

Electoral Method Study for the St. Boniface School Division No. 4

**by Sheila Vanderhoef and Lloyd Axworthy
1977**

The Institute of Urban Studies





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ELECTORAL METHOD STUDY FOR THE
ST. BONIFACE SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 4

Institute of Urban Studies,
April, 1977

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INTRODUCTION

In February 1977, the St. Boniface School Board requested a study of the present, at-large system of electing school board members. The purpose was to determine whether the present system is well suited to the needs of the population. The major criteria upon which the study was to focus were:

- a) adequacy of representation of regional, linguistic and interest groups,
- b) electoral convenience, and
- c) effectiveness of decision making¹

In the course of this study, it was impossible to assess the effectiveness of the decision making of the school board. This parameter can be assessed only through observation of the school board at work and through examination of the minutes of past meetings and interviews with the trustees and school personnel and parents. This assessment will be made at a later date in the second phase of this report if the board so requests. Therefore this study will focus on the first and second criteria.

Adequacy of Representation

The first criteria will be assessed through the use of census data. This data will provide a population profile of the demographic and socio-economic, characteristics of the population. Adequacy of representation of regional, linguistic and interest groups can only be determined if these various aspects of the population are known.

Essentially this criteria will be examined by looking at the population profile and then looking at the profile of the school board. The school board profile will consist largely of voting statistics which show

where the votes for each candidate are from and the area of residence of all the candidates.

Electoral Convenience

The second criteria, electoral convenience, will be examined through the use of the "1974 School Board Trustees Election Results". This information was obtained from the City of Winnipeg's City Clerk Office.

The issue of electoral convenience is twofold. It is concerned with the ease of campaigning for the candidates and ease of knowing and choosing candidates from the voters viewpoint.

In looking at the breakdown of votes by polling district, it will be possible to determine where each candidate received most of his votes. Also, information was obtained from six (6) of the thirteen (13) candidates concerning where their campaign was concentrated. With this information, it will be possible to see whether the candidates who concentrated on a particular area won in that area, or of those who campaigned in the entire district, if they received votes from the entire district. Also the voting statistics will give some indication of voter participation rates. High citizen participation rates lend legitimacy to the system and indicates that it serves the citizens well.

When this study was commissioned, it was suggested that the St. Boniface School Division be examined as three communities: North St. Boniface, Windsor Park, and Southdale.² (see map in appendix) This was a reasonable request which has been followed throughout this paper because the three areas are separate geographically and the age of the communities differs.

The present system of electing school board trustees is an at-large

system. Each candidate campaigns and receives votes from the entire district. Under this system, each voter is entitled to cast one vote for each available seat. There are five seats on the school board so that each voter may cast five votes.

The at-large system and its adequacy for the St. Boniface School Division, as a method of electing trustees, will be examined and compared to these other possible systems: ward system with single and multi-member wards, and the combined ward and at-large system, in addition to the possibility of increasing the number of trustees in the at large system. These systems were chosen by the School Board as possible alternatives because of a study done for the St. James-Assiniboia School Division; this 1976 Institute of Urban Studies Report (IUS) was entitled, Electoral Boundary Study of St. James-Assiniboia School Division.

This report contains three major sections. The first section will examine the basic limitations of a) the at-large system, b) the single member ward system, c) the multi-member ward system and d) the combined ward and at large system. This section will define and explain how each system works, and briefly review some of the positive and negative aspects of each, particularly as it concerns the criteria set forth at the start; adequacy of representation of regional linguistic, and interest groups, and electoral convenience.

The second section of this report will deal with the population data, gathered from the 1971 census of the population and the 1976 Census Preliminary Population counts for the St. Boniface Community. This data will be presented for the three communities of St. Boniface; North St. Boniface, Windsor Park, and Southdale. This information will be used to develop a population profile for each community. This profile will help to determine if

there are differences in the populations, and to determine if the representation of these differences, (if they exist), are adequate on the school board.

The third section of this report will be concerned with the election results of the 1974 School Board Trustees Election for St. Boniface. The election results, will be presented for the three sections of the St. Boniface School Division. This will assist in determining where the greatest percentage of the total vote is cast and also where the votes for each candidate originated.

The election results information, the demographic and socio-economic information about the St. Boniface population, and some information about those candidates elected, will be compared and contrasted to establish what segments of the population those elected represent.

This report will conclude with some information concerning the present method of electing school board members, as to its performance in terms of the three criteria established earlier. Based on the information in this report, either retention of the present system, retention of the at-large method with increased numbers of trustees, a ward system, or a combined ward/at-large system will be recommended.

II Description and Review of Various Electoral Systems

The basis for much of this material will be the St. James-Assiniboia school division report mentioned earlier. In it, most of the comparative information was based upon U.S. studies because there were no Canadian studies of differences between various electoral systems as applied to school boards.

The Ward system is used in 17.5% of the school divisions in the U.S. 70.6% use the at-large system. Most of the school divisions have not made many changes in their electoral procedures since the early 1920's. This does not

necessarily mean that the at-large system is the best for in recent years, agitation has been strong against school boards. Many minority groups have been claiming that they are un or under represented.

In contrast the ward system in the U.S. has heavy connotations of political control, party politics, and "bossim". "Ward healer," is a term applied to the party employees of political bosses such as former mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago. These "ward healers," or "party hacks", usually live in the ward and are generally associated with ward level politics.

School boards try to operate with as little friction as possible and an at-large system "tends to produce representatives, who believe in the notion that what is best for the community as a whole, is "best".⁴

"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 favor of minority groups."⁵

For the Canadian situation these ideas will be modified. For example, "bossim," is not a factor in Canadian politics.

The explanation and description of the various electoral methods to follow, will also be presented and reformulated to apply to the St. Boniface situations.

A. AT-LARGE SYSTEMS

The at-large system of election is one where all of the candidates stand for election in the entire district.

In the at-large system there can be many candidates and this is sometimes confusing for the voters who must make the choice. Those voters who are better informed, and those voters who are best organized usually make better use of this type of electoral system. "It works well in like minded homogenous communities where there are no basic fundamental disagreements."⁶

The at-large system of election tends to deny minority representation and reflect the middle class who have similiar voting habits.

In the 1974 election, thirteen persons stood for election for the five school board positions in St. Boniface. Those candidates that were elected to the board, usually won, not in the entire region, but in specific, perhaps key areas. They also won, usually, in the area where they lived. This block voting by like minded homogenous groups for candidates in the neighbourhood when the field is large, is reflected in the voting statistics, (Table 8, p. 21) which show that the older more settled section of St. Boniface vote more for one or two candidates, than the newer sections.

The issue of the at-large election methods failing in its ability to represent diffuse minority interest, will be elaborated upon as it applies to St. Boniface in Section IV.

B. WARD SYSTEM (single member)

In a multi-ward, single member system, the wards are usually small homogenous groupings. This means that the board member can be well known by

his constituency and is likely to be responsive to there needs. But in representing a small group with well-defined interests, the school board member may find themselves working against each other. It is difficult for the school board to act in unison when each member has well-defined interests he is trying to put forth. "The smaller the ward, the wider the dispersal of power and therefore the harder it is to get board members to act in unison".⁷

The advantage of this system is that the voters feel well represented because they know their ward representative. Also, ethnic, religious or other minorities who live in small homogenous neighbourhoods can have representation. People also feel as though they can affect the system because their small group has a representative because". . . .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."⁸

C. WARD SYSTEM (multi-member)

In a multi-member ward system, the district is divided into wards each of which elects more than one representative.

This system of multi-member wards, reduces the area which candidates have to cover and also reduces the number of candidates which citizens need to know, as opposed to the at-large system.

One problem that may result from the multi-member ward system, are cleavages along both ward and party lines which reduce the decision making power of the resultant school board. This may occur because candidates

stand for elections in the various wards on a party slate basis since each ward has more than one representative. The resulting school board can be split via party loyalties and via ward loyalties. This could mean that the two candidates from the same ward may not vote in a similar manner on the same issues.

The Winnipeg School Division 1 uses the multi-member ward system. Several board members interviewed at the time of the St. James-Assiniboia study stated that cleavages in decision making do occur. But there are also strong forces to make decisions on the grounds of what will affect the total system, not just individual wards.⁹ Board members are encouraged to give the best decisions because electors will remember an inactive and bickering school board. There is a need to work together for all to gain.

D. COMBINATION SYSTEM

The combination ward at-large system has some members elected at-large while others are elected by wards.

The major problem with this system is that the ward members may tend to be "juniors" because the decisions made by any large body are more likely to be for the common good over the interest of the few. Therefore, the smaller wards may feel that their representative has not fought for their interests and replace him. The total ward, collectively, will see the "good" things the board has done and re-elect those board members. "This electoral formula may provide a system of checks and balances between particular neighbourhood interests and community-wide interests."¹⁰

While this system is used by 11.9% of the U.S. school divisions it can lead to confusion for the voters. For example there may be five candidates running at large and the voter must choose one. There may also be six

candidates running for the ward seats of which the voter must choose two. This system could probably lead to many spoiled ballots as voters incorrectly mark ballots. The combined system could also lead to an overall increase in the number of candidates standing for election.

The ward members may be "more accessible to the constituents, more responsive in pro reporting neighbourhood interests, and more likely to have their actions evaluated on a continuing basis by their constituents, . . . those members elected at large would have a more diluted mandate."¹¹

This combined system allows for representation of specific interests and distributed concerns.

The presentation of the various electoral methods under consideration by this report, is concluded and the data to follow will be used within the framework of the definition and analysis of each electoral system as presented, to determine the applicability of the various system to the St. Boniface district.

III Population Profiles

The following information about the population of St. Boniface is designed to show where the major portion of the school population originates. The data has been gathered primarily from the 1971 Census so that an area such as Southdale, which has been under heavy development pressure, may actually be larger than indicated here. (The 1976 Census preliminary population counts were used also). The intention, to show the potential growth areas and general population characteristics, will not be compromised by the age of the data. The profile will be developed through an examination of the following characteristics of the population: age/sex structure, length of residency, income, occupations, and language.

TABLE 1

POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE GROUP NORTH ST. BONIFACE, WINDSOR PARK AND SOUTHDALE FOR 1971*

Age Groups	North St. Boniface			Windsor Park			Southdale		
	Males	Females	% total pop.	Males	Females	% total pop.	Males	Females	% total pop.
0-4	390	375	6.70	645	720	8.80	515	420	14.58
5-9	370	385	6.61	1,080	1,055	13.77	445	470	14.26
10-14	430	430	7.53	1,000	1,010	12.96	350	350	10.91
15-19	560	705	11.08	770	780	9.99	260	205	7.25
20-24	705	875	13.84	490	510	6.45	205	270	7.40
25-34	735	645	12.08	1,100	1,165	14.60	670	665	20.81
35-44	445	520	8.45	1,165	1,210	15.31	440	385	12.86
45-54	525	685	10.60	855	825	10.83	220	210	6.70
55-64	475	655	9.89	405	350	4.87	110	105	3.35
65-69	180	270	3.94	80	90	1.10	25	20	.70
70+	455	605	9.28	75	130	1.32	30	45	1.17
SUB-TOTALS	5,270	6,150		7,665	7,845		3,270	3,145	
TOTALS	11,410		100.00	15,510		100.00	6,415		99.99

* SOURCE: All information from 1971 Census of Canada Bulletin, Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts: Winnipeg, Series B.

AGE SEX STRUCTURE

On table one (p.10) note the age/sex structure of the population. The Southdale population can be defined as growing and appears to be made up largely of young families where the female head has not passed her child-bearing years. (child-bearing years for Western Society considered to be age -15-44)¹² Essentially, it appears to be a young population, composed largely of family units. The Windsor Park population is also growing and composed of young families but does not have as many children in the 0-4 age group. Therefore, the growth rate is not as high and the available land area for expansion is not as great in Windsor Park as in Southdale.

The North St. Boniface population, Table 1, has a very high percentage of older persons, fifty-five (55) or older, when compared to Southdale and Windsor Park. North St. Boniface has 20% of its population in the fifty-five plus (55+) age group, compared with 5% in Southdale and 7% in Windsor Park in that same age group. North St. Boniface with a total population of 11,420 supplies 26.03%^{*} (1971 population figure from Table 2) of the school enrollment.¹³

Windsor Park had 51.47%^{*} of the total school population and a total population of 15,510,^{*} (1971 population figure from table 2).

Southdale's total population is 6,415^{*} (Table 2, 1971 population figure) and contains 22.50%^{*} of the total school enrollment. Southdale also has 14.58 of its population in the 0-4 range in 1971 (table 1) which means that they are now in school so the percentage of the school population which originates from Southdale is probably higher.

Residency and Population Growth

Table 2 (p. 12) shows the growth, positive or negative, of population from 1971 to 1976 for each area of St. Boniface. (The 1976 population figures

TABLE 2

POPULATION OF NORTH ST. BONIFACE, WINDSOR PARK, AND SOUTHDALÉ IN 1971 and 1976

AREA	*Population 1971	% of Population	%Change from 1971 - 1976	Population 1976	% of Population
North St. Boniface	11,420	34.25	-11.65%	10,098	29.50
Windsor Park	15,510	46.51	-5.04%	14,875 ^{**}	43.45
Southdale	6,415	19.24	(44.09%)	9,258 [*]	27.05
<hr/>					
TOTAL	33,345	100.00		34,231	100.00
<hr/>					

** 1810 persons added to published preliminary totals. * Adjusted figure, includes subtracted #1810 which is Population of Enumeration Areas 018 and 017 which in 1976 were part of Census Tract 112.01 (Windsor Park) and part of 110 (Southdale) 1971. The above procedure maintains these areas as part of Southdale, for 1971 and 1976.

SOURCE: Population figures from Census Tract Bulletin, 1971 Census of Canada, Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tract, Series A, Winnipeg.

are the preliminary population figures from Census Canada, 1976 census.) While North St. Boniface and Windsor Park have lost population, the area of Southdale has experienced a 44.09% increase in population. The availability of open, serviced land in Southdale, and the age and deterioration of housing stock in core areas such as North St. Boniface, would indicate continued growth for Southdale. While housing is older in St. Boniface and some of it has started to deteriorate, the Southdale housing is new, under 10 years old, and the building process is not complete in that area.

Southdale would appear to be the St. Boniface "growth pole", that is the area where most of the population growth seems to be taking place. The growth pole idea is further supported by the length-of-residency (table 3, p. 13) of the households. This table 3, indicates that the greatest portion of new residents are in the Southdale area.

TABLE 3
LENGTH OF OCCUPANCY OF HOUSEHOLDS OF 1971 FOR NORTH ST. BONIFACE
WINDSOR PARK & SOUTHDAL

Area	Less than 1 year % Pop.	1-2 yrs. % of Pop.	3-5 yrs. % of Pop.	6-10 yrs. % of Pop.	10 + yrs. % of Pop.	Total
North St. Boniface	26.56	17.33	13.78	9.52	32.81	100.00%
Windsor Park	15.04	14.03	22.12	27.69	21.22	99.99%
Southdale	27.67	28.30	23.58	8.81	11.64	100.00%

Source: 1971 Census of Canada Bullentin, Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts: Winnipeg, Series B.

North St. Boniface is the oldest area and has the largest percentage of its population having been resident for 10 years or more.

Seventy-five percent of Southdale's population has been resident for 5 years or less, which is indicative of the age of the housing development of Southdale.

Windsor Park, located physically, midway between North St. Boniface and Southdale; also reflects this fact in the length of residency, which is mostly in the three to ten year range.

A sense of community develops in an area due to many factors: proximity of house to house, homogeneity of population, location of community focal points such as shopping, school, parks, and length of residence.

None of the areas of St. Boniface discussed contain large, high-rise developments. Single family and small-multi-family units are the rule. Therefore, with the above-mentioned factors, length of residency serves to coalesce an area (block, school area, playground or park-user area) into a community.¹⁴ Along with the community feeling is a shared common bond or interest in one candidate over another. Southdales, dispersed voting behaviour would indicate that this feeling of shared interest is lacking. The length of residency issue shall be further discussed later in looking at the voting patterns of the entire St. Boniface area.

The North St. Boniface voting statistics, to be presented later, will show a strong correlation between age of community and perception of similar interests as reflected in block voting. Although the voting pattern may indicate a strong sense of community and a perception of similar interests, it will be impossible to state flatly this fact without study of community attitudes from interviews with the population.

Before examining the electoral process in St. Boniface, three other characteristics of the population will be discussed briefly: income, occupations, and language.

INCOME OF POPULATION

According to the 1971 Census data, the income of the population of St. Boniface was as follows:

TABLE 4

INCOME OF POPULATION IN ST. BONIFACE IN 1971

	<u>North St. Boniface</u>	<u>Windsor Park</u>	<u>Southdale</u>
Under \$2,000	3.27%	1.05%	2.34%
\$2,000 - 2,999	6.13	1.45	1.67
\$3,000 - 4,999	12.17	3.95	5.35
\$5,000 - 6,999	16.97	8.70	9.70
\$7,000 - 9,999	29.04	31.36	30.77
\$10,000 - 14,999	23.72	37.81	32.44
\$15,000 - 19,999	5.73	10.14	12.71
\$20,000 +	2.86	5.53	5.02
Total	99.99%	99.99%	100.00%
Median total income per family	\$8,560	\$10,802	\$10,031

SOURCE: 1971 Census of Canada Bulletin, Population and Housing Characteristics
by Census Tracts: Winnipeg, Series B.

The incomes of Windsor Park and Southdale are essentially the same. North St. Boniface incomes are slightly lower. This is probably due in part to the higher numbers of elderly persons who may be living on pensions, retirement savings or social assistance.

OCCUPATIONS

In terms of occupations of the residents, again Windsor Park and Southdale are very similar. North St. Boniface has slightly fewer in the "white collar" but a few more in the "professions". This may be due in part to the location of St. Boniface hospital in the area and the inclusion in professions of "Occupations in Medical Health". In total, the occupation profile for all three areas are essentially the same and can not be considered as a factor in voting behaviour.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN PARTICULAR OCCUPATION
GROUP IN 1971, FOR NORTH ST. BONIFACE
WINDSOR PARK, & SOUTHDAL

<u>Occupation Group</u>	<u>North St. Boniface</u>	<u>Windsor Park</u>	<u>Southdale</u>
White Collar	33.23%	45.95%	42.49%
Manual/Skilled Labor	36.45%	32.06%	30.04%
Primary Industries	4.13%	3.88%	3.86%
Professions	21.35%	12.70%	18.24%
Others	4.83%	5.40%	5.36%

SOURCE: 1971 Census of Canada Bulletin, Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts: Winnipeg, Series B.

LANGUAGE

The last characteristic of the population which will be examined is language (table 6)

Windsor Park and Southdale are predominantly English Speaking. North St. Boniface is largely French speaking. The ethnic groups represented as "other" in terms of language, are quite small.

TABLE 6

LANGUAGE OF POPULATION 1971 IN NORTH ST. BONIFACE, WINDSOR PARK AND SOUTHDALE

<u>AREA</u>	<u>1971</u> # of French speaking	% of French speaking	<u>1971</u> # of English speaking	% of English speaking	<u>1971</u> O T H E R	
North St. Boniface	7,055	61.89%	3,285	28.82%	1,060	9.30%
Windsor Park	2,470	15.77%	11,100	70.88%	2,090	13.35%
Southdale	830	12.95%	4,675	72.93	905	14.12%
TOTAL	10,355		19,060		4,055	

In summary, the population of St. Bonifaces' three communities are profiled thus:

NORTH ST. BONIFACE

The population is older and composed mostly of French speaking persons. The residents, most of whom have lived for ten years or more in North St. Boniface, have incomes (median 8,560) which are slightly but not significantly lower than other parts of St. Boniface.

WINDSOR PARK

The residents of this area are largely English-speaking. The median income is \$10,802. Most of the residents have lived in the area for ten years or less. The age structure of the population would indicate that it is composed mostly of young family units.

SOUTHDALE

The population of Southdale is very similar to the population of Windsor Park. The median income is \$10,031. Most of the residents have lived in the area for 5 years or less. The age structure of the population would indicate that it is composed of mostly family units who have not past their child bearing years.

For all of the above areas the data is from the 1971 census of Canada. There is some reference made to the preliminary population figures for 1976. In order for a more comprehensive and up-to-date population profile, it will be necessary to obtain information directly from the households. This should be done before any final decision is made based on this data.

The information presented concerning the population attributes will be used in conjunction with the voting statistics to follow, to determine if some voting pattern is emerging and perhaps to explain that pattern in the

context of the various electoral systems under consideration.

IV OUTLINE OF 1974 SCHOOL BOARD TRUSTEES ELECTION RESULTS

To examine the election results for 1974 in the St. Boniface School Board Elections, this report will focus upon: the winning candidates, the percentage of the total vote received by each candidate, and the breakdown of votes for each of the three St. Boniface communities. This method has been chosen in order to highlight voting differences which may be occurring in what may become 3 (three) distinct wards.

In 1974, thirteen candidates ran for the five positions on the St. Boniface School Board. Of those candidates elected, none received more than 10% of the total vote cast. (See Table 7) The sum of all the votes for the winners was even less than 50% of the total vote cast..

(Each voter receives 5 votes of which he may cast all or none).

TABLE 7

WINNERS IN 1974 SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS AND TOTAL VOTES RECEIVED AND PERCENTAGE OF VOTES CAST RECEIVED

<u>Election Winners</u>	<u>Votes Received</u>	<u>% of Votes Cast</u>
Candidate 7	2804	9.83
Candidate 4	2766	9.70
Candidate 9	2567	9.00
Candidate 5	2473	8.69
Candidate 3	2314	8.11
TOTAL	12,924	45.30%

This would indicate that either a) the large numbers of candidates, fragment the vote such that a cohesive minority voting in a block can elect a candidate or b) It is more important for a candidate running at large to win solidly in Key areas than to try to win at large.

Table 8 shows the breakdown of votes and percentage of total vote for each candidate in each community of St. Boniface.

Although the winner in St. Boniface, candidate #9, and Windsor Park, candidate #4 was elected, Candidate #1, the winner in Southdale is not. Southdale does not have a very large population. It is the smallest of the three areas of St. Boniface discussed here, thus it does not have many voters. The at-large election method does not allow for geographical representation as evidenced by the lack of the successful candidate in Southdale obtaining a seat on the school board.

It is important to note also that while the vote in St. Boniface goes overwhelmingly to two major candidates, #7 and #9, the vote in Southdale is far more fragmented. This could be a reflection of the young age of the Southdale community. The sense of community and a feeling of singular self interest is perhaps not strong in Southdale as reflected in voting statistics. It is difficult to tell from this information, whether Southdales fragmented vote is due to a lack of a "sense of community," or lack of regional interests. Although Southdale is a geographically distinct area, it may not feel that its interest are distinct from the rest of St. Boniface.

In referring back to Table 1, which shows the age/sex structure of the population, it is possible to calculate the approximate numbers of voters for each area, by totalling all individuals age twenty or older.*

* Voting age is 18 thus those persons who were 19 & under in 1971 excluded. Included are persons who are not eligible to vote such as immigrants.

TABLE 8

VOTES PER CANDIDATE FOR 1974 FOR NORTH ST. BONIFACE, WINDSOR PARK, AND SOUTHDALE AND PERCENTAGE OF VOTE

IN EACH AREA PER CANDIDATE

<u>Candidate Number</u>	<u>North St. Boniface</u>		<u>Windsor Park</u>		<u>Southdale</u>	
	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% of Vote</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% of Vote</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% of Votes</u>
Candidate 1	158	2.18	1148	7.35	654	12.62 *
Candidate 2	1187	16.35	680	4.35	166	3.20
**Candidate 3	347	4.78	1509	9.66	423	8.16
**Candidate 4	454	6.25	1765	11.30 *	505	9.75
**Candidate 5	358	4.93	1575	10.09	524	10.11
Candidate 6	207	2.85	1104	7.07	353	6.81
**Candidate 7	1288	17.74	1143	7.32	323	6.23
Candidate 8	133	1.83	1050	6.72	329	6.35
**Candidate 9	1542	21.24 *	765	4.90	191	3.69
Candidate 10	177	2.44	1364	8.73	414	7.99
Candidate 11	215	2.96	1388	8.89	394	7.60
Candidate 12	753	10.37	1080	6.92	308	5.94
Candidate 13	441	6.07	1046	6.70	598	11.54
<hr/>						
Total	7,260	99.99	15,617	100.00	5,182	99.99
<hr/>						

* Denotes First Place Winner in Each District
 ** Denotes Candidate Elected in 1974.

SOURCE: Civic Election, October 23, 1974, results
 for School Trustees, St. Boniface School
 Division.

North St. Boniface - 7765 people of voting age
 Windsor Park - 8450 people of voting age.
 Southdale - 3400 people of voting age.

Each voter is entitled to cast one vote for each school board seat, thus the actual number of votes which each community is entitled to five times the number of votes or:

<u>Area</u>	<u>Total votes possible</u>	<u>Total votes cast</u>	<u>% of votes cast</u>
North St. Boniface 7765 x 5 =	38,825	7,260	18.69
Windsor Park 8450 x 5 =	42,250	15,617	36.96
Southdale 3400 x 5 =	<u>17,000</u>	<u>5,182</u>	<u>30.48</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	98,075	28,069*	
	<u>* Does not include mail in ballot</u>		

Of the possible 98,075 votes which could have been cast, only 28,528 were cast. Therefore only 29.09% of the possible votes were cast. Southdale cast 30.48% of their possible votes. While the largest voter turnout was in Windsor Park, 36.96%. Southdale generally did not concentrate its vote for any particular candidate nor were those elected, big winners in Southdale, even though voter turnout was second highest there. In fact one candidate, #9 received 3.69% of the Southdale vote, and 4.90% of the Windsor Park vote (in each case the second lowest percentage), yet was elected by having received 21.24% of the North St. Boniface vote. The votes for Candidate #7 as put forth in Table 8 would also indicate the big win in St. Boniface was a major factor in being elected.

It would seem that North St. Boniface, which ranks second in population, and third in voter turnout, ranks, first as being the area which returned the

most votes for winners. This could be a result of the community being older and perhaps more cohesive than the newer areas of Windsor Park and Southdale, and displaying more homogeneity in its voting patterns, and thereby carrying more power by voting as a bloc. The above would seem to indicate that under the present electoral system, diversity in voting patterns over a geographical area (evidenced by Southdales, fragmented vote) will lead to a lack of representation of that geographical area.

In an election where each voter has more than one vote, it is difficult to determine how many votes are cast by each person. Some voters may be familiar with only one or two candidates and vote for them only.

The City Clerks office was contacted to try and determine exactly how many people voted but this information was not readily available. Although the mayoral election was held at the same time, I was informed by Bob Sanger of the City clerk's office, that not all voters would have voted for the mayor so that even that vote figure would not give an accurate count. For the above reason the approximate number of voters is used here.

Table 9, p. 24, shows the total votes for each candidate and the percentage of the total vote received. Here it should be noted that when the entire district is examined, no single candidate received a large or unusually small number of votes. It would seem that the election was fairly close as there is not much spread of the votes. Each candidate has a good amount of support district-wide, but only a few had a solid majority in any one area.

Of the winning candidates, candidates #9 and 7 were solid winners only in North St. Boniface . Of the other winners, candidate #4 was a winner in Windsor Park, and placed fourth in Southdale. Candidate #5 placed second in Windsor Park, and placed fourth in Southdale. Candidate #3 was third in

NUMBER OF VOTES AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VOTES RECEIVED BY EACH CANDIDATE
IN THE 1974 SCHOOL BOARD TRUSTEES ELECTION

NAME	Votes Received	% of Votes Cast
Candidate 1	1988	6.97
Candidate 2	2076	7.28
**Candidate 3	2314	8.11
**Candidate 4	2766	9.70
**Candidate 5	2473	8.67
Candidate 6	1692	5.93
**Candidate 7	2804	9.83
Candidate 8	1539	5.40
**Candidate 9	2567	9.00
Candidate 10	1988	6.99
Candidate 11	2027	7.11
Candidate 12	2182	7.65
Candidate 13	2112	7.40
Total	*28,528	100.04

* includes mail in ballots

** Winners

SOURCE: Civic Election - October 23, 1974, results for School Trustees,
 St. Boniface School Division.

Windsor Park and fifth in Southdale. None of these winners, Candidate 3,4 and 5 did very well in North St. Boniface. Although they may not have been strong favourites across the district, they had enough strength to be elected.

The conclusions drawn from this survey of the election results in the 1974 School Board Trustees Elections would indicate that although these are the elected officials, perhaps they do not fully represent the entire district. This idea will be further explored and developed in Section V.

V REPRESENTATIVENESS OF SCHOOL BOARD AS ESTABLISHED FROM DATA IN SECTIONS

III AND IV

A, by no means scientific or complete survey was carried out. All of the candidates for the school board in the 1974 elections were asked to complete a short questionnaire. The information sought was: age, language preference, approximate cost of campaign, and where the campaign was concentrated. The home addresses of each candidate were known.

Of the thirteen requests, six responded.

From this information it was determined that:

- a) average cost of campaign - \$250.00
- b) average age of respondents - 41 years
- c) language - 4 English and 2 bilingual
- d) where campaign centered -

Windsor Park and Southdale - 4

Whole division - 2

The map (in appendix) shows the location of the residences of each candidate

North St. Boniface - 3

Windsor Park - 8

Southdale - 2

The two candidates who lived in Southdale and the two candidates, who lived in North St. Boniface, won in their home district. The high percentage of the vote in North St. Boniface went to the two candidates who lived there and would indicate a community where they were well known.

None of the candidates elected, live in Southdale. Three live in the Windsor Park area (but since 8 of the 13 candidates live in Windsor Park it is expected that they would be the majority winners), and two live in the North St. Boniface area.

It was established in the first section of this report that the relative proportion of population for each area for 1976 was:

North St. Boniface	- 29.50%
Windsor Park	- 43.45%
Southdale	- 27.05%

The crude ratio is 1/2/1. The ratio of the school board members are 2/3/0. This would indicate that geographically, the school board is not representative of the entire St. Boniface division.

In terms of linguistic preferences;

North St. Boniface	is 61.89% French
Windsor Park	is 15.77% French
Southdale	is 12.95% French

Since the majority of French speaking are from the North St. Boniface area, and two of the school board members reside in that area, it would indicate adequate representation of the French, because they also are part of a geographically distinct area, which is well represented.

The income and occupational status of the St. Boniface area is fairly homogeneous and representation along those lines should not be a factor.

SCHOOLS IN NORTH ST. BONIFACE, WINDSOR PARK, AND SOUTHDALE AND THEIR
FEBRUARY 1977 ENROLLMENT

<u>SCHOOLS</u>	<u>1977 Enrollment</u>
<u>North St. Boniface</u>	
Marion	457
Provencher	300
Louis Riel	486
College: Cours Secondaire (1971)	488
Tache	<u>221</u>
	1952
<u>Windsor Park</u>	
Frontenac	548
Prendergast	432
General Vanier	501
Howden	396
Lacerte	529
Pierre Radisson (1969)	471
Beliveau	839
Windsor Park Collegiate	<u>868</u>
	4584
<u>Southdale</u>	
Van Belleghem	492
J.H. Bruns (1972)	388
Niakwa Place (1975)	337
Shamrock (1975)	431
Guyot (1975)	<u>351</u>
	1999

Tache School open 1968-1975, closed in 1974 and re-opened in August 1976.
 1968-1973 William Russel School in operation - not shown here
 1974 - Pebble Beach open only that year - not shown here

() date school opened if less than 10 years ago.

TABLE 11

ENROLLMENT FOR SEPTEMBER 1968 - FEBRUARY 1977

	68	67	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77
Marion	687	658	649	507	518	509	480	453		457
Provencher	678	669	612	682	613	523	692	572		300
Louis Riel	860	841	864	797	664	659	558	515		486
College Cours Secondair				310	330	395	501	472		488
Tache	260	215	211	178	263	218				221
Frontenac	759	748	893	865	814	737	666	602		548
Prendergast	645	688	577	546	462	413	500	466		432
General Vanier	740	710	713	689	618	568	608	557		501
Howden	678	599	534	545	572	485	476	429		396
Lacerte	560	636	690	676	764	772	824	558		529
Pierre Radisson		400	505	629	578	493	502	459		471
Beliveau Jr. High	1075	835	853	930	974	950	940	938		839
Windsor Park Collegiate	870	915	968	964	831	927	869	877		868
Van Belleghem	296	402	492	613	536	642	492	469		492
J.H. Bruns					395	561	420	416		416
Niakwa Place								337		400
Shamrock								264		431
Guoyt								338		351

SOURCE: St. Boniface School Board actual enrollments from Business Administrators Office records.

Overall the greatest inadequacy in the St. Boniface school board appears to be along the lines of geographical representation. The representation is skewed to the two older sections of St. Boniface. While Southdale has the highest percentage of its population in the 5-19 age groups (44.89%) which would be using the school system. Also, Southdale had 935 children or 14.58% of its population in the 0-4 age group in 1971 (Table 1,). These young persons should now be in the school system, further raising the Southdale contingent in the schools, yet they have no specific geographical representation on the school board. Table 10 shows the enrollment figures for the St. Boniface School Division schools as of February, 1977.

North St. Boniface has 5 schools with a total enrollment as of Feb. 1977 of 1952 pupils.

Windsor Park has a total school population of 4584 in eight schools.

Southdale has a total school enrollment of 1999 in five schools.

On the surface, Southdale and St. Boniface appear equal in their contributing impact on the school system. But in fact, the schools in Southdale are relatively new. Of the five schools, only one, Van Belleghem has been open for over ten years. Of the remaining four, one opened in 1972 and the others opened in 1975. This building of new schools would indicate that the need for schools in the Southdale area is recent and also that the school board expects that need to continue.

In examining the enrollment figures, enrollments have tended to decline in those schools located in the North St. Boniface while the figures for Southdale have mostly remained stable or increased. (Table 11).

Most of the St. Boniface school division's enrollment originates in Windsor Park, that is nearly twice the number of either North St. Boniface or Southdale. The Southdale area, though has only recently surpassed the St. Boniface area in student enrollments and the building of new schools

would indicate that this trend is expected to continue.

The data, concerning the age sex structure of the population presented in Table 1, would indicate that the Southdale is growing faster than the other areas of St. Boniface. It is also the only area of St. Boniface which experienced a gain in population from 1971 to 1976, (Table 2), yet Southdale in the 1974 election did not have a single candidate elected although two, who live in that area stood for election.

This report has examined the electoral process in St. Boniface School Division #4 and found that under the at-large system of election, certain geographical areas are not represented.

VI SPECIFIC APPLICATION OF ELECTORAL SYSTEMS TO ST. BONIFACE

This report opened with an overview of various electoral systems: at-large, ward system (single and multi-member) and combined ward/at-large system. Each system will now be reviewed against the background of the information presented concerning the St. Boniface Community.

AT LARGE SYSTEM

The present method of electing school board trustees in St. Boniface is the at-large system. From the population profile data and the voting statistics, it would seem that the present system has some inadequacies.

The most obvious shortcoming of the system is that one geographical area is not represented: Southdale.

Adequacy of Representation

The original parameters of examination were: adequacy of representation of regional, linguistic and interest groups. The Southdale region is not represented. The North St. Boniface area, which contains the high percentage of the French linguistic group, is well represented on the school board with two

representatives from the area. The representation of interest groups cannot be determined from the data contained. It is not possible from census data to establish, where or if, interest groups exist. This information would have to be gathered in interviews with the population.

Electoral Convenience

The second parameter of the study was concerned with the electoral convenience of the present system.

At a glance, to have to choose five candidates from a field of thirteen is quite difficult for the voters. Also the candidates have a large area to cover and become known in. This overwhelming area, encourages the candidate to spend his time and resources to either a) become better known in his home area or b) to concentrate solely on those areas where he is not known. One candidate, who responded to the survey mentioned earlier, stated that he choose to concentrate his campaign on areas outside of North St. Boniface, because he is known there.

The at-large system of election does not offer electoral convenience from either the candidates, or the voters viewpoint. Interviews with the population, the candidates and school board members could help to clarify and reinforce the issue of degree of electoral convenience obtained under the at-large system of electing school board trustees.

Effective Decision Making

The third parameter of the study, effective decision making of the resulting school board, cannot be commented on at this time. This report does not contain the information to make definite statements concerning this aspect. The general decision making ability of at-large elected school boards, can be inferred from other data, mainly U.S., which was presented earlier in this report. It is important to note that effective decision making of the St. Boniface school board, can be measured by examining the minutes of meetings

to determine the level of dissension within the board; talking with parents, teachers, and students in the system, and observing the operation of the school board members in meetings. All of these actions, require more time than was allotted for this report and should be considered for inclusion in any subsequent studies.

In sum, the at-large system of electing school board members for the St. Boniface School Division has led to inadequate geographical representation and is inconvenient for both the voters and the candidates.

SINGLE MEMBER WARD SYSTEM

This system would require that the various communities of St. Boniface, be split up into small wards.

Although the data supplied concerning this system, is largely U.S. data, it can give some indication of how this system might work in the St. Boniface School Division.

Adequacy of Representation

The single member ward could ensure adequate representation on the school board. In cases where the areas involve many ethnic groups, ward boundaries are "gerrymandered"¹⁵ to deny these groups representation. The population of St. Boniface does not include many ethnic groups. The French speaking population are located largely in North St. Boniface and single member wards would not be divided to deny them representation. They are part of, what appears to be the most cohesive area of St. Boniface, if voting patterns are any indication of this. It is likely that in any ward boundary decisions, they would be able to make their feelings known.

Electoral Convenience

If electoral convenience is measured in terms of ease of candidates to know and be responsive to their constituency and the ease of voters to know and recognize their representative, this system would rank high.

Single member wards usually are small homogenous wards with people of similiar interests and backgrounds. Each voter need only know the one or two candidates running for the single ward seat. Each candidate need only campaign in a small area, to a well defined population.

This system, single member wards, offers excellent electoral convenience for both the voter and the candidate.

Effective Decision Making

The decision making ability of the school board elected by the single member ward system is proported to be fair.¹⁶

The wards with their small homogenous groupings usually represent well defined interests. Each board member in turn, is more concerned with his individual ward interests than with district wide interests.

In sum, the single member ward system, for electing school board members is probably not best for the St. Boniface School Division. It would tend to destroy and divide what are now, geographically distinct communities. This destruction of an identifiable community, and the rise of more self-oriented wards could also create dissension on the school board as each member became entrenched in fighting for his ward ideas at the expense of the district as a whole.

COMBINED WARD/AT-LARGE SYSTEM

The combined ward/at-large system would have some candidates elected at-large while others are to be elected from wards.

Adequacy of Representation

This system would ensure adequacy of representation, but not equal representation of the various sectors of the Division.

The various wards would represent each area but the at-large candidates, as stated earlier, in this report, would probably still represent those groups of the population best organized and able to vote in a block.

Those groups best organized, would tend to be represented through the ward mechanism and through the at-large mechanism which favors them.

Electoral Convenience

The convenience to the candidates would be fairly high. Those candidates from wards would have a well defined constituency to appeal to. Those candidates running at-large, would probably be those with the greatest financial and time resources to pour into a campaign.

The convenience of the dual system to the voters is questionable. Voters could know and recognize the ward candidate, but may not know the at-large candidate. Also confusion could arise in marking the ballot as to which candidate(s) are running at-large and which are running by ward. Also confusion as to how many at-large candidates one can vote for and how many ward votes one can cast.

This system does not appear to be very convenient for the voters.

Effective Decision Making

The point was made elsewhere in this report, that the ward members tended to be juniors to the at-large members in this system. This could create problems of power, such that juniors members may decide to withdraw, en mass, from the board. This could destroy the legitimacy of the board. The power struggle could escalate such that the board is paralyzed in the confrontation between ward interests, represented by "juniors" members, and district-wide interests, represented, by at-large, senior members.

In sum, this system, could solve the problem for St. Boniface of inadequate geographical representation, but may create problems in the smooth working of the school board. This system deserves some further study as to its applicability to the St. Boniface School Division.

MULTI MEMBER WARD SYSTEM

This system would divide the area into wards, each of which would have more than one representative.

Adequacy of Representation

This system would ensure adequacy of representation of the various geographical groups in St. Boniface, since each geographically distinct community would be a separate ward.

Since the one significantly large ethnic group are the French, who are the majority in a separate geographical ward, they would still be adequately represented.

This system would give the newer areas of St. Boniface, Southdale, an opportunity to be represented on the school board.

Also, because of the varying ages of the communities of St. Boniface, the interests and attitudes of the populations may change over time. The multi-member ward could provide for this and adequately represent those changing attitudes by allowing each ward to have more than one representative. As changes occur and the population fragments in attitudes, a group may be able to elect one of the multi-members to represent their interest to the board.

This system allows for divergence in the electorate without denying that segment representation until they form a majority voting block.

Electoral Convenience

This system helps the candidates because they have a smaller area, than in an at-large system to cover. Their constituency is more manageable and they can better represent the needs of this smaller group.

The convenience factor in the system for the voter is dependent upon the number of votes each individual may cast. Under the present at-large system each person casts five votes, one for each seat. In a multi-member ward each person may cast one vote for a particular candidate, with the top ranked candidates winning, or one may cast a vote for each available ward seat. The number of candidates could be a factor in terms of electoral convenience in the multi-member ward system, and this should be considered as an important element. The field of candidates may expand, as each segment of the ward feels more intimately related to school board politics in the ward system.

This area of electoral convenience is difficult to assess for the specific St. Boniface case under the system of the multi-member ward. Many factors concerning how voters feel about candidates, assessability, and the mechanics of one vote or more than one vote, are important in determining electoral convenience using the multi-member ward.

Effective Decision Making

The multi-member ward would increase the various areas of representation on the board by increasing the members.

Multi-member candidates are likely to deal, not in as narrowly defined areas as the single member ward members, but still the areas of interest are fairly well defined and some cleavages may occur over conflicting interests.

The effective decision making of the board would not be greatly altered in the multi-member ward over the single member, except the data would indicate that there would not be quite as much bickering over policy decisions.

In sum the multi-member ward system does have the potential to rectify some problems of geographical representation that have occurred in the at-large system. It can potentially be more convenient for both the candidates and the voters. The resultant school board may have more conflicts, but these may be a result of the representation of interests which could be lost under the at-large system, and are therefore, desirable.

VII CONCLUSION

This report has concluded that under the present at-large system of election, certain geographical sections of the community (Southdale) are unrepresented.

The Southdale community is effectively not represented in that they were not able to get the candidate of their choice elected. The top running candidates of both Windsor Park and North St. Boniface were elected. The top running candidate in Southdale was not elected.

With the present at-large system, the winners do not have an effective majority. As pointed out earlier, all the votes cast for winning candidates were less than 50% of the total vote cast.

The population of North St. Boniface were able to elect their candidates through pooling their vote. These residents seemed to be the best organized and most homogenous group. They were able to put nearly 40% of their votes behind two persons. This is probably due to the age and stability of this area. None of the other areas were able to put 40% of their vote behind two candidates.

If the number of school board candidates to be elected at-large were increased, the representation would not come from the Southdale area. Under the present system, if the seats were increased, to seven, those elements of the community best organized who are well served by the at-large system, would still tend to dominate. The North St. Boniface and Windsor Park areas would merely increase the numbers representing them on the school board.

Over time, the Southdale community, as it grew and matured, might develop similar attitudes as reflected in similar voting habits and may be able to gain a seat on the school board. In the meantime, this area,

which supplies an equal and faster growing percentage of the school enrollment than North St. Boniface, would not be represented. The school board might look forward then, to agitation from a vocal group in Southdale community.

It is recommended that the St. Boniface School Board consider the establishment of three wards. The ward lines would be based on the present community lines of North St. Boniface, Windsor Park, and Southdale.

It is preferred by the School superintendent that the board be of as an odd number to reduce the possibility of tie votes. This preference is readily amendable to this study's proposal.

Each of the proposed wards would be a multi-member ward. It is important to remember that the following breakdown is based on the present population information and should be flexible to accommodate population shifts. It can not be stressed enough that the growth potential of the Southdale area, could create pressures in the school division which should be considered, particularly if Southdale continues to supply a significant portion of the school population.

The ward breakdowns should be as follows:

North St. Boniface	- 2 trustees
Windsor Park	- 3 trustees
Southdale	- 2 trustees

The above split is based on the population of the three areas in the 1976 preliminary census counts, Table 2. Where North St. Boniface and Southdale have essentially equal populations, Windsor Park's population was 1.5 times as large. The numbers of trustees per ward should reflect the

relative population relationship of the wards. This would raise the school board from five members to seven. It would also ensure that Southdale, with its growing population and North St. Boniface with its aging and declining population, would be adequately represented on the school board.

At present, school board elections are non-partisan and could continue to remain so. Even though, Banfield and Wilson, quoted earlier, state that cleavages along party lines can occur, the relative inexpensiveness of the present campaigns should not lead candidates to seek party funding, and support. Campaigns could become less expensive too, as candidates have less area to concentrate upon.

Before implementation of the multi-member ward system, a study of the Winnipeg school Division #1, which uses this system might be appropriate.

It seems as though the St. Boniface School Division at present does not adequately represent, geographically, all of the division. This fact coupled with the evidence gathered about the population, would indicate that a new system is needed. Of the systems reviewed for this purpose, the multi-member ward with a 2/3/2 breakdown, seems best suited. The combination ward/at-large system is worthy of further study.

This is not an exhaustive study. It has counted to a great degree upon statistical data. If further work is done, it should include an examination of the present school board meetings to determine, cleavages, and interactions. Additional work should also include parent and teacher interviews to determine how they feel about the school board, its decisions, and its representativeness.

From the data utilized and recognizing fully its limitations, it is recommended that St. Boniface School Division 4, School Board, should consider

a change in the method of electing school board trustees. This consideration should concentrate on the multi-member ward system as proposed here and should entail a far more detailed study of the St. Boniface Community, the school board, and other election methods.

Footnotes

1 Peter Coleman, Superintendent of St. Boniface School Division No. 4, sent a letter, dated January 21, 1977 authorizing the Institute of Urban Studies to proceed with a study to examine alternative electoral systems in "terms of 3 major objectives: a) adequacy of representation of regional, linguistic and interest groups; b) electoral convenience, and effective decision-making of the resulting school board."

2 Op Cit Peter Coleman letter 21 January 1977. "The alternatives are 1) status quo, i.e. 5 trustees elected at large; 2) an increase to trustees elected at large; 3) a ward system, with trustees elected from 3 wards, North St. Boniface (2) Windsor Park (3), and Southdale (2); and 4) a mixed system with 7 trustees, 3 elected at large and 4 from the same wards, on a 1/2/1 split.

3 Report Commissioned by the St. James Assiniboia School Division, completed in April 1976, was later used as part of a brief presented to the Manitoba Legislative assembly in 1977, requesting boundary changes in St. James Assiniboia.

4 Institute of Urban Studies, Electoral Boundary Study of St. James-Assiniboia, (University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, April 1976), p. 4.

5 Ibid., p. 4.

6 Ibid., p. 10.

7 Ibid., p. 11.

8 Edmund Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics, (Harvard University Press, and MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1963) p. 90.

9 Op. Cit., St. James Study, p. 13.

10 Op. Cit., St. James Study p. 15.

11 Ibid., St. James p. 15-16.

12 David Heer, Society and Population, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall Inc., 1975), p. 60.

13 That is persons between the ages of 5-19.

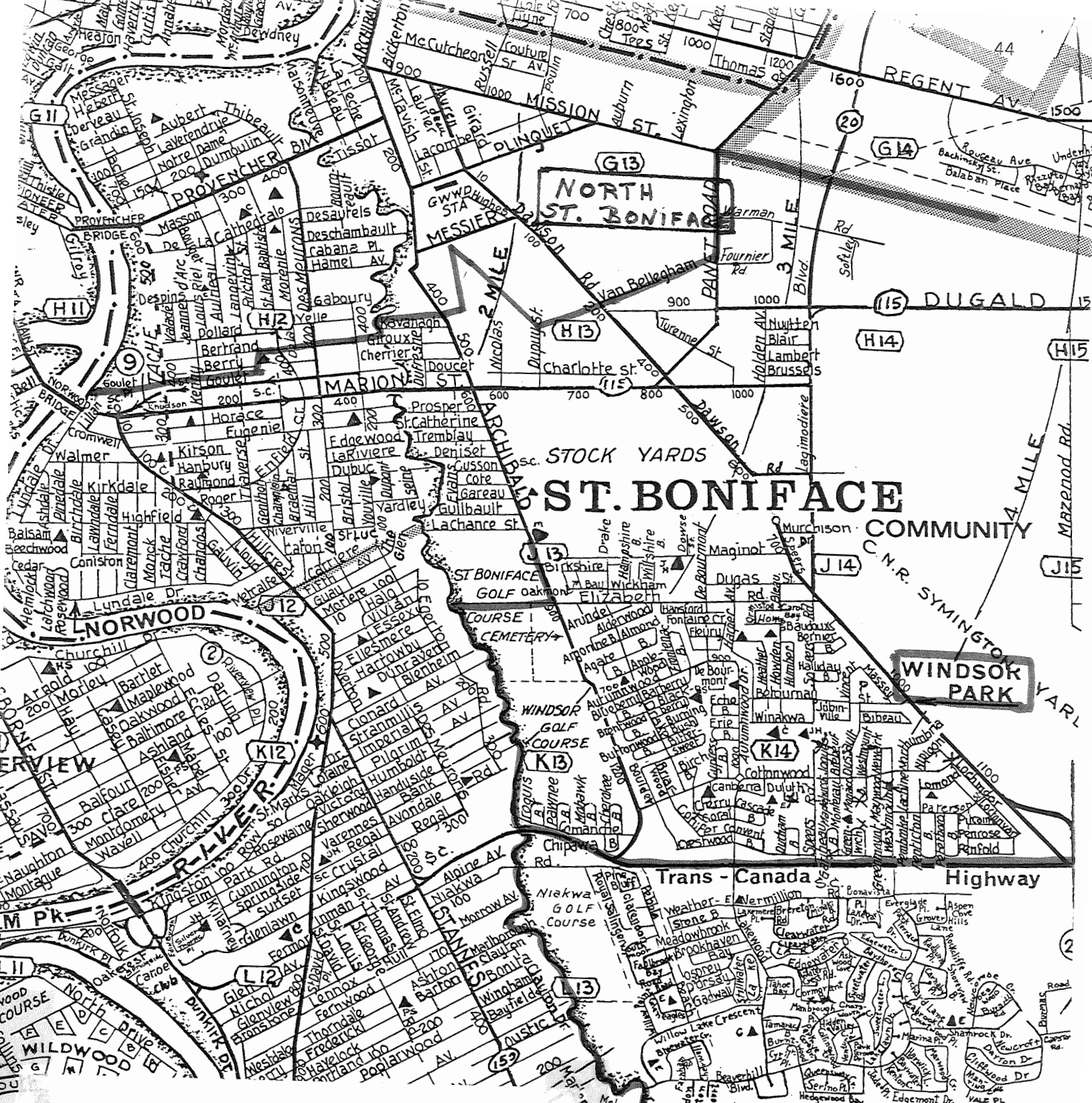
14 Community here is used to denote a contiguous area with similar perceived interests on issues and similar attitudes generally.

15 Gerrymandering - the arranging of ward boundaries in such a manner as to effectively split up homogeneous groups which may vote as a block.

16 Op.Cit., Banfield p. 13.

A P P E N D I X

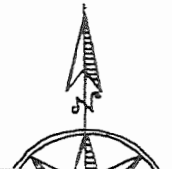
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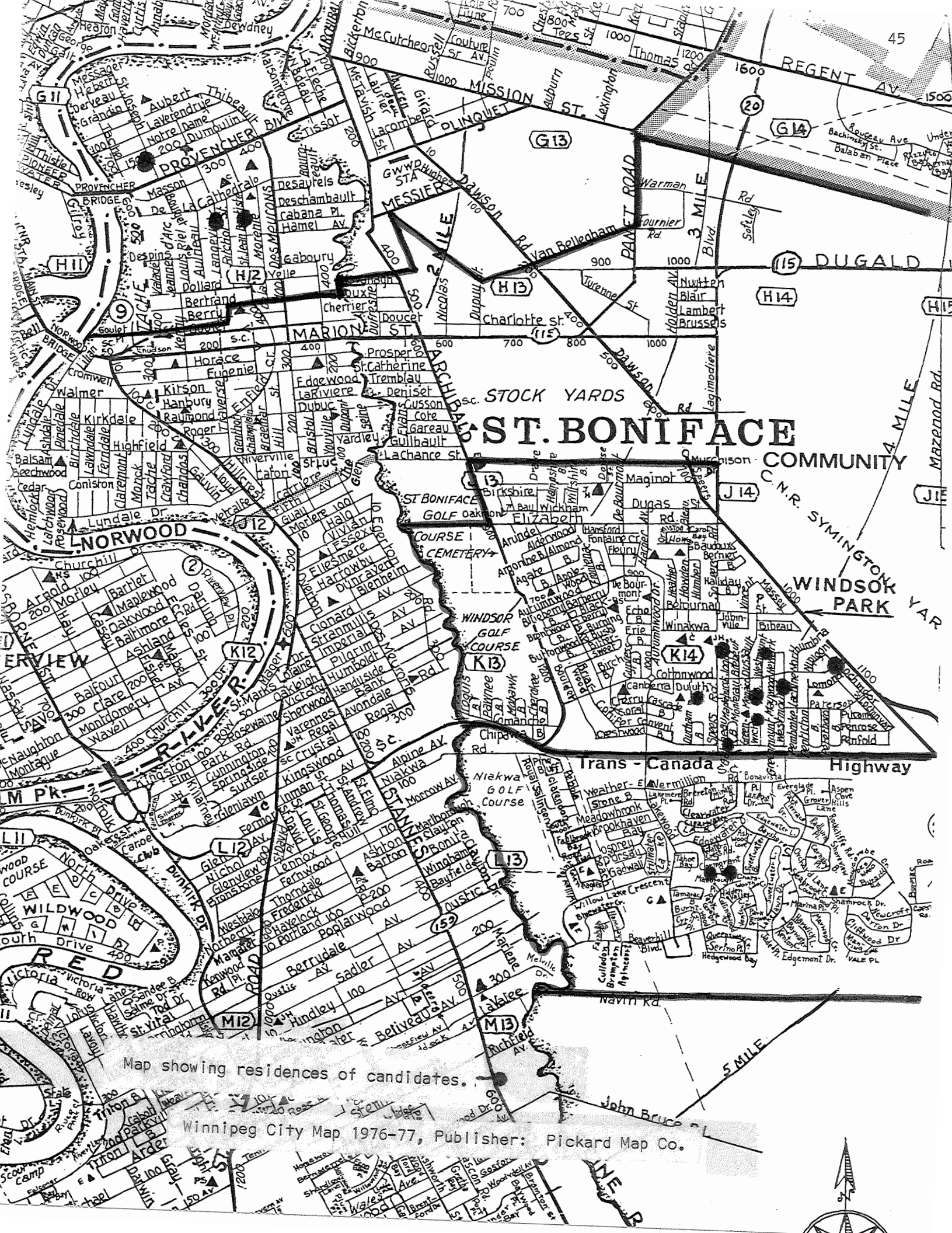


Map showing three communities of St. Boniface:

- North St. Boniface
- Windsor Park
- Southdale

Winnipeg City Map 1976-77, Publisher: Pickard Map Co.





Map showing residences of candidates.

Winnipeg City Map 1976-77, Publisher: Pickard Map Co.



OCCUPATION GROUPS

Totals - All occupations, including Major Group 00, Occupations not stated.

- Group 11 - Managerial, Administrative and Related Occupations
- Group 27 - Teaching and Related Occupations
- Group 31 - Occupations in Medicine and Health
- Group 21 - Occupations in Natural Sciences, Engineering and Mathematics
- Group 23 - Occupations in Social Sciences and Related Fields
- Group 25 - Occupations in Religion
- Group 33 - Artistic, Literary, Recreational and Related Occupations
- Group 41 - Clerical and Related Occupations
- Group 51 - Sale Occupations
- Group 61 - Service Occupations
- Group 71 - Farming, Horticultural and Animal Husbandry Occupations
- Group 73 - Fishing, Hunting, Trapping and Related Occupations
- Group 75 - Forestry Logging Occupations
- Group 77 - Mining and Quarrying including Oil and Gas Field Occupations
- Group 81/82 - Processing Occupations
- Group 83 - Machining and Related Occupations
- Group 85 - Produce Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing Occupations
- Group 87 - Construction Trades Occupations

- Group 91 - Transport Equipment Operating Occupations
- Other (for males) - Materials Handling and Related Occupations n.e.c., Other
Crafts and Equipment Operating Occupations Not Elsewhere Classified

- Other (for females) - Same groups as for males, plus Groups 87 and 91.

Taken from 1971 Census of Canada, Census Tract Bulletin, Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts: Winnipeg.

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City of Winnipeg, St. Boniface Electoral Polling District Map.