

# **Electoral Boundary Study of St. James-Assiniboia School Division**

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1976

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**The Institute of Urban Studies**





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**ELECTORAL BOUNDARY STUDY OF ST. JAMES-ASSINIBOIA SCHOOL DIVISION**

Published 1976 by the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg

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Note: The cover page and this information page are new replacements, 2016.

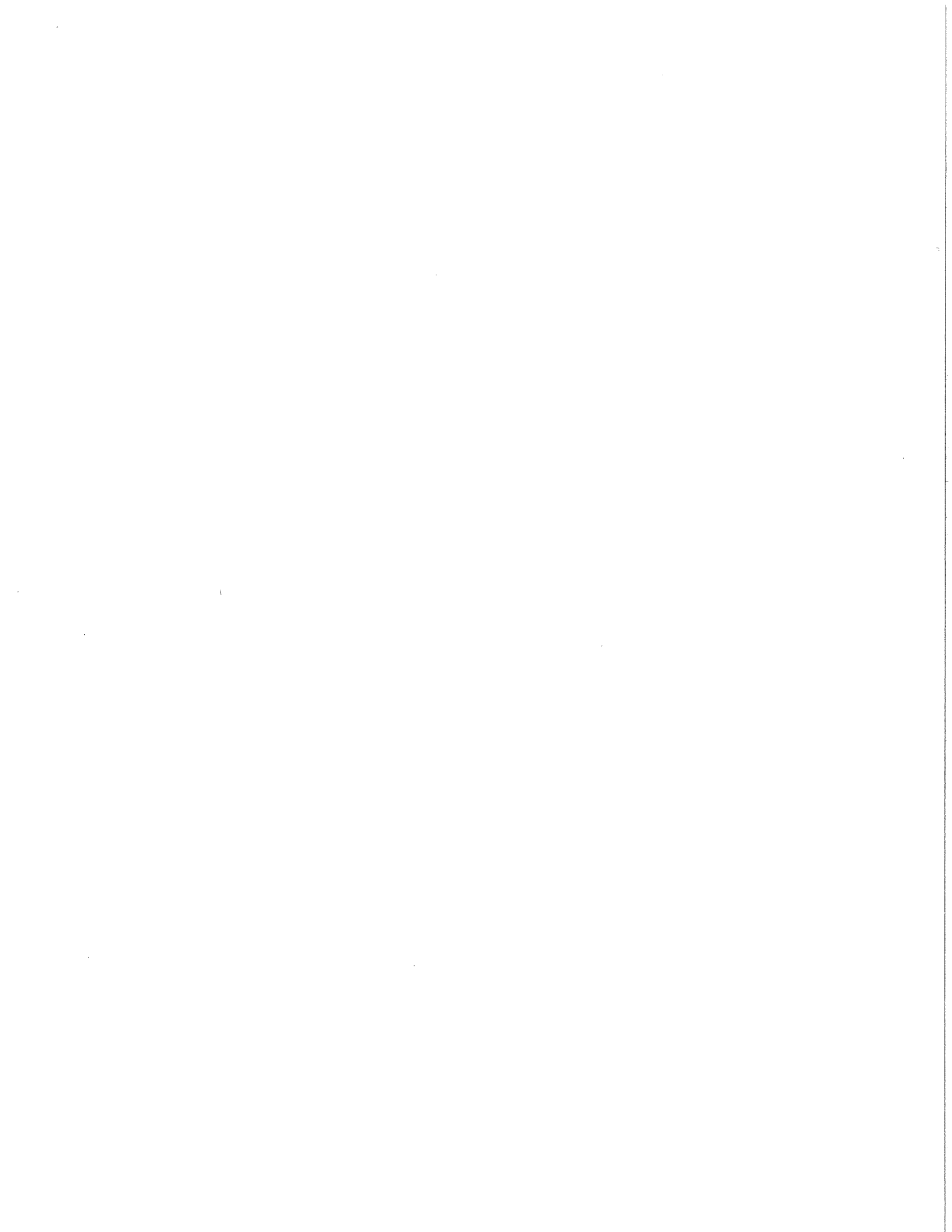
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ELECTORAL BOUNDARY STUDY

OF

ST. JAMES-ASSINIBOIA SCHOOL DIVISION

The Institute of Urban Studies  
The University of Winnipeg  
April, 1976



## I INTRODUCTION

This study was commissioned by the School Board of St. James-Assiniboia to assist them in determining whether changes should be made in the electoral system of the school division. Because of the relatively short period within which the study was conducted (a period of two and one half months) it can not be presented as an exhaustive nor totally conclusive assessment of which system is most ideally suited for the election of School Boards. Instead, its purpose is to review the different kinds of electoral systems that are used in school board elections in North America and to draw from the political science literature evaluations of these systems. From these evaluations certain criteria have been developed that can be used in selecting what systems might be most suitable to the particular jurisdiction of St. James-Assiniboia.

To apply these criteria properly, some initial assessment was made of the demographic social, geographic and political characteristics of St. James-Assiniboia. This material was gathered through the use of census data, school division data and interviews with a variety of people involved with education both in and out of the area of St. James-Assiniboia and with some community people in the area. More precisely, in depth interviews were conducted with seven of ten existing school trustees, five out of six councillors from St. James-Assiniboia, six candidates unsuccessful in past trustee elections, twenty-four community people drawn from the Resident Advisory Group and local committees, divided equally between wards, and a number of officials from other school districts. Such interviews gave at least an initial set of attitudes towards the workings of the present system and some thoughts upon alternatives. While a more thorough sampling of opinion of the total community to determine attitudes would have been of some importance, time and resources did not permit such an exercise to be undertaken. It may, however, prove useful in the future once some preliminary notion of alternatives has been reviewed to consider techniques of wider community consultation or sampling.

A word is also necessary about the relative scarcity of written material or research on school divisions, particularly in Canada. When one considers how often school boards are referred to as the real "grass roots" of democracy, and how important education policy is to our society, it is surprising how little has been done to examine how school divisions work, how decisions are made, or how the political process of the school board is determined. A fairly exhaustive

search for literature was undertaken by our researchers and contact was made with other research centers across Canada, but little was found. As a result, a good deal of American material had to be used; such material is of qualified value, as will be explained later.

Even with these problems, it has been possible to identify different electoral systems, make judgements upon their pros and cons, and suggest under what circumstances and settings they work best. This should give School Board members in St. James-Assiniboia some basis for examining their own electoral system and deciding if changes should be made.

The study reviews the experience of other jurisdictions with ward systems, at-large systems and variations of these basic electoral formulas. This review involves the following steps.

- i) an evaluation is made of how each of the different electoral systems affects the performance of school boards in terms of effectiveness in decision-making, conduct of elections, public accountability, degree of representation, and citizen participation.
- ii) Using the above criteria of evaluation in conjunction with a sampling of community opinion, census tract data, and school board election results, the various electoral systems are assessed for the St. James-Assiniboia School Division.
- iii) The report then examines each of the alternatives based on the above criteria suitable for St. James-Assiniboia. The suitability of each alternative to the needs in St. James-Assiniboia is then examined.

## II SCHOOL DIVISION AND ELECTORAL SYSTEM

There are two sets of variables one must use in analysing the application of alternative electoral formulas, to a specific community such as St. James-Assiniboia. The first set of variables is the particular political and governmental context of the school division and includes the voter (or non-voter), the candidates who stand for election, the community or ward boundaries, the administrative machinery (electoral officers, enumerators, poll clerks) and the present electoral system. The second set of variables are basic community factors and include the specific geographic, economic, political, and social features of the community. The two sets of variables, when brought together, provide a guide to the creation of alternatives to the present electoral system.

#### A. SCHOOL GOVERNMENT AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

The school system, unlike other local government units, deals with one issue, that of education. Whereas the citizen may have adverse reactions to various local government issues, these reactions tend to be directed toward one service within the local government jurisdiction, such as transportation, streets, or sewage. The complexity of the city tends to diffuse these demands.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the school system, with its one issue base, tends to generate reaction by the electorate to specific programs of action. The school board and school administration tend to make decisions based on consensus. There are not major partisan or ideological cleavages. Unlike a municipal government, the school government is not accustomed to being opposed on a regular basis and tends to be less elastic in dealing with adverse reaction to specific policies. When instituting an electoral formula for a specific school division, the one issue, non-partisan characteristic of school government must be taken into consideration, because it results in political dynamics that emphasize good government, non-partisanship, independence, and not party affiliation. This means that those running for election generally do so as independents and generally without a major platform of issues, emphasizing instead the record of community service and individual qualities. This kind of electoral process is understandable in small, more homogenous communities where people are generally known by reputation. It breaks down, however, in a situation where communities grow large and heterogeneous and where there is increasing cleavage over policies. Then choices about elected representation become more difficult if there is not some organized way establishing recognition, beyond name and character references.

Two basic electoral formulas often used in school board elections are the ward system and the at-large system. The ward system divides a school division into several districts or wards. If each ward is to elect an equal number of candidates, then each ward usually contains a fairly equal number of electors. When more than one candidate is to be elected from one ward, the ward is called a

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1. David Minar, "Community Politics and School Board Elections" American School Board Journal, (March, 1967), p. 35.

multi-member ward.

The at-large electoral formula is used to describe an election that comprises an entire school division or city without regard to ward boundaries.

Each of these electoral formulas contains advantages and disadvantages. In broadest terms, the at-large system, in providing a broad electoral base of support, usually provides for electoral officials who are termed public regarding rather than private regarding.<sup>2</sup> While public regarding officials assume responsibility for the community as a whole, private-regarding representatives are often more concerned with particularistic interests - whether geographic, political, or socio-economic. Or, as Lineberry and Fowler state, an at-large system tends to produce representatives, "who believe in the notion that what is best for the community as whole, is best."<sup>3</sup> The ward system provides voters with representatives who are more intimately interested in, and more knowledgeable about, the needs of the citizens in the particular areas which they represent. While the at-large system purports to be a system whereby the interests of the whole community are considered it is also true that the majority of those elected may come from the same socio-economic groups, or even from the same neighbourhood, and reflect the attitudes of that dominant group. The ward system runs the danger of parochialism, and can cause disproportionate representation in favour of minority groups. This is due to the fact that the ward system of election is not decided by a majority of the votes, but by a majority within the wards.<sup>4</sup> Thus, either of these electoral formulas can result in disproportionate representation of certain groupings.

## B. OVERVIEW OF AMERICAN AND CANADIAN SCHOOL ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

Before proceeding to an exhaustive description of the ward versus the at-large system, it is necessary to caution the reader that there are virtually no Canadian studies of differences between various electoral systems as applied to school boards. Therefore, the American experience must be relied upon. While this is of some value, there are differences in the political

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2. Robert Lineberry and Edmund Fowler, "Reformism and Public Policies in American Cities", in Bryan Downes, ed. Cities and Suburbs, (Wadsworth Publishing Co. Inc., N.Y. 1971), p. 355.

3. Ibid., p. 356.

4. Austin McDonald, American City Government and Administration (Thomas Crowell Co., N.Y. 1956), p. 166.



systems that do not permit a complete transfer of experience.

In the United States, the ward system is used in 17.5% of school divisions, whereas 70.6% of school divisions employ the at-large formula.

It is important to ascertain the reasons why such a large proportion of American school divisions use an at-large system.

In the United States bossism and the party machine are commonly associated with the ward system. The old type wards were associated with large cities, strong party identifications, and extreme cleavages between competing minority groups. The party machine centralized power in its own hands, and concentrated power among a few political leaders. These powerful political bosses worked on the assumption that the public interest would be best served by limiting mass participation in policy-making.<sup>5</sup> Often this type of wardism had as its consequence, graft, corruption, and extreme forms of parochialism. During this period most appointed or elected boards were based on ward representation.

However, by 1923, the majority of school boards in urban settings in the United States reflecting a broader citizen reform movement, had disposed with representation by wards in favour of an at-large formula. The reform movement was based on the notion of looking at the community as a whole as opposed to emphasizing neighbourhood differences. The reform movement also brought with it the notion of expert administrators who would produce an efficient and business-like city without bossism, and party machines.

At the present time, most school divisions in the United States appear to be satisfied with the at-large system and few have made significant changes in their electoral procedures since the early 1920's.<sup>6</sup> This static picture of the electoral procedure employed by American school divisions may be illusory. It does not reflect the growing tendency for many minority groups to move outside the normal electoral framework to the creation of extra-legal organizations. These extra-legal organizations are intended both to express specific

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5. J. David Greenstone and Paul E. Peterson, "Reformers, Machines, and the War on Poverty," in James Q. Wilson, ed., City Politics and Public Policy, (John Wiley and Sons, Ltd., N.Y., pp. 271,273.

6. Joseph Cronin, The Board of Education in the Great Cities, Unpublished dissertation, (Standard University, 1965), p. 15.

minority interests and to exert political pressure on elected school representatives.<sup>7</sup> An example of this is the community control idea, that has been tried in several American cities. At present, no specific research has been written on the advantages and disadvantages of ward and at-large electoral systems in either the United States or Canada for school board elections per se. In the United States, since over 70% of school divisions use an at-large electoral system, research in this area probable has not been seen as particularly useful. In Canada, the information is unavailable not only in the form of any specific research studies, but also in the form of any national statistics stating which school divisions use an at-large system and which school divisions use a ward system. The Director of the School Trustees Association in Ontario who is also a member of the Board of Directors for the Canadian Association of School Trustees, stated in a telephone conversation that the statistics are not available because such statistics would not perform any important function. The only method available in determining, generally, if an at-large or ward system is used in a province, is to check its Education Act. Each Education Act states if an at-large system, ward system or mixed system is allowed. The Education Act would not state, however, in which school divisions a ward or an at-large system is used. Manitoba, Ontario, Alberta and Saskatchewan allow mixed systems. Both Alberta and Saskatchewan use an at-large electoral system for cities, and towns, and a ward system for the rural areas. In Saskatchewan a member of the school trustees association stated that there has been some dissatisfaction with the at-large electoral system. However, a questionnaire was sent to members of the various Saskatchewan school boards, and the replies indicated that the at-large system was satisfactory. The questionnaire was not sent to community members who were not members of school boards.

In Alberta, according to a school trustee association member, discussions

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7. August W. Steinberg and Russel A. Burnham, "One Man, One Vote, It means School Boards, too." The American School Board Journal, (January 6, 1972) p. 36. The authors discuss the Hadley Supreme Court Ruling and its implications for all elected school boards in the United States. The decision in effect states that board members who have been selected by popular elections to perform the governmental function of operating a public school district, must be elected on a one man, one vote basis. If wards were to exist under the system, there would have to be an equal number of wards to elected members of the school board and each area would have to have an equal population. This could mean that ward boundaries would have to change after each census. The authors state that an alternative to the ward system may be a more formal nomination procedure by ward, and election at-large.

concerning changing the at-large system to a ward system usually gain momentum after an election but the momentum is usually not sustained once the board members take their seats. In the last election one city in Alberta has forty-eights candidates for nine school board positions.

### C. PARTICIPATION AND SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS

One issue that is beginning to receive increasing attention in terms of both school boards and general local government throughout North America is the issue of participation. There has been in the last decade increasing signs of dissatisfaction over what appears to be un-democratic features of government on the local level and this has caused serious re-evaluation of just how deep the grass roots of local democracy really are.

Carter, Wood, and Martin, among others, state in separate arguments that the school board has a narrow base of electoral support. The person most likely to participate in school board elections is a middle class parent of a pre-school or school aged child. Dr. Cistone studied thirty public school divisions in five geographical areas in Ontario. In the study he discovered that fewer than one-third of the eligible voters cast ballots.<sup>8</sup> In St. James-Assiniboia in the last election, the figure was less than one-third, (see table 1). Lineberry and Sharkansky, in their study of voting patterns in the U.S. presidential election and municipal elections, conclude that not only do fewer citizens vote in municipal elections, but the decrease in citizen participation at the municipal election is not uniform. Municipal elections are characterized by a more generous proportion of upper socio-economic groupings. The drop-out rate for local elections is concentrated among the poor.<sup>9</sup> Howard Hamilton concurs with the conclusion. He maintains "the divergence of the de facto municipal electorate from the composition of the community may decide who gets what, when, and how."<sup>10</sup>

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8. Peter J. Cistone, "School Board Member Recruitment in Ontario" delivered at the American Educational Association Annual Meeting (New Orleans, February 25-March 1, 1973) p. 14.
  9. Robert Lineberry and Ira Sharkansky, Urban Politics and Public Policy, (Harper and Row, N.Y., 1971) p. 91.
  10. Howard Hamilton, "The Municipal Voter: Voting and Nonvoting in City Election," American Political Science Review, Vol. 65, (December, 1971), p. 1140.

Another view of population participation in school board elections is stated in "Community Politics and the School Board" by Dr. David Minar, in the American School Board Journal. Dr. Minar studied 48 suburban school districts over a five year period. His study indicated a strong correlation between high participation and dissent. The author describes two communities; the first community has a lower voter turnout and lower level of participation than the second. The first community's board meetings are described as "...smooth, short, and lively."<sup>11</sup> The meetings "...envince no conflict, but participation is widely shared among board members, superintendent and staff."<sup>12</sup> The second community's board meetings, in Dr. Minar's opinion, are under the constant scrutiny of citizen groups and attract the attendance of a substantial number of citizens. This board, as well, receives publicly and privately, large volumes of communications from groups and individuals. Dr. Minar suggests that most board members would prefer to represent the citizens described in the first community and concludes with the observation that popular participation in a school system is not an unmixed blessing. If there is to be more widely spread participation, then the benefit of a smoothly running school board might be lost. Obviously some choice must be made between which objective is more important, as this certainly has a bearing on the form of electoral system that is used.

Looking at the participation level of St. James-Assiniboia in the last election (see table 1), the newer areas of St. Charles and Booth have a smaller number of citizens participating in the school board election in comparison to Deer Lodge Ward, for example, with 32.3% which is the highest participation level in the community. If one looks at table 2, which shows the distribution of elected candidates by ward residency, Silver Heights with four and Deer Lodge with three elected candidates have the greatest representation, although Silver Heights had the third lowest participation level with 27.2%. The average participation level for Winnipeg was 34.9%, slightly more than Deer Lodge. In the 1971 elections, however, St. Charles had the third highest participation level. The reasons for a drop in the level of participation may have been the lack of representation from the area or the fact that between 1971

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11. David Minar, Op. Cit., p. 36.

12. Ibid.

and 1973, the number of electors increased by over 3,000 and the new electors were not as familiar with the system of voting for school board candidates. Even though St. Charles, Booth, and Kirkfield wards have more school-aged and pre-school children, the notion that these citizens vote in greater numbers does not hold true. Another factor, however, must be looked at. These areas have great numbers of citizens new to the St. James-Assiniboia area, and this may be more significant than the participation level at the last election. Unlike the more stable settled eastern and central areas of the community, the western wards are primarily made up of citizens who, because of their newness to the area lack the sense of community apparent in Silver Heights, Deer Lodge and King Edward wards.

#### D. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS ELECTORAL FORMULAS

Reviewing the literature on electoral systems as they are applied to school divisions in North America, certain critical factors emerge. The electoral system is itself only one among many factors affecting the operation of school divisions, but it does have a significant impact in shaping how the system will work. It can influence, for example, the number and composition of members of a school board and the parts of the community from which they are drawn. It can determine to what degree minority groups will be represented. It can influence turnout of voters, and the rate of participation. While the electoral system is not the sole cause of these phenomena it is an important determinant. Therefore, it is necessary next to assess what impact various electoral systems have in determining the manner in which the school division is able to secure effective decision-making, adequate representation, proper conduct of election and effective participation of its citizens.

Drawing from the literature the dominant types of electoral systems to be described are as follows:

1. At-Large System: The entire area votes for candidates with no ward boundaries.
2. Ward System (Single member community oriented): Each area is divided into a ward which elects one candidate; the wards usually comprise natural community boundaries, for example, Brooklands.
3. Ward System (Multi-member): Each area is divided into wards which elect more than one candidate. St. James-Assiniboia, for example, might be divided into five wards each electing two school trustees. This is the electoral formula used by Winnipeg School Division when voting on a ward basis.

4. Combined Ward and At-large System: Some members are elected by wards, other by an at-large system. In St. James-Assinibola for example, six trustees could be elected, one from each existing wards, and four trustees could be elected at-large.

In addition to the above electoral formulas, the caucus committee procedure for nomination of candidates, and the proportional representation system will be discussed.

In analysing each of the formulas, the criteria of 1) effectiveness in decision making, 2) conduct of election, 3) degree of representation, and 4) citizen participation will be used.

#### 1. At-large system

##### i. Effectiveness in decision-making

An at-large electoral system emphasizes the community as a whole and tends to minimize cleavages in political decision-making.<sup>13</sup> It works well in like-minded homogenous communities where there are no basic fundamental disagreements.<sup>14</sup> It can lead to relatively smooth, cohesive decision-making as long as there are no major disagreements in the community and the action of the school board is primarily supervisory and administrative.

##### ii. Conduct of Election

Elections can be confusing when many candidates decide to stand for election. For example, in St. James-Assinibola, the electorate were asked to choose ten candidates from a field of twenty-six candidates. The consequence of this, as shown in table 3, is that citizens tend to vote in blocks for candidates who reside in their area or in the area of closest proximity.

##### iii. Degree of Representation

Candidates may come not only from the same socio-economic grouping but from the same neighbourhood. Therefore, for the most part the at-large system benefits, the middle class who have similar voting tendencies and may deny minority representation.<sup>15</sup>

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13. Robert Lineberry and Edmund Fowler, op. cit., p. 389.

14. Robert Wood, Suburbia its People and Their Politics, (Houghton Mifflin Co. Boston, 1958), p. 162.

15. Austin McDouals, op. cit., p. 167.

According to table 2, the St. James-Assiniboia elects seven representatives from two wards, Silver Heights and Deer Lodge. The two representatives from Booth Ward live close to the border of Booth and Silver Heights. As one American Councillor has noted, the at-large system may, ".....in trying to be responsible to all, indeed, be responsive to none."<sup>16</sup>

#### iv. Opportunities for Citizen Participation

In communities using an at-large system, a pattern of conflict may develop between old residents and new and frequently this is intensified by ethnic, religious, and occupational differences. Since there is a tendency in many communities for control to rest on the shoulders of a few, the power of length of residency and social status operates to place political predominance in the hands of those established groups.<sup>17</sup> In St. James-Assiniboia, the majority of school trustees elected were from the two centre wards. Both Silver Heights and Deer Lodge contain large sectors of the population who have lived in the area for over ten years. The opposite extreme is St. Charles with the most frequent length of residency from one to two years (see table 4).

## 2. Ward System (single-member ward)

### i. Effectiveness in decision-making

The smaller the ward, the wider the dispersal of power and therefore the harder it is to get board members to act in unison. There is also a tendency for board members to proceed in the process of decision-making by a system of trading.<sup>18</sup> The smaller the ward, the more responsive the board is to the needs of specific minority groups and thus these groups will have more access to the decision-making process.<sup>19</sup>

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16. Marilyn Gittell and Mrios Fantini, Decentralization: Achieving Reform, (Praeger Publishers, N.Y., 1973), p. 64.

17. Robert Wood, op. cit., p. 179.

18. Edmund Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 90.

19. Robert Lineberry and Edmund Fowler, "Reformism and Public Policies in American Cities," Thomas Dye and Brett Hawkins eds., Politics in the Metropolis, (Charles E. Merrill, Columbus, Ohio, 1971), p. 386.

## ii. Conduct of Elections

Small wards are generally felt to encourage high voter turnout. Candidates usually live in the ward they wish to represent and are therefore more accessible to the voter. Small wards encourage the independent voter. The small ward system may also encourage candidates to seek office who would not seek office in an at-large election. The negative aspects of a small ward system and their effect on election are (1) that the incumbent board member is usually re-elected no matter how good or bad he may be because of the tendency for a 'local personality' to develop, and (2) since ward elections are not decided by a majority of voters but by a majority of wards, 60% of the voters may control 80% of the board.

## iii. Degree of Representation

According to Banfield and Wilson,

....the smaller the district: ....the greater the number of points of access through which the citizen could bring influence to bear upon the city government; the better the representation of neighbourhoods..; the easier for minorities to secure "recognition"; the worse, the representation of such city-wide interests as are not also neighbourhood ones;...and the more accessible the councilman and the greater his willingness to do favours for constituents.<sup>20</sup>

## iv. Opportunities for Participation

The smaller the ward and the more homogenous it is in character, the more direct the involvement of parents in school meetings and school organization.<sup>21</sup> Low socio-economic status has not, according to Marilyn Gittell, deterred extensive participation in the policy process when the groups can experience power, that is, participate fully in the electoral system.

Marilyn Gittell concludes her analysis of three community-oriented wards in New York City by stating:

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20. Edmund Banfield and James Q. Wilson. op. cit., pp. 90-91.

21. Marilyn Gittell, "School Decentralization: The Ocean-Hill Brownville Dispute" in Thomas Dye and Brett Hawkins eds., Politics in the Metropolis, (Charles E. Merrill, Columbus, Ohio, 1971), p. 299.



This experience may offer important evidence to suggest that low income in social status reflects the failure of our political system to provide either the means of participation or direct power to lower classes and groups. Given both a political structure with which the resident can identify and a delegation of effective power in decision-making, his involvement is substantially increased.<sup>22</sup>

### 3. Ward System - Multi-Member

#### i. Effect on Decision-Making

Winnipeg school divisions which elect school trustees on a ward basis use the multi-member electoral formula. The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 is a good illustration of multi-member ward system because the candidates not only run on a ward basis but stand for election on a basis of slates, ICEC or NDP (and a few independents). Therefore, the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 Board of Trustees experience cleavages based on both ward and party attachments. In talking with board members, they confirm that disagreements often reflect party and ideological splits rather than ward lines. The experience in Winnipeg however, is that even the ideological lines are blurred and the trustees are of the opinion that they must represent the total division, and not just the ward from which they received their votes. This makes the re-election process more difficult for board members because they must prove to the electorate in their ward that the needs of all three wards must be looked at in an objective manner. As one board member stated, "When we shut the doors of the board room we must remember that we represent all three wards and not just the ward which got us elected." Thus, while the system would appear to encourage cleavages in decision-making, there appears to be a strong pull to make decisions on grounds of what will affect the total system, not just the individual wards.

#### ii. Conduct of Elections

A multi-member system places a less heavy burden on the citizens who have to select two, three or four candidates as opposed to ten candidates as in St. James-Assiniboia. By reducing the number of candidates running in the particular area, and restricting the area within which the candidates

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22. Ibid.

must run, it means that a candidate can concentrate time and resources on a smaller target, become better known and therefore enable the voter to make a more meaningful choice. The conduct of elections is thereby more manageable than in an at-large system.

### iii. Degree of Participation

Multi-member wards share some of the same characteristics as at-large systems.

As wards grow in size and become heterogenous, board members may be less accessible.<sup>23</sup> The heterogenous nature of the large ward may be advantageous in electing to the board representatives who see beyond the needs of a particular small group or neighbourhood. Another problem arises, in that if a group of like-minded citizens are thinly dispersed through-out all the multi-member wards, they may receive no representation, although they may, in effect, taken as a whole represent a significant proportion of the population. The multi-member ward then carries both advantages and disadvantages of at-large and smaller ward systems. Its' value depends in part upon whether the multi-member ward fits very distinct parts of the overall division and therefore gives people who reside in that area a distinct sense of having their interests directly represented. In this way it overcomes a major difficulty of the at-large system where one part of the population of a school division may feel they have no representation at all.

### iv. Participation

Political participation is a complex activity depending upon a mix of social economic, and geographic features of the community. A multi-member ward may reflect in miniature, the entire district or community. If this were the case, the participation level may closely resemble that of an at-large system. The real participation level in Canadian School Board elections is reflected in the number of people who vote in municipal elections since both municipal and school board elections are run concurrently. In the United States, where school board elections are often held separately, the level of participation may be more effected by the electoral system used. In Winnipeg, the participation level for school divisions using an at-large system and school divisions using a ward system were only slightly different. There was however, a difference in number of citizens in electing an at-large school board who exercised their full level of participation by voting for the full number of seats to be filled. In St. James-

23. Edmund Banfield and James Q. Wilson, op. cit., p. 42.

Assiniboia School Division, citizens voted for fewer than the specified number of seats to be filled (see table 1). Therefore, multi-member wards do not lend themselves as readily to block voting as do the at-large systems.

4. Combination System - Some members elected at-large and some members elected by wards.

This system is used in 11.9% of the school divisions in the United States. Information is not available concerning its use in Canadian School Divisions.

i. Effectiveness In Decision-Making

It may give rise to structural tensions between members elected at-large and those elected by wards. There are two possible sources of such tension: first, an internal system of political stratification may develop based on the fact that senior board members may uniformly occupy at-large position, while junior board members fill ward positions; and second, a division of political perspectives may develop based on the opposition between the parochial concerns of ward representatives and the more general community interests represented by at-large members.

ii. Conduct of Elections

Confusion is possible when citizens must vote for (a) one candidate from the ward, and (b) four candidates at-large (based on a ten member board, comprising six wards). It is conceivable that in electing ten board members, there may be over thirty candidates.

iii. Degree of Representation

The advantage of this system, in terms of representation, is that both geographic and population representation are possible. For example, in the St. James-Assiniboia School Division, Brooklands and Headingly could receive geographic representation, rather than just popular representation. This electoral formula may provide a system of checks and balance between particular neighbourhood interests and community wide interests.

iv. Citizen Participation

In a representative electoral system, the general political maxim is that the sense of responsibility and accountability of the elected representatives to their constituents varies in direct proportion to the size of the constituency. Thus, one would expect to find that ward representatives would be (1) more accessible to their constituents, (2) more responsive in reporting neighbourhood interests, and (3) more likely to have their actions evaluated in a continuing

basis by their constituents, whereas those members elected at large would have a more diluted mandate. Consequently, the citizen would not only have less access to the at-large members, but the at-large member would have less access to the interests and opinions of the citizen. The probable result would be less citizens participation in a community using the combined ward and at-large system in contrast to a community using either a multi-member or single-member ward.

#### 5. PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION USING THE SINGLE TRANSFERABLE VOTE METHOD

The Canadian experience with proportional representation has been confined to the system technically known as the single-transferable vote under which each voter is presented with a list of all candidates for a district normally returning between five and twelve members. The voter marks one, two, three or more names with numbers to signify the order in which he prefers them. Votes are then transferred from those candidates with more votes than are needed for election and from those who have the fewest first preferences and given to second or third preferences until the exact number of members are elected. The system is designed to give representation to a multi-membered board in direct proportion to the various interest groups in the community. The object is to give each voter only one vote for a multi-membered body but to make every effort to see that the vote is eventually used to help someone get into office.<sup>24</sup>

A system of proportional representation using the single transferable vote has been used in British Columbia, Alberta, and Manitoba. No province uses the system at the present time. The proportional representation system was introduced in the civic election of 1920 in Winnipeg and remained until the election of 1958.<sup>25</sup> In an interview with Mr. T.R.J. Fergusson, the Chief Clerk and Election Officer for the City of Winnipeg, he stated that the system of proportional representation produced a truly representative elected body. He also stated that it is a system less favoured by the citizens and the press.

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24. Charles Adrian and Charles Press, Governing Urban America, (McGraw-Hill Book Co. N.Y., 1968), p. 113

25. T.H. Qualter, The Election Process in Canada (McGraw-Hill Co. of Canada Ltd. Toronto, 1970), pp. 130-131.

The media dislikes the system because it cannot receive results for two or three days. Some citizens probably do not like the system because they feel it is too complex or they dislike the notion of electing minority groups in proportion to their representative value.

#### METHOD

The citizen voting through a system of proportional representation has, as stated previously, ~~only one~~ single transferable vote. For example, if five candidates are to be elected, next to the elector's first choice will be a number "1". The elector can express as many choices as he desires but the vote counts only once. The ballot will be credited to the person marked as first choice, and ~~then as balloting proceeds, it may~~ become clear that the elector's vote cannot help his first choice candidate because a) the candidate may already have enough votes to be elected, or b) the candidate may have no chance of being elected. ~~Therefore the vote is~~ transferred to the elector's second choice, or if that candidate has been eliminated, to the elector's third choice. The consequence of this procedure is that each elector has only one vote, but it is a transferable vote. The vote is transferred until it actually helps to elect a candidate.<sup>26</sup>

#### QUOTA

A quota system is used to determine which candidates will be elected. The quota is determined after each election by dividing the number of offices to be filled, plus one, into the total number of valid votes cast, and taking the next highest number. For example, if five members are to be elected and there are 12,000 votes cast in the last election, the quota will be 2,001; (five plus one equals six, divided into 12,000 equals 2,000; the next highest number would be 2,001). Any candidate receiving as many as 2,001 votes will automatically be declared a winner. According to MacDonald, usually only the most popular candidate will receive votes over the quota. The other votes are usually scattered among the other candidates. Any vote over the 2,001 quota will be transferred to the candidate marked as second choice. Having transferred the surplus of the successful candidate's votes, the electoral officers will see if any other candidate has 2,001 votes (made up from the first choice votes and those transferred to the candidate as second choice votes). The system continues until there are five elected candidates.

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26. Austin MacDonald, op. cit., p. 170.

It is difficult to evaluate this system as it is very rarely used in North America, although widely used in many European countries. One of the major advantages of this system is the high degree of representation it produces, as it can most accurately reflect voter preferences. The likelihood of it being adopted is, as pointed out, slight, due to its unfamiliarity to most Canadians.

## 6. INNOVATIVE ELECTION STRUCTURES

While the above represent the basic kinds of election formula, there has been a number of recommendations for innovations in the structure and re-organization of selecting school boards that bear some investigation. Such methods may not be directly pertinent to the issue of changes to the St. James-Assinibola School Division electoral system, but they do offer thoughts that might add new dimensions to the discussion.

This report will examine two relatively new ideas that have come to light: the caucus committee method used in the United States, and the School Council idea proposed by the Nova Scotia Royal Commissions on Education and Finance.

### i. The Caucus Committee

The major disadvantages of an at-large electoral system can be alleviated to a large extent when the system is used in conjunction with a more formal nomination procedure, such as the caucus committee system. This system has been used on a limited scale in the United States, where school divisions in Illinois, New Jersey, and Nebraska use some form of caucus committee procedure. With the exception of Nebraska, there is no legal basis for the system.<sup>27</sup> Citizens do not have to be nominated through caucus committee in order to stand for board elections. Instead, the caucus committee is composed of community members, selected by various criteria, who canvass and screen possible candidates for board election. The committee can be composed of ten members or, in the case of one New Jersey school division, sixty members. In class II district, Nebraska, where by law the caucus committee procedures must be used, all eligible voters in the district are eligible to attend the caucus committee meeting and nominate candidates.<sup>28</sup> In St.

27. Charles Knerea, City Government in the United States (Harper and Row N.Y., 1957) p. 226.

28. Robert Campbell, et. al., The Organization and Control of American Schools, (Charles Merrill, Columbus, Ohio, 1970) p. 179.

James-Assiniboia, the caucus committee procedure could be developed on a geographical basis through the Resident Advisory Group. The actual process of instituting the system has been done, in various instances, by school boards, parent-teacher groups, or Chamber of Commerce.

Those favouring the caucus committee nomination procedure state that it is the only method of selection which does not leave nomination of candidates to chance. Dr. Muns, of the University of Illinois, studied the caucus committee procedure in sixty-four school divisions in Illinois during 1960-61. Dr. Muns states that there are two specific reasons why the caucus committee system of nomination is beneficial:

- (1) School Boards, good or bad tend to perpetuate themselves.
- (2) If there is no method of selection of the best qualified candidates, the extrovert, the spokesman for a disgruntled group of the person with an 'axe to grind' becomes the candidate.<sup>29</sup>

His study indicated that the caucus committee system, in the districts studied, is particularly effective in (1) securing members of the community who would not have made their services available, and (2) electing candidates whom they have selected to school board membership.<sup>30</sup> Dr. Muns states that between 67 and 72 percent of those elected through the caucus procedure would not have sought board membership if their candidacy had not been solicited by the caucus committee.<sup>31</sup>

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29. Arthur Muns, "Removing the Element of Chance From Selection of School Board Candidates," American School Board Journal, (May 1964), p. 14. The Caucus Committee system is also discussed in Harold Feurstein, "A System of Nominating Members to the School Board," American School Board Journal (May, 1963), p. 11 and the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce Education Committee, "A Proposal for the Establishment of School Board Nomination Committee" (San Francisco, 1967), and Lois Steinberg, "The Rival of Local Control in Suburbia," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, (New Orleans, La., 1967).

30. Ibid.,

31. Ibid.,

### Caucus Committee Procedure

Since there is no legal basis for the procedure, it does not preclude the nomination of candidates by other methods. It is usually a voluntary system devised for the purpose of canvassing and nominating candidates for the board of education. In Illinois there are four basic types of caucus committees.

(1) Geographical type in which members are chosen by geographical subdivision of school districts. This type, although not as common in practice as the types described below, is probably the most democratic since it tends to secure the broadest representation of the population in the community. It is probably less popular because it requires more time and planning for the original organization and more time in each geographical subdivision of the districts to elect representatives from the area.

(2) P.T.A. Dominated Type which is sponsored by the P.T.A. or other school community groups; a majority of representatives are usually chosen from within this group.

(3) Organizational Type in which members are named by various existing organizations. This type of caucus committee procedure is the most popular. In Illinois, for example, one half of the caucus committees use the organizational type of their membership. The organizational type tends to be the least democratic because it omits from membership those persons in the community who do not belong to a community organization.

(4) Combination Organizational and Geographical Type

Some members are chosen on a geographical basis, while others are named by existing organization.

To insure that the caucus committee is truly representative of the citizens in the community for which it is to serve, the following procedure is necessary:

- (1) The representatives should be elected
- (2) The geographical procedure should be used to insure the broadest representation and the fullest support of all sectors of the community.
- (3) No member of the caucus committee should be allowed to serve consecutive terms. This is to insure that the most active functions in the community do not dominate the decision-making process.



## ii. School Council

P. J. Atherson, writing in Canadian Public Policy (Summer, 1975) reviews some of the important and indeed quite revolutionary aspects of the Nova Scotia Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial Municipal Relations. Under the Chairmanship of Dr. J. F. Graham of Dalhousie University, the Graham Commission was tabled in the Nova Scotia Legislature on June 24, 1974.<sup>32</sup>

One of the major recommendations of the Commission, the idea of School Councils, if implemented could have far reaching implications for the future direction of school boards in Canada.

The Graham Commission proposed that Nova Scotia be divided into 11 regions, each with a Board of Education. One of the important duties of each Regional Board of Education would be to divide its region into school sections and initiate the development of School Councils. The School Council, according to Atherson, would be "...the local body responsible for translating the general goals of education into classroom activity."

Two thirds of the membership in the School Council would be elected community residents. Other members would include teachers, and the school principal who would also act as school council secretary. This would create a joint decision-making body involving both community representatives and professional educators and would result, according to the Commission, in direct and local accountability for individual schools. In this respect, it is akin to the community control concept that is widely discussed in the United States.

The proposed Nova Scotia School Commission, an appointed body of 12, would be required to provide a system of on-going evaluation of the performance of the schools, school councils, and regional school boards. This system of evaluation is an important aspect in developing a direct accountability to the citizens within each community.

The concept of school councils is important because it allows for the active participation of citizens as part of an ongoing process in creating horizontal linkages between the schools and the community. While its immediate implementation is not likely, the debate on these proposals in Nova Scotia bears close scrutiny, as it may be an idea that could have application right across Canada.

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32. P. J. Atherson, "Education-Radical Reform in Nova Scotia," in Canadian Public Policy, (Summer, 1975), p. 384.

## 7. ASSESSMENT

Each of the electoral formulas discussed, the at-large system, the single-member ward system, the multi-member ward system, and the combination system (some elected at-large, some elected by wards), is most conducive to a specific type of community. The at-large system tends to be best suited to small homogenous communities where the board is able to truly represent the community as a whole. In large, more heterogenous areas, the at-large system tends to cause disproportionate representation in favour of the older, established areas of the community. The multi-member ward system is best suited to middle sized areas of either a heterogenous or homogenous nature. With more than one representative from each ward, there is little chance that strong parochial interests could take hold and destroy the board. This system is used in Winnipeg school divisions. The school trustees and administrators in two school divisions, Winnipeg School Division and River East, stated that they believe the multi-member ward system is more beneficial to citizens and trustees alike than at-large system in their particular divisions. The single-member ward is used primarily in large American cities where minority groups have fought to be included to a greater extent in school board issues. The single-member ward, in New York City for example, is used to elect board members to community boards. Community boards are the second tier in a two-tier system. The first tier consists of appointed board members who oversee all educational planning and financing, and the second tier consists of small community boards whose members are used, for the most part, in everyday board-related activity in the specific community for which they are elected. The combination system where some board members are elected at-large and some board members are elected on a ward system is most conducive to school divisions which include rural and urban areas. Geographic considerations are as important as population considerations.

Thus, before examining which system may be most suitable for St. James-Assiniboia, it is necessary to review the basic community factors in the school division as this can in fact be a major consideration in the choosing of an electoral formula.

### III. COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SCHOOL DIVISION

In applying the various electoral formulas to the St. James-Assinibolia School Division, several important considerations must be kept in mind:

1. The physical size of the area (over 42 square miles).
2. The distribution of population within each community ward.
3. The age of the population, for both adults and children within each community ward.
4. The length of residency within each community ward.
5. The occupation and income within each community ward.
6. The historical significance and sense of community within each community ward.

In 1967 Brooklands joined with St. James and early in 1969, Assinibolia amalgamated with St. James to form St. James-Assinibolia. In many ways these areas are separated by much more than ward boundaries. Geographically, Brooklands is cut off from the rest of St. James-Assinibolia by way of an industrial corridor. The area is comprised mainly of blue collar workers with an average total income per household of \$7,813. (see table 9), which is far below the average income in nine other areas of St. James-Assinibolia. In interviewing citizens in Brooklands, one finds a strong sense of community. As one community member stated, "When you are raised in Brooklands you usually stay in the area." She mentioned the fact that children may leave the area when they are married, but on many occasions return again to live in Brooklands, perhaps one or two streets from where they were born. This particular community member also mentioned that many of the children who went to grade school with and most of the people in her parents' age group have remained in Brooklands. Tables 7 and 8 indicate the validity of these statements. Table 7 indicates that Brooklands has a fairly large spread of the adult population most frequent in the area from ages twenty-five to fifty-four.

The old St. James area, which also comprises King Edward, has similar occupation and income levels as was found in Brooklands (see table 8). The ages, however, of the adult and child population are quite different. The most frequent adult age range is twenty-five to thirty-four and forty-five to fifty-four and the child population (see table 7) clusters around the fifteen to nineteen age group. Deer Lodge and Silver Heights wards tend to have higher income levels (\$10,566. to \$13,261.). The school age population is

primarily in the fifteen to nineteen age group for Deer Lodge and the ten to nineteen age group for Silver Heights. All of the areas mentioned were developed prior to 1951. With the exception of one area in Silver Heights, the most frequent length of residency for the areas discussed has been over ten years (see table 4). Booth, St. Charles, and Kirkfield wards, in the western area of the St. James-Assiniboia Community have witnessed a phenomenal pattern of growth. Between 1961 and 1966 this area grew by 218%. Whereas, one area of Deer Lodge Ward and two areas of Silver Heights in addition to all of King Edward ward have lost a small percentage of their population between the years 1966 and 1971 (see table 5). The reason for the drop in population is most probably based on the fact that children in the area have reached adulthood and left home.

Kirkfield, Booth and St. Charles Wards contain both a younger adult population and a younger child population. Most adults fall into the twenty-five to thirty-four year old age bracket, and the children fall into the five to nine year old age bracket (see table 7 and 8). In comparing the adult and child (ages 5-9) population for 1976, between Deer Lodge Ward and St. Charles Ward, one finds that Deer Lodge has 360 children in this age group out of a population of 8,395 whereas St. Charles has a child population of 905 in this age group out of a population of 6,945 (see table 6).

The profile of the eastern wards and western wards are in sharp contrast to one another.

The overall sense of what has been happening in the school division is one of major change both in the increasing growth in population since the mid-1960's and in the increasing diversity of the population. Both as a result of amalgamation and the forces of suburban growth St. James-Assiniboia has become a large heterogeneous community with many new people who are relatively recent residents. At the same time there have been shifts of population within the area itself, particularly in the school age population. The eastern and central areas of the population have experienced the most noticeable drop in school population while the western area has still a very high percentage of school age residents.

These shifts within the area can cause some differences and conflicts, particularly if those areas where there are large numbers of school age children feel that the older areas dominate the school board and that they have little representation. The difficulties might be compounded as ever further changes occur. For example there has been in the last few years the development of several family public housing projects in St. James-Assiniboia as there have been in most suburban areas. This is a trend that is likely to continue. Such

developments have in the past brought some conflict in the community and this is reflected in the school system. To overcome future difficulties, there will have to be a particularly sensitive response from the school division to the issues raised. In order to achieve this the electoral system must be so designed as to insure that these issues are channeled effectively. As a result, the electoral system will have to be constructed in such a way that the increasing diversity of the school division can be encompassed.

#### IV. ASSESSMENT OF ALTERNATIVES

##### A. Existing System: At Large Elections

In recommending an electoral formula which best suits the needs of the St. James-Assiniboia School Division, one must take into account the community profile described above, the levels of representation and participation found in the present at-large electoral system and community member opinion on the at-large and ward systems. Through a poll by poll accounting of all elected candidates in the last St. James-Assiniboia School Board election, one finds that two wards, Deer Lodge and Silver Heights, have a majority of the elected school trustees. In addition, the two members elected from Booth Ward live on the border of Booth and Silver Heights. Out of a total of 15 candidates who stood for election in Booth, Kirkfield and St. Charles Wards, only 3 candidates were elected. Participation levels in each of the six wards was less than 1/3 of the total number of eligible voters. For example, in St. Charles Ward, 23.7% of the eligible voters cast ballots and in Silver Heights 27.2% of the eligible voters cast ballots (see table 1). The average percentage for all of Winnipeg was 34.9%

Several Community residents who were interviewed stated that they did not vote for ten candidates, the number allowed under the present system and suggested the practice to be quite common and intentional. In trying to ensure elected candidates from the ward in which they live, the citizen will vote only for these candidates. A few citizens stated that they had received phone calls urging that they limit their vote to candidates in their ward. As one moved west of Silver Heights Ward, the practice of limited voting was less common. St. Charles Ward, for example, elected only one candidate (an incumbent) out of a possible five. The vote, in actual fact was spread out between sixteen candidates. St. Charles was the only ward that elected less than 50% of the elected candidates (see table 11). Deer Lodge, on the other hand, cast 61% of their votes for elected candidates.

In all wards, on the average, citizens voted most heavily for candidates residing in 1) their neighbourhood, 2) their ward, and 3) neighbouring ward.

This phenomenon can be described most graphically by studying the election results of two defeated candidates:

Candidate Number 14 (resides in King Edward Ward).

Received	1,262 votes	in King Edward Ward
	1,292	in Deer Lodge Ward
	630	in Silver Heights Ward
	814	in Booth Ward
	219	in Kirkfield Ward
	704	in St. Charles Ward

Candidate Number 24 (resides in Headingly).

Received	1,276 votes	in St. Charles Ward
	554	in Kirkfield Ward
	676	in Booth Ward
	482	in Silver Heights Ward
	632	in Deer Lodge Ward
	552	in King Edward Ward

The purpose of the above exercise is not to prove that the two above-mentioned candidates lost only because they resided close to the extreme west-east boundaries of the St. James-Assiniboia community. But the point must be made that it certainly did have an effect upon their total vote count. Citizens from King Edward Ward particularly the Brooklands area, and citizens from Headingly agreed that there is little hope of their gaining representation on the Board under the present system. Most of these citizens surveyed were disillusioned and angry. Defeated candidates and citizens in the St. Charles, Kirkfield and Booth Wards were not as disillusioned. Several defeated candidates stated that it was their first attempt at running for public office and they were willing to try again. They felt they deserved more representation on the Board but were more optimistic about gaining this representation during the next election.

Most citizens interviewed implicitly recognized both the existence and liability of informal community areas within the St. James-Assiniboia School Division. The consequence of this implicit recognition was that even though these community areas were not formally represented in the electoral system, many people clearly distinguished between school board trustees on the basis of whether or not they represented their community. This has as its implication an informal ward system responding to the natural socio-economic division within the broader at-large system.

Citizens often spoke of having for example, four representatives or no

representatives on the school board. A common attitude of community residents was the belief that if they did not have a representative on the school board from their area, they were not represented. On the other hand, one citizen from Silver Heights felt that his area had too much representation on the school board. The notion that all ten school trustees represent all the citizens in the St. James-Assinibola School Division seems to be illusory.

Although the citizens in the Assinibola area are more optimistic about fuller representation in future elections, the majority of citizens interviewed in all areas within the St. James-Assinibola School Division believe that a multi-number ward system would encourage the election of a school board which is more broadly representative of all the people.

Several board members interviewed stated that canvassing such a vast area was almost impossible. Few members stated emphatically that they would prefer another electoral system. The councillors interviewed stated that they approve of a ward system for themselves and encourage the notion of a ward system for school trustees.

These varying signs point to problems with the present system. While it has undoubtedly resulted in effective decision-making at the school board level, it does not appear to fully satisfy the criteria of effective representation. This has led, as is noted in several interviews to unhappiness by community people with the system and a sense that the system does not represent large groupings of the residents.

To be fair to the existing system, it is quite clear that even though there may be disproportionate representation of some areas this has not resulted in unequal treatment of one area against the other in the matter of education. By using the objective measurement of student/teacher ratio which reflects matters of expenditure per school, it is quite clear that there is no discrimination in resources allocated throughout the system (see table 15). But, what is crucial is that people feel that there might be unfairness unless they are represented. Furthermore, the present at-large system may not be able to respond to some of the critical special needs that arise in particular areas as conditions change and the population becomes more mixed. It seems that some change in the system is required. What alternatives there may be will now be examined.

## B. Alternatives

### 1. Single Member Ward System

A single member ward works best in an area well defined by ethnic, religious or racial ties which bind the members in a common social and political grouping. The socio-economic factor is important in its own right but it is not enough to develop a community-oriented system. Instead, a false sense of community may be established which encourages personalities to replace representatives. Although a single-member ward would result in the establishment of ten electoral districts, in St. James-Assiniboia, it would not necessarily provide minority interest with voting representation. With the exception of the rural Headingly area and the lower income Brooklands area, and sections of the old St. James area, the majority of St. James-Assiniboia fits into a middle class life style. Therefore, there is little chance that the poor or rural areas would gain effective representation through a single-member ward system. The middle class areas are growing in population whereas the lower class and rural areas are losing population or remaining stable (see table 5). Therefore, the advantages inherent in a ward system may be well served in St. James-Assiniboia through a multi-member ward system.

Community opinion was not in favour of establishing a single-member ward system. Most citizens stated that a single-member ward system would bring with it parochialism, and the inability of the Board to act in the decision-making process. Both Headingly area residents, and residents in Brooklands stated that although a single-member ward system, would for the most part be beneficial, that representatives from their areas may be looked down upon by the other board members.

### 2. Combined System - some members elected at-large and some members elected by wards

The combined system is used in several school divisions in the United States but there is no information concerning its use or disuse in Canada. The combined system may give more representation to rural or geographically isolated areas, such as Headingly and Brooklands, but the negative consequences for the vast majority of citizens within the St. James-Assiniboia School Division seems to outweigh these positive aspects. As suggested earlier in the report, the two possible sources of such tension are (1) an internal system of political stratification and (2) a division of political perspectives based on the opposition of parochial concerns in ward representation, and the more general community



interests. Since St. James-Assinibolia currently elects school trustees by an at-large system, these structural tensions may develop, resulting in serious problems which would affect the Board in terms of its decision-making ability. Another consequence of the combination system is the number of candidates which may be involved in an election. It is possible for the St. James-Assinibolia School Division election that thirty candidates would be listed on the electoral ballot. The system is unfamiliar to most Canadians and is not used in any Manitoba School Board Elections.

### 3. Proportional Representation

Proportional representation is not an electoral formula in the same sense as is an at-large system or a multi-member ward system. It can be used with either a ward basis or an at-large basis if more than two candidates are to be chosen. For example, if St. James-Assinibolia were to be divided into two multi-member wards, each electing five school trustees, the system of proportional representation could be used as the method of voting. It would be more complex, (particularly for the election officers and clerks) to use a system of proportional representation for the present at-large system, but it is still possible, according to Mr. R. J. Fergusson, Chief Clerk and Election Officer for the City of Winnipeg. Until 1945 Winnipeg was organized into a single electoral district retiring ten members under the proportional representation system.

At present there is only one city, New York City, that uses a system of proportional representation to elect its thirty-one community school boards. The disadvantage of using the system in New York City has been that only fifteen percent of the eligible voters participated in the last two elections. Consequently, since few citizens participated in the election, few citizens are represented. For this reason, according to Hallman, the community school boards in New York City do not represent the various ethnic, political, and economic groups in proportion to their number.

Theoretically, proportional representation is workable in the St. James-Assinibolia School Division, by dividing the school divisions into two wards with each ward returning five candidates. The two problems that may be encountered in instituting the system are (1) the unfamiliarity of the system within the context of a school board election (or for that matter, the unfamiliarity of the system for anyone who did not vote in Winnipeg prior to 1953), and (2) the necessity of the system to receive the full support of the community.

The disadvantages of dividing the St. James-Assinibolia School Division into

a two ward system with or without proportional representation, are primarily geographic. Because it would in effect divide St. James-Assiniboia into St. James and Assiniboia. The results of such a split could be disastrous - keeping open cleavages between old residences and new.

#### 4. The Multi-Member Ward

From our observations it appears that one feasible alternative is the multi-member ward system.

By dividing the area of St. James-Assiniboia into five or six wards, relatively equal in size, each of which would be entitled to two trustees, the representativeness of the School Board would be enhanced. Since each ward would consist of approximately 10 to 14 thousand citizens, it would be unlikely that the negative features usually associated with ward systems - parochialism and the inability to look beyond the needs of particular neighbourhoods - would develop. With each ward being represented by two trustees, it is improbable, although of course not impossible, that they would uniformly only represent certain electoral factors to the detriment of the entire ward. The presence of two trustees per ward would provide in fact, a de facto system of checks and balances, a system of checks and balances that would prove beneficial not only to the ward but to the Board as a whole. In addition, unlike at-large systems and single-member ward formula, which because of problems of geographical size on the one hand and neighbourhood linkages on the other tend to produce fairly static membership on the Board, the multi-member ward system tends to encourage a regular turnover of elected trustees.

In a multi-member system, trustees represent a specific geographical area and are likely to reside in the area from which they are elected. They are thus constantly visible to the citizens of the ward. This element of visibility is likely to encourage both greater citizen access to their elected representatives on the school board, a higher degree of accountability on the part of the trustees to neighbourhood and community needs, and an easier conduct of elections. When citizens experience accountable and accessible representation, a higher degree of electoral participation is the usual result.

One major disadvantage of this system is the necessity of deciding upon appropriate school board ward boundaries and keeping them current with population changes. One option would be to have such boundaries coincide with boundaries of present city council wards. However, they may be subject to change as a result of changes in the Unicity Act. The question of boundary lines however, is not within the scope of this study. While it does present some problems, they are not insurmountable.

5. The at-large system supplemented by the caucus committee nominating procedure using the geographical model.

If the idea of a multi-member ward system was not adopted, then the at-large election using a caucus committee procedure might be considered. The major disadvantages of the at-large system can be alleviated to a large extent when the system is used in conjunction with the caucus committee nominating procedure. The advantage of a more formal system of nomination are 1) It attracts candidates who tend to view ward concerns from the perspective of the community as a whole; 2) it encourages a broader base of representation; 3) it promotes participation of citizens on two levels, participation in ward affairs and participation in general community issues; and 4) it exposes candidates who are known in the ward area only to citizens in the general community.

Some experts in the field of education believe that an element of chance plays too great a role in the election of qualified candidates to the Boards of Education. It is their belief that the caucus committee procedure eliminates this element of chance and with it the tendency of school boards to be self-perpetuating. Being without legal basis, the adoption of the caucus committee procedure does not rule out the right of any candidate to seek nomination and election by traditional means. The caucus committee is a body of community representatives who seek out and encourage good candidates to stand for election. Of several types of caucus committees, the one most representative of the community as a whole is the geographical based type. The geographical type of caucus committee is composed of representatives who are selected on the basis of wards or other geographical subdivisions of the district. Other caucus committee systems, for example the organizational system which uses as its basis the membership of community organizations implicitly exclude from membership on the caucus committee all members of the electorate who do not belong to a community organization. Regardless of the type of caucus committee chosen, the size of its membership is flexible. Some caucus committees are large, containing sixty

representatives while others are small, having only nine members. In order to be representative of the entire St. James-Assiniboia School Division, it would be most advantageous if the membership of its caucus committee were to be selected by the present community committee wards; each ward having an equal number of representatives. The basis for selection of ward representatives to the caucus committee could be a ward organization such as the resident advisory group. In any event, the caucus committee should be representative of all groups within the school division. The committee as a whole is then responsible for choosing a screening committee which prepares recommendations on the qualifications of all citizens interested in being school board candidates. On the basis of these recommendations the committee as a whole makes a final selection of the most desirable candidates. This final list of candidates would be actively supported by the caucus committee. Some caucus committees nominate one candidate per position in order to avoid artificial voting splits. Other committees nominate more candidates than positions to be filled. The caucus committee is governed by by-laws and a constitution. To avoid powerful community groupings from gaining control of the committee, representatives are usually not allowed to serve consecutive terms. One difficulty, of course in establishing the caucus committee system lies in organizing the system itself, particularly in setting up by-laws and a constitution. As well, the timing involved in organizing the caucus committee system is critical. In the optimum circumstance, the committee should be instituted six months before school board elections, thereby leaving an organization period of two months before serious canvassing of candidates for school board elections is undertaken. The caucus committee system is not complex or expensive. Its membership need meet only two or three times before an election. The only financing involved would be the minimal cost of mimeographing information on candidates' qualifications and viewpoints for distribution to all members of St. James-Assiniboia School Division.

## CONCLUSION

This report does not include any one specific recommendation on the kind of electoral system that should be adopted for the St. James-Assiniboia School Division. That is a matter really for the elected representatives of the school division to decide.

What the report does attempt to do is outline the alternatives, how they might work, and their respective advantages and disadvantages. It is hoped that this is of assistance in enabling school board members to arrive at an acceptable course of action.

In conclusion, however, certain general observations that were made throughout the report bear repeating.

First, there is no one foolproof electoral system that guarantees easy conduct of election, a proper degree of representativeness, a high turnout in election or effective participation of citizens. Electoral systems are only one part of overall schemes of political and governmental arrangements and while they can effect the politics of a school division, they are by no means the sole determinant. Furthermore, each electoral system must fit the special characteristics of each school division. Certain kinds of electoral systems suit certain kinds of areas more than others, and therefore the choice of an electoral system should be made with community characteristics in mind.

In that respect, the changes occurring in the St. James-Assiniboia School Division are important to note. Not only has the area undergone major overall population growth in the last decade, it is now beginning to experience two other kinds of changes: 1) a shift in population of school age children; and, 2) an increasing variety and mobility in the population. Under such circumstances, any choice made in the kind of electoral system should take account of what these population factors mean in terms of the responsiveness and representative qualities of the school division. For example, the evidence presented about the lack of apparent representation in certain areas of the division resulting in some community dissatisfaction is of importance, particularly when such views come from those areas where there is a large percentage of school age children.

The choice of an election system should be shaped with these concerns in mind.

T A B L E S

TABLE 1

	<u>1971</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1973</u>
Community Ward	No. of Electors	No. of Electors	Votes Cast for Board Election	Average vote per person out of possible ten votes	% of Votes
St. Charles	6,922	9,304	15,452	7	.237
Kirkfield	5,296	5,687	11,414	6.24	.319
Booth	7,622	9,062	14,914	6	.269
Silver Heights	8,633	8,704	14,084	5.9	.272
Deer Lodge	8,429	7,786	15,667	6.22	.323
King Edward	5,732	5,479	8,413	4.9	.312

Overall vote for Winnipeg .349

TABLE 2CANDIDATES ELECTED AND NOT ELECTED BY COMMUNITY WARD

Community Ward	Elected	Not Elected	Incumbent	Elected Total
St. Charles	1	5	1	1
Booth	2	3	2	2
Kirkfield	0	4	-	0
Silver Heights	4	3	1	4
King Edward	0	1	-	0
Deer Lodge	3	0	2	3



TABLE 3a

RANK OF CANDIDATES ELECTED IN EACH WARD

<u>WARD</u>	<u>RANK</u>	<u>RESIDENCE</u>
<u>KING EDWARD</u>		
Candidate No. 15 <sup>1</sup> .	1	Deer Lodge
Candidate No. 25	2	Deer Lodge*
Candidate No. 12	3	Booth*
Candidate No. 20	4	Silver Heights*
Candidate No. 1	5	Silver Heights*
Candidate No. 16	6	Booth*
Candidate No. 10	7	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 6	8	Deer Lodge*
Candidate No. 7	9	St. Charles*
Candidate No. 9	10	Silver Heights*

1. Candidate Number refers to the number indicated for each candidate in the Civic Election - Final results - School Trustees, St. James-Assinibola, Oct. 23, 1974

\* Incumbant

TABLE 3bRANK OF CANDIDATES ELECTED IN EACH WARD

<u>WARD</u>	<u>RANK</u>	<u>RESIDENCE</u>
<u>DEER LODGE</u>		
Candidate No. 25	1	Deer Lodge*
Candidate No. 6	2	Deer Lodge*
Candidate No. 16	3	Booth*
Candidate No. 15	4	Deer Lodge
Candidate No. 12	5	Booth*
Candidate No. 1	6	Silver Heights*
Candidate No. 20	7	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 7	8	St. Charles*
Candidate No. 10	9	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 9	10	Silver Heights

\* Incumbant

TABLE 3cRANK OF CANDIDATES ELECTED IN EACH WARD

<u>Community WARD</u>	<u>RANK</u>	<u>RESIDENCE</u>
<u>SILVER HEIGHTS</u>		
Candidate No. 12	1	Booth*
Candidate No. 10	2	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 20	3	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 9	4	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 25	5	Deer Lodge*
Candidate No. 7	6	St. Charles*
Candidate No. 16	7	Booth*
Candidate No. 6	8	Deer Lodge*
Candidate No. 1	9	Silver Heights*
Candidate No. 10	10	Deer Lodge

\* Incumbant

TABLE 3d

<u>WARD</u>	<u>RANK</u>	<u>RESIDENCE</u>
<u>BOOTH</u>		
Candidate No. 12	1	Booth*
Candidate No. 7	2	St. Charles*
Candidate No. 10	3	Silver Heights
Candidate NO. 20	4	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 25	5	Deer Lodge*
Candidate No. 9	6	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 1	7	Silver Heights*
Candidate No. 15	8	Deer Lodge
Candidate No. 6	9	Deer Lodge*
Candidate NO. 16	10	Booth*

\* Incumbant

TABLE 3e

RANK OF CANDIDATES ELECTED IN EACH WARD

<u>WARD</u>	<u>RANK</u>	<u>RESIDENCE</u>
<u>ST. CHARLES</u>		
Candidate No. 7	1	St. Charles*
Candidate No. 12	2	Booth*
Candidate No. 10	3	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 9	4	Silver Heights <sup>1.</sup>
Candidate No. 20	5	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 25	6	Deer Lodge*
Candidate No. 1	7	Silver Heights*
Candidate No. 16	8	Booth*
Candidate No. 6	9	Deer Lodge*
Candidate No.	10	Deer Lodge

1. Votes for candidates ranked 4-9 were fairly close  
They are almost equally divided in terms of votes received.

\* Incumbant

TABLE 3f

RANK OF CANDIDATES ELECTED IN EACH WARD

<u>WARD</u>	<u>RANK</u>	<u>RESIDENCE</u>
<u>KIRKFIELD</u>		
Candidate No. 7	1	St. Charles
Candidate No. 12	2	Booth*
Candidate No. 7	3	Silver Heights*
Candidate No. 10	4	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 9	5	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 25	6	Deer Lodge*
Candidate No. 6	7	Deer Lodge * <sup>1.</sup>
Candidate No. 15	8	Deer Lodge
Candidate No. 20	9	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 16	10	Booth*

1. Votes for Candidate ranked 7,8,9, - are almost equally divided in terms of votes received.

\* Incumbant

TABLE 4

LENGTH OF OCCUPANCY 1971By Census Tract and Wards - The Most Frequent Number of yearsCENSUS TRACT<sup>1</sup>.

530	More than ten years	Deer Lodge
531	More than ten years	King Edward
532	More than ten years	King Edward
533	More than ten years	Deer Lodge
534	More than ten years Less than one year	Silver Heights
535	More than ten years	Silver Heights
536	3-5 years	Silver Heights/Booth
537	3-5 years	Kirkfield
538	1-2 years	St. Charles
539	Less than 1 year	St. Charles
540	6-10 years	Booth
542	More than 10 years	King Edward (Brooklands)

1. The Census tracts used for the study are from series "A" and series "B" 1971 Census of Canada of Winnipeg. Census tracts are defined as small Permanent census statistical areas. The criteria used to delineate these areas are: (1) population between 2,500 and 8,000 (2) areas as homogenous as possible in terms of economic status and living conditions (3) boundaries that follow permanent and easily recognizable geographic features and (4) a shape as compact as possible.

ST. JAMES-ASSINIBOIATABLE 5Population

<u>Census Tract</u>	<u>Wards</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>
533	Deer Lodge	6,241	5,885*
530	Deer Lodge	3,257	2,510
542	King Edward	4,181	3,940*
532	King Edward	1,407	1,355*
531	King Edward	7,877	7,700*
541	King Edward Deer Lodge (Air Base & Industrial Zone)	962	775
540	Booth	7,417	12,320
536	Silver Heights & Booth	4,955	7,630
534	Silver Heights	5,337	5,030*
535	Silver Heights	6,649	6,150*
537	Kirkfield	8,125	11,235
538	St. Charles, small section vs Kirkfield	982	2,235
539	St. Charles	2,865	4,710

\* Loss of Population Since 1966



TABLE 6

Children Ages 5-9

Comparison Deer Lodge and St. Charles Wards1976

	<u>Children Aged 5-9</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
<u>Deer Lodge</u>		
Census Tract No. 533 & 530	360	8,395
<u>St. Charles</u>		
Census Tract No, 538, 539	905	6,945

CHILD POPULATION Ages 0-19TABLE 7

By census tract and ward - age group most common to the area - 1971

<u>Census Tract</u>		<u>Wards</u>
530	15-19	Deer Lodge
531	15-19	King Edward
532	15-19 yrs	King Edward
533	15-19 yrs	Deer Lodge
534	15-19 yrs	Silver Heights
535	10-14 yrs	Silver Heights
536	10-14 yrs	Silver Heights/Booth
537	5-9 yrs	Kirkfield
538	5-9 yrs	St. Charles
539	0-4 yrs	St. Charles
540	5-9 yrs	Booth
542	5-9 yrs	King Edward (Brooklands)

TABLE 8

Most Frequent Age for Adults Population Over Age 19  
By Census Tract 1971 Census and Ward(s)

<u>Census Tract No.</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Ward(s)</u>
530	55-64	Deer Lodge
531	25-34 & 45-54	King Edward
532	45-54	King Edward
533	45-54	Deer Lodge
534	20-24 & 45-54	Silver Heights
535	25-54	Silver Heights
536	35-54	Silver Heights/Booth
537	25-44	Kirkfield
538	25-44	St. Charles
539	25-34	St. Charles
540	25-34	Booth
542	25-54	King Edward (Brooklands)

TABLE 9  
Average Total Income per Household<sup>\*</sup> 1970  
by Census Tract and Ward

<u>Census Tract</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Ward</u>
530	11,346	Deer Lodge
531	8,051	King Edward
532	8,762	King Edward
533	10,566	Deer Lodge
534	10,555	Silver Heights
535	10,512	Silver Heights
536	13,261	Silver Heights/ Booth
537	12,997	Kirkfield
538	13,173	St. Charles
539	9,649	St. Charles
540	11,372	Booth
542	7,813	King Edward (Brooklands)

\* Refers to sums of incomes received by all members of the family 15 yrs, and over, from all sources for the year 1970.

TABLE 10  
OCCUPATION (MALES)  
1971

Most Frequent Occupation by Census Tract and Ward

<u>Census Tract</u>	<u>Occupation(s)</u>	<u>Ward</u>
530	Sales	Deer Lodge
531	Service, Machining, Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing	King Edward
532	Machining, Product Fabricating Assembling, Repairing	King Edward
533	Sales and Service Occupations	Deer Lodge
534	Sales and Service Occupations	Silver Heights
535	Service Occupations	Silver Heights
536	Sales Occupations	Silver Heights/ Booth
537	Sales and Managerial, Administrative	Kirkfield
538	Sales and Managerial, Administrative	St. Charles
539	Sales, Service, Machining, Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing	St. Charles
540	Managerial, Administrative and Sales, Machining, Product Fabricating Assembling and Repair	Booth
542	Machining, Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Transport Equipment Operating Service Occupations	King Edward (Brooklands)

TABLE 11PERCENTAGE VOTES CAST FOR ELECTED CANDIDATES

Percentage for all wards total votes cast for candidates elected	56.4%
Percentage for all wards total votes cast for candidates not elected	<u>43.6%</u>
	<u>100%</u>

<u>WARD</u>	<u>Percentage of 56.4%</u> <u>votes cast for elected</u> <u>candidates</u>	<u>Percentage voters</u> <u>cast ballots for</u> <u>elected candidates</u>
King Edward	6%	57.8%
Deer Lodge	13.1%	67%
Silver Heights	10.5%	54.4%
Booth	9.9%	53.3%
Kirkfield	7.3%	51.2%
St. Charles	9.5%	49.2%

TABLE 12RANKS OF CANDIDATES ELECTED FOR ALL WARDS - OCTOBER 23, 1974

	<u>RANK</u>	<u>VOTES</u>	<u>WARD</u>
Candidate No. 12	-1-	5,521*	Booth
Candidate No. 7	-2-	5,288*	St. Charles
Candidate No. 10	-3-	4,993	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 25	-4-	4,708*	Deer Lodge
Candidate No. 1	-5-	4,358*	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 20	-6-	4,315	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 6	-7-	4,191*	Deer Lodge
Candidate No. 9	-8-	4,105	Silver Heights
Candidate No. 15	-9-	4,064	Deer Lodge
Candidate No. 16	-10-	3,994*	Deer Lodge

\* Incumbant

TABLE 13ELECTED FOR ALL WARDS, OCTOBER 6, 1971

	<u>RANK</u>	<u>WARD</u>	<u>CANDIDATE 1973</u>
Candidate No. 12	-1-	Booth	yes
Candidate No. 7	-2-	St. Charles	yes
Candidate No. 10	-3-	St. Charles	no
Candidate No. 25	-4-	Deer Lodge	yes
Candidate No.	-5-		no
Candidate No. 16	-6-	Silver Heights	yes
Candidate No.	-7-		no
Candidate No. 6	-8-	Deer Lodge	yes
Candidate No.	-9-		no
Candidate No. 1	-10-	Silver Heights	yes

Candidate #1 - moved from 10th place, 1971 to 5th place, 1974  
 Candidates #12, 7, and 25 remained in first 4 places  
 Candidate #16 moved from 6th place 1971 to 10th place 1974  
 Candidate #6 moved from 8th place in 1971 to 7th place 1974



TABLE 14VOTES CAST IN EACH WARDTOTAL VOTES    79,949

<u>WARD</u>	<u>TOTAL VOTES CAST</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE TOTAL VOTES CAST</u>
St. Charles	15,452	19.3%
Kirkfield	11,414	14.7%
Booth	14,914	18.7%
Silver Heights	14,089	17.6%
Deer Lodge	15,667	19.6%
King Edward	8,413	10.6%

TABLE 15  
STUDENT - TEACHER RATIO.

SCHOOL	1975	1972	1969
Assiniboine	352 (23) 1:15.3	478 (25) 1:19.1	506 (24) 1:21.0
Britannia	528 (31) 1:17.0	690 (33) 1:20.9	1066 (30) 1:35.5
Brooklands	229 (15) 1:15.2	274 (15) 1:18.2	248 (15) 1:16.5
Butterworth	405 (24) 1:16.8	730 (35) 1:20.8	897 (38) 1:23.6
Deer Lodge	455 (24) 1:18.9	492 (26) 1:18.9	599 (27) 1:22.1
Linwood	454 (24) 1:18.9	700 (32) 1:21.8	809 (33) 1:24.5
St. James Col	711 (41) 1:17.3	823 (55) 1:14.9	994 (59) 1:16.8
Stevenson	302 (19) 1:15.8	363 (21) 1:17.2	
<u>Total A.</u>	3436(201) 1:17.0	4550(242) 1:18.8	5119(226) 1:22.6
Athlone	506 (24) 1:21.0	606 (24) 1:25.2	612 (23) 1:26.6
Bannatyne	301 (15) 1:20.0	421 (19) 1:22.1	443 (20) 1:22.1
Birchwood	104 (7) 1:14.8	166 (8) 1:20.7	209 (8) 1:26.1
Bruce	488 (23) 1:21.2	480 (20) 1:24.0	353 (22) 1:16.0
Golden Gate	670 (32) 1:20.9	793 (32) 1:24.7	792 (33) 1:24.0
Jameswood	338 (18) 1:18.7	520 (24) 1:21.6	609 (24) 1:25.3
Silver Heights	635 (33) 1:19.2	919 (49) 1:18.7	1035 (54) 1:19.1
Strathmillan	646 (35) 1:18.4	886 (38) 1:23.3	1094 (40) 1:27.3
Woodhaven	124 (7) 1:17.7	174 (7) 1:24.8	190 (7) 1:27.1
<u>Total B.</u>	3812(194) 1:19.6	4965(221) 1:22.4	5337(231) 1:23.1
Allard	416 (20) 1:20.8	529 (22) 1:24.0	550 (23) 1:23.9
Bedson	510 (24) 1:21.2	625 (27) 1:23.1	487 (21) 1:23.1
Columbus	286 (16) 1:17.8	390 (16) 1:24.3	
Lincoln	720 (34) 1:21.1	624 (26) 1:24.0	575 (25) 1:23.0
Rob Browning	397 (20) 1:19.8	551 (22) 1:25.0	721 (22) 1:32.7
Sansome	763 (35) 1:21.8	776 (30) 1:25.8	816 (33) 1:24.7
Westwood	808 (42) 1:19.2	838 (45) 1:18.6	671 (38) 1:17.6
<u>Total C.</u>	3900(191) 1:20.4	4333(188) 1:23.0	3820(162) 1:23.5
Arthur Oliver	290 (15) 1:19.3	385 (15) 1:25.6	346 (14) 1:24.7
Buchanan	657 (31) 1:21.1	606 (23) 1:26.3	326 (19) 1:17.1
Crestview	564 (26) 1:21.6	687 (26) 1:26.4	697 (26) 1:26.8
Hedges	738 (37) 1:19.9	706 (33) 1:21.3	413 (25) 1:16.5
Heritage	607 (28) 1:21.6	696 (26) 1:26.7	426 (23) 1:18.5
John Taylor	804 (44) 1:18.2	802 (42) 1:19.0	684 (46) 1:14.8
Lakewood	633 (31) 1:20.4	530 (22) 1:24.0	
Ness	641 (30) 1:21.3	769 (30) 1:25.6	561 (33) 1:17.0
Pheonix	102 (6) 1:17.0	139 (6) 1:23.1	124 (6) 1:20.6
St. Charles	198 (12) 1:16.5	235 (10) 1:23.5	196 (5) 1:39.2
Spring Valley	305 (16) 1:19.0		
Voyageur	593 (28) 1:21.1	715 (26) 1:27.5	636 (26) 1:24.4
<u>Total D.</u>	6132(304) 1:20.1	6270(259) 1:24.2	4409(223) 1:19.7
Kirkfield	61 (8) 1:7.6	70 (8) 1:8.7	57 (7) 1:8.1
Sturgeon Cr.	1185 (78) 1:15.1	790 (47) 1:16.8	
<u>TOTAL</u>	17280(890) 1:19.4	20118(910) 1:22.1	18685(842) 1:22.1

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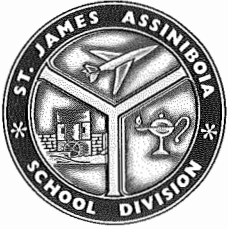
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## The St. James-Assiniboia School Division No. 2

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1976 June 1

Mary Croteau  
Institute of Urban Studies  
University of Winnipeg  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Dear Mary:

I am enclosing the original copy of the Electoral Boundary Study. Page 13 is missing; I assume it was misplaced during your final printing.

Thank you for coming to our two meetings. You made a really important contribution, and we all appreciate the excellent job you did.

Sincerely,

Ann Boyd  
Information Officer

AB/mjd