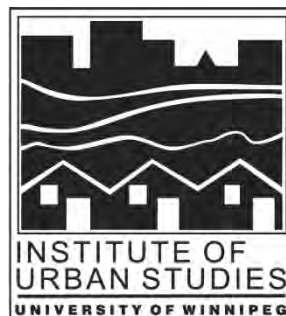


Revitalizing the Core Area of Winnipeg: Issues and Options

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The Institute of Urban Studies





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REVITALIZING THE CORE AREA OF WINNIPEG: ISSUES AND OPTIONS

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REVITALIZING THE CORE AREA OF WINNIPEG:
ISSUES AND OPTIONS

INTRODUCTION

Devising a comprehensive strategy for revitalizing Winnipeg's Core Area is a complex task which requires a deep understanding of the interrelationships of the social, economic and physical components of the inner city and the city as a whole. In the case of Winnipeg, the pattern of population movement to the suburbs, the exodus of families from the inner city, the growth of suburban malls such as Polo Park, Unicity, Garden City and St. Vital and the decentralization of industry to suburban parks, have shifted people, jobs and commercial activity away from the inner city, sapping its vitality.

Socio-demographic and economic changes which have taken place are compounded by associated physical and social problems of the core. Physical problems include substandard industrial premises; obsolete premises of the wholesale and garment industries; a system of traffic arteries which divide the area into a series of sectors and blocks, and aged, overcrowded and dilapidated housing stock, in generally poor condition or repair. Population decline has contributed to high concentrations of disadvantaged groups in the core area. These include low income families (including welfare families) people with low levels of educational attainment and skill; higher levels of unemployment than for Winnipeg as a whole; more than proportionate concentrations of elderly people and single parent families; and an increasing influx of native people and a high degree of transiency.

Continuing attempts by different levels of government and the private sector to revitalize the inner city have not been entirely successful. Policies and programs up to the present time have been ad hoc and fragmented, rather than associated with a coherent and comprehensive strategy for the inner city. They have not been based on a careful analysis of the social economy of the city.

Private sector investment has been confined mainly to prime sites in the downtown area. Attempts by the provincial government to directly or indirectly revitalize the core have included office buildings, and a vigorous public housing program for the inner city. Municipal government has tended to rely on incentive approaches to encourage redevelopment initiatives and partnership with the private sector producing developments such as the Convention Centre and Trizec. Innovative strategies such as declaring Albert Street a commercial action area have been useful in the revitalization process, but strategic location of public buildings such as City Hall, The Centennial Concert Hall and the Museum of Man and Nature have not had the desired effect of rescuing the Main Street strip from its "Skid Row" status. Redevelopment in this area, though attractive and performing useful revitalizing functions have tended to push social problems of the Main Street Strip north towards Higgins Avenue and south towards the C.N. station leaving a workplace, entertainment island which is mainly visited by Winnipeggers from outside the surrounding area rather than the residents of the core area. Such strictly physical redevelopment does not address social and economic problems which form part of the "inner city decline" phenomenon.

New building and redevelopment south of Portage between the two major department stores involving the Convention Centre, the Holiday Inn, residential building for the upper end of the rental housing market, provincial government office building and Eaton Place has, and will continue, to shift the focus of the downtown area south. This has produced chronic and often terminal symptoms for many businesses located on the north side of Portage.

Joint federal/municipal programs such as the Neighbourhood Improvement Program and the Residential Rehabilitation Program have had an important and significant impact on selected inner city neighbourhoods. However, despite the achievements of these programs the problems of neighbourhood decline and physical decay persist.

Compared to other Canadian Urban Centres, Winnipeg has the highest percentage of dwellings built before 1940 with 69% of the housing stock in the inner city being built before 1946. Several studies suggest that between 9% and 16% of housing is in need of extensive repair and rehabilitation. Much of Winnipeg's poor quality housing is located in specific sections of the inner city, where 23% of the stock is considered of poor quality. Despite the fact that 754 units were rehabilitated under the R.R.A.P. between 1974 and 1978, it is estimated that in the inner city alone, a further 4,200 units are in need of rehabilitation.

A proliferation of employment, training, lifeskills and social service programs have not redressed the position of the inner city as a disadvantaged area. The inner city remains the 'have-not' spatial area in a province which during the 1970's did not keep pace with the performance of the Canadian economy. According to the Department of Regional and Economic Expansion, during the 1970's the province's shares of both national and western real output, population, personal income, employment and investment all declined.

This disparity has been recently recognized through the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative. The Governments of Canada, Manitoba and Winnipeg have agreed in principle to a commitment of 96 million dollars to revitalize Winnipeg's Inner City. This will provide us with a significant opportunity to deal with the issues presented by the inner city in an integrated and comprehensive fashion and to assist the residents of the area.

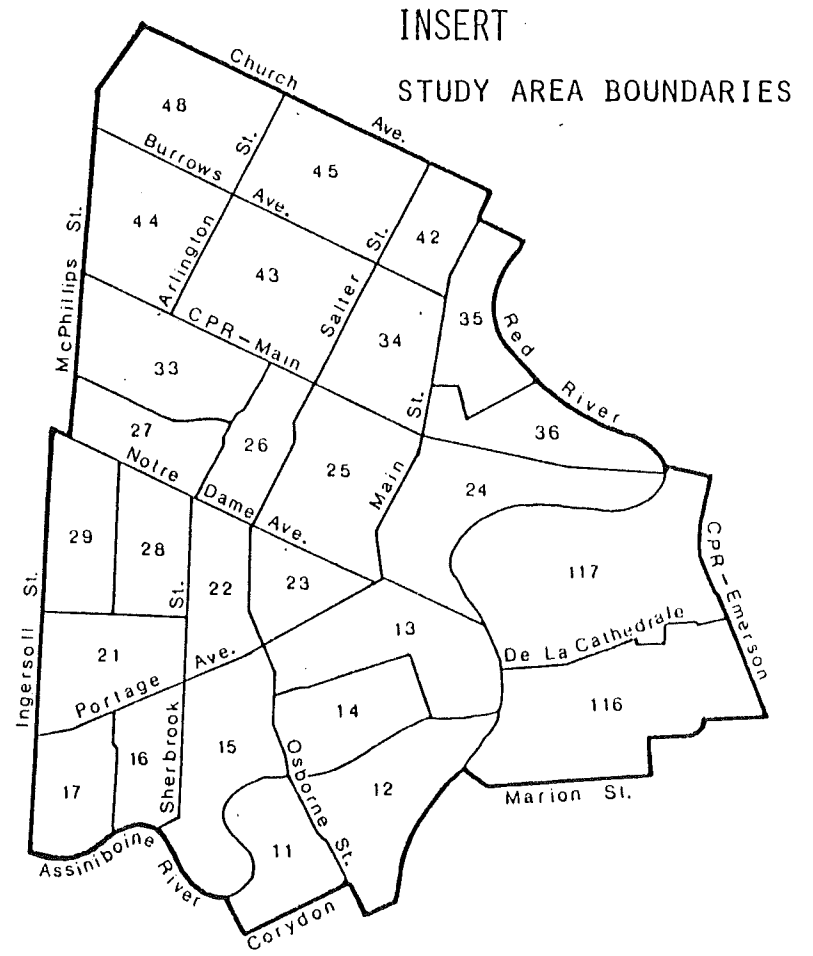
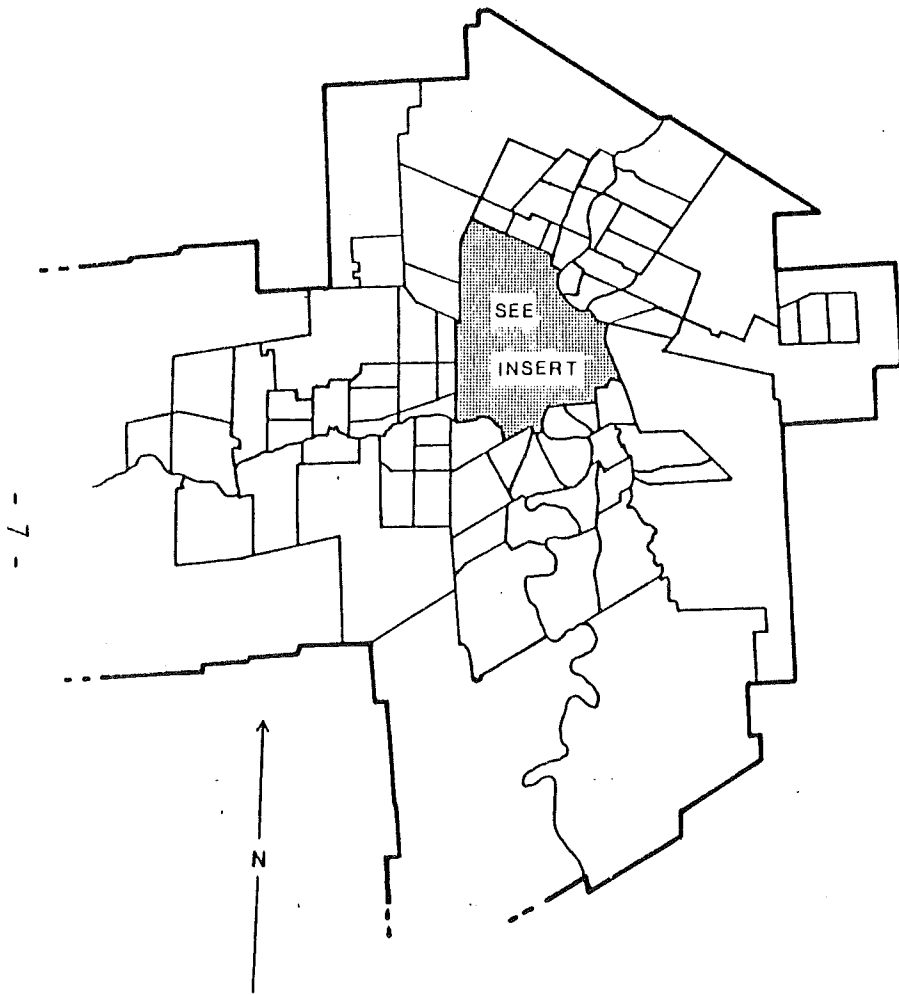
What then, are the keys to successful inner city revitalization? Experience elsewhere in Canada and abroad suggest the following requirements.

- A clear definition of the problem; consensus on the objectives for action; a clear definition of target groups and programs; and the political will and commitment of resources to translate planning into action;
- Integrated social, physical and economic planning based on careful analysis and research;
- The understanding that the inner city is composed of a series of interrelated, interdependent neighbourhood communities with different needs and characteristics;
- A diversified residential base;

- Increased employment opportunities for different socio-economic groups associated with opportunities for skill development and retraining;
- Long-term economic development policies and assistance rather than make-work projects.
- Involvement of the local community i.e. local businessmen, political representatives, interest groups and the general public in the planning process; and partnership between the private and public sectors;
- Designing an appropriate mechanism for delivery to create and implement long-term strategies. There are many variants in structural form, ownership and program structure which such an organization could take, but essentially, the delivery mechanism must be concerned with an array of programs that have development (economic, social, physical and political) as their stated purpose;
- Moreover, the delivery mechanism must be able to engage in operating some commercial and business enterprises; in providing assistance to entrepreneurs, be able to provide manpower training and support services through other programs and be involved in physical revitalization.

The following paper identifies the issues which must be addressed in revitalizing Winnipeg's Inner City and discusses the process and possible delivery mechanisms by which revitalization might be achieved. The core area boundaries are illustrated in Map 1. The boundary used for the core area initiative is the same as that developed by the Institute of Urban Studies for the Greater Winnipeg Development Plan Review.

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



Numbers refer to census tract Identifiers

1. POPULATION CHANGE

1-1 Population Structure and Polarization

Winnipeg's inner city and inner city type areas possess demographic features which make them different from most outer ring and suburban areas of Winnipeg. The following discussion provides a profile of Winnipeg's inner city and a statistical base from which to contrast the inner city and outer city. In general, the inner city has been losing population, particularly family households, while the suburbs have experienced net gain; there is a larger proportion of elderly persons and single parent families; and measures of educational attainment and income reveal substantial and growing disparities between the two parts of the city.

Population Change

The inner city has been steadily losing population since 1941 and this loss has accelerated dramatically since 1971 (See Tables 1.1 and 1.2). 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 1.1
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 1.2
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

Age Structure of the Population

The age composition of the inner city also distinguishes 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 1.3 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 1.3
Age Structure of Population

<u>Inner City</u>				
<u>Age Groups</u>	<u>1966</u> % pop.	<u>1971</u> % pop.	<u>1976</u> % pop.	<u>% 1966-1976</u>
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%
<u>Total City</u>				
<u>Age Groups</u>	<u>1966</u> % pop.	<u>1971</u> % pop.	<u>1976</u> % pop.	<u>% 1966-1976</u>
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.

Household and Family Formation

a) Households

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. (See Tables 1.4 to 1.6)

b) Families

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%. (See Table 1.7)

c) 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. (See Table 1.7)

1-2 Migration

Manitoba, as a whole, has been experiencing a decline in population. Recent surveys by Statistics Canada show that Manitoba suffered a net population loss of 3,259 between July 1st 1979 and June 30th, 1980. Statistics Canada suggests that inter-provincial migration is only one aspect of the population decline issue, as there was also a net reduction in birth over death rates for the same time

Table 1.4
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 1.5
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 1.6
Average Family and Household Size, 1966 to 1976

	<u>INNER CITY</u>	<u>OUTER CITY</u>	<u>WINNIPEG C.M.A.</u>
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

Table 1-7
Single Parent Families

	<u>1971</u>			<u>1976</u>		
	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.

period. Interprovincial migration has also had an impact on natural population increase. Many of the people leaving Manitoba are young adults close to the family formation stage who are not having their families in the province. Young, upwardly mobile families are amongst those leaving the province. In 1979, 11,269 school age children left the province as opposed to 6,231 coming into the province.

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 1.9).

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 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 show a higher proportion (28%) of foreign and Manitoba immigrants in the core area than in the outer city (17%). (See Tables 1.8 and 1.9).

Mobility

When comparing the 1971 and 1976 census populations, it becomes apparent that the core area experienced an out migration amongst all age groups, except for the young, aged 15-19. The rate of out migration is particularly high among the 25-44 age group and the elderly.

Some idea of where these people are moving and what the overall pattern of movement is, can be obtained from the Social Planning Council Survey. The survey suggests there is a two way movement between inner and outer areas, however, on balance a net loss of approximately 560 households from the core to the rest of the city has occurred over the last few years.

Table 1.8
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 1.9
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.

Table 1.10

AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF POPULATION
BY NATIVE GROUP, INNER CITY WINNIPEG

Population Subgroup	Age Cohort (years)					Total	
	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	≥65		
<u>STATUS INDIANS</u>							
Males	586	241	219	160	21	1,227	(39.5)*
Females	<u>829</u>	<u>371</u>	<u>478</u>	<u>137</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>1,880</u>	<u>(60.5)</u>
Total	1,415 (45.5)	612 (19.7)	697 (22.4)	297 (9.6)	86 (2.8)	3,107 (100.0)	(100.0)

<u>MÉTIS/NON-STATUS INDIAN</u>							
Males	1,179	411	458	285	68	2,401	(46.3)
Females	<u>1,097</u>	<u>654</u>	<u>632</u>	<u>349</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>2,794</u>	<u>(53.7)</u>
Total	2,276 (43.8)	1,065 (20.5)	1,090 (21.0)	634 (12.2)	130 (2.5)	5,195 (100.0)	(100.0)

<u>TOTAL NATIVE</u>							
Males	1,765	652	677	445	89	3,628	(43.7)
Females	<u>1,926</u>	<u>1,025</u>	<u>1,110</u>	<u>486</u>	<u>127</u>	<u>4,674</u>	<u>(56.3)</u>
Total	3,691 (44.5)	1,677 (20.2)	1,787 (21.5)	931 (11.2)	216 (2.6)	8,302 (100.0)	(100.0)

<u>TOTAL STUDY AREA POPULATION</u>							
Males	9,530	10,610	13,745	10,325	7,390	51,600	(47.1)
Females	<u>9,180</u>	<u>12,610</u>	<u>13,040</u>	<u>12,205</u>	<u>10,885</u>	<u>57,920</u>	<u>(52.9)</u>
Total	18,710 (17.1)	23,220 (21.2)	26,785 (24.5)	22,530 (20.6)	18,275 (16.7)	109,520 (100.0)	(100.0)

* Numbers in parenthesis are percentage of subgroup totals.

The survey shows that the core area receives a greater proportion of migrants from outside the city. Further, the Winnipeg School Division #1 attempted to measure mobility within the inner city by reviewing school records. This survey discovered that turnover rates of some inner city schools ranged from 28.3% to 70.8% of the student population, indicating a high mobility for inner city families; although the survey did not isolate the destinations of movers.

1-3 The Native Population of the Inner City

The demographic composition of native households in Winnipeg's inner city was the subject of a recent study by the Institute of Urban Studies (still forthcoming). The Urban Native Housing Data-Base contains basic locational, demographic, socio-economic and housing unit information for a sample of 450 native households residing in the study area. The sample was obtained through a survey of approximately 20% of all inner city Winnipeg households.

The following study conclusions related to the demographic composition of the natives in the inner city are summarized below.

- a) In contrast to the age structure of the inner city population as a whole, which has fewer children and a substantial number of elderly people, the inner city native population has a large percentage of young children and fewer elderly people (see Table 1.10).
- b) Family households (especially single parent families) represent the predominant household type among recent migrants and among the residual population. It is estimated that approximately 43% of native families were single parent, compared to approximately 18-20% for the inner city as a whole.
- c) Native families tend to be larger than non-native families at all stages of the family life cycle.
- d) Severe socio-economic disparities exist between the native and non-native population.

The native population is characterized by unemployment rates which are about four times higher than those experienced by the total population. Native household incomes are about half as large as those of the total population.

SUMMARY

From the preceding profile, it can be seen that the demographic composition of Winnipeg's inner city is in the process of change. The inner city has been losing population and in particular, families, for several decades. The age structure of the inner city population is also changing. The inner city overall has a smaller proportion of children and a higher proportion of the elderly than the outer city. However, the native population subgroup is in direct contrast to this condition. There has been an increase in the percentage of single parent families which is very significant when viewed in terms of overall family loss from the inner city. Migration patterns show an asymmetrical flow of migrants in and out of Winnipeg. Those leaving the city are representative of the working population, while those entering the city are young, from rural areas, and probably with fewer employability skills. Mobility rates suggest there is a two way movement in and out of the inner city, but that there is a net loss of population.

Should these population and demographic trends persist, the inner city will experience a further net loss of population. This population loss will not likely be equal among all population subgroups. Future loss is likely to occur among families and those individuals about to form families.

Continuous population polarization will result in an increase of non-families, young adults, single parent families and disadvantaged groups in the inner city and a higher resource, family oriented population in the outer city.

2. SOCIAL ISSUES

The demographic profile has shown that there are larger proportions of elderly, single parents, recent immigrants and Natives living in the inner city. These population subgroups are known to have members with special needs. These high needs groups are more often the people with the least personal resources in terms of income, education, or work skills. Their low incomes usually confine their housing options to low cost accommodation which is more likely to be in substandard condition. Problems such as poor nutrition which can lead to poor health compound their efforts to find employment and to escape from the cycle of poverty in which they find themselves.

A brief discussion follows of some selected social issues in Winnipeg's inner city.

2-1 Low Income/Affordability Issue

Census data has shown that increasing income disparities exist between inner city and outer city households. 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.

Although average incomes in Canada grew faster than the cost of living over the 1974-78 period, not all groups experienced increases in their disposable income. In particular, when 1978 figures are disaggregated into household types, single parent families, elderly and young, single adults in Winnipeg's Inner city appear to be experiencing the most serious affordability problems in the housing market. The problem of affordability is also most severe in the rental market.

The following example extracted from The Core Area Report illustrates the affordability problem:

The incomes of single parent families and the elderly were 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. 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)	<u>5,160</u>	\$6,176
Less Actual Income		<u>2,800</u>
Total Shortfall		<u>3,376</u>

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.

The Social Planning Council found the greatest concentration of welfare households to be in the downtown core area. High rates of concentration, over twice the city-wide average of 14.3 recipient households per 1,000 households, prevail over much of the inner city area. Areas of greatest concentration include the Burrows-Keewatin district, north of the C.P.R. tracks to Church and north and south of Portage to Arlington/Ingersoll.

2-2 Health and Social Problems

Disparities between the inner and outer city can be observed in relation to health indicators. For example, the Core Area Report, (IUS, 1979) found that a greater proportion of handicapped people lived in the core area than in the rest of the city. In 1976, crude death rates were calculated for the Centennial and Midland Communities and compared to Winnipeg. In all but two age 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. According to the Winnipeg Public Health Nursing Branch; of several diseases with increasing incidence in Winnipeg, most cases were concentrated in the core area. Special problems were noted with higher rates of respiratory and gastro-intestinal illness for natives and

parasitic diseases for migrants.

Fundamental social problems are escalating in the inner city as indicated by the rise in suicide, illegitimate pregnancy and truancy from school. Although the core area's share of city's crimes decreased for the 1976/77 period (the year after the implementation of Operation Affirmative Action Programs) the central area continues to account for a large proportion of crimes that occur in Winnipeg.

High mobility of many inner city families has led to high turnover rates at many inner city schools. Teachers have noted that frequent moves can greatly retard a child's education and cause social and emotional problems. Also the teachers associate high mobility with poor housing and dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood. In addition to the high turnover rates experienced by inner city schools, the number of truant children and chronic absenteeism is much greater in the inner city than in the outer city. (Winnipeg School Division Study, 1977).

SUMMARY

The data suggests that residents of the inner city are more likely to experience a greater number of social/health problems than outer city residents. This is not to suggest that serious problems are exclusive to the inner city; many of the same issues are also in the suburbs. However, many of the social issues and related problems appear to be more concentrated among the some inner city groups (singles, single parent families, natives) who are identified as high need groups by other criteria.

3. PHYSICAL ISSUES

3-1 Neighbourhood Decline

The inner city of Winnipeg has been identified as a particular area within Winnipeg in need of social, economic and physical revitalization. However, examination of the inner city as a whole does not reflect the special character and condition of particular neighbourhoods especially in terms of physical characteristics.

A good deal of existing neighbourhood research is based on the notion that each neighbourhood goes through a life cycle from the time that it is built to the time it is demolished or falls apart. *The life-cycle of a neighbourhood can be divided into stages: health and growth, relative stability, transition and decline* which in extreme cases can lead to abandonment. Most forms of area classification reflect this process of neighbourhood change.

Although neighbourhoods move through a predictable cycle, they have the power of regeneration. Trends towards decline can be reversed and neighbourhoods revitalized if appropriate policy and program interventions are made to save them.

The following discussion centres on disruptive elements of the inner city, aspects of which contribute to overall neighbourhood decline.

3-2 Housing in the Inner City

The housing issue is fundamental to any discussion of the physical issues in Winnipeg's inner city. Housing can be discussed in terms of building quality and condition, availability, and affordability.

3-2-1 Housing Quality

When compared with other cities, Winnipeg has the highest percentage of buildings built before 1940, with 69% of the inner city housing stock being built before 1946. Partly due to the age of the housing stock there exists a significant number of deteriorated buildings. Approximately one in four inner city housing units is in poor condition. There are pockets of badly deteriorated buildings, especially north of Portage and around the C.P.R. tracks as well as at the extreme northern edge of the inner city boundary. There is some evidence of improvement of the housing stock in other areas, due to N.I.P. and R.R.A.P. activities (Core Area Report, I.U.S., 1979)

3-2-2 Availability

There has been a loss of lower cost inner city housing stock through demolition (1462 units between 1972 and mid-1978). It is likely these demolitions are reducing the family housing stock as 600 family dwellings and 523 attached units were lost in the 1972-1978 period in addition to another 816 apartment units. More recent City of Winnipeg statistics show that from 1979 to 2nd quarter 1980, 64 single family/semi-detached units and 104 row/apartment units were lost through demolition. New construction in the inner city during the 1972-78 period was predominantly apartment construction (91%).

Private sector housing, which accounted for only 15% of the total unicity housing constructed* (public and third sector starts contributes the rest) has been in the form of smaller apartment units which do not provide housing opportunities for families. Most of the new, private construction is out of the price range of those people displaced through demolitions. Although subsidized housing (both public and non-profit) has made up the greatest quantity of new housing units, only 431 family units or less than half the number demolished have been replaced by M.H.R.C., the chief builder of inner city housing for families.

3-2-3 Affordability

With respect to housing affordability, the results from a study on Inner City Housing Types prepared by I.U.S. supported the following conclusions:

* Clatworthy, Frenette and McKee. Housing: Inner City Type Older Areas. I.U.S., 1979.

- 1) affordability remains as a serious and widespread problem affecting a sizeable percentage of all household categories;
- 2) The problem is acute among single parent families, young singles, and elderly singles.
- 3) Affordability problems are much more serious in the rental submarket, especially for larger households.

The study also concluded that for most household groups, the affordability problem was not the result of excessive housing costs but rather the result of low incomes. Therefore, it is evident that the housing affordability issue cannot be discussed in isolation. Other economic and social issues such as high rates of unemployment and the resulting low income result in housing affordability problems for inner city residents.

3-2 Summary

The condition, type, and availability of housing stock are key variables in determining the future of a community. Data on Winnipeg inner city housing trends reveals that overall, the housing is of poor quality due to its age and lack of maintenance. Demolitions have aggravated an already tight supply of low cost housing for families. Recent private sector housing has been in the form of apartment units not suitable for families and is out of the price range of most inner city families. The inner city housing supply must be upgraded if the community as a whole is to be revitalized.

3-3 Private Sector Involvement in Inner City Neighbourhoods

Most widely accepted theories of neighbourhood change emphasize the central roles played by housing and property market forces not only in initiating and sustaining neighbourhood decline but also in initiating and sponsoring neighbourhood revitalization and redevelopment (I.U.S. Inner City Housing Study, p. 28).

To date, the private sector has not provided much housing in the inner city. Despite a considerable amount of residential construction activity, less than 20% of the housing starts in the inner city were sponsored by the private sector during the 1972-78 time period (Inner City Housing Study).

More recent statistics show that the inner city, again, is far behind the suburban areas in terms of single family/single attached housing starts. For the year 1979 to the second quarter of 1980, the City Centre/Fort Rouge area saw 53 new private housing starts of this type, which was only 5% of the city's total housing starts. In terms of row housing and apartments, 47% of starts in the city have been in the Fort Rouge/City Centre area (City of Winnipeg Housing Industry Statistical Summary 2nd Quarter 1980).

Another barrier to private investment is the negative perception individuals and financial institutions have of the core area. The health of a neighbourhood depends on the willingness of residents and the private sector to finance maintenance, improvements and mortgages. In terms of rehabilitation of older housing stock, there is some evidence that privately initiated rehabilitation is occurring in Fort Rouge, Wolsely west, of Sherbrook, Balmoral West, north of the C.P.R. tracks, and in Neighbourhood Improvement Areas. However, many households fear an inadequate return on their investment if they put their financial resources into core area property. Also financial institutions, particularly banks, trust companies and insurance companies are reluctant to lend to high risk borrowers or on high risk properties in unstable neighbourhoods. 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. Arrangements for local, public sector loan guarantees may be necessary.

3-4 Other Factors Which Can Contribute to Neighbourhood Decline

3-4-1 Building Abandonment

Abandonment is often a symptom of neighbourhood decay and unstable economic conditions. The abandonment of one structure may trigger further abandonment, adding to the lack of confidence in a neighbourhood as a place to invest and thereby threatening the stability of a neighbourhood. A study of abandoned buildings in Winnipeg's inner city revealed that 209 buildings or 802 units were positively identified as abandoned*. Of these, 12 buildings were found to be abandoned due to mortgage default. The vast majority of abandoned buildings were rental properties; apartment buildings appear to be abandoned most often. (Building Abandonment Study, I.U.S., 1979).

3-4-2 Availability of Recreational Space (Core Area Report)

The amount of available parkspace in Winnipeg's inner city is well below that of the suburban areas and the standards set by the city. The lack of parkspace may to a certain extent be supplemented by other recreational facilities by community and clubs and schools. The Core Area Report found that although the City Recreation Department was gearing its programs towards inner city residents,

* Institute of Urban Studies; Building Abandonment Study, I.U.S. September, 1979.

many of the city facilities were sport oriented, and very little recreational programming for inner city teenagers exists.

3-4-3 Transportation

One of the major transportation problems affecting inner city residents and the quality of their neighbourhoods is the rush hour traffic spillover from major arteries on to residential streets. Due to the grid system of streets, there is nothing to prevent the twice daily traffic spillover. A second transportation problem is the availability of on-street parking. Congested residential streets and lack of on-street parking is experienced by many inner city neighbourhoods, especially those with commercial or institutional establishments nearby. The need for more parking space and greater parking accessibility are frequent complaints of members of the downtown retailing establishments, particularly the smaller commercial facilities without private parking lots

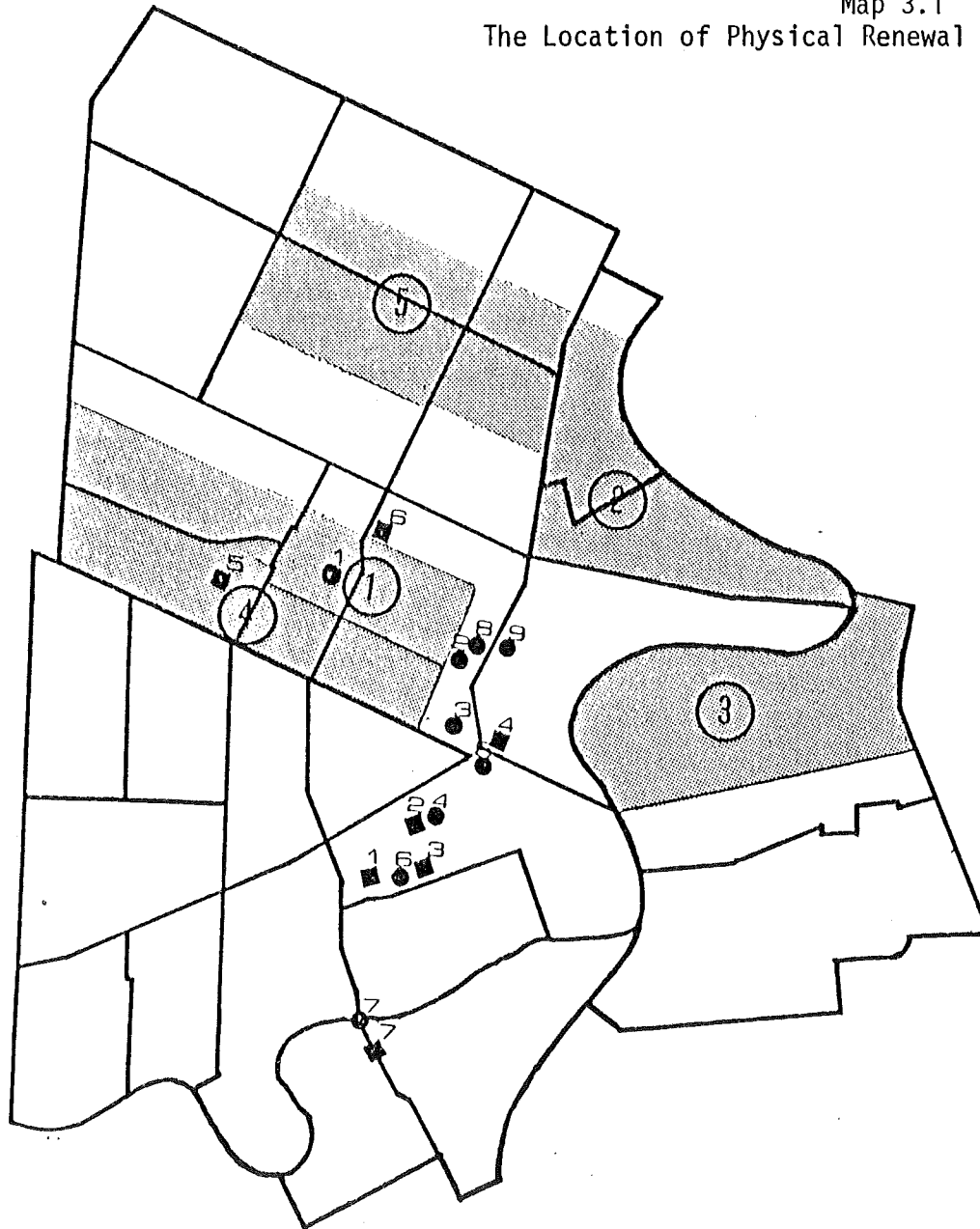
3-4-4 Non-Residential Private and Public Investment in the Inner City

Within the past decade, there has been significant private and public investment in Winnipeg's inner city. However, major public developments such as the Convention Centre, pedestrian concourse, and parking garage provide few direct benefits for the residents of the core. With the exception of N.I.P. activities and the Centennial Library, city sponsored development has been geared towards supporting commercial and business activities in the downtown area. Similarly, private development has been confined primarily to expensive high rise apartment, hotel and office construction with few direct benefits to core area residents (refer to Map 3.1).

* 3-4-5 Relocation of the C.P.R. Yards

- ① The C.P.R. yards are viewed as being disruptive to the surrounding community by providing a physical barrier to the integration of the community and by creating a negative "externality" within the nearby community. The proposed Sherbrook/MacGregor overpass is also viewed as further dividing the community and by providing only a short term solution to the C.P.R. yards issue. There is an obvious need to examine both the railway relocation and overpass issues in terms of the costs and benefits of each solution, according to long term social and economic criteria; for example, is there a need for the vacant land that would be freed if the tracks were moved and is there a feasible plan for revitalizing the land? What would relocation cost to the community in terms of lost jobs etc.?
- ②
- ③

Map 3.1
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

3-4-6 Particular Problems of the North Side of Portage Avenue

The north side of Portage Avenue has been in decline as a retailing area when compared to the relative stability and steady growth of the south side. Many shopowners are feeling threatened by certain types of establishments thought to be unsuitable and types of people attracted to this area. Shops on the north side of Portage experience higher turnover and vacancy rates than across the avenue.

Although retail establishments on the north side of Portage are experiencing difficulties, the causes of this extend beyond the immediate area. Downtown retailing as a whole has undergone a series of changes, generally shifting south of Portage. The south section of the downtown has a resident and tourist population upon which to draw, an advantage the north section of the downtown does not have. Also, the recent opening of 2 major shopping centres in the suburban areas of Winnipeg have tended to draw shoppers from the downtown as a whole.

The problems of the north side of Portage avenue cannot be discussed in isolation from the problems and potential of the entire downtown area. There must first be a clear definition of the nature of the problems of the north side of Portage Avenue. Only then can a strategy for revitalization be proposed and implemented.

4. EMPLOYMENT, INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL GROWTH: STRUCTURAL AND SPATIAL CHANGE

In terms of employment three significant trends can be identified: there has been comparative slowdown in the growth of employment opportunities in Winnipeg as a whole; there has been a sectoral shift in employment opportunities; finally, there has been a noticeable spatial rearrangement of employment opportunities in Winnipeg. As most employment statistics cannot be disaggregated, this section first discusses employment trends and structural shifts in employment opportunities for Winnipeg as a whole and then examines the effects of the suburbanization of industry on the inner city.

4-1 Winnipeg in Comparative Perspective

Viewed from a regional perspective Manitoba's economic and employment growth has been sluggish. The following table of employment indices indicate that Manitoba's economy has lagged behind both of the other prairie provinces and Canada as a whole, especially as of January 1980 (see Table 4-1).

Between 1957 and 1976 Winnipeg's employed labour force grew from 178,000 to 256,000 or 43.8% (M.H.A., 1978: 1980). By March of 1980 Winnipeg's total employed labour force had reached 281,000 (Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 71-001); an increase of 57.9 from 1957. By way on contrast the total Canadian employed labour force increased by 61.8 from 1957 to 1976 (M.H.A., 1978: 182). Between 1976 and 1980 the Canadian labour force grew by 20.6% (Winnipeg by 9.8%). As Table 4.2 shows, Winnipeg's economy (as measured by labour force growth) has experienced growth, but has not kept pace with the prairie region or Canada as a whole.



TABLE 4-1
INDEXES OF EMPLOYMENT, 1976 AND JANUARY 1980*

<u>Sector</u>	1976				1980			
	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Manitoba</u>	<u>Sask.</u>	<u>Alta.</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Manitoba</u>	<u>Sask.</u>	<u>Alta.</u>
Mining	120.1	141.5	179.2	178.8	132.8	118.3	214.5	289.9
Manufacturing	128.4	129.5	136.6	163.9	127.9	125.5	128.2	175.8
Construction	121.4	120.0	107.3	207.3	81.2	62.9	80.0	180.7
Transport	115.4	93.6	106.7	134.4	116.9	97.5	90.8	156.3
Communications	169.3	124.2	158.5	220.0	172.0	117.7	156.1	244.5
Utilities	144.3	130.4	n/a	180.1	153.4	131.6	n/a	210.7
Wholesale Trade	159.3	124.9	124.4	165.9	160.0	117.2	120.8	189.2
Retail Trade	185.0	157.5	174.9	208.8	193.3	163.5	187.0	244.6
Finance Insurance and Real Estate	187.4	146.4	180.7	231.9	207.1	145.2	206.6	294.9
Service	245.3	187.2	251.1	294.6	272.6	187.6	277.5	342.8
Industrial Composite	146.4	130.4	146.3	191.0	148.5	126.1	147.0	222.0

* Sources: NHA, 1978: 9; Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 72-002, February 1980.



B1-1-1

TABLE 4-2

Employment Growth, Winnipeg and Canada

	<u>A</u> <u>Winnipeg</u>	<u>B</u> <u>Canada</u>	Ratio A/B
1957-71	29.2%	43.1%	.68
1971-76	11.3%	17.2%	.66
1976-80	9.8%	20.6%	.48



At the same time, though, Winnipeg has consistently shown much lower rates of unemployment than have occurred in the country as a whole. During the period 1966 - 1976 Winnipeg's unemployment rate has been consistently below the national unemployment rate, although it appears to follow national trends, as indicated in Table 4.3.

4-2 Changes in Sectoral Structure of Employment

Throughout the industrialized world, there have been some major shifts in the structure of occupations. Winnipeg has been no exception in this regard: the so-called "service industries" have increased their proportion of the total labour force rather dramatically. In response to a variety of forces operative in Canada, and in similar economies, labour power has shifted from goods-producing sectors to service sectors. Table 4-4 shows the growth of employment in ten industrial sectors for 1957-1976.

The table illustrates that both commercial and non-commercial service industries have captured a dramatically increased portion of jobs; more so in Winnipeg than in the rest of Canada. The creation of office space has also increased during the 1975-1980 period. This development coincides with expansion in the service industry and may serve as a further indication of the expansion of this sector. The trade and transportation sectors employ much smaller proportions of Winnipeg's labour force in 1976 as compared to 1957.

Another illustration of structural changes appears in Table 4-5, which shows the change in the number and percentage of jobs by industrial sector for Winnipeg. The largest growth of employment during 1957-1976, has occurred in the "service" sectors: that is, finance/insurance/real estate (60.9%), commercial services (154.1%), non-commercial services (126.5%), and public administration (72.8%). These trends are very similar to those for all of Canada; the major exception is in the trade sector where Winnipeg's employment growth was less than half that for all of Canada during the same time period.

The changes in the structure of Winnipeg's labour force, illustrated above, bring forth several apparently significant observations. First, Winnipeg's manufacturing sector remains the largest employer (17.7%) but shows a relatively slow although steady growth record. On the other hand, the two service sectors have not only vaulted to the third and fourth largest employment sectors (13.2% and 14.3%) but also have experienced the greatest growth (154.1% and 126.5%). In the commercial sector, this has been associated with expansion in commercial building since 1975, mostly outside the core area. Finally, finance/insurance/real estate and public administration have experienced rapid growth (60.9% and



TABLE 4-3
TREND IN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES*
1966 - 1976
(Average Annual)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Canada</u> (%)	<u>Winnipeg</u> (%)	<u>Winnipeg as %</u> <u>of Canada</u>
1966	3.6	2.8	77.8
1967	4.1	2.7	65.9
1968	4.8	3.7	77.1
1969	4.7	2.8	59.6
1970	5.9	4.8	81.4
1971	6.4	5.2	81.3
1972	6.3	4.8	76.2
1973	5.6	4.0	71.4
1974	5.4	3.2	59.3
1975	6.9	4.0	60.0
1976	7.1	4.9	69.0
March 1980	8.3	6.2	75.0

* Sources: NHA, 1978: 56
Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 71-001

TABLE 4-4

EMPLOYED LABOUR FORCE BY SECTOR, 1957-1976¹

Sector	Winnipeg					Canada				
	1957	1961	1966	1971	1976	1957	1961	1966	1971	1976
Primary	2.0 ² (1.1) ³	1.9 (1.0)	1.8 (0.9)	1.7 (0.7)	1.6 (0.6)	926 ⁴ (15.8)	1,088 (17.9)	1,068 (14.7)	1,160 (14.3)	1,499 (15.8)
Manufacturing	38.4 (21.7)	26.5 (20.0)	41.3 (19.5)	41.9 (18.2)	45.2 (17.7)	1,383 (23.6)	1,311 (21.5)	1,618 (22.3)	1,594 (19.6)	1,677 (17.6)
Construction	9.6 (5.4)	11.3 (6.2)	12.3 (5.8)	11.1 (4.9)	10.9 (4.3)	525 (8.9)	420 (6.9)	541 (7.5)	484 (6.0)	478 (5.0)
Transportation, Communication, Utilities	31.0 (17.5)	26.2 (14.4)	26.6 (12.5)	26.3 (11.5)	26.4 (10.3)	593 (10.1)	557 (9.1)	599 (8.3)	638 (7.9)	717 (7.5)
Trade	37.7 (21.2)	36.8 (20.2)	43.6 (20.6)	45.7 (19.9)	50.3 (10.3)	866 (14.8)	905 (14.9)	1,104 (15.2)	1,269 (15.6)	1,558 (16.4)
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	9.2 (5.2)	10.0 (5.5)	10.9 (5.1)	12.4 (5.4)	14.8 (5.8)	213 (3.6)	236 (3.9)	309 (3.9)	349 (4.2)	417 (4.6)
Commercial Services	13.3 (7.5)	18.9 (10.3)	23.0 (10.8)	26.4 (11.5)	33.8 (13.2)	413 (7.0)	450 (7.4)	625 (8.6)	838 (10.3)	1,092 (11.5)
Non-Commercial Services	16.2 (9.1)	19.8 (10.9)	25.1 (11.9)	33.1 (14.4)	36.7 (14.3)	494 (8.4)	626 (10.3)	824 (11.4)	1,098 (13.5)	1,230 (12.9)
Public Administration, Defence	14.7 (8.3)	15.6 (8.6)	18.5 (8.7)	20.7 (9.0)	25.4 (9.9)	458 (7.8)	497 (8.2)	586 (8.1)	693 (9.0)	829 (9.9)
Undefined	5.4 (3.0)	5.5 (3.0)	9.0 (4.3)	10.4 (4.5)	10.7 (4.2)	—	—	—	—	—

1. Source: NHA, 1978: 180, 182.
2. Actual number in 000's.
3. % of total employed labor force.
4. Includes undefined.



TABLE 4-5
 CHANGES IN EMPLOYED LABOR FORCE
 FOR WINNIPEG, 1957 - 1976*

<u>Sector</u>	<u>1957-1961</u>		<u>1961-1966</u>		<u>1966-1971</u>		<u>1971-1976</u>		<u>1957-1976</u>
Primary	-0.1 ²	(-5.0) ³	-0.1	(-5.2)	-0.1	(-5.6)	-0.1	(-5.9)	-20.0
Manufacturing	1.9	(4.9)	3.8	(10.4)	0.6	(1.5)	4.3	(10.3)	17.7
Construction	1.7	(17.7)	1.0	(8.8)	-1.2	(-9.8)	-0.2	(-1.8)	13.5
Transportation/Communication/ Utilities	-4.8	(-15.9)	0.4	(1.5)	-0.1	(-0.4)	0.1	(0.4)	-14.8
Trade	-0.9	(-2.4)	7.0	(19.0)	2.1	(4.8)	4.6	(10.1)	33.4
Finance/Insurance/ Real Estate	0.8	(8.7)	0.9	(9.0)	1.5	(13.8)	2.4	(19.4)	60.9
Commercial Services	5.6	(42.1)	4.1	(21.7)	3.4	(14.8)	7.4	(28.0)	154.1
Non-Commercial Services	3.6	(22.2)	5.3	(26.8)	8.0	(31.9)	3.6	(10.9)	126.5
Public Administration/ Defence	0.9	(6.1)	2.9	(18.6)	2.2	(11.9)	4.7	(22.7)	72.8
Undefined	0.1	(1.9)	3.5	(63.6)	1.4	(15.6)	0.3	(28.8)	98.1

1. Source: Calculated from NHA, 1978: 180, 182.
2. Actual change in numbers employed (000's).
3. % change in employed labour force.



72.8% respectively) but employ fairly small proportions of the labour force (5.8% and 9.9% respectively).

A more detailed analysis of the above mentioned sectors (M.H.A.: 1978:180) shows that transportation equipment manufacturing, accommodation related services, and educational and related services have grown by 109.5%, 163.8%, and 229.6% respectively during 1957-1976. Other relatively fast growing sectors include metal-related manufacturing (33.3%), unclassified commercial services (148.8%), health and welfare services (78.2%), and unclassified trade industries (36%). In terms of the number of jobs created in the 1957-1976 period, accommodation (12,800) and unclassified commercial services (7,700), as well as education (12,400) and health and welfare services (7,900) have outdistanced other sub-sectors.

Those sectors which employ the most people and/or have grown substantially (manufacturing, services - see above) do not provide a high level of income (as measured by average weekly earnings). As Table 4-6 shows, these sectors have the lowest average weekly earnings, expressed as a percentage of the Winnipeg industrial composite (1.09, and 0.63 respectively where the industrial composite is \$260.44 weekly). The wage levels of these sectors could very well prove to be disincentives to those seeking and needing employment. In addition, all three sectors employ large percentages of females. Finally, Table 4-7 shows the 1971 industrial sector unemployment in Winnipeg.

Those industrial sectors identified earlier as being high growth/high proportion sectors exhibit the highest levels of sectoral unemployment. These rates indicate labor surpluses in those particular sectors.

4-3 Changes in the Spatial Structure of Employment/Economic Activity

Although there has been no formal analysis of the inner city's economic base or employment structure, some insights regarding these issues can be obtained from transportation studies (conducted in 1962, 1971 and 1976) which record patterned work trips. It should be noted that employment figures devised in this fashion are likely to underestimate the true values. Patterned work trip data, however, should be sufficiently accurate to identify large shifts in the spatial structure and composition of the city's employment opportunities. Our analysis of these data lead to the following conclusions:



TABLE 4-6

UNEMPLOYMENT IN METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG, 1971*

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Unemployment Rate (%)</u>	<u>Distribution of Unemployed (%)</u>
Primary	8.6	1.1
Manufacturing	5.9	18.6
Construction	10.8	9.6
Transportation, Communication and Utilities	4.5	8.8
Trade	6.1	19.8
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	3.6	3.3
Commercial Services	7.8	15.8
Non-Commercial Services	2.9	6.9
Public Administration and Defence	3.5	5.0
Industries Unspecified	9.6	11.1

* Source: NHA, 1978: 57.

TABLE 4-7
AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS
AND GROWTH (WINNIPEG)*

	<u>Average Weekly Earnings</u>	<u>% of Industrial Composite**</u>	<u>57-76 Growth % Labor Force</u>	<u>Feb. 1978 Average Weekly Earnings</u>	<u>% Change Average Weekly Earnings 1978-1980</u>
Manufacturing	282.66	1.09	17.7	237.06	16.1
Construction	386.92	1.47	13.5	334.93	13.7
Transportation	338.47	1.30	-14.8	283.81	16.1
Trade	215.12	0.83	33.4	183.82	14.6
Finance	288.49	1.11	60.9	234.46	18.7
Service	163.38	0.63	140.3	148.37	9.8

* Source: Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 72-002
March, 1980 and February, 1978

** That is, sectoral average weekly earnings as a percentage of
Winnipeg's industrial composite average weekly earnings.



- a) Since 1972 there has been a rapid decline in employment within the study area, especially in the areas immediately north of the central business district and adjacent to the C.P. rail yards. Overall, employment in the study area declined by 12.48% since 1962. During the same period employment in the Winnipeg CMA increased by 43.8% (see Table 4-8).
- b) Relative to the metropolitan total, a greater proportion of inner city residents are engaged in sales and services, processing, production, fabrication and machining, and construction occupations. Employment growth in these occupations lagged considerably behind growth in other sectors of the Winnipeg economy during the 1966-1976 period.
- c) Employment opportunities within the inner city area are more heavily concentrated in financial, commercial and governmental services in the central business district. In Winnipeg these sectors of the economy experienced the most rapid growth during the past decade.

An analysis of building activity in Winnipeg during the period 1976-1979 also shows inner city decline. The construction of manufacturing and warehouse facilities (as measured by the number of buildings and by square footage - see Table 4-9), indicates that although activity in the inner city has picked up, it represents a very small proportion of construction in Winnipeg as a whole.

It is this "flight" of economic activity from the core area which has given rise, at least in part, to the economic and employment characteristics of inner city residents. The Core Area Report (Johnston, 1979: 53-55) claimed, for instance, that almost twice as many inner city males were unemployed as were outer city males (7.7% versus 4.0%). In addition, 58.1% of inner city households had incomes below \$9,999, as compared to 43.7% of outer city households.

A more detailed examination of income and employment characteristics of Winnipeg has been undertaken by the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (1980). Their analysis revealed "that the highest concentration of low income households is found in ... the core area" (p. 44): the incidence being over four times the city average. Moreover, 24% of all inner city households in 1975, had no adults employed with 73% of those being comprised of non-family households (young and elderly singles) and lone-parent families.



TABLE 4-8

EMPLOYMENT LOCATION IN WINNIPEG, 1962-1976*
 Distribution of Total Employment (as a Percentage)

Year	Transportation Planning Sector								
	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
1962	39.48	3.30	7.23	4.21	5.46	2.67	10.28	19.94	6.42
1971	31.74	3.96	7.77	4.52	9.49	3.09	12.56	20.26	6.61
1976	27.00	4.10	9.50	4.90	11.50	3.30	12.50	19.30	7.90
Net Change 1962 - 1976	-12.48	+0.80	+2.27	+0.69	+5.03	+0.63	+2.22	-0.64	+1.48

* Source: EA, 1980:6.

A survey of native people living in the core area (Clatworthy, 1980 forthcoming) has revealed that native people also comprise a substantial number of low income/unemployed households. As tables 4-10 and 4-11 illustrate the unemployment rate of the native population exceeds 30 percent compared to 7.8 of the general inner city population. Moreover, native people living in the core area experience extremely low levels of income with non-family households and single parent families existing on less than half the income (46.7% and 49.7% respectively) garnished by similar non-native households. It must be noted, as indicated above, that the income characteristics of all inner city households are themselves substantially below city wide averages. These and earlier data clearly indicate natives, single parent families, and the elderly as high need groups within the core area. In addition, the demographic structure of the native population, especially, suggests that the employment needs of natives will increase dramatically over the next 5-10 years.



TABLE 4 -9

INDUSTRIAL BUILDING CONSTRUCTION AND LAND ABSORPTION
CITY OF WINNIPEG 1976-79
- INNER CITY - OUTER CITY COMPARISON

			BUILDING SPACE CONSTRUCTED - SQUARE FEET						LAND CONSUMPTION	
			# of Buildings		Manufacturing		Warehouse		Total	
	1976-78	1979	1976-78	1979	1976-78	1979	1976-78	1979	1976-78	1979
Inner City	20	20	19,320	207,560	46,722	29,715	66,042	237,275	23.5	24.1
Outer City	89	130	1,069,778	1,649,970	1,072,561	421,474	2,140,339	2,071,444	291.0	412.7
City of Winnipeg	109	150	1,089,098	1,857,530	1,119,283	451,189	2,206,381	2,308,719	314.5	436.8
% Inner City	18.4	13.3	1.7	11.2	4.2	6.6	3.0	10.3	7.5	5.5



TABLE 4-10
 LABOUR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT INDICATORS BY SEX,
 NATIVE AND TOTAL STUDY AREA POPULATION
 INNER CITY WINNIPEG, 1979/80

<u>Labour Force Indicator</u>	<u>Status</u>	NATIVE <u>Métis/Non- Status</u>	A <u>Total</u>	B Inner City <u>Total*</u>	<u>A / B</u>
<u>Males</u>					
Participation Rate (%)	58.2	65.5	63.0	66.7	.94
Unemployment Rate (%)	34.9	20.6	25.1	8.4	2.99

<u>Females</u>					
Participation Rate (%)	29.6	35.8	33.4	32.0	1.04
Unemployment Rate (%)	33.8	34.0	33.9	7.1	4.77

<u>Total</u>					
Participation Rate (%)	40.4	48.2	43.6	57.3	.76
Unemployment Rate (%)	34.4	26.4	30.1	7.8	3.86

*Source: 1976 Census microfiche.



TABLE 4-11
 AVERAGE INCOME AND SOURCES OF INCOME, NATIVE AND TOTAL STUDY
 AREA POPULATIONS BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE, 1979

Numeric Code	Household Category	Average Income (\$/annum)							Earned Income As a Percent of Total Income	
		Earned		Transfer		Total		Ratio (B/A)	Native	Total
		Native	Total	Native	Total	Native (A)	Total (B)			
(1-4)	All Non-Family Households	3,109	8,306	2,641	2,467	5,740	10,773	(1.87)	(54.2)	(77.7)
(5-7)	Childless Couples	5,385	10,039	2,105	2,636	7,490	12,675	(1.69)	(71.9)	(79.2)
(8-16)	All Two Parent Families	8,539	17,256	3,407	1,416	11,946	18,672	(1.56)	(71.5)	(92.4)
(17-25)	All Single Parent Families	719	8,482	5,539	3,526	6,258	12,013	(1.92)	(11.5)	(70.6)
(1-25)	All Households	3,953	11,165	4,075	2,309	8,028	13,474	(1.68)	(49.2)	(82.9)



Summary

The data presented here do coalesce to produce some general observations useful in defining the employment component of the "inner city problem". First, Winnipeg's overall employed labour force growth has slowed of late. Although even with such slow growth, Winnipeg has consistently maintained an overall unemployment rate well below national averages. Secondly, there has been a marked shift in the structure of the labor force with manufacturing, and "services" employing either large proportions of the labour force or exhibiting relatively high growth rates. Although these industrial sectors, are large and/or growing they have the largest labour surplus (i.e. the highest sectoral unemployment) the lowest average weekly earnings and the largest proportions of females employed. These indicators, then, at least suggest these industrial sectors, although traditionally considered "white collar", have the lowest "skill" requirements when compared to other industrial sectors.

It must be stressed that the indicators presented here are gross measures and that detailed occupational analysis must be undertaken prior to specific programming. Given the overall wage attributes of growth sectors it appears that programming which creates employment must ensure that such employment provides income above poverty levels.

Finally, Winnipeg's inner city does not appear to have shared in whatever growth has occurred. Inner city residents - especially natives, single parent families, the elderly, and young single adults - show the highest rates of low income and unemployment. Taken in concert, these indicators do suggest that specific economic development activities could and should be directed, in the main, toward those groups with the greatest income/employment needs.



5. ENERGY CONSERVATION AND NEIGHBOURHOOD CONSERVATION

5-1 Energy Costs and Low Income Households

The previous sections have shown that the core area is the place of residence for many low income Winnipeggers. It is also the spatial area in which most of Winnipeg's older housing stock is located. The issue of the cost and conservation of energy is likely to be an important one in the 1980's and will impact significantly on core area households. A recent study (Hildebrand, Young and Associates) suggests that average direct and traceable energy costs (i.e. expenditure on residential heat, light and power, transportation and other consumer energy expenditures) involved in 1977 an average cost per capita of \$658 and an average cost per household of \$1,898. The same study also indicated that by 1987, the same energy package would cost 224 percent of the 1977 level. The proportionate amount of disposable income which must be spent on energy by low income households is and will be a significant factor in the household budget. Programs to mitigate these regressive effects and to promote energy conservation to reduce energy related costs are necessary.

5-2 The Need for Housing Rehabilitation

In terms of housing, much of the city's older housing stock is located in the core area. When compared with other Canadian centres, Winnipeg, with the exception of Montreal, has the highest percentage of poor quality housing. Winnipeg also has the highest percentage of dwellings built before 1940 and 69% of core area housing was built before 1946 (I.U.S., 1979: Barnard and Associates, 1979). It is suspected that a significant proportion of inner city housing is energy inefficient. A recent I.U.S. report (Hathout, 1980) found that in the Logan area, 63% of homes were suffering from considerable and excessive heat loss. Also, about 30% of heat loss was through the roof, probably the cheapest and most accessible part of a house to insulate. The same report also observed that many commercial and industrial buildings showed excessive heat loss and should also be considered for re-insulating programs.

Despite the efforts of the neighbourhood improvement program, there is tremendous scope under the core area initiative for rehabilitating older housing stock in the inner city. Also in view of the fact that population and new housing requirement projections forecast a declining need for new housing, the issue of conserving our existing stock assumes greater importance. Due to the balance of tenure between owner occupied and rental stock, programs to encourage rehabilitation would need to be geared to both rental property owners and homeowners. Other forms of tenure such as cooperatives, equity sharing, and condominiums could also be encouraged. Programs could be targeted to areas and/or households in the most need. Programs for homeowners need to include a significant grant component for low income households. Another attractive feature of encouraging housing rehabilitation is its potential for stimulating the rehabilitation industry and small business development, its labour intensive nature and its need for skilled workers. Another advantage is the possibility of enriching funds being available for rehabilitation from public sources over and beyond Core Area Initiative funding, such as C.M.H.C., R.R.A.P., C.H.I.P., H.I.P. etc. This section concludes with a description of the inner city housing stock and provides information which will allow the extent, nature, and need for housing rehabilitation programs to be assessed.

5-3 Inner City Housing Stock

There are approximately 44,363 dwelling units within the core 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 (see Table 5.1).

A much greater proportion of the housing stock in the inner city is tenant occupied, 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.

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 (see Map 5.1).

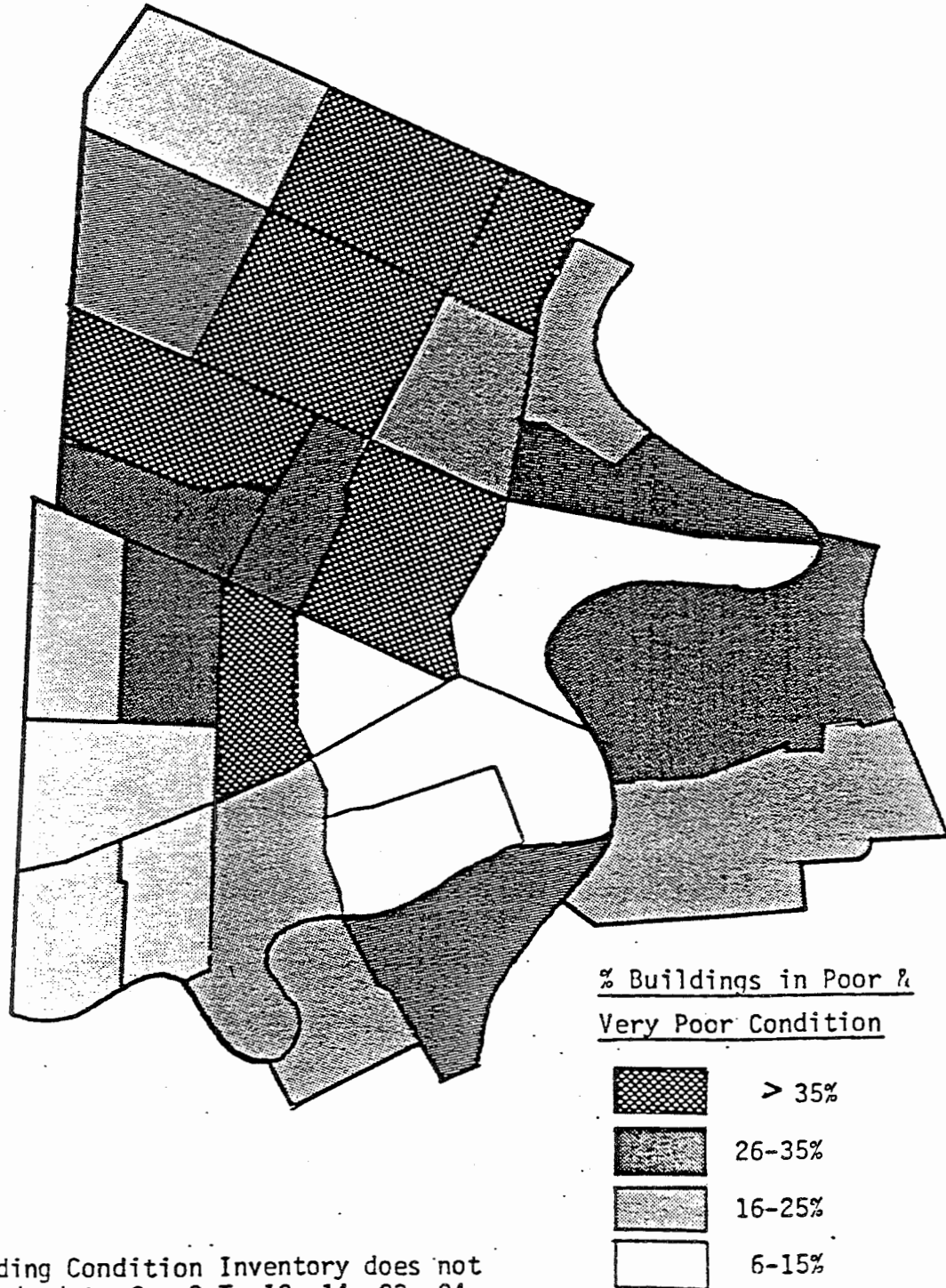
Table 5.1
INNER CITY HOUSING STOCK 1977

<u>Inner City Housing Stock Summary</u>		<u>Total Inner City Unit Stock 1978</u>	
Total Apt. Buildings (over 5 units)	861	Apts.	19819
-total no. of units	19819	Public	3051
Total Public Housing Units (41 projects)	3051	Non-Profit	1213
-EPH	2620	Single	13195
-FPH	431	Semi	7085
Total Non-Profit Units (11 projects)	1213		<u>44363</u>
-senior citizen	644	<u>Total Inner City Rental Stock 1978</u>	
-hostel	178	Apts.	19819
-beds	391	Public	3051
Total Single Detached	13195	Non-Profit	1213
Total Semi, Row, Duplex, Attached	7085	Single	2790
		Semi	4945
			<u>31818</u>
		<u>% Rental Stock of Total Stock</u>	
			<u>72%</u>

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

Map 5.1

DISTRIBUTION OF POOR QUALITY HOUSING IN THE INNER CITY



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

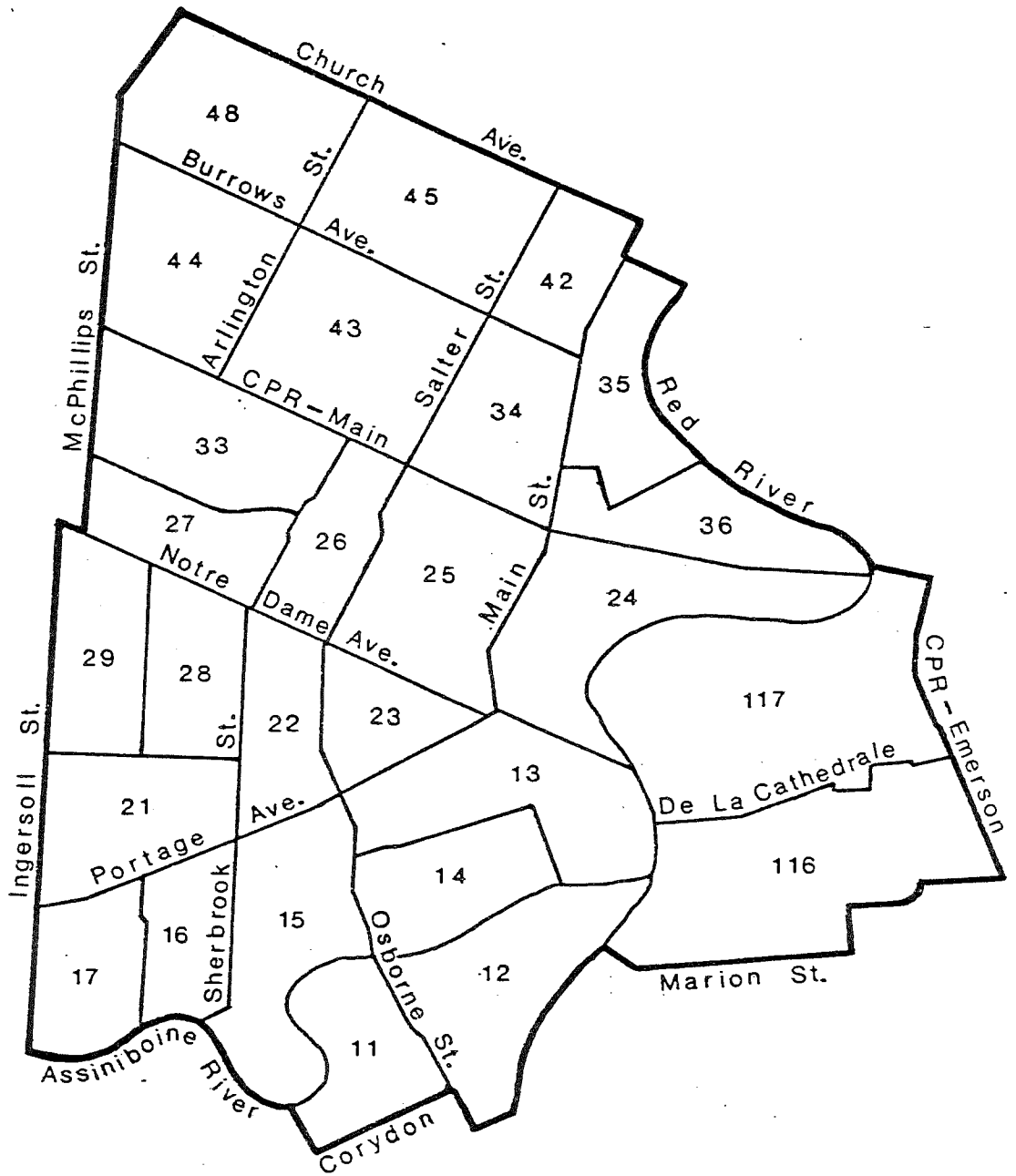
The area north of Portage Avenue, particularly those census tracts bordering the C.P.R. yards show the greatest number of buildings in poor condition. The River/Osborne area (census tract 12) is the only southern tract with a large ratio of the housing stock rated in poor condition. At the extreme northern 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 Map 5.2).

Through comparison of present building conditions 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 N.I.P. and R.R.A.P. 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.

SUMMARY

In summary, this section suggests there is a need for programs under the Core Area Initiative which will encourage energy conservation, will mitigate the regressive effects of increasing energy costs for low income households and which will promote the conservation of the inner city housing stock and stimulate the rehabilitation industry. The latter objective would be easier to achieve if energy conservation programs were extended to commercial and industrial buildings.

Map 5.2
Inner City Census Tracts



6. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DELIVERY MODEL

The intent of this section is to examine the framework and rationale within which the Core Area Initiative is to occur. A statement of the general objectives and an overview of the issues as found in the Memorandum of Understanding is documented. Strategies and approaches to development are discussed which lead to an evaluation of three basic models for delivery. Through I.U.S. research, it becomes apparent that no one model is sufficient as a delivery system and therefore a combination of models is required. Further detailed discussion is necessary to develop a workable delivery system.

Rationale

Stated Objectives

- 1) To increase employment opportunities in the core area.
- 2) To encourage appropriate industrial commercial and residential development in the core area.
- 3) To facilitate the effective social and economic participation of core area residents in development opportunities.

Each to include a variety of social, economic and physical programs to meet objectives.

Overview of Stated Issues and Strategies

- 1) To encourage appropriate industrial and commercial development in the core area (via public infrastructure and provision of other forms of assistance).
- 2) Provision of expanded industrial and on-the-job employment training programs, relating to specific job opportunities for core area residents.
- 3) The development and expansion of community improvement and home ownership rehabilitation and rental programs to provide housing and neighbourhood stability for core area residents.
- 4) The development of community based facilities and services which will enhance social, health care education and income support and employment opportunities for core area residents.
- 5) Consideration of appropriate methods of implementing agreed upon programs and projects which may include the establishment of a core area development authority or corporation to focus private and public investment in the core area.

Detailed Issues as Outlined in the Memorandum of Understanding
and I.U.S. Research

Population

- * overall declining Winnipeg population growth rate
- * in-migration of age group which will enter labour force (15-24); out-migration of working age population
- * loss of inner city population, particularly families
- * preponderance of singles (young and old) single-parent families, and natives (especially non-family and single parent family households).

Social

- * socio-economic disparities between inner and outer city areas
- * concentration of welfare dependency, low-income households, health problems in the inner city
- * within the inner city these problems are concentrated among non-family households (young and elderly singles), single-parent families, and Natives.

Physical

- * poor inner city housing quality
- * loss of family housing within inner city
- * housing affordability problems concentrated among high need groups, especially those who rent their accommodation
- * very low rate of private sector housing activity in the inner city both in terms of new construction and rehabilitation
- * past public and private sector (re)development activity has been focused upon office buildings, and economical and retail building which has been of little benefit to high need groups
- * * the north side of Portage and the C.P.R. yards have been the subject of frequent complaints but there has been very little systematic definition and examination of these areas as problematic.

Employment/Economic

- * overall Winnipeg's economy has lagged behind Canada as a whole, and has fallen well behind the other prairie provinces of late
- * despite slow growth Winnipeg has consistently maintained relatively low unemployment
- * several indicators reveal a shift in economic activity (either in terms of growth and/or proportional activity) into manufacturing, services, and trade

- * These industrial sectors show high unemployment (indicating labor surplus), low wages, and high proportions of female labor suggesting their popular conception as 'white collar' (and thus high 'skill') industries may be misleading: more detailed occupational analysis appears warranted
- * Employment opportunities have declined in the inner city
- * Young and elderly singles, single parent families, and Native household groups concentrated in the inner city, have consistently high unemployment rates.

1. COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

- to increase the attractiveness and competitiveness of neighbourhood business to local and regional customers
- to strengthen and/or expand existing business
- to attract new business
- to create new businesses

Approaches

- physical renewal - plant renewal and/or plan expansion
- increasing labour productivity
- promotional campaign
- use of incentives

Detailed Tactics

- existing or creating new government programs similar to Ontario's Main Street Revitalization Program
- management or business practise upgrading, evaluation
- general promotion of the city - 3 levels of government and the private sector
- use of government incentives e.g. tax or locational incentives
- facilitation in terms of parking, assessment, land lease etc.

2. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

CORE AREA

- to increase job opportunities for inner city residents
- to stabilize the tax base
- to strengthen and/or expand existing business
- to attract new business
- to create new business

CITY WIDE STRATEGIES

- to encourage appropriate industries to locate in the inner city
- to encourage all forms of industry to locate in Winnipeg and to encourage related spin-off industries to locate in the downtown area

Approaches

- physical renewal - plant renewal/or plant expansion
- increasing labour productivity
- promotional campaign
- incentives

Detailed Tactics

- using existing D.R.E.E. or creating new government programs
- management or business practise upgrading, evaluation
- general promotion of the city - 3 levels of government and the private sector
- use of government incentives e.g. tax or locational incentives
- job retraining
- salary subsidization
- government land assembly/servicing
- selection of economically feasible industries with diversified wage/skill structure
- designation of priority/development areas

3. INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT STRATEGIES

- to raise the skill level of unemployed and underemployed local residents (related to commercial and industrial strategies)
- to educate present unemployed/underemployed

Approaches

- job training
- job retraining
- education/skills upgrading

Detailed Tactics

- using existing government programs or creation of new programs
- private/ public partnership for on-the-job training
- government incentives e.g. job training subsidization and support services

4. RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

- to preserve and improve existing housing and physical community environments
- to provide new/infill housing for inner city residents
- to increase resident ownership

Approaches

- physical renewal and rehabilitation of existing housing and neighbourhoods
- promotional campaign
- government incentives
- co-op housing or individual home ownership

Detailed Tactics

- using existing government programs such as the community services program or creating new programs
- promotion of the inner city residential neighbourhoods
- encouraging small private contractors to become involved in housing rehabilitation or the provision of infill housing
- explore suburbs within city concept
- encourage further growth of the City of Winnipeg Non-Profit Housing Corporation
- provision of low interest loans to facilitate home ownership in the inner city
- introduction of federal and provincial sales tax rebate for basic house building materials (used in inner city)
- tax embargos on rehabilitation and housing improvement
- community organization

5. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONAL STRATEGIES

- to provide adequate/improved support services for inner city residents who are involved in job retraining and continuing education programs and for special needs groups.
- to develop new community based organizations
- to strengthen existing community based organizations

Approaches

- integration and coordination of social, educational and job upgrading opportunities
- hire community organizers
- encourage formation of self-help groups such as resident associations, co-ops, non profits etc.

Detailed Tactics

- provision of adequate day care, lunch and after school, factory child care services
- utilization and coordination of existing social service and government agencies
- expansion of appropriate social and government agencies to combat designated additional required needs of area
- creation of new programs as the need arises
- funding of community organizers
- the provision of funding and/or space to house organizers and community groups (e.g. through community recreation center, local church(s), schools, etc. i.e. the joint use of existing space)
- the active encouragement of self-help groups of all descriptions in area
- provide enhanced support for and recognition of existing community organizations.

Model Alternatives

Delivery Models

From I.U.S. research and other sources* the following organizational model alternatives are applicable as a discussion base for the core area development.

1. The Government Delivery Model

In this model, special services are developed within the government structure to attempt to meet the needs and requirements of residents of the community. Mechanisms are then created within the government structure to coordinate government services. Its main advantage is its ability to exert the maximum control over public expenditure and enhance accountability. This is the Alberta model for its Employment Counselling and Relocation Services Program. This model can work reasonably well for the provision of some support services to households but it does little to resolve any of the more fundamental issues. The result is a continuing and increasing need for these special programs.

2. The Community Association Delivery Model

In this model the Community Association(s) are provided with funding (mainly from government sources) to supply the range of services similar to the government service structure above. This model has the advantage of transferring some of the delivery decisions to the community but does little more than this. It also has some disadvantages. No funding is entirely without restrictions on its use and government funding is always subject to the yearly budgeting process and the priorities set in that process so major efforts are always devoted to maintaining the funding. Services delivered under this model are also very heavily influenced by the political climate and services can be disrupted through changes in political priorities.

* Christine McKee and Lloyd Axworthy, "Revitalizing the Downtown Core: The Role of an Urban Development Corporation", Winnipeg, Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, February, 1978.

Ken Svenson, "The Urban Native Housing Agreement: Its Potential for Use as a Coordinating Focus", The Saskatchewan Federal Director's General Group, January 1979.

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3. The Corporate Delivery Model

In this model a development corporation is formed and the the development corporation stimulates the formation of other business, economic and community development ventures. There are at least 2 variations of this model:

- ~~a)~~ A non-profit corporation is formed and its purpose is to stimulate, develop, and provide grants (and in some cases) loans to businesses. It assists in the development of businesses but does not invest directly in the sense of holding shares and so does not share in the profits (or the losses). Along with providing business development, the corporation also attempts to provide some measure of community development/support services.
- b) The "holding company" model in which the development corporation invests directly in businesses and thus shares in the profits and losses. The profits can go to building up a further investment fund.
- ~~c)~~ There may be a third variation of the corporate model in which the development corporation provides not only stimulus to business but actually contracts with business to supply the required management capabilities.

The corporate model has its advantage in the economic development area. It is relatively free from politics and interference from various levels of government resulting in a reduction in long term dependency along with an increased autonomy in major decision making authority. However the model has shortcomings in the social arena. For example, it only has the ability to channel some resources which are non-governmental in origin into the social development area.

When considered separately, each of the above models appear inadequate for utilization in the Winnipeg inner city as both economic and social development issues should be considered. An appropriate combination of models should be the final result of continuing discussion and analysis. The resulting combination could be a synthesis of the corporate economic development model and the community association model. The following Model provides an evaluation of the three Models discussed earlier.

AN EVALUATION OF DELIVERY MODEL ALTERNATIVES

EVALUATION CRITERIA MODELS	1. EFFICIENCY/ DEMOCRACY (ACCOUNTABILITY)	2. AUTONOMY	3. ACCESSIBILITY	4. FORMALIZATION	5. LEADERSHIP	6. LONG TERM SELF SUFFICIENCY	7. ACCEPTABILITY
A. GOVERNMENT DELIVERY MODEL	Efficient in terms of financial control from government's point of view. Community accountability is sacrificed for government efficiency. Lacks direct community input into decision making. Decisions are made at the bureaucratic level rather than at the public level.	Limited community autonomy. Increased governmental control.	Formal bureaucratic delivery model could severely restrict all actors (resident, business, leaders etc.) from having meaningful input.	Limited need for an additional formal organization other than an in-house coordinator as services and departments are already in place.	Lack of autonomy in leadership role; influenced by bureaucratic policies. Little chance for community directives to be formalized by a community leader.	Funding of support services subject to political climate. Tendency for a continuing and increasing need for government programs.	Acceptable to government due to "efficiency" criteria. Unacceptable to community due to lack of accountability and excessive red tape.
B. COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION DELIVERY MODEL	Reduced government efficiency, but greater public accountability from government's point of view. Greater decision making at public level, but still accountable to government. Major efforts required to maintain funding as opposed to community development.	Decreasing governmental control. Increased community autonomy due to increased financial decision-making; community limited to government directives and funding restrictions.	High accessibility for all involved.	Need for the creation of formalized leadership separate from government.	Need for leadership with managerial and lobby skills. Greater opportunity for community leadership, but restricted by bureaucracy due to funding controls.	Funding of support services subject to political climate. Tendency for a continuing and increasing need for government programs.	Acceptable to government due to a high degree of financial control. Acceptable to the community in that some (but not all) delivery decisions left to the community.
C. CORPORATE DELIVERY MODEL	Increased government efficiency due to reduced need for bureaucratic involvement other than a reporting mechanism i.e. utilization of funds. Accountability to inner city dependent upon nature of corporation i.e. degree of public (residents, business and community leaders) representation.	Decreased governmental autonomy. Potential for increased community control and involvement.	High accessibility for all involved.	Requirement for the creation of a formal corporation independent of government or service agency control.	Success dependent upon strong leadership and managerial expertise.	Potential for reducing the reliance on government funding and increasing community independence and growth.	Acceptable to all sectors of the community. Greatest potential for community decision-making.

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