR FORCE EARNING MORE THAN $7,000	% OF FEMALE LABOUR FORCE EARNING MORE THAN $7,000
11	$12,057	9.1	23.5	36.0	40.5	14.2
12	7,937	12.0	31.7	77.0	22.1	8.2
13	6,152	21.1	21.3	47.6	16.8	1.6
14	8,844	11.8	25.2	37.6	29.2	10.3
15	7,830	13.6	33.3	45.5	18.8	4.7
16	6,977	15.5	31.2	49.4	16.7	4.9
17	7,982	11.5	24.7	48.0	24.3	4.7
21	7,369	12.5	23.5	50.4	29.9	3.9
22	6,370	20.0	31.8	52.0	14.6	2.2
23	6,167	25.4	36.8	46.7	19.4	6.5
24	5,412	30.4	37.7	83.3	11.5	-
25	5,601	27.9	43.8	56.4	9.4	.9
26	6,030	27.3	30.3	23.0	14.9	.8
27	7,903	11.6	22.4	51.8	24.2	6.1
28	7,286	11.4	25.5	50.0	21.8	1.9
29	7,948	10.9	20.5	52.9	28.6	2.1
33	7,209	19.5	25.7	67.2	18.1	1.6
34	5,758	27.2	33.3	63.0	12.5	.0
35	7,045	17.4	23.1	51.0	21.7	2.2
36	5,324	31.9	28.1	62.0	21.1	3.4
42	6,840	20.0	29.1	51.2	21.8	3.7
43	6,096	26.4	31.9	59.5	18.3	1.3
44	6,904	16.2	26.5	53.5	24.1	1.6
45	7,146	15.5	24.3	54.8	25.4	3.1
48	8,247	11.1	21.4	59.8	33.4	2.5
116	9,179	7.2	22.7	46.1	30.7	5.8
117	8,607	13.1	26.5	46.6	26.5	4.5
		17.7%	28.0%	52.7%	22.1%	3.8%
Inner City	$ 7,267	4.2%	19.3%	51.5%	48.7%	5.7%
Outer City	$10,982	7.8%	21.5%	51.8%	41.2%	5.2%
Winnipeg C.M.A.	$ 9,989					

Source: 1971 - Census, 95-723 (CT-23B)

Table 20

INNER CITY HOUSING CONDITION - 1978

Census Tract	GOOD No.	GOOD %	FAIR No.	FAIR %	POOR No.	POOR %	VERY POOR No.	VERY POOR %	TOTALS No.
11	126	28.9	219	50.2	89	20.4	2	0.5	436
12	77	29.1	100	37.7	85	32.1	3	1.0	265
15*	163	23.3	430	61.3	106	15.1	2	0.3	701
16	135	24.0	395	70.2	33	5.9	0	0.0	563
17	263	27.2	633	65.5	69	7.0	1	0.1	966
21	571	39.2	738	50.7	141	9.7	5	0.3	1,455
22*	76	9.9	397	51.7	278	36.2	16	2.1	767
25*	72	15.7	215	46.7	130	28.3	43	9.3	460
26	98	21.9	217	48.5	113	25.3	19	4.3	447
27	169	44.4	125	32.8	83	21.8	4	1.0	381
28	92	9.0	616	60.3	300	29.4	13	1.4	1,021
29	351	27.4	748	58.3	173	13.4	11	0.9	1,283
33	46	15.9	126	43.4	105	36.2	13	4.5	290
34	62	50.0	43	34.7	17	13.7	2	1.7	124
35	215	41.5	217	41.9	64	12.4	22	4.3	518
36	73	32.4	81	36.0	37	16.4	34	15.1	225
42	173	24.7	181	25.9	338	48.4	7	1.0	699
43	211	16.7	487	38.5	504	39.8	64	5.0	1,266
44	258	29.4	481	54.8	134	15.3	5	0.6	878
45	256	20.9	678	55.3	484	39.6	24	2.0	1,225
48	985	55.2	607	34.0	188	10.5	4	0.2	1,784
116	353	27.5	644	50.2	258	20.1	28	2.2	1,283
117	224	38.2	232	39.5	107	18.2	24	4.1	587

* These census tracts do not include the downtown area.
Census tracts 13, 14, 23, 24 are not included in this chart as they are downtown areas and the Housing Condition information was not available.

Source: City of Winnipeg Neighbourhood Characterization Field Maps (1978).

Table 21
LENGTH OF OCCUPANCY
1971

CENSUS TRACT	LESS THAN 1 YEAR	%	1-2 YEARS	%	3-5 YEARS	%	6-10 YEARS	%	MORE THAN 10 YEARS	%
11	1,185	35.9	715	21.6	645	19.5	425	12.8	330	1.0
12	965	38.4	570	22.6	320	12.6	335	13.2	330	13.0
13	220	36.4	100	16.5	75	12.6	80	13.4	120	19.8
14	905	36.0	440	17.5	390	15.5	320	12.7	460	18.3
15	1,165	32.0	600	16.5	475	13.0	565	15.5	835	23.0
16	425	29.7	275	19.1	225	15.6	185	12.8	330	22.9
17	525	26.9	325	16.7	265	13.6	285	14.6	550	28.2
21	745	26.4	435	15.4	285	10.1	485	17.2	870	30.9
22	970	35.4	505	18.4	350	12.8	250	9.1	665	24.3
23	480	27.4	400	22.9	295	16.9	245	14.0	330	18.9
24	30	14.0	30	14.0	50	23.3	40	18.6	55	25.6
25	235	19.8	240	20.3	100	8.4	185	15.6	425	35.9
26	295	30.6	165	17.1	110	10.4	140	14.5	255	26.4
27	275	28.6	175	18.0	130	13.4	115	11.7	275	28.1
28	560	24.8	445	19.7	250	11.1	325	14.4	680	30.1
29	355	18.9	250	13.3	250	13.3	260	13.8	760	40.5
33	100	18.2	90	16.4	75	13.6	110	20.0	175	31.8
34	240	18.7	285	22.2	315	24.5	125	9.7	350	27.2
35	170	19.8	180	20.7	90	10.5	75	8.7	295	34.5
36	50	15.2	40	12.1	35	10.6	35	10.6	205	62.1
42	300	23.0	220	16.9	180	13.8	185	14.2	420	32.2
43	470	21.2	405	18.3	285	12.9	290	13.1	765	34.5
44	170	16.0	165	15.5	115	10.8	140	13.2	470	44.3
45	445	17.2	395	15.3	295	11.4	330	12.7	1,125	43.4
48	170	8.8	175	9.1	235	12.2	280	14.5	1,065	55.2
116	745	30.4	430	17.5	340	13.8	235	9.5	700	28.5
117	190	17.8	180	16.9	145	13.6	100	9.4	455	42.7
TOTAL INNER CITY	12,385	26.8	8,235	17.8	6,325	13.7	5,905	12.7	13,295	28.8
OUTER CITY	21,250	17.6	18,480	15.3	18,780	15.6	19,780	16.4	41,785	34.7
WINNIPEG	33,635	20.2	26,715	16.1	25,105	15.1	25,685	15.5	55,080	33.1

Table 22
OCCUPIED DWELLINGS BY CENSUS TRACT- 1966

Census Tract	Occupied Dwellings	Single Detached	%	Single Attached	%	Apartment	%	Owner	%	Tenant	%
11	2,228	183	8.2	27	1.2	2,018	90.5	248	11.1	1,980	88.8
12	2,149	150	6.9	20	0.9	1,979	92.0	168	7.8	1,981	92.1
13	507	25	4.9	14	2.7	468	92.3	14	2.7	493	97.2
14	2,064	22	1.0	38	1.8	2,008	97.2	26	1.2	2,038	98.7
15	3,051	638	20.9	104	3.4	2,309	75.6	416	13.6	2,635	86.3
16	1,163	528	45.3	33	2.8	602	51.7	410	35.2	753	64.7
17	1,786	648	36.8	110	6.1	1,028	57.5	749	41.9	1,037	58.0
21	2,649	1,338	50.5	112	4.2	1,199	45.2	1,275	48.1	1,375	52.0
22	2,117	528	24.9	140	6.6	1,395	65.8	555	26.2	1,562	73.7
23	1,775	41	2.3	34	1.9	1,700	95.7	51	2.8	1,724	97.1
24	214	67	31.3	34	15.8	113	52.8	78	36.4	136	63.5
25	1,068	407	38.1	118	11.0	543	50.8	343	32.1	725	67.8
26	996	333	33.4	112	11.2	551	55.2	303	30.4	693	69.5
27	962	419	43.6	49	5.1	494	51.3	407	42.3	555	57.6
28, 29	3,746	2,085	55.6	114	3.0	1,547	41.2	1,947	51.9	1,799	48.0
33	480	301	62.7	49	10.2	130	27.0	270	56.2	210	43.7
34	1,183	324	27.3	155	13.1	704	59.5	395	33.3	788	66.6
35	871	385	44.2	125	14.3	361	41.4	385	44.2	486	56.0
36	420	185	44.0	85	20.2	150	35.7	157	37.3	263	62.6
42	1,356	361	26.6	30	2.2	965	71.1	544	40.1	812	60.0
43	2,228	908	40.7	500	22.4	820	36.8	941	42.2	1,287	57.7
44	2,885	1,739	60.2	38	1.3	1,108	38.4	1,587	55.0	1,298	44.9
45	1,201	1,188	98.9	2	0.2	11	0.9	1,120	93.2	81	6.7
48	1,225	762	62.2	182	14.8	281	22.9	618	50.4	607	49.5
116	2,091	810	38.7	149	7.1	1,132	54.1	868	41.5	1,223	58.4
117	1,091	601	55.0	96	8.7	394	36.1	537	49.2	554	50.7
Inner City	41,506	14,976	36.0	2,470	5.9	24,010	57.8	14,412	34.7	27,095	65.2
Outer City	102,204	82,199	80.4	3,431	3.3	16,432	16.0	76,595	74.9	25,608	25.0
City of Winnipeg	143,710	97,175	67.6	5,901	4.1	40,442	28.1	91,007	63.3	52,703	36.6

Table 23

OCCUPIED DWELLINGS BY CENSUS TRACT- 1971

Census Tract	Occupied Dwellings	Single Detached	%	Single Attached	%	Apartment	%	Owner	%	Tenant	%
11	3,300	205	6.2	55	1.6	3,035	91.9	225	6.8	3,070	93.0
12	2,515	185	7.3	35	1.3	2,295	91.2	150	5.9	2,360	93.8
13	605	15	2.5	10	1.7	585	96.7	10	1.7	590	97.5
14	2,505	30	1.2	20	0.8	2,460	98.2	25	1.0	2,485	99.2
15	3,645	560	15.4	120	3.3	2,970	81.5	395	10.8	3,250	89.2
16	1,432	395	27.5	35	2.4	1,005	70.2	370	25.8	1,065	74.3
17	1,960	580	29.5	15	0.7	1,365	69.6	710	36.2	1,255	64.0
21	2,825	1,370	48.4	80	2.8	1,370	48.4	1,220	43.1	1,610	56.9
22	2,745	605	22.0	85	3.1	2,050	74.7	515	18.8	2,225	81.1
23	1,745	75	4.3	215	12.3	1,460	83.7	50	2.9	1,710	98.0
24	215	75	34.9	35	16.3	105	48.8	75	34.9	140	65.1
25	1,190	430	36.1	130	10.9	625	52.5	315	26.5	875	73.5
26	965	395	40.9	120	12.4	450	46.6	310	32.1	655	67.9
27	980	440	44.8	35	3.5	510	52.0	370	37.7	615	62.7
28	2,270	965	42.5	50	2.2	1,255	55.3	785	34.6	1,485	65.4
29	1,880	1,200	63.8	40	2.1	640	34.0	1,135	60.3	740	39.3
33	550	385	70.0	50	9.1	110	20.0	255	46.4	290	52.7
34	1,285	375	29.2	290	22.6	615	47.9	305	23.7	985	76.7
35	860	400	46.5	160	18.6	300	34.9	365	42.4	495	57.6
36	330	175	53.0	50	15.2	105	31.8	145	43.9	1 5	56.1
42	1,310	490	37.4	65	5.0	760	58.0	510	38.9	805	61.5
43	2,220	1,025	46.2	350	15.8	845	38.1	845	38.1	1,375	61.9
44	1,060	805	75.9	55	5.1	195	18.3	595	56.1	465	43.8
45	2,595	1,510	58.2	195	7.5	895	34.5	1,420	54.7	1,175	45.3
48	1,930	1,740	90.1	70	3.6	120	6.2	1,530	79.2	395	20.4
116	2,450	800	32.6	85	3.4	1,560	6.3	810	33.0	1,640	66.9
117	1,065	540	50.7	40	3.7	485	45.5	515	48.3	545	51.1
Total Inner City	46,432	15,770	33.9	2,410	5.1	28,170	60.6	13,955	30.0	32,485	70.0
Outer City	120,048	89,795	74.7	5,690	4.7	24,295	20.2	84,420	70.3	35,620	29.6
Winnipeg C.M.A.	166,480	105,565	63.5	8,100	4.9	52,465	31.6	98,375	59.1	68,105	40.9

Table 24
OCCUPIED DWELLINGS BY CENSUS TRACT- 1976

Census Tract	Occupied Dwellings	Single Detached	%	Single Attached	%	Apartment	%	Owner	%	Tenant	%
11	3,430	150	4.3	205	5.9	3,115	90.8	215	6.2	3,215	93.7
12	2,775	95	3.4	105	3.7	2,595	93.5	115	4.1	2,665	96.0
13	1,410	5	0.3	5	0.3	1,400	99.3	10	0.7	1,400	99.3
14	2,530	5	0.1	15	0.5	2,515	99.4	15	0.5	2,525	99.8
15	3,185	330	10.3	230	7.2	2,670	83.8	370	11.6	2,815	88.3
16	1,290	235	18.2	250	19.3	820	63.5	340	26.3	950	73.6
17	1,730	585	33.8	425	24.5	730	42.1	690	39.8	1,035	59.8
21	2,675	1,255	46.9	415	15.5	1,085	40.5	1,210	45.2	1,465	54.7
22	2,000	530	26.5	200	10.0	1,315	65.7	465	23.2	1,540	77.0
23	1,910	25	1.3	95	4.9	1,830	95.8	25	1.3	1,885	98.7
24	220	55	25.0	45	20.4	145	65.9	60	27.2	165	75.0
25	1,130	295	26.1	245	21.6	670	59.2	265	23.4	860	76.1
26	1,090	190	17.4	190	17.4	735	67.4	265	24.3	830	76.1
27	905	320	35.3	180	19.8	425	46.9	370	40.8	530	58.5
28	2,055	660	32.1	220	10.7	1,120	54.5	770	37.4	1,290	62.7
29	1,850	1,150	62.1	220	11.8	510	27.5	1,130	61.0	715	38.6
33	370	245	66.2	110	29.7	40	10.8	215	58.1	150	40.5
34	1,280	290	22.6	585	45.7	635	49.6	275	21.4	1,005	78.5
35	640	310	48.4	265	41.4	155	24.2	330	51.5	310	48.4
36	390	170	43.5	100	25.6	170	43.5	125	32.1	260	66.6
42	1,185	415	35.0	370	31.2	405	34.1	480	40.5	705	58.4
43	1,975	795	40.2	790	40.0	630	31.8	780	39.4	1,195	60.5
44	1,015	775	76.3	180	17.7	130	12.8	585	57.6	430	42.3
45	2,450	1,380	56.3	780	31.8	390	15.9	1,460	59.5	990	40.4
48	1,900	1,725	90.7	205	10.7	40	2.1	1,580	83.1	320	16.8
116	2,865	720	25.1	430	15.0	1,785	62.3	825	28.7	2,040	71.2
117	1,115	485	43.4	180	16.1	475	42.6	510	45.7	610	54.7
Total Inner City	45,370	13,195	29.0	6,900	15.2	26,535	58.4	13,480	29.7	31,900	70.3
Outer City	148,918	99,918	67.1	12,130	8.1	34,725	23.4	99,390	66.7	48,595	32.6
Winnipeg C.M.A.	193,425	113,113	58.4	19,030	9.8	61,260	31.6	112,870	58.3	80,495	41.6

Source: 1976 Census, Microfiche CTOHHAI1.

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