

# **Winnipeg's Core Area: An Assessment of Conditions Affecting Law Enforcement**

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by Lloyd Axworthy & Pat Christie  
1975

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**The Institute of Urban Studies**





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WINNIPEG

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**WINNIPEG'S CORE AREA: AN ASSESSMENT OF CONDITIONS AFFECTING LAW ENFORCEMENT**

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RAILWAY UNEMPLOYMENT C.B.D. URBAN RENEWAL POLICE NOTRE DAME AVENUE ITALIANS CPR  
DEPRIVITY CENTENNIAL CONCERT HALL MILITANCE KELEKIS' LEGAL AID CLASS APARTMENTS  
CLASS CRIME WAREHOUSE CONCERN SOCIAL ASSISTANCE WINNIPEG AUDITORIUM MAIN STREET  
FILIPINO FORT GARRY HOTEL IMMIGRANTS CRUISER CAR MOUNT CARMEL CLINIC OCCIDENTAL  
UNEMPLOYMENT CHILD'S BUILDING WELFARE CENTER TENANCY NATIONAL HOTEL SINGLES COP  
NORTH END BEER PARLOUR LIQUOR HEALTH SCIENCES CENTRE SALVATION ARMY RESTORATION  
HARBOUR LIGHT CORE Y.A.P. SENIOR CITIZENS LIQUOR COMMISSION TRUANCY METIS FUNDS  
R.R.A.P. STUDENTS PATRICK STREET FIRE LABOURERS PUBLIC SAFETY BUILDING WINNIPEG  
POVERTY CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT I.P.D.A. TRAFFIC N.I.P. RACIAL ASSAULT APATHY  
LORD SELKIRK PARK NEW CAREERS PROGRAM ELIM CHAPEL POOL HALL BAR CULTURAL CENTRE  
MACRAY PARK CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC PORTAGE AVENUE SUTHERLAND HOTEL PUBLIC PLACES  
MAIN STREET STRIP SALVATION ARMY HALF-WAY HOUSE Y.A.C. POLICE FORCE RESTAURANTS  
Y.M.H.A. INDIANS MEMORIAL PARK PAWN SHOPS ALCOHOL HIGHRISE GLUE SNIFFING POLICE  
COUNTESS OF DUFFERIN DECLINE MAIN STREET PROJECT MUSEUM OF MAN AND NATURE TRAIL  
NOISE WINNIPEG INN CENTRAL PARK W.H.I.P. SUBSTANDARD HOUSING WOODWORTH BUILDING  
MALDEN PARK C.P.R. CONSTABLE A.R.K.S.T.S  
A.C.B.D. CHINA TOWN TRUANCY CORE COMMISSION JUVENILE DELINQUENCY CENTRAL HUB  
CHINESE COMMUNITY POLICE FORCE CHILD VANDALISM ROBBERY STATUS DISORDER CHILDREN  
PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS FRIENDSHIP CENTRE ROOMING HOUSE BEVERAGE ROOM MANPOWER PUB  
SKID-ROW CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY REHABILITATION WAREHOUSE THEATRE C.Y.C. SURVEYS  
SOCIAL MARKETING CENTRE WINNIPEG CENTRE FOR CULTURE  
FREIGHT HOUSE CREE EMPIRE HOTEL HEALTH CARE LYDIA STREET DE-TOX PUBLIC LAVATORY  
UNEMPLOYMENT PLANETARIUM ROYAL ALEX I.P.D.A. PATRICIA HOTEL C.P.R. INDUSTRIES MACLAREN HOTEL  
SINGLE PARENT FAMILY MULTI-FACETED LAW COURTS TRANSIENTS NEW OCCIDENTAL ELDERLY  
MILITANCE DRUGS HOUSING NATIVES MANITOBA CLUB NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM  
MIGRATION WELFARE CHEQUE HOLIDAY TOWERS DENSE LIQUOR CONTROL ACT SERIOUS GHETTO  
CONFEDERATION BUILDING POLICE OFFICER CONSTABLE BOSCO CENTRE CRISIS BUS CULTURE  
OVERCROWDED SINCLAIR C.C. SURVEY RENEWAL ABSENTEE LANDLORDS TENANT'S DISCONTENT  
MUGGINGS INTOXICATION POOR HOUSING DISPARITY NATIVE ORGANIZATIONS JUSTICE URBAN  
MACLEAN HOUSE P.A.C.T. PROBATION NORTH WINNIPEG ACTION CENTRE DEFEATED RUN DOWN  
EDUCATION CULTURE HOME REPAIR PROGRAM INNOVATIONS TRAINING PROGRAM AMALGAMATION  
CHILDREN KINOW HOUSING CORPORATION CHILD CENSUS TRACTS GOVERNMENT UNICITY RAPES  
KINOW HOUSING CORPORATION P.A.C.T. POINT DOUGLAS OUTREACH CHILD ABUSE UPGRADING  
PROBATION LEGAL AID CHILD WELFARE ACT NATIVE ORGANIZATIONS SOCIAL ACTION ABUSES  
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT HOUSING  
ECONOMIC DISPARITY URBAN AREAS MIDLAND RAILWAY SOCIAL SERVICE AUDIT CHILD ABUSE  
LANDLORDS EDUCATION WINNIPEG CENTRE PROJECTS LIQUOR NATIVE DENSE DROP IN CENTRE  
INNOVATION FACILITIES PROBLEMS TRAINING PROGRAMS URBAN CRIME BILL CENSUS TRACTS  
REHABILITATION GOVERNMENT AMALGAMATION M.H.R.C. ELLEN DOUGLASS SCHOOL CONFLICTS  
CRITICAL HOME REPAIR PROGRAM MANITOBA AVENUE TRANSIENCY DISRAELI FREEWAY ASIANS  
WINNIPEG SCHOOL DIVISION SAULTEAUX CNR EAST YARDS PARENT'S COMMITTEE VICTIMIZED  
DISTURBANCES TREATMENT FRUSTRATION ASSISTANCE SOCIAL ALLOWANCE CHAMPLAIN SCHOOL  
SACRE-COEUR DISTRUST PREJUDICE POLICE DEPARTMENTS SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL THEFT  
MAIN STREET MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION POLICE RESPONSE COMMUNITY GROUPS DISTURBANCES  
CANADA MANPOWER MANITOBA PATHFINDERS L.I.P. WILLIAM WHYTE SCHOOL ABERDEEN HOTEL  
CULTURE SHOCK KATE STREET UNSANITARY UNSAFE SOCIAL COUNSELLING UNICITY STRATEGY  
AD HOC COMMITTEE ETHNIC GROUPS LIQUOR INSPECTORS MORALITY DIVISION CITY COUNCIL

# WINNIPEG'S CORE AREA

## AN ASSESSMENT OF CONDITIONS

### AFFECTING LAW ENFORCEMENT

INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES

WINNIPEG'S CORE AREA

AN ASSESSMENT OF CONDITIONS  
AFFECTING LAW ENFORCEMENT

A STUDY FOR THE  
WINNIPEG POLICE COMMISSION

INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG  
OCTOBER, 1975  
LLOYD AXWORTHY AND PAT CHRISTIE  
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MARY CROTEAU AND STAN WOOD

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FROM IUS REPORT.

WINNIPEG'S CORE AREA...

1. INTRODUCTION

Another study of Winnipeg's core area - is it needed? For most citizens, the probable answer would be, no. Over the years there has been a constant barrage of reports, editorials, exposés, investigations, all describing the decline and deterioration, the poverty, the incidence of crime, alcoholism and social tragedy. Surely, by this time the problem of the core area has been well documented.

For those who work in the core - the policeman, the social worker, the businessman - they will tell you that we do not need another study. They know the area first hand; understand what is going on; and can tell you what should be done. And, certainly the residents of the core must be frustrated and tired with constantly being analyzed and dissected. They either want to be left alone, or they want action.

So, why this study? What good will it do? One answer to this emanates from the very diversity of views about Winnipeg's core area and what should be done. There are so many impressions of the core area held by so many different people, that it is difficult to know what the reality is. Depending upon whom you talk to, the core area can be seen as a business center, a cultural capital, a commercial hub, or it can be seen by its other face, an area of rampant crime, of disadvantage and despair. Many of the conclusions are drawn from personal experiences and opinions, or represent the particular perspective of one organization or one group of people. Oftentimes the facts presented in support of different positions are contradictory or non-existent.

This is not a sound base upon which to build good policies. Instead, there must be some effort to sift out the relevant economic, social, physical conditions of the core, determine relationships between those conditions, and then assess what might be the right course of action. Strangely enough, for all the attention paid to the core area, for all the studies and reports that have been undertaken over the years, this is very rarely done.



This report would hope to correct some of these faults, but its own limitations must be recognized. The study grew out of the demands upon the Police Commission to address itself to the issue of whether there should be a special program for recruiting Native people for the police force as one solution to problems in the core. Before acting upon that issue, the Police Commission requested that the Institute of Urban Studies survey conditions in the core area, examine the present range of services being offered, consider the experience of police forces in dealing with urban minority groups, and make recommendations to the Commission.<sup>1</sup>

The report was commissioned in the spring, for completion in the fall. The resources and time available for investigation were modest. As a result, the methods of inquiry by necessity were limited, and very little original research could be done. The work of others had to be used, and where there were gaps in information, and there are many, it was often difficult and in instances impossible to supply the needed data. For example, one of the important issues in the core area centers on the in-migration of rural people, especially the Indian and Metis. Yet, the estimate of how many Native people live in the city, how many come each year, is subject to such wide variance depending upon the source, as to make any reliable measurement very difficult.

Even with such difficulties there is sufficient data, drawn from different sources to piece together a relatively up-to-date assessment of Winnipeg's core area. There was full co-operation from the Police Department, government officials, representatives from social agencies and community people in supplying what information they had, and offering their own assessments. From these different sources, this report attempts to stitch together an overview of conditions in the core, and to transmit a synthesis of views of what should be done both in the wider sense of overall policy and in the more specific area of law enforcement.

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1. For complete terms of reference see Appendix A.

Therefore, while the material cannot be presented as being complete, and while there is still a pressing need to more fully understand the complex world of the core area, the study should provide members of the Commission and other interested citizens, with at least an outline of what is going on, and what changes might be contemplated.

## 1.2 DEFINITION OF CORE AREA

There are many ways to define the core area, and over time, various organizations have arrived at different definitions and different geographical boundaries as being representative of the core area. Reviewing the general literature on cities it is possible to set down the following features generally used to describe a core area:

- heterogeneity of population;
- mixed and changing land use patterns;
- aging structures;
- wide disparity of land prices;
- redevelopment pressures;
- low income zones;
- congestion problems;
- shifting community structures, both ethnic and socio-economic.<sup>2</sup>

Winnipeg's core area, that part of the city centered by Main Street, including major parts of the central business district and substantial portions of the older living areas of central and north Winnipeg, match these criteria. It has a wide diversity of people, a heterogeneity not uncommon to inner cities of large metropolitan centers. Historically it is the area of first settlement in Winnipeg; commercially it is the central business district of Winnipeg; physically it is the oldest area of the city, diverse in building and housing types; socially it is the cultural center for Winnipeg's

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2. Cf. Dave Vincent, "The Inner City - A Winnipeg Example," in Lloyd Axworthy ed., The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal, Institute of Urban Studies, 1972, and also cf. Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, "Inner City Research," a policy paper, p. 3.

population and is a gathering place for migrants and transients from a variety of ethnic backgrounds; economically, it is the location of the poorest people and many marginal businesses.

The question is, how does one draw a specific set of boundary lines to indicate where the core area is? Does the Main Street "strip", the warehouse area around Lombard, the residential area in the north end and the Centennial area, Chinatown, the downtown business district represent the core? It is difficult to delineate the core area geographically or select a particular representative area.

There have been efforts made, however, to document a set of characteristics to describe Winnipeg's core. One major form of documentation are urban renewal studies which emphasize the physical, spatial dimensions of the core area. Taking the urban renewal studies which have described physical deterioration they include the following areas:

Urban Renewal Area Number 1: The area bounded by Main Street, Salter Street, Selkirk Avenue and the C.P.R.

Urban Renewal Area Number 2: The area bounded by Main Street, Arlington Street, C.P.R. , and Notre Dame Avenue.

Urban Renewal Area Number 3: The area bounded by Main Street, the Red River, C.P.R. , and the Assiniboine River.

These areas were identified on the basis of a comprehensive survey of the Metropolitan area of Greater Winnipeg to determine potential areas for renewal. Basically the assessment of urban renewal areas is concerned with physical features and therefore programs formulated in these studies are largely of a physical development nature.<sup>3</sup>

The Social Planning Council in its Social Service Audit conducted in 1968 provides a description of the core from the social perspective.<sup>4</sup>

The audit examined fourteen indicators of social disorganization (e.g. child

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3. Metropolitan Urban Renewal Study Final Report, The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Planning Division, July 1967.

4. Report of the Social Service Audit, sponsored by the Manitoba Government, United Way of Greater Wpg., the Winnipeg Foundation, Community Welfare Planning Council, May 1969, p.9.

neglect, mental illness, illegitimacy, alcoholism, crime, etc.) the distribution and intensity of these problems, and identified the Core Area, "an area with severe problems", as the area bounded by Burrows, the Red River, McPhillips and Ingersoll, west along Portage Avenue to St. James Street and south to the Assiniboine River. This socio-economic approach to defining the core area has been followed in subsequent reports.<sup>5</sup>

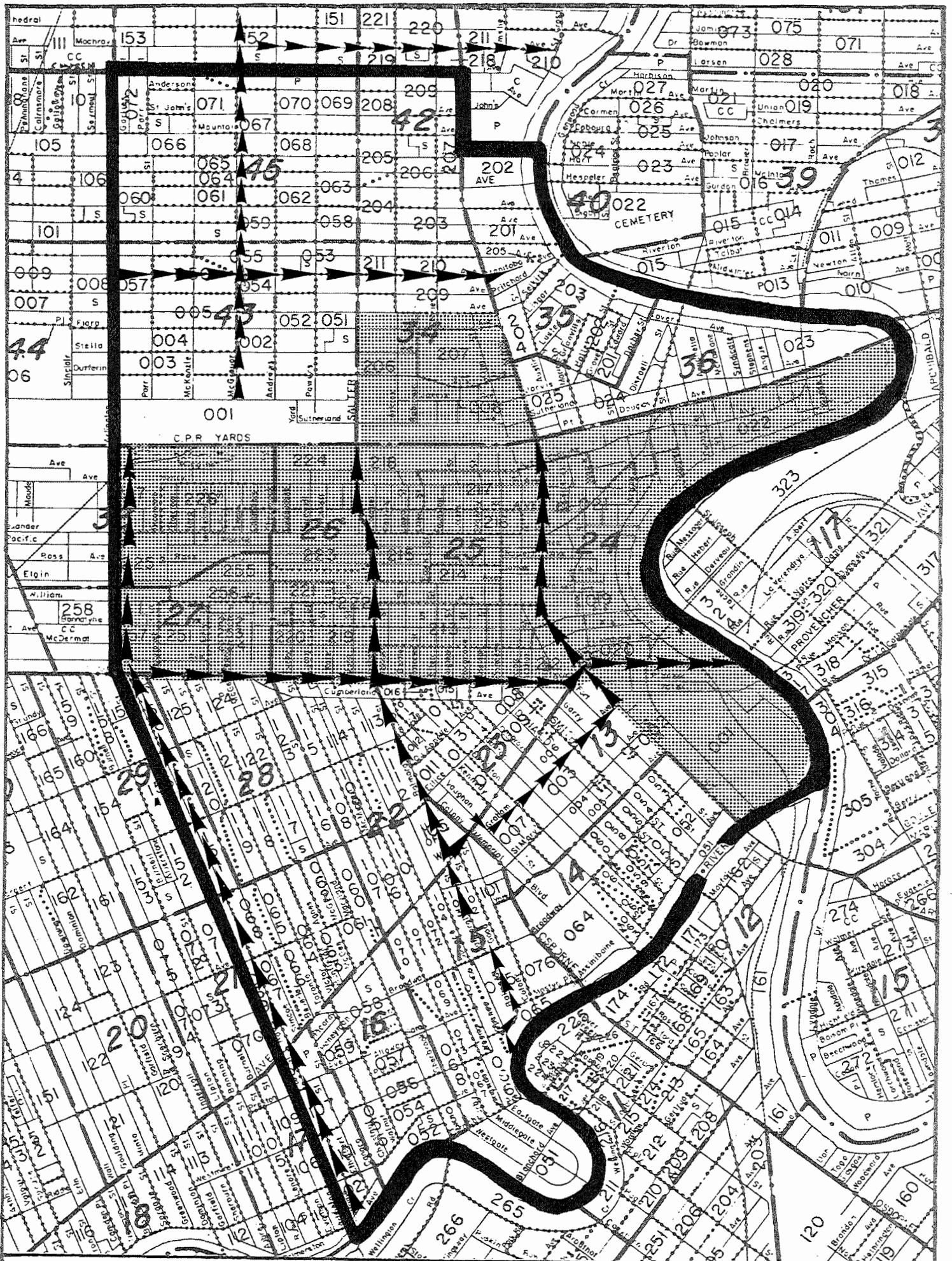
Another way of defining the core is the functional approach used by city departments. For example since amalgamation, the city police department has divided the city into six districts. Within each of those districts are cruiser car areas that are delineated according to a weighting of the occurrence and seriousness of various crimes. The cruiser areas considered to be core area coverage, relative to the incidence of crime, are seven in number, and include the area between Manitoba Avenue on the north, Assiniboine River on the south, Arlington Street on the west and the Red River on the east.

Combining these various approaches and placing their different boundaries on a map shows a high degree of overlap. Differences occur only in the geographical delineation of the outer boundaries. Therefore, in defining the core area in this study, an amalgam of the physical, social and administrative definitions was used. In effect, the basis of the definition for the core area as used in this study is that area characterized by high incidence of physical deterioration, a high frequency of social problems and a high utilization of city police services.

Added to this combination of factors were the convenient boundaries set forth in the Statistics Canada census tract arrangements. Those tracts which most closely corresponded to the core area definitions derived from other studies were selected as a further component in drawing up the boundaries that were to be used in this report. This was done primarily for easy translation of data from the 1971 census which in most instances, is the most up-to-date source.

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5. Cf. Main Street: A Position Paper, Social Planning Council of Winnipeg February, 1975.

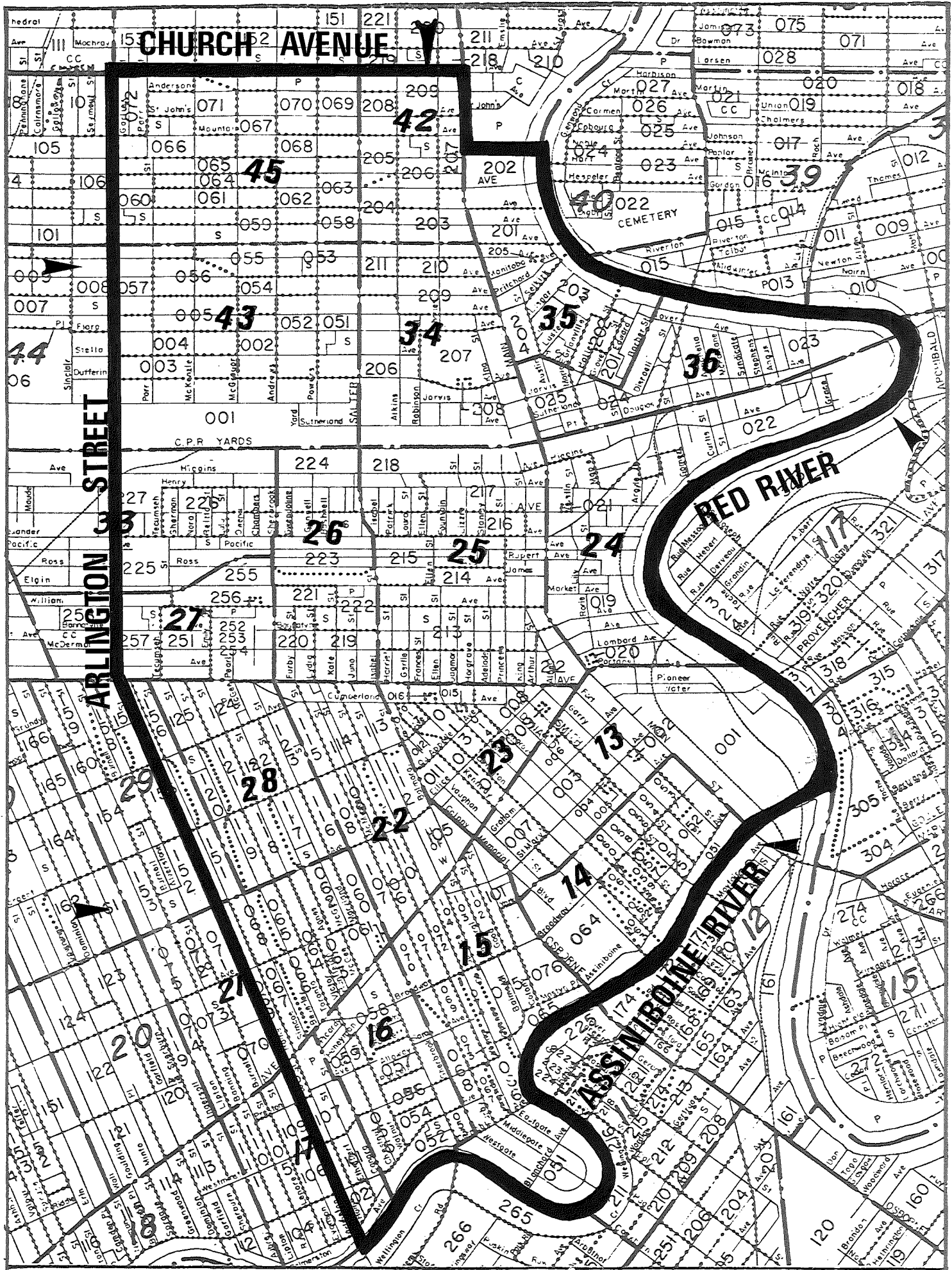


MAP 1

# CORE AREA STUDY

## FOR THE WINNIPEG POLICE COMMISSION

- CORE AREA BOUNDARY
- URBAN RENEWAL AREAS 1, 2 & 3
- POLICE CRUISER CAR DISTRICTS



# MAP 2

# CORE AREA STUDY

## FOR THE WINNIPEG POLICE COMMISSION

CORE AREA BOUNDARY 

CENSUS TRACT NO.'S eg. 26

INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES 1975

The boundaries for the core area to be used in this study will therefore be as follows: the northern boundary is Church Avenue, the southern boundary, the Assiniboine River, the eastern boundary the Red River, and the western boundary Arlington Street. This area corresponds to the statistical areas defined by the following census tracts: 13-16, 22-26, 28, 34-36, 42, 43, 45, the eastern  $\frac{1}{3}$  portion of 17, eastern  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 21,  $\frac{2}{3}$  of 27, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 33. These portions of census tracts arise because Arlington was selected for the western boundary. Arlington was used due to its place as a major thoroughfare and because it corresponds to police cruiser car districts. Naturally the choice of such boundaries is arbitrary and subject to constant revision. The important fact is that we are describing a set of conditions - rundown physical structures, the incidence of poverty, and a heavy input of social and administrative services. These are what really define the core area.

### 1.3 DEFINITION OF PROBLEMS

As previously mentioned, there has not been a lack of identification of problems in the core area. A variety of governmental, social and community organizations have in recent history voiced their concerns and pinpointed issues. It is important to review these different perspectives on the core area. In this way, the nature of the problem as seen by those who live, work, or have some political or administrative responsibility for the core area can be used to formulate the essential issues that should be examined in this study.

#### A. NATIVE PEOPLE AND THE POLICE

The Police Commission received a letter dated January 5th, 1975 from Deputy Mayor Bernie Wolfe communicating his feeling that there should be efforts made to recruit and train native people as one means of meeting police responsibilities in the core area where a large and growing number of native people reside.<sup>6</sup>

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6. Cf. Letter from Deputy Mayor Wolfe to Police Commission, January 5th, 1975 - Appendix, B.

Previous studies have indicated that not only is the native urban population growing, but many native people are without proper jobs, sufficient income, or acceptable standards of education. This leads to difficulties in coping with conditions in the city. As a result, native people represent a disproportionate number in the urban population facing unemployment, poor housing, alcoholism and they are disproportionately involved in infractions with the law.<sup>7</sup>

As one of the few front line agencies dealing with the core area on a day-to-day, street level, the police force has been under special pressures. Native organizations in the past have complained of police treatment and there is some evidence to show that the relationship between the police and native people is characterized by suspicion, lack of communication and mistrust.<sup>8</sup> In response to this, the idea of special detachments of native police is seen as a means of overcoming these difficulties.

#### B. CORE AREA PROBLEMS

The Police Commission in responding to Deputy Mayor Wolfe's letter, concluded, however, that the issue of native people in the core and their relations with the police could not and should not be dealt with in isolation. Certainly the problems of Winnipeg's core area are not exclusively those of one group in the population, nor of one agency of civic government. There are many inter-related issues, and many organizations both governmental and non-governmental involved in the core. It was important, therefore, to determine the full range of core conditions and the role played by other groups and organizations. These also have been the subject of various studies and observations, highlighting various problems.

##### 1. PHYSICAL PROBLEMS

Certainly one cannot define the problems of the core without first centering

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7. cf. Indian-Metis Urban Probe, Inst. of Urban Studies, 1971, Don McCaskill "Migration, Adjustment and Integration of the Indian in the Urban Environment", unpublished Master's Thesis, Carleton University, 1970.

8. cf. Unpublished Paper - Professor Doug Skoog, University of Winnipeg.



on the physical conditions. The various urban renewal studies conducted in the area have listed the following negative features of the urban infrastructure.

- a) The railway; the C.P.R. yards, and the Midland Railway which bisects the core of the inner city;
- b) Substandard industrial premises; obsolete premises of the wholesale and garment industries;
- c) A system of traffic arteries which divides the area into a series of sectors and blocks, affording little communication with each other;
- d) Indiscriminate mixture of land uses often in conflict with each other;
- e) The poor repair and maintenance of roads;
- f) Aged, overcrowded, and dilapidated housing stock often owned by absentee landlords and in generally poor condition or repair.<sup>9</sup>

The effect of a poorly structured urban environment and bad housing on the behaviour and attitude of people has been documented many times before.<sup>10</sup> So, it is easy to conclude that the state of the streets, roads, buildings and houses of the core area is very much a major problem in the core area. The real issue is - has there been any improvement? Over the past decade certain physical renewal efforts have been made in the core and others are being planned. What needs to be questioned is the impact this renewal has had in upgrading the core and how might the effect of physical renewal be used to combat the deterioration in the area. Other changes in the physical environment can also have an effect. For example there recently has been a heavy concentration of high rise apartment buildings constructed in the downtown area. Studies on high rise apartment areas suggest that they have higher incidence of personal and property crimes than other residential forms.<sup>11</sup> The recent construction of a new Convention Center and the building of hotels, restaurants and entertainment places to service visitors and conventioners can in its own way create law enforcement problems, especially in promoting increased activity in gambling, prostitution and other illegal activities.

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9. Interim Report for Urban Renewal Area pg. 2 City of Winnipeg, Dept. of Housing and Urban Renewal.

10. cf. Bernard Frieden, The Future of Old Neighbourhoods, Cambridge, Mass. M.I.T. Press, 1964

11. Oscar Newman, Defensible Space: Crime Prevention Through Urban Design MacMillan & Co. New York, 1972

## 2. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

In 1968 the Social Service Audit<sup>12</sup> described the high incidence of disease, alcoholism, child abuse and crime that persists in the core area of the city where there is the highest percentage of people on low income. In their recent report on the Main Street strip, the Social Planning Council reviewed the situation in the core and again concluded that nothing has really changed.<sup>13</sup> From the point of view of social agencies working in the area, the problem of the core area is seen as one of lack of income, employment and resources. It suggests that the distribution of goods, services, resources and opportunities in the city are not evenly or equitably distributed. Thus, one of the critical issues related to the core is how serious are its disparities and how can they be overcome.

## 3. POLICY AND PROGRAM OVERLAPS

A somewhat different perspective on core area problems is offered in a city government report on Main Street.<sup>14</sup> While agreeing with the diagnosis of the physical, social and economic ills, the city report concludes that one of the major difficulties is the overlap between agencies working in the core area, and the lack of co-ordination between them. This suggests that one of the major problems in the inner city might very well be that the resources being applied by the various organizations working in the inner city are not productive and there is need for a more effective public strategy in the core area.

## 4. COMMUNITY CONCERNS

Aside from the views of government officials, and social agencies, there has been a growing wave of community reaction to problems in the core. The Main Street Merchants Association have made numerous presentations to City Council calling for redevelopment and cite the run down conditions of the area as a major deterrent to improving the performance and activity of

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12. Op. cit. Social Service Audit, 1969.

13. Op. cit. Social Planning Council, "Main Street - A Position Paper".

14. Main Street 1980; A Report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Committee on Environment on the Main Street Area, Adopted by Council, May 15, 1974.

local businesses.

The concern of this business group focuses mainly on the specific problems of the Main Street strip - that section of Main Street between the Civic Center and C.P.R. tracks, which strings out a row of hotels, discount operations, pawnshops, bars and restaurants. It raises the issue of how much of the problem of the core emanates from the "strip". If it was cleaned up, altered, renewed, would many of the problems of the core be solved? This is another line of inquiry that will be followed. But the Main Street strip is not the only problem area. In recent months there have been a series of delegations from community groups appearing before different council committees and city agencies expressing their concerns. They point to problems of vandalism by juveniles, the lack of safety on the streets, the need for more recreation areas.<sup>15</sup> Their request for action ranges from a demand for increased police patrols and beat policemen, to curfews.

The issue they raise is an extension of the difficulties expressed between the native people and the police - the community role of the police in meeting the increasing problem of the core. It shows a pattern of increasing concern and anxiety by people in the core area about the level of protection. Thus, the issue originally raised by Deputy Mayor Wolfe is of wider parameters and requires a more comprehensive look at the police function in the community.

This short review of the problems of the core as seen by different groups, both official and non-official is by no means exhaustive or complete. There have been other points of view expressed, and the problems have been enunciated in great detail, usually with a good deal more emotion than was recorded here. The purpose in setting down the different definitions of the problems as seen by those directly involved is to organize the study around the critical concerns.

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15. Cf. Letter to Chairman Winnipeg Police Commission by Councillor Wong, July 11, 1975

The study will focus on:

1. The physical and social condition of the core area;
2. The place and position of native people in the core;
3. The availability of services and facilities;
4. The response of the different agencies and organizations to conditions in the core;
5. The demands that conditions in the core put upon the police and their response;
6. The kind of response of other law enforcement agencies and their relevance to Winnipeg.

From the examination of these different features, certain proposals will be offered for the consideration of the Police Commission and other interested bodies.

## 2. CONDITIONS IN THE CORE

The characteristics of Winnipeg's core area are complex and varied, representing a wide diversity of people, problems and living conditions - a heterogeneity not uncommon to core areas of large metropolitan centers. A statistical analysis of the social, economic and physical conditions of the core reveals there are certain patterns in the distribution of these characteristics and there are certain distinguishable trends occurring over time. Comparing the core figures to those for the city as a whole, and those for the non-core areas, reveals the extent to which disparities and a dichotomy exist between the core and the rest of the city.

### 2.1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

#### A. POPULATION CHANGE

According to the 1971 Census of Canada, 79,315 people or 15% of the total Metropolitan Winnipeg population live in the core area. Since 1941 there has been a steady decline in the core population, while the outer city has more than doubled its population and has shown a sustained growth rate. The population decline has been most acute in the south and north Point Douglas areas (census tracts 24, 35 and 36), where the loss of residents from 1961 to 1971 was 47% and 24% respectively, and in the C.P.R. Notre Dame area (census tracts 25 and 26), which experienced a loss of over one-quarter of its population in the same ten year period. The southern and downtown areas of Winnipeg (tracts 13, 14 and 23), have been losing fewer numbers since 1966. This trend is largely due to the recent construction of highrise apartment blocks and senior citizen homes.

Table 1. POPULATION CHANGE

Years (% Change)	Core Area	Outer City	Metropolitan Winnipeg
1941-1951	-8.7	+38.0	+18.0
1951-1961	-5.8	+54.3	+34.4
1961-1966	-15.1	+13.5	+6.9
1966-1971	-7.1	+9.2	+6.2
1941-1971	-32.2	+164.0	+80.1
1951-1971	-25.7	+91.2	+52.6
1961-1971	-21.1	+23.9	+13.5

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics Census of Canada, 1941-51-61-66-71.  
See also Appendix C.1

## B. POPULATION COMPOSITION

Along with the trend of population decline in the core has been a change in population composition. The core has consistently lost families with young children, while the proportion of the elderly has steadily increased and now represents 17% of the population. Twice as many elderly people reside in the core area as compared to the outer city. Particularly in the downtown area, Point Douglas and west of Main Street to Isabel Street (census tracts 23, 24 and 25), high concentrations of senior citizens are found. In these areas 25% of the population are over 65 years of age. In the vicinity of the Main Street strip,<sup>1</sup> (census tracts 24 and 25) reside approximately 775 men over the age of 65, comprising about 80% of all those over 65 in the area. In the downtown area and west along Portage Avenue, north of the Assiniboine River the 20-34 age group represents 30% of the population.

Table 2. POPULATION COMPOSITION 1971

	Core Area	%	Outer City	%	Metropolitan Winnipeg	%
Total Population	79,315		460,950		540,265	
Male		48.1		48.9		48.8
Female		51.5		51.1		51.2
Under 25	32,230	40.4	214,675	46.6	246,905	45.7
Male		19.2		23.5		22.9
Female		21.0		23.1		22.8
Over 65	13,460	17.0	37,790	8.2	51,250	9.5
Male		8.2		3.4		4.1
Female		8.7		4.9		5.4

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada 1971.  
See also Appendix C.2

## C. MARITAL STATUS

The core area has a higher proportion of single people over age fifteen when compared to the outer city and to the Winnipeg average. This feature is particularly strong in the downtown area, where the majority of residents

1. The Main Street strip is considered to be that stretch of Main Street from the Civic Centre to the C.P.R. tracks.

are over 25 and 40% of this group are single. In the Main Street area 65% of the population are over 25, 70% being male, of which 30% are single men over 15 years of age.

Table 3. MARITAL STATUS

	Core Area		Outer City		Metropolitan Winnipeg	
		%		%		%
Single Males 15 and over	11,750	14.8	45,650	9.9	57,400	10.6
Single Females 15 and over	10,525	13.3	40,395	8.8	50,920	9.4
Total Singles 15 and over	22,275	28.1	86,045	18.7	108,320	20.0

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1971 Census.  
See also Appendix C.3

#### D. FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD FORMATION

The loss of population in the core is the outcome of a continuing out-migration of families and an increase in the number of single person households, while this trend is reversed in suburban areas. Consequently, the overall decrease in families of 28% is particularly severe in areas of highest population loss. In the area north of Ellice Avenue to Notre Dame and west of Sherbrook to Simcoe (census tract 28), a loss of families of 58% between 1961 and 1971 is attended by a loss of over one-half this area's population during the same ten year period. A decrease in the number of families of 36% has also occurred in Point Douglas and west of this area to Isabel Street, where a similar decrease in households has taken place. The pattern of continuing family out-migration in the core area is most evident in the central core and Main Street south areas, while this trend falls off slightly with distance from the Central Business District.

Table 4. FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD FORMATION

	Core Area	Outer City	Metropolitan Winnipeg
Number of Families in 1971	16,805	116,055	132,860
% Change 1961-1971	-27.5%	+24.7%	+13.3%
Number of Households in 1971	29,805	136,865	166,670
% Change 1961-1971	-1.2%	+40.2%	+29.7%
% of families with children-1971	56.9%	67.5%	66.0%
% change 1961-1971	-28.7%	+20.0%	+10.9%

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1971 Census.  
See also Appendix C.4

### E. SINGLE PARENT FAMILIES

Of the total number of families resident in Metropolitan Winnipeg in 1966, approximately 13,000 or 10% were single parent families. In the core area, 20% of all families have only one parent. This is particularly prominent in the area around the Disraeli Freeway in North Point Douglas, where, of 235 families, 51% are single parent families, 28% having a male head of the family. This situation is also evident in South Point Douglas where 30% of families have only one parent, and north of Notre Dame Avenue to Burrows, between Main Street and Salter, (census tracts 25 and 34), where 26% of families have only one parent. These areas have also shown the greatest decline in population and loss of families, and the largest influx of senior citizens.

Table 5. SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES

	Core Area 1971	Metropolitan Winnipeg 1966
Total Families	16,805	132,860
Female Head-Single Parent Families	2,750 16.4%	-
Male Head-Single Parent Families	630 3.7%	-
Total Single Parent Families	3,380 20.1%	13,000 9.8%

Source: Diana Butler, Planning Secretariat of Cabinet, Province of Manitoba and "The 1971 Overview of Health and Social Services in Metropolitan Winnipeg".  
See also Appendix C.5.

### F. BIRTH PLACE AND IMMIGRATION

The highest degree of immigrant and ethnic concentrations occur in the core area. Thirty percent of the population were born outside Canada and 19% have immigrated since 1945, whereas only 18% of the population in the suburbs are landed immigrants. Thirty-four percent of immigrants reside in the central area of the core, between Portage Avenue and Notre Dame and east of Sherbrook to Main Street (census tracts 22 and 23). In the Main Street west area, between Notre Dame and Burrows, (census tracts 25, 26 and 34), 36% of the population are landed immigrants, and in Point Douglas north of Euclid Avenue (census tract 35), 40% of residents are immigrants.



Table 13. CORE AREA AVERAGE EMPLOYMENT INCOME AS COMPARED TO THE METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG AVERAGE

Year	Male Average Wage	Comparison with Winnipeg	Female Average Wage	Comparison With Winnipeg
1951	\$2,640	\$356.00 or 11.9% lower	\$1,456.	\$158. or 9.8% lower
1961	\$3,568	\$1,152.00 or 24.4% lower	\$2,106.	\$263. or 11.1% lower
1971	\$5,536	\$2,392.00 or 30.2% lower	\$3,108.	\$397. or 11.3% lower

Table 14. PERCENT INCREASE OF AVERAGE EMPLOYMENT INCOME

	Male		Female	
	Core Area	Metropolitan Winnipeg	Core Area	Metropolitan Winnipeg
Increase 1951-1961	35.1%	57.4%	44.6%	46.8%
Increase 1961-1971	55.2%	68.0%	47.6%	47.9%

Table 15. INCOME LEVELS FOR FAMILIES AND MALE WAGE EARNERS - 1970

	Core Area	Outer City	Metropolitan Winnipeg
	%	%	%
Families earning less than \$3,000	18.0	6.2	7.8
Male Labour Force earning less than \$3,000	29.1	20.1	21.5
Male Labour Force earning more than \$7,000	19.0	45.3	41.2

Table 16. FAMILY INCOME LEVELS - 1970

	Core Area	Outer City	Metropolitan Winnipeg
	%	%	%
Families earning less than \$2,000	9.6	3.0	3.9
Families earning \$2,000 - \$2,999	8.3	3.2	3.9
Families earning \$3,000 - \$4,999	18.3	8.1	9.5
Families earning \$5,000 - \$6,999	18.5	13.2	13.9
Families earning \$7,000 - \$9,999	25.7	28.1	27.8
Families earning \$10,000-\$14,000	15.4	29.5	27.5
Families earning \$15,000+	4.1	14.9	13.4
Average Family Income	\$6,767		\$9,989

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1971 Census.  
See also Appendix C.16

### 2.3 HOUSING

As the oldest settled area of Metropolitan Winnipeg the residential component of the city's core area has suffered the most serious negative effects of industrial, commercial and transportation development.

Approximately 85% of the housing stock was constructed before 1946 with only 10% being constructed after 1960. As a result there exists significant pockets of deteriorated dwellings and a high rate of substandard housing.

Table 17. HOUSING CONDITIONS

	Good	Fair	Poor	Very Poor
Core Area	9.3%	68.0%	18.6%	4.1%

See also Appendix C.17.

In South Point Douglas 31% of dwellings are in very poor condition and in the C.P.R.-Notre Dame area between Sherbrook and Main Street (census tracts 25 and 26), 15% of dwellings are in very poor condition with less than 2% in good condition. Higher proportions of housing considered to be in good condition are located in the periphery of the core (for example census tracts 42, 45, and 14).

The high incidence of absentee-ownership and rapid turnover of dwellings further encourages quality decline of the housing stock. In the core area the ratio of tenant-occupancy to owner-occupancy is three to one and the rate of tenancy exceeds the outer city by 40% (Table 19). The percentage of tenant-occupied dwellings increased by 12% between 1961 and 1971. This ratio is partly explained by the high percentage (62%) of apartment blocks and dwellings converted to rooming houses (Table 20). While the average rent (\$81 a month) is considerably lower than the Winnipeg average, a housing survey in the Urban Renewal Study (1966-1968) points out that a large number of tenants (40.9%), including elderly persons, are paying excessive rents for their accommodation.<sup>6</sup>

Although the core area is characterized as housing a transient and mobile

6. A rent is considered to be excessive when more than 27% of the monthly income is involved. City of Winnipeg, Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Final General Report, Urban Renewal Area No. 2, January, 1968, p. 16.

population, there appears to be both a relatively high proportion of short-term and long-term residents in the core area. Mobility is greatest in the down-town and south central areas (west along Portage) where high proportions of migrants are found, as well as high representation of the 20 - 34 age group. North Winnipeg (north of C.P.R.) appears to be the most stable in terms of length of occupancy; 38% have lived in the same dwelling for over ten years. A high representation of Ukrainain and Polish groups reside in this area and an ethnic tradition of home-ownership has for them a deep significance and thus are prepared to devote a large part of their disposable income to the purchase of a house.

Table 18. LENGTH OF OCCUPANCY - 1971

	Core Area*		Outer City		Metropolitan Winnipeg	
		%		%		%
Less than 1 year	8,605	26.7	25,030	18.7	33,635	20.2
1 - 2 years	5,750	17.9	20,965	15.6	26,715	16.1
3 - 5 years	4,275	13.3	20,830	15.5	25,105	15.1
6 - 10 years	4,370	13.6	21,315	15.9	25,685	15.5
More than 10 years	9,185	28.5	45,895	34.2	55,080	33.1

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census 1971  
See also Appendix C.19

\*Data not available by enumeration areas so includes area beyond study area boundary for census tracts 17, 21 and 27.

Table 19. OWNER-TENANT OCCUPIED DWELLINGS - 1971

	Core Area		Outer City		Metropolitan Winnipeg	
		%		%		%
Occupied Dwellings	29,740		136,740		166,480	
Owner-Occupied	7,790	26.3	90,585	66.0	98,375	59.1
Tenant-Occupied	21,865	73.7	46,240	34.2	68,105	40.9

Table 20. DWELLING TYPE - 1971

	Core Area		Outer City		Metropolitan Winnipeg	
		%		%		%
Single Detached	9,110	30.6	96,455	70.7	105,565	63.5
Single Attached	2,080	7.0	6,020	4.4	8,100	4.9
Apartment	18,565	62.4	33,900	24.9	52,465	31.6

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1971 Census.  
See also Appendix C.18.

SUMMARY

This description of conditions in the core area should come as no surprise. Over the years many observers have commented on the worsening conditions in Winnipeg's core.

What this report demonstrates is the fact that the disparities between residents of the core, and residents in the suburban outer city area are widening. Comparing the most recent census figures to those of 1951 and 1961, it can be seen that the income gap is greater, the rate of unemployment higher, the condition of housing poorer, the percentage of the population above sixty-five increasing, and the influx of migrants who settle in the core more concentrated.

Increasingly the core area of Winnipeg is becoming a separate island from the rest of Winnipeg - enjoying far fewer opportunities and facing very different problems than the rest of the city. Those who have the personal and economic resources move out of the area, leaving increasing numbers of people with limited abilities and few resources to face the severe problems of their environment. Thus, the area increasingly faces a deterioration, not only of its physical condition, but also in its strength and vitality as a community. It becomes an area where people lose a sense of self-reliance and self-respect. And this is the hardest of human conditions to restore.

At the same time that there is evidence of increasing disparity between the core and the rest of the city, there is also evidence from the statistics to show that the problems of the core area are spreading. If one examines census tracts 42, 43 and 45 in the north end for example, they will show a decline in population, a shift in family formation, with a large evidence of single-parent families and a low income base. To borrow a phrase of George Sternlieb's who has studied core areas of American cities - "The slums of New York are growing at their periphery and dying at their core."<sup>7</sup>

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7. George Sternlieb, "New York Housing: A Study in Immobilism," The Public Interest, No. 16, Summer, 1969.

There have been pockets of improvement. The General Hospital area is populated with medical professionals. There is a prosperous group living in the downtown and in certain areas in the western and southern edge of the core. The settlement by immigrant families has led to improvements in the physical environment. All these areas are, however, still threatened by pressures of developments and the negative effects of increased traffic.

A third factor to note is the increasing diversity and mixture of population. There is a wide assortment of age, ethnic and income groups - a diversity requiring a wide assortment of services as each have different demands and needs. Furthermore the close proximity of such different groups creates a number of tensions and strains in the community. The problem of providing, for example, the kind of police service that is suitable to such a mixture of needs is particularly demanding and calls for a highly flexible and adaptable form of service, one that is sensitive to the changing pattern of behaviour and mood in the community.

The demand for adaptable and effective service of all kinds is of special importance when one looks at the specific characteristics of the core population. There is a high percentage of young males, many of them unemployed or on low-skill jobs. This is one group of the population that is the source of many of the serious crimes and acts of law-breaking.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, it is an area where there is a large number of old people who can become easily victimized and who perceive the need for a high degree of protection and security. There is a high preponderance of single women living alone who become the targets of personal assault and rape. In other words, the specific characteristics of the core area population create the need for intensive and specialized police service that is geared to the intricate and involved patterns of behaviour that occur in the core area.

The assessment that emerges from this initial canvas of core conditions reveals a disturbing picture. The conditions are declining disproportionately to other parts of the city, and the problem areas are expanding. The composition of the population is becoming more diverse, losing elements

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8. National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Community Crime Prevention, Wash., D.C., Jan. 1973, p. 111-124.

of stability and presenting high concentrations of people that pose special problems of law enforcement.

A further element in this scenario will be seen in examining the condition of the native population in the core area.

### 3. NATIVE PEOPLE IN THE CITY

This section concentrates on the problems of Native people in the core area and their reasons for migrating to the city. It provides an overview of organizations which provide services for Native people and considers possible prescriptive solutions. It begins by attempting to define what is meant by a Native person and by presenting comparative statistics on the Native population in Canada and the City of Winnipeg.

#### 3.1 DEFINITION OF NATIVE PEOPLE

If a Native person does not come under the terms of the Indian Act, he is not (in the eyes of the federal and provincial governments) an Indian. According to the Indian Act, registered Indians include all persons descended in the male line from a paternal ancestor of Indian identity, who have chosen to remain under Indian legislation. The term Metis (mixed blood) is most adequately defined as any person who has Indian and White blood. Where there has been mixed unions between Indians and Whites the offspring are known as Metis. The Metis do not share the advantages of the Registered Indian. They do not have reserve lands nor benefit from the special federal government programs for Indians, although certain other federal programs are designed for the benefit of this group. The Inuit live in more than 50 settlements scattered throughout the Northwest Territories and Arctic Quebec, and due to their traditional geographical region, are relatively few in number in Manitoba. Despite the legal and administrative distinctions between Indians and Metis, the term Indian or "of Native ancestry" will refer to the entire indigenous population except where specifically indicated. While the differences are very significant, in the city both groups, given their similar origins and racial appearance, share common confrontations with the White society.

#### 3.2 CANADIAN NATIVE POPULATION

Numerous problems were encountered in assembling data in connection with total numbers of Native people in Canada, their provincial distribution, their numbers in various urban centers and the Native population of Winnipeg. There were two main reasons for this: first, the material has been collected from

many sources with differing definitions of who constitutes a Native person. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development counts only registered Indians under its jurisdiction. When a registered Indian gives up his rights under the Indian Act, either through choice or through marriage to a non-Indian in the case of women, then they cease to be counted as an Indian by the Department. The Census of Canada includes as Indian anyone who calls himself Indian, whether registered or not and also anyone who can trace Indian ancestry through the father's line. The 1941 Census was the last to single out the Metis. Because of biological and socio-cultural factors involved in defining a Metis, it is difficult to delineate them statistically, and only scattered data exist. Inevitable gaps and inconsistencies exist in the statistical data presented below. However, the consistency which is apparent between the trends is a factor in favour of the quality of the information. It is our assumption and rationale that some broader statistical analysis and estimates are better than none. If nothing else the statistical analysis emphasizes the need for a more solid, reliable statistical base which is an essential component to any acceptable conclusions and as the base for policy development in connection with native people.

Table 1. CANADIAN NATIVE POPULATION - 1881-1971

	Indians	Inuit	Native Indian & Eskimo	% of Total Population of Canada
1881	108,547	-	108,547	2.5
1901	127,941 <sup>1</sup>	-	127,941	2.4
1911	105,492	119	105,611	1.5
1921	110,814	2,910	113,724	1.3
1931	122,911 <sup>2</sup>	5,979	128,890	1.2
1941	118,316 <sup>2</sup>	7,205	125,521	1.1
1951	155,874	9,733	165,607	1.2
1961	208,286 <sup>3</sup>	11,835	220,121	1.2
1971	295,215 <sup>3</sup>	17,550	312,765	1.4

1. Includes 34,481 Half-breeds.

2. Excludes Metis or Half-breeds. Prior to 1951 people of Indian and White parentage were counted as Halfbreed Indians and were usually counted in with the Native Indian and Inuit population. In the 1951 Census, people of mixed parentage off the reserves were counted in the same way as other ethnic groups i.e., through the line of the father.

3. Source: Statistics Canada, 1961 Census, series I. 2-5 and 1971 Census, Series I. 3-2. Also; Perspective Canada, p. 240.

In 1961 and 1971 Indians in the Census were enumerated in two distinct categories, 'Band Indians' and 'Non-Band Indians'. The former category is intended to be equivalent to that of 'registered Indians' as identified by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. In Canada the number of 'Band Indians' enumerated in 1961 was 170,702; in 1971 it was 231,120.



Table 1 indicates that there has been a steady increase in the absolute numbers of Native people since early this century. While the relative percentage of Natives in Canada decreased until 1950 and then remained stable, there has been a fast increase in absolute numbers. The Native population since 1951 has nearly doubled and is increasing at about twice the rate of the rest of the Canadian population. As the increase in the Canadian population begins to level off, people of Native ancestry will make up increasing proportions of the total population.

### 3-3. NATIVE POPULATION - MANITOBA AND WINNIPEG

Of the total Canadian Indian-Inuit population, about 14% reside in Manitoba; the fourth highest in provincial distribution behind Ontario with 20.2%, British Columbia with 16.8%, and Alberta with 14.3%.<sup>4</sup> The 1971 Census recorded 43,035 Native Indians<sup>5</sup>, and 130 Inuit residing in Manitoba, making up 4.4% of the total provincial population. Between the 1961 and 1971 census, the Indian population in Manitoba increased by 47% (13,816 people) and the Inuit population decreased by 38% (78 people). The general population of the province of Manitoba increased by only 7% during the same period. Census figures for the whole of Canada show a population increase between 1961 and 1971 of 42% for Indians and 48% for Inuit.

Statistics on Metis and non-status Indians are difficult to acquire but the estimated figures which are available do provide some indication of their population number. In 1959 a study of the population of Indian ancestry in Manitoba estimated that there were 23,579 Metis living in 235 different communities in Manitoba, plus approximately 3,500 Metis living in Greater - Winnipeg.<sup>6</sup>

The Dubiensi-Skelly report on Police arrests in Winnipeg for the year 1969 concluded that approximately 70,000 Indian and Metis people were resident in Manitoba in that year.<sup>7</sup> This assessment was based upon information from the

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4. Perspective Canada, p. 243.

5. 43,035 is the Census count of all Native people claiming Indian ancestry through the line of the father. The 1971 Census count of Registered Indians was 36,851.

6. "A Study of the Population of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba", Social and Economic Research Office, Jean LeGasse, Dept. of Agriculture and Immigration, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1959.

7. Magistrate Ian V. Dubiensi, Q.C., and Prof. Stephen Skelly, LLB., "Analysis of Arrests for the Year 1969 in the City of Winnipeg, with particular reference to arrest of persons of Indian descent", (Winnipeg: Sept. 1970), p.3.

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and the Indian Brotherhood and Metis Federation. An estimate by the Office of Native Employment based on information from Native organizations collected in 1973, suggests that in 1971, 75,400 Metis and non-Status Indians were resident in Manitoba in 1971. When added to the 1971 Census count of registered Indians it can be seen that Indians made up 11.4% of the total population of Manitoba in 1971.

Table 3. INDIANS AND INUIT IN URBAN CENTERS<sup>8</sup>

	1951	1961	1971 <sup>9</sup>
Calgary	62	335	2,265
Edmonton	616	995	5,205
Hamilton	493	841	1,925
London	5133	340	1,175
Montreal	296	507	9,540
Prince Albert	211	225	1,050
Prince Rupert	-	880	1,780
Regina	160	539	2,860
Saskatoon	48	207	1,070
Toronto	805	1,196	6,475
Vancouver	239	530	7,325
Winnipeg	210	1,082	6,420

The Census data in Table 3 indicates that 6,420 Native Indians were living in Winnipeg in 1971.<sup>10</sup> The accuracy of the figures is questionable, as there are disparities between the Census data and other sources. Perspective Canada<sup>11</sup> suggests that the numbers are probably underestimated as many new arrivals in a city are itinerant and are, therefore, very difficult to count in a Census. The Department of Indian Affairs and the Indian Brotherhood and Metis Federation estimate that in 1969, there were 12,000 - 15,000 people of Indian descent in the Greater Winnipeg area and an equal number of Metis.<sup>12</sup> However, the 1971 Census material does indicate that during the two decades since 1951, there has been an enormous proportionate increase in the numbers of Indians resident in urban centers.

8. Source: 1951 and 1961 Figures from Perspective Canada, p. 244; 1971 Figures from 1971 Census of Canada, series 1. 3-2.

9. 1971 figures do not include Inuit, figures are for Metropolitan areas where applicable.

10. This figure does not include the Inuit but does include registered and non-registered Indians and Metis whose Indian ancestry is through the father's line.

11. Perspective Canada, p. 244.

12. Op. Cit., p. 3.

Table 4, which further breaks down the 1971 Census figure shows that the total Native Indians counted for 1.18% of the population of Winnipeg. Estimates based on local sources of the number of Indian and Metis people living in Winnipeg are presented in Table 5, along with the 1971 Census figure.

Table 4. POPULATION OF NATIVE INDIAN FOR METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG, 1971 CENSUS

		Total	Total Native Indian	% Native Indian
Metropolitan Winnipeg	Total	540,260	6,420	1.18
	Male	264,115	3,060	
	Female	276,145	3,360	

Table 5. THE NATIVE POPULATION IN WINNIPEG: VARIOUS ESTIMATES

			Indians	Metis
1.	Dubienski-Skelly <sup>13</sup>	1969	12-15,000	12-15,000
2.	Professor Douglas Skoog <sup>14</sup>		12-15,000	12-15,000
3.	J. S. Frideres <sup>15</sup>	1970	20,000	
4.	Department of Indian Affairs	1970	5,000 (registered	
5.	Census of Canada	1971	6,420	Indians)

Table 5 estimates the number of Indian people living in Winnipeg as ranging from a minimum of 6,400 recorded in the 1971 Census, to a maximum figure of 20,000 by Frideres based on information from the Indian Affairs Branch. The median position is an estimate in the 12,000-15,000 range. This same figure is used to estimate the number of Metis. If these two estimates were combined, then the number of Native people in the city would be between 24,000 and 30,000, representing a range of 4.44% to 5.56% of the 1971 Winnipeg population. While there are discrepancies between these estimates, and the sources are not precise, there is an apparent consistency of trends, from which some conclusions can be drawn.

13. Op. Cit.

14. Unpublished research paper, Professor D. Skoog, Department of Sociology, University of Winnipeg.

15. J. S. Frideres, Canada's Indians Contemporary Conflicts, Prentice-Hall, 1974, p. 20.

1. There has been a phenomenal increase in the number of native people moving to the larger urban areas and over half of these migrants live in cities with populations over 100,000. Possible reasons for this may be first, the greater availability of unskilled employment in larger cities, and secondly, once a sizeable population of an ethnic group resides in an area, it becomes easier for others in that group to move to that area.

2. In comparison to other urban centers in Canada, Winnipeg has the fourth highest proportion of native people. Moreover, the number of native people in Winnipeg increased nearly 600%, between 1961 and 1971 compared with a general population increase in Winnipeg of 13%. With this trend, Winnipeg can expect an increasing population of native people in the future.

In addition the latest figures of Indian people in Manitoba under "off reserve" data, suggest more people are leaving the reservations. In 1970, the total population of treaty Indian people was 35,658, of which 6,956 were listed to have resided "off-reserve" and 1,210 on crown lands. In 1973, there were 39,085 Indian people; 10,140 lived "off-reserve", and 2,007 on crown lands.<sup>16</sup> Although the Department of Indian Affairs does not record residence of registered Indians not living on reserve lands, the estimates from the Department and other Winnipeg studies indicate that at least half of the Indians who leave Manitoba reserves move to Winnipeg.

#### 3.4 REASONS FOR MIGRATION TO THE CITY

It has been shown that there is an increasing movement of native people

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16. Manitoba Region, Indian Affairs Branch.

from the reserves to urban areas and that Winnipeg is a popular mecca for Indians from Manitoba and elsewhere. Also, there are clear indications that this will be an increasing trend in the future. However, what provokes a native person to forsake the traditional culture and security of the reservation for the uncertainty and problems he must face in the city?

Unfortunately, many Indians who leave the reservations do so out of necessity rather than choice. The native population on the reserve is rural, poor, and essentially outside the mainstream of the larger society. Reservations are geographically isolated and the limited agricultural potential of a great deal of reservation land,<sup>17</sup> coupled with the decline of traditional occupations such as hunting, fishing and trapping have meant diminishing employment opportunities. Thus most Indians who leave the reserve do so for economic reasons and come to the city with hopes of getting a job and making some money. It is estimated that in Manitoba in 1971, 68% of the native population living on reservations were unemployed, an alarming figure when a 6% unemployment rate is regarded with disquiet in the wider society.<sup>18</sup>

Poverty is another besetting problem for reservation Indians. It was indicated in 1971 that in Manitoba only 32% of the employed people on the reservations had sufficient income while only 4% earned more than \$4,000 a year.<sup>19</sup> National statistics show that 40% of Canada's Indians live on Welfare and 47% of Indian families earn less than \$1,000 a year.<sup>20</sup>

The high birth rate coupled with decreasing mortality rates among native people accounts for still another factor behind the move from the reserve. The land available per person becomes smaller and some native communities over-populated. The young Indians knowing they have had more education than those around them and having been exposed to the values of the

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17. Cf. Chief Dave Courchene, Address at Centennial Commemoration, Lower Fort Garry, Manitoba, August 2, 1971.
  18. Wahbung - Our Tomorrows, a position paper by the Indian Tribes of Manitoba, October 1971, p. 151.
  19. Op. Cit., p. 151.
  20. Indians Without Tipis, Bruce Sealey and Verna Kirkness, eds., William Clark Limited, Winnipeg, 1973.

dominant society, feel they are capable of competing in the city. They move away from the reserve deciding they can "make it" in the city.<sup>21</sup>

A significant factor influencing the decision to migrate is the desire to continue and improve education. Many native people see education as a means to improve their economic and social well-being, as a means to establish a net-work of participation socially, economically and politically.

Scholarships are now available to native students of treaty status from the Department of Indian Affairs; student scholarships and bursaries are usually available from the provincial governments and universities to non-status and Metis students. With the financial aid available, more native students are taking advantage of this opportunity. In the 1974-75 academic year both the universities of Manitoba and Winnipeg had a total enrollment of 54 regular students of treaty status, and highschools in Winnipeg had an enrollment of 447 Indian students. The Indian Affairs Branch recorded 17 graduates from grade 12, and at least 10 graduates from universities, colleges and adult education last year.<sup>22</sup>

There are Metis people enrolled in universities and colleges in the province who do not receive educational assistance from the Indian Affairs Department. However, because enrollment statistics of non-status Indians are not separately recorded, the number of enrollment cannot be supplied.

In a Winnipeg study conducted in 1970, it was found that over half of the urban Indians were under 30 years old. Sixty percent were married and 30% single. However, those married were not necessarily living with their spouses.<sup>23</sup> It would seem that the native migratory population is among the younger adults who are better educated, at least in comparison to their reserve counterparts, and who come to the city in hopes of improving their education and/or securing employment.

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21. Canada's Indians, Contemporary Conflicts, op. cit., p. 89.

22. Resource: Education, Indian Affairs Branch.

23. Indian-Metis Urban Probe, Indian Metis Friendship Centre and Institute of Urban Studies, January 1971.

There is evidence to suggest that those migrant individuals and families who were successful on the reservation appear to have less difficulty in making the transition to urban life.<sup>24</sup>

Another Winnipeg-based study shows that out-migration was much higher for those communities accessible by road and rail rather than air or water. Also, the closer the reservation was to Winnipeg, the percentage of permanently employed was lower, the proportion of people on welfare was higher and there was a higher incidence of out-migration.<sup>25</sup>

It can be seen from the evidence presented above that the reasons for migration to the city are complex and diversified. The issue of future direction to achieve a better life in the White society or out of it, is particularly pressing for young Indian adults who are on the threshold of making that choice. Torn between the Indian life and culture and the unfamiliar ways of the non-Indian world, they are confused and uncertain. They are not really conditioned to be at home in either world. They have one eye on the outside world, which means opportunity and fears; the other eye is on the reservation, which means security and hopelessness. They are caught in a conflict between liking the urban life for its amenities and desiring the security of the reservation.

### 3.5 PROBLEMS FACED BY THE INDIAN MIGRANT TO THE CITY

When a native person enters the city, he or she is exposed to an alien society which produces a disturbing feeling of disorientation. The environment not only sets them apart, but it fails to offer a foothold from which to begin the process of adjustment. This creates frustration and loneliness. For temporary escape, a native person will often turn to alcohol. Intoxication often results in offences such as breaking and entering, theft, or assault. Conviction may result in a prison sentence.

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24. Indians-The Urban Dilemma, Edgar J. Dosman, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1974, p. 56.

25. The Economic Status of the Canadian Indian: A Re-Examination, Centre for Settlement Studies, University of Manitoba, 1969.

It is unlikely that unless the wider society understands the motives which provoke a great deal of crime by native people, and seeks to provide sensitive machinery to help native people appreciate the need for, and understand the value system of measures to maintain the Rule of Law in an urban environment, rehabilitation attempts will be unsuccessful.

The Indian migrant is faced then, with a feeling of social isolation which is just as real as the geographical isolation of the reservation he has just left. There are many factors which contribute to this feeling of isolation. A native person leaving the reserve for the city in the hopes of securing employment, arrives with limited funds and is immediately confronted with the problem of finding accommodation. Many face discrimination by landlords and are unable to afford any but the lowest rents. It is likely that the kind of accommodation that he can afford will be located in the core area. In Winnipeg, the majority of urban Indians live in the core area - occupying the lowest quality housing. The social, psychological and medical ramifications of poor housing are well known and well documented and these effects tend to hit native people as an ethnic group the hardest.

The employment problem is as serious as housing in the city for native people. First of all, upon arriving the native migrant does not know how to go about doing things. The city is an industrial complex society and this calls for sophistication on the part of urban dwellers. Placing a telephone call and using buses and other forms of public transportation are all new and unfamiliar experiences.

Employment opportunities for native people are limited in the city. Their skills and educational level further hinders them in obtaining employment that pays well. Therefore, the jobs they acquire usually pay the minimum wage; they are hired last and are the first to be fired from work. Further to this handicap, (skills and education deficits) language poses another gigantic problem.

The Indian Metis Urban Probe conducted in Winnipeg in 1971 found that of 184 respondents, 17% were currently unemployed and 12% were receiving welfare; 35% of the sample earned incomes below \$3,000 and almost 50% earned below \$4,000.<sup>26</sup> Almost half of the 846 respondents in the Manitoba

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26. The Indian Metis Urban Probe, op. cit.



Indian Brotherhood Housing Survey (1971) stated they were at that time receiving some form of social assistance.<sup>27</sup>

The above discussion suggests that many Indian migrants to the city are caught in a cycle of deprivation from which they cannot escape. Poverty is often their way of life. They will often feel isolated, frustrated, and bewildered. The continued dependence of native people on government assistance erodes their personal dignity and sense of worth, constitutes a financial burden on the wider Canadian society and often provokes resentment.

"The . . . reservation communities (are) at the bottom of the economic totem pole, lowest on the scale of social and economic progress. The people on these reservations have a culture, but these people live under a culture of poverty. Join this poverty to isolation, add a substandard quality of education, subtract economic growth, bracket with one hundred years of paternalism, and you have a modern math problem too tough for the Indian alone to answer."<sup>28</sup>

### 3.6 SERVICES AND PROGRAMS WHICH INTERVENE TO HELP NATIVE PEOPLE

There are a number of agencies which intervene to help native people adjust to the urban environment and which act as spokesmen on native problems. One of the most diversified agencies is the Indian-Metis Friendship Centre. This organization's activities center around counselling in health, social services, housing, education, and employment. It provides services for status Indians, non-status Indians, and the Metis. Although the Friendship Centre receives money from various sources,<sup>29</sup> including the federal and provincial governments, federal financial responsibility for the services it provides to status Indians is a bone of contention because the federal government disclaims any monetary obligations towards Treaty Indians who move from the reservations and become permanent residents in the city.

To combat the lack of preparation of natives arriving in the city, the Friendship Centre is preparing a set of slides about housing,

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27. The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood Housing Survey, Winnipeg 1971. Of the 846 registered Indians contacted in the survey, 46.9% were receiving social assistance, subsidized by the Department of Indian Affairs, p. 64.

28. Walter Currie, Human Relations, May, 1968.

29. A grant of \$110,835 was recently announced for Winnipeg's Friendship Centre by the Government of Manitoba and authorized through the Ministry of Health and Social Development, Winnipeg Tribune, August 12/1975

welfare rights, landlord and tenant relations, medical services, education and employment opportunities. The second proposal is a program of social skills to be run during the months of January and February, 1976. The program will hold information workshops for native people prior to leaving the community.

Currently, a great deal of attention is being devoted by the Friendship Centre to the housing situation of native people. The Friendship Centre has five housing counsellors. They help native families locate housing but have no control over landlords who may discriminate against Indians as tenants.

As one answer to the housing problem, the Friendship Centre in co-operation with Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and university consultants established the Kinew Corporation, an "experimental non-profit" organization to provide housing for native people moving into the city. Currently, Kinew Corporation offers housing at a low rental rate so that native tenants can budget their financial status. The rent currently ranges from \$135 to \$210 per month for houses. They also have a rental subsidy program from the government.

Besides Kinew's program, the federal government through its department of Indian Affairs, offers a program called "Off Reserve Housing Program" for status Indians. As of March 1 1975, they have approved 16 housing applications whose locations are scattered throughout the city, mostly outside the inner core area. The qualification for the loan for a house is dictated by the income of the applicant to meet monthly mortgage payments. With the "Off Reserve Housing Program" a \$1,000 grant is provided to the applicant for furnishings. The "Off Reserve Housing Program" is governed under the National Housing Act, 1954.

The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood represents Indians of registered status. While it does not offer extensive social service programs in the city, it does have a number of member organizations that have developed programs such as the Winnipeg Indian Council.<sup>30</sup> The urban activities of both the

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<sup>30</sup>. The Winnipeg Indian Council, formed in 1972, is a member organization of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.

parent and member organizations are inhibited by lack of funds because federal funding arrangements discriminate against organizations based off reservation. Activities of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, therefore, tend to be centered around Indian reservations and aren't extensively involved in the urban area.

The Manitoba Metis Federation is another politically active provincial organization representing Metis and non-status Indians. The role of the Metis Federation is to assist Metis people to initiate programs and develop them at the community level.

One of the outstanding contributions made by the Metis Federation is the formation of the "Native Clan." This organization was formed in 1972 to "devise and implement a program responsive to the special needs of ex-inmates."<sup>31</sup> The Native Clan offers a program of re-integration and re-adaptation to the urban life through half-way homes. It has two half-way homes, one located at 808 Wolseley Avenue and one at 74 Hargrave Street. The organization employs native personnel to act as counsellor/liaison officers.

The Native Clan organization has been a success mainly because of responses by the Community, the penitentiary institutions, inmates, native liaison counsellors, social service agencies, etc. The recipients of this program have one foot in the institution and the other in the community at large. This gives them a process of re-orientation and a chance to find their place in the society.

### 3.7 SUMMARY: NATIVE PEOPLE AND THE LAW

Never before have so many agencies concentrated so much effort in developing programs for the native people. In addition to the efforts by the Department of Indian Affairs, several other federal government departments and provincial government departments directly employ, or indirectly finance specialists in economic development to work for Indian people. All too often, the

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31. Native Clan Organization, Inc., Annual Report 1973-1974.

governments do not realize, with their unco-ordinated efforts, they are in danger of over-programming the native people. The list of government programs is long and the native people get very confused about whose program this belongs to and which program manager to talk to, federal or provincial, etc.

Native people now want the opportunity to participate in programs which will give them the opportunity to have more control over their own lives and not rely upon the beneficence of others. "The Indian cries out in desperation for the right to try where others have failed, for we would submit to the government that failure resulting from decisions made by ourselves can be no worse than the failures of the past..."<sup>32</sup>

This is a sentiment which speaks to the issue of recruitment of native people into the police force. It could offer to native people the opportunity to play a direct role in an activity that has an immediate bearing on their lives, rather than being just on the receiving end.

Interviews and ad hoc discussions with native leaders and workers in the core area revealed a consensus that native people should be represented in a police force or in a field of law enforcement. There is also an agreement that if native people are recruited as police officers, other (white) policemen could learn from them and perhaps get to know each other more. This way they would be able to work side by side.

It should be noted, however, that there were disapprovals to recruiting special native police officers exclusively to deal with native people. The people thought that, if they were listed only as "special policemen" as those that exist on Indian reservations as Indian Special Constables, they would be inadequate and ineffective. Furthermore, they would not be able to exercise the full powers of the law enforcement officer.

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32. Wahbung-Our Tomorrows, op. cit. p. 157.

Training of the policeman is important. Those interviewed emphasized training according to culture was desirable and that those who were so trained would, in any given event, be better equipped to deal with the problems in the core area, where ethnic groups are diverse.

The native people have recognized the absence of and need for inclusion of native people in the police force. Native people do not have and never have had any meaningful representation either in the ranks of the legal professions or within the legal system. For the native person law is an enemy, rather than a friend. It always seems to take something away. Moreover, whiteman's law is a foreign law to the Indian. The "Law" which regulates and controls his life is not based on his culture or his history; neither does it reflect his values. Everyone agreed that there could be no ultimate solution if joint action is not initiated towards solving the problem of the law and the native people.

#### 4. SERVICES AND FACILITIES

One of the key questions in assessing the conditions of the core area are the kind, quality and distribution of essential social, educational, and recreational services. The core area is often depicted as a place teeming with social workers, community organizers, government grant officers. Yet, for all the apparent attention, the situation of the residents does not improve, suggesting that either the programs have little impact or that in fact there is not enough being done.

It was not possible in the terms of this study to undertake fresh analysis of the service component operating in the core. There are, however, certain pieces of evidence that can be presented which indicate the present situation of Winnipeg's core area in regards to the supply and distribution of services and facilities.

##### 4.1 SOCIAL SERVICES

Two sources of information provide an initial assessment of the activity of social agencies in the core area. One is the Social Service Audit, first published in 1968 and updated to some degree by staff reports from the Community Welfare Planning Council in 1971 and 1972. The audit still remains the most comprehensive assessment of social service agency activity in the core, although there have been several government studies that are as yet unreleased.<sup>1</sup>

A second major source is the Manual of Social Services which provides a very comprehensive listing of all agencies, staff employees, kind of function performed, hours of work, et cetera.<sup>2</sup>

From these sources, recent city documents plus interviews with certain

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1. See Community Welfare Planning Council Social Service Audit, 1969, and the Community Welfare Planning Council Overview of Health and Service in Metropolitan Winnipeg, 1971, and the Community Welfare Planning Council Addendum to 1971 Overview, 1972.
  2. Manual of Social Services, Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 1974-75.

agency people working in the core, the following assessment of the social agencies is drawn:

- a) Over one-quarter of the total services offered by social agencies in the city are concentrated in the core area, with over one hundred agencies offering services to core area residents.
- b) Most of the services offered in the core area are remedial in nature. The services which are provided are of the crisis intervention type with little emphasis on preventative service. Agencies state they have too many clients and are unable to concentrate their efforts on families or individuals to provide real assistance for any length of time.

"Social services provided in Metropolitan Winnipeg are basically remedial in nature. Remedial action is designed and taken for precisely that purpose, and usually fails to diminish or eliminate the source of the problem. It also fails to prevent a repetition of the problem. The bulk of the time spent by health and welfare agencies is on the urgencies of remedial service."<sup>3</sup>

- c) A no less significant problem is that services are not available on a 24-hour basis. There are some emergency lines and answering services after hours but few workers are available to take action on a problem after 5 p.m. Consequently the police are called because they are the only assistance available. The policemen on duty are forced to handle problems which are theoretically under social service jurisdiction. The police explained for example, that although the Children's Aid Society has an emergency line, it will not send anyone out at night. The Youth Action Centre expressed difficulties in getting assistance from service agencies, particularly finding help to work on a one-to-one basis with a problem youth. Exceptions to this general case are Klinik on Broadway which operates a 24-hour crisis center phone line and the Main Street Project which has round-the-clock service.
- d) Continuation of service for clients who are making progress is not always forthcoming. Oftentimes a client is referred to another agency for more progressive help, however assistance from the second agency is not immediate because of a heavy caseload. This gap in time and continuation of service can have serious consequences for the client in question. For example,

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3. Op. cit., Social Service Audit, p. 30.

social workers often encounter difficulties in placing an advanced client in vocational training because of waiting lines. A client who has progressed beyond required help from a social worker needs immediate assistance, not placement in six months.

e) Because agencies in the core are so numerous and often provide similar kinds of services, many people find it confusing to seek the assistance they need. This situation is demoralizing for a person who must go from one agency to another and it is particularly frustrating for recent migrants to the city. People need to know where to go for help and how to get help soon enough to prevent or at least minimize further problems or a repetition of the same problems. Residents have expressed the need for an information center providing them with the knowledge of what facilities and what services are available to them. The benefit of an information center would be heightened if representatives from various ethnic groups were available, thus providing some type of cultural and language identification.

f) Social services in the core area provide limited follow-up treatment. Usually a lack of funds and limitations of staff time are cited as major restrictions to continuity of service assistance to a client. As well there are limitations in the jurisdiction or the function of services resulting in referrals to other agencies. Thus, it is possible that one person may receive help from three or more agencies at any one time. The result is confusion for the client and the agencies involved, plus costly duplication of records and inefficient use of manpower.

"From the point of view of the person needing help,...the most important shortcoming of the present network of social services is that, as a result of the proliferation of agencies, the duplication and fragmentation, the client is often lost in the maze. There is no one clear direction in which he can go to one uncomplicated point of entry, where his particular problem will be dealt with. He is shunted and re-assigned to this location and that, with too many people taking down information and too many variations of counsel being offered. The lack of readily available comprehensive counselling services, which will provide both continuity of contact and a careful follow-through on referrals, is perhaps the most serious problem in our present system of getting service to people.<sup>4</sup>

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4. ibid., p. 28.



g) One of the most serious gaps in the service component in the core area is the lack of proper medical facilities and medical personnel. This was cited in a city study as being the most important social service problem. Another major gap in service is the child-family care area. The problem of child neglect, juvenile misbehaviour and family breakdown is very severe and there is presently a lack of a co-ordinated approach to the problem by agencies working in the field.<sup>5</sup>

h) An extensive evaluation of the social service agencies operating in the core is difficult due to the lack of accurate and readily available data required for documentation and the lack of any serious on-going efforts to assess costs and benefits. Some consistency in data collection, definitions and evaluating methods is clearly needed to assess the effectiveness of present social intervention. For instance it is not known exactly how many Indian and Metis people reside in the City of Winnipeg yet twenty-five agencies are listed in the 1974-75 Manual of Social Services as organizations related to native people. It is not surprising that a native person newly arrived to Winnipeg might be unaware of the services available to him and is baffled as to where to turn. The most visible source of information and friendship for a native person is a Main Street beverage room.

i) In the last few years a number of new kinds of services have emerged that are more activist and innovative than many of the traditional agencies. Several have grown out of L.I.P. funding and have been spurred along by the work of community organizations. These agencies have tackled such issues as the need for economic development in the core, the creation of new job opportunities, the abuses perpetuated by private employment agencies and loan companies, and the establishment of new medical and health centers such as the de-tox program on Lydia operated by the Main Street project.

As well different government agencies have started pilot programs in education and job training. The difficulty with all these programs is that they are small, generally poorly funded, or in a pilot project stage. Therefore, they make only a small dent in the overall mass of need. What they do provide however, are clues about the future direction that social service programs might take to change from a remedial passive role to more of a self-help,

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5: "Inner-city Progress Report". Main Street Inter-departmental Committee Report to Committee on Environment. October 11, 1974.

social entrepreneurship function. In a later section of this report, the particular activities of some of these groups will be described to provide some sense of possible directions for the future.

j) Welfare assistance is a major source of support to a significant proportion of core area residents. The accompanying tables set out the city welfare roles showing the breakdown for: May of 1974 and May of 1975. (Figures apply to total inner city area) Cases under the Social Allowance Act of the province are organized into districts which do not coincide with core area boundaries. Therefore, the accompanying table provides only totals for the city as a whole, and it is difficult to break these out specifically for the core area. These statistics do show however, that the number of cases are down slightly over a year's period, particularly for those who are capable of accepting employment (Tables 1 and 2).

The issue that is of increasing concern is whether the present welfare program provides a positive impact on the problems of the core. There are serious questions as to whether the availability of higher welfare rates in the city act as an incentive to in-migration, whether it contributes to the breakdown of family life and takes away the incentive to work?

City Council agreed on September 17, 1975, to increase the monthly welfare allowance by 11.3%. The new rates, effective October 1, 1975, will increase the city welfare bill about \$38,222. a month. In the first six months of 1975, the city's total welfare costs were \$3.8 million, an average of \$634,459. each month. The new 11.3% increase will raise the monthly cost to \$672,681. an increase of \$7,000. The present allowance of \$88.00 per month for one adult will be raised to \$93.00. As of last October, provincial welfare recipients receive \$80.50 per month. The present city rate of \$220. per month for two adults with two children will rise to \$235. The provincial rate is \$210.40.

The public Welfare Department provides money as well as material goods, rehabilitative and counselling services for persons of Winnipeg who are without adequate means of support. Applicants for assistance must fill out

TABLE 1

CITY OF WINNIPEG - PUBLIC WELFARE DEPARTMENT  
1974 & 1975 (Inner City)

	EMPLOYABLES & marginally EMPLOYABLES*				SUPP. TO FULL TIME EMPLOYMENT		UNEMPLOYABLES				TOTALS		
	MALE FAMILY HEADS	FEMALE FAMILY HEADS	SINGLE MEN	SINGLE WOMEN	MALE FAMILY HEADS	FEMALE FAMILY HEADS	MALE FAMILY HEADS	FEMALE FAMILY HEADS	SINGLE MEN	SINGLE WOMEN	TOTAL CASES	DEPENDENTS	TOTAL INDIV.
1974	482	91	632	300	98	21	69	335	224	174	2,426	3,622	6,048
1975	430	61	660	284	77	17	34	252	147	150	2,112	2,708	4,820

\* A high percentage have employment handicaps.

TABLE 2

WINNIPEG PROVINCIAL SOCIAL ALLOWANCE RATES\*  
FEBRUARY, 1975.

REGION	POPULATION	<u>Caseload</u>					<u>Rate</u>				
		MOTHER'S ALLOWANCES	LONG TERM DISABILITY	TEMPORARY DISABILITY	OTHER	TOTAL	MOTHER'S ALLOWANCES	LONG TERM DISABILITY	TEMPORARY DISABILITY	OTHER	TOTAL
Central	115,000	1,037	892	102	768	2,799	9.0	7.8	0.9	6.7	24.3
North	94,000	1,392	904	32	1,158	3,486	14.8	9.6	0.3	12.3	37.1
South	201,000	1,193	1,076	223	1,399	3,891	5.9	5.4	1.1	7.0	19.4
West	144,000	1,015	851	49	751	2,666	7.0	5.9	0.3	5.2	18.5

\* Rates are in cases per 1,000 population unless otherwise indicated.

forms declaring their current income, assets, savings, property owned, et cetera, and the department then compares the applicant's resources with current welfare rates. The welfare rates are geared to cover basic living expenses - food, household and personal needs, rent, utilities, heating and clothing. In addition, special allowances and services are available to meet special needs beyond the budget allowance. For example, medical and dental care, transportation and essential household effects can be provided by the Department. Special programs such as employment counselling and placement services, academic and trade courses and alcohol education are arranged with other agencies offering such services.

What should be a matter of concern, however, is the form and nature of welfare support. Welfare money is of little value to anyone if it is utilized not for the essentials of life, but is simply consumed in a one night splurge. The commentary of police officers and social agency people who work in the core suggest that the tempo of trouble and disturbances automatically picks up when the welfare cheques are received every two weeks. By the same token those who receive welfare are often victimized by petty thieving of their welfare monies.

For those coming in from rural areas and reserves, the availability of welfare money is not accompanied by effective use of this money in a budgetary sense. There is little counselling on the use of money, food purchasing and other values of thrift. Large chain super markets are not available in the core area, and the smaller stores charge higher prices and have limited selection. The purpose of welfare in terms of supporting a family or individual to a normal decent standard of life is often frustrated. A serious review of the administration and distribution of welfare and its effects - good and bad - on the core area appears in order.

#### 4.2 RECREATION

a) The core area has a serious deficiency in respect to park acreage. Technically, the land requirement guideline for open-space is a ratio of 8 acres per 1,000 population.<sup>6</sup> Based on information available from the Winnipeg Parks and Recreation Department, a total of 108 acres for

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6. Guideline adopted by Council, City of Winnipeg, July, 1973.

park use was computed for the core area. That is about 1.4 acres per 1,000 population. (For detailed breakdown, see accompanying table). In North Winnipeg, the area from the C.P.R. yards north to Church Avenue and between Main and Arlington Street (census tracts 34, 42, 43, 45) the park area for a population of over 23,000 is 9.44 acres or .4 acres per 1,000 population. Adding the school recreation area to the park acreage yields about 1.7 acres per 1,000 population.

b) The results from the Main Street Inter-Departmental Committee survey of businessmen and residents of the Main Street area regarding the quality of public services, found overwhelming concern over the lack of both adult and children's recreational facilities.<sup>7</sup>

The need for recreational areas for adults was particularly expressed by senior citizens, whose mobility is restricted to the immediate neighbourhood. The deficiency of recreational facilities for children was specified by parents in the area and especially by the Chinese community. Some local Chinese leaders estimate there are at least 120 children under the age of 18 in their community. Census figures for tracts 24 and 25 show 27% of the population or 1,365 are under 20 years of age and 20% of the population or 970 people are 65 years of age and older. Residents of the Kate Street - William Avenue area at a recent meeting of the Centennial Community Committee agreed unanimously that greater recreational opportunities would help remedy problems of "rowdiness, street crime and juvenile delinquency"<sup>8</sup> A survey of young people in the area reported that participation in the Frieght House, the area's only community centre, would be encouraged if the centre offered what the kids wanted. Pool tables, ping-pong tables, hockey and football - a teen centre - are not unusual requests but the young people at the committee meeting were told it would take three years.<sup>9</sup>

In some areas, recreation programs have not been fully utilized because residents have simply been unaware of their existence and the positive benefits of participation. Particularly in areas having a high immigrant or native population, their social, cultural and language difficulties are a restraint to participation. Community clubs have been criticized as having programs

7. Main Street Inter-departmental Committee, Interim Report, Oct. 1, 1974. Survey area: from Princess St. on the west, to James and Market Aves. on the south, to the river on the east, the C.P.R. tracks on the north. This area is located within the Census Tracts 24 and 25.

8. Winnipeg Tribune, August 27, 1975

9. Ibid.

TABLE 3  
CORE AREA SCHOOL AND PARK  
RECREATION ACREAGES

CENSUS TRACT	PARKS					SCHOOLS							ACRES PER 1,000 POPULATION			
	PARKS ACREAGE	RECREATION & PLAYGROUND ACREAGE	TOTAL LOT ACREAGE	COMMUNITY CENTER ACREAGE	TOTAL PARKS ACREAGE	POPULATION	PARK ACRES PER 1,000 POPULATION	SCHOOL BUILDING	HARD SURFACE PLAYGROUND	SOFT SURFACE PLAYGROUND	LAND-SCAPED AREA	PARKING		TOTAL SCHOOL ACREAGE	TOTAL SCHOOL RECREATION ACREAGE (MINUS BUILDINGS)	TOTAL PARK AND SCHOOL RECREATION ACREAGE
13	.50	1.43	-	-	1.93	1,275	1.51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.93	1.51
14	47.00	-	-	-	47.00	4,320	10.88	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47.00	10.88
15	.50	-	-	2.77	3.27	7,470	.44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.27	.44
16	-	-	-	-	-	3,795	0	2.05	.54	2.03	.17	.39	5.24	3.13	3.13	.82
17*	5.65	.35	-	-	6.00	1,845	3.25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.00	3.25
21*	-	-	-	-	-	4,195	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
22	-	.63	.23	-	.86	6,400	.13	.15	.12	1.11	.13	-	1.51	1.36	2.22	.35
23	2.57	.93	-	-	3.50	3,780	.93	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.50	.93
24	1.39	-	.40	-	1.79	825	2.17	.23	.29	1.24	.05	-	1.82	1.58	3.37	4.08
25	1.20	.40	.28	-	1.88	4,215	.45	.35	.28	2.02	.30	-	2.94	2.60	4.48	1.06
26	1.00	2.35	-	8.90	12.25	3,440	3.56	.69	.35	1.96	.40	.14	3.47	2.85	15.10	4.39
27*	-	-	-	-	-	2,405	0	.48	.57	2.09	.30	.08	3.51	3.04	3.04	1.26
28	3.78	1.49	-	-	5.27	5,970	.88	1.42	.57	3.43	.70	-	6.13	4.70	9.97	1.67
33	-	-	-	-	-	1,790	0	.28	.19	1.13	.19	-	1.79	1.51	1.51	.84
34	2.18	3.55	-	-	5.73	4,060	1.41	2.48	.49	4.59	1.54	.27	9.36	6.89	12.62	3.10
35	7.22	2.25	-	-	9.47	3,075	3.08	.73	.36	1.06	.11	.11	2.38	1.64	11.11	3.60
36	3.26	1.62	1.07	-	5.95	1,135	5.24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.95	5.24
42	-	-	-	-	-	3,775	0	.76	.66	2.97	.27	-	4.66	3.90	3.90	1.03
43	-	.11	-	-	.11	7,355	.01	1.78	1.30	4.57	1.09	.29	9.01	7.25	7.36	1.00
45	2.48	1.12	-	-	3.60	8,020	.45	3.96	1.59	7.64	2.74	.50	16.41	12.47	16.07	2.00
TOTAL	78.73	16.23	1.98	11.67	108.61	79,745	1.36	15.36	7.31	35.84	7.99	1.78	68.23	52.92	161.53	2.02

\* Data for that part of the census tracts within the study area boundary.

limited in scope; "too sports oriented, under-utilized during many hours of the day and insufficient programs for females and senior citizens."<sup>10</sup> Unattractive and poorly maintained recreation areas and sites have a negative effect on park usage and such conditions contribute to deterioration through vandalism.

The development of fully adequate programs is inhibited by the lack of collaboration among these agencies themselves and among public recreational organizations. Although the need exists for increased funding from both the federal and provincial governments, the city, as the most visible source of public funding for organized recreation services must continue to accept the major responsibility for inadequate services. "And a major deterrent to equalization of services in the city has been and still is, the decision making process established by City Council."<sup>11</sup>

#### 4.3 SCHOOLS

Information on the school system operating in the core area was difficult to acquire, as investigation was conducted over the summer months when individual schools were closed. Therefore, the following information covers only a partial description of school services.

a) There are 27 schools serving the core area. They are divided into 19 elementary, 5 junior high and 4 senior high schools. As well there are special centers such as the R. B. Russell Vocational School, the Winnipeg Centre Project, and Ellen Douglass School. These latter institutions and several of the other schools serve children from throughout the city. For example, Ellen Douglass School serves physically handicapped children, Sacre-Coeur offers French instruction to children from throughout the city. The high schools also serve students from beyond the core area. It is therefore difficult to estimate combined total enrollments, although the figure drawn from individual school figures is estimated at 13,500.

b) The most outstanding feature of the schools in the core area, and one that points to a key problem in the area is the high degree of transiency and turnover in enrollment. To give some examples: Victoria Albert in one year had a 45% turnover rate, Hugh John MacDonald - 30%, Wellington

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10. City of Winnipeg Recreational Facilities Study, p. 3.

11. "An Overview of Recreation Services in Winnipeg," Social Planning Council, August, 1974, p. 21.



Elementary School - 83%, Norquay - 53%, King Edward - 72%, William Whyte - 64%, Strathcona - 40%, and Champlain - 61%.<sup>12</sup> These school turnover figures are a direct reflection of the high degree of population instability in the area and illustrate one of the major problems in providing adequate education for children. Another aspect of the figures that bear watching is the high degree of transiency and turnover occurring in north-end schools. This adds further support to the proposition put forward in a previous section indicating that particular part of the city is experiencing increasing problems of population change and instability, a factor that can lead to community disputes and tension. The high turnover rate also involves a number of children who do not complete a school term.

c) Another sign of the increasing settlement of native people in the core is the increasing numbers of native children enrolled in the area's schools. Several schools have kept records of children from native backgrounds and have provided the following approximate figures. Dufferin - 60% enrollment of native children, David Livingstone - 45%, Norquay - 30%, King Edward - 50% William Whyte - 50%, Aberdeen - 35%. This number of native children in core area schools poses special requirements in terms of responding to differences in language, culture and background. Some native children are unable to complete a year of school because their parents decide to return to the reserve in the spring and continue a seasonal cycle of migration to and from the reserve and the city. Not only do they move out of the city but there is also a large degree of movement within the city, again disrupting the school experience of the child.<sup>13</sup> The degree to which the schools are geared to dealing with these special requirements is questionable, although certain efforts are now being made through the use of native teacher aides, the school nutrition program and special curriculum programmes.

The school is a major institution in enabling children to cope with their environment. It also bears the brunt of tensions and disputes in

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12. These figures were acquired from the records of the individual schools.

13. J.S. Frideres has estimated that Indian families may move on an average of three to four times a year, op. cit. J.S. Frideres p. 88

a society as can be seen in the recent school anti-busing riots in the United States. It would appear then that the role played by schools in responding to changes in the core area is lagging behind and is one source of problems in the core area.

The problems this ultimately poses for law enforcement in the area can be seen by reference to a few of the figures provided in the report on Juvenile Delinquency compiled by the City of Winnipeg Police Department. The hard core area of juvenile delinquency is in the area bounded by William Avenue, Arlington Street, Redwood Avenue, and Main Street. There is according to the police report a high correlation between school truancy and the incidence of delinquency.<sup>14</sup> There has also been a serious rise in the frequency in juvenile crime. The 1973 Annual Police Report shows a 21% increase over the previous year.<sup>15</sup> It is also true that increasingly the tendency toward a continued pattern of law breaking is determined in the early years and it can be noted that a high proportion of those inmates who occupy provincial and federal jails are young males who have had a previous juvenile record. While there are many other factors at work in causing the problem of juvenile crime there is a strong tie to school behaviour.

#### 4.4 LIQUOR OUTLETS AND USE

While it may appear somewhat odd to include a discussion of liquor outlets in a section that reviews the operation of schools, parks and social agencies the fact remains that the hotels on Main Street are for many core residents, the primary center of entertainment, social companionship, and for that matter education. It is for these reasons liquor outlets can be properly defined as being a major service in the core area.

a) Unfortunately, the operation of the liquor outlets and the consumption of alcohol constitute a major source of core area problems in law enforcement. The City of Winnipeg Police figures for 1973 show 4,867 apprehensions under the Liquor Control Act. Of this figure 4,527 detentions under the Intoxicated Persons Detention Act were recorded. This is an

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14. City of Winnipeg Police Department - Juvenile Branch, A Report Respecting Juvenile Delinquency, 1970

15. City of Winnipeg Police Department Annual Report - 1973 pg. 24.

increase of 952 detentions or 27% from the previous year. The Morality Division charged 843 people with liquor offenses, representing 46% of all Morality Division prosecutions.<sup>16</sup> These figures, of course, do not include offenses induced by the consumption of liquor. The Winnipeg Police estimate that of all alcohol related offenses 75% are from the Main Street area.

In the six month period from January to June 1974, Main Street Project workers estimated that approximately 1200 clients with alcohol related problems received assistance from their organization. In 1973 the Project counselled and assisted some 6,000 clients with alcohol related cases and claimed many of these cases were repeaters. In 1973 the Salvation Army Harbour Light, located on Rupert Avenue, handled 632 cases related to alcohol problems.<sup>17</sup> The 1973 police figures for the Juvenile Division show 307 juveniles were detained and another 184 were warned for non-compliance to the Liquor Act.<sup>18</sup>

b) Drinking is an accepted social custom by the majority of people - alcohol abuse is not. Thus control on consumption is a necessary function. The Manitoba Liquor Control Commission employs "Inspectors" to ensure the operation of various liquor outlets is in accordance to the regulations set out by the Liquor Control Act. For all licensed premises in the City of Winnipeg, the Commission employs, at the present time, three "District" Inspectors and four Inspectors who are now in probationary training.<sup>19</sup> Each District Inspector has well over a hundred outlets under his jurisdiction.

In the core area alone there are a total number of 130 licensed premises including:

- 49 hotels
- 43 restaurants
- 3 cabarets
- 31 clubs
- 2 theatres ( live)
- 1 art gallery
- 1 convention centre

In addition there are five liquor commissions. In the area of Main Street, between Broadway and Selkirk and within a three block distance east and west

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16. City of Winnipg Chief of Police Annual Report 1973, p.23

17. Social Planning Council "Main Street: A Position Paper" Feb. 1975, p. 16

18. Op. cit. Annual Report, 1973, p.36

19. D. Kirkpatrick. Manitoba Liquor Control Commission (September, 1975)

of Main Street are twenty-three beverage rooms, twenty-one are located in the area between Notre Dame and the C.P.R. tracks (census tracts 24 and 25). On the "Main Street strip" between Market and Selkirk Avenues, is a concentration of sixteen beverage rooms. The presence and heavy concentration of these hotels, along with the pool halls, pawn shops, discount stores and cafes are the distinct characteristics of the "strip". Particularly in the evenings, the area attracts a great influx of people from a wide radius of the surrounding area. It becomes the entertainment and recreation centre for the community, with the beverage rooms being the focus of activity. In no other section of the city are there so many beverage rooms in such a small area. The situation is a unique one and the Main Street beverage rooms have a notoriously bad reputation. The proximity of these hotels encourages considerable mobility between beverage rooms and this only worsens the situation.

c) Hotel proprietors in the area undoubtedly have difficult problems to deal with but are at the same time the source of many problems regarding non-compliance of the Liquor Control Act. Since April 1974 the Manitoba Liquor Control Commission had forty-three adverse reports, issued twenty-four warnings and held seventeen hearings related to sixteen hotels and one club in the Main Street area. The hearings resulted in ten suspensions of liquor licenses, six warnings and one caution.<sup>20</sup> The Commission laid seven charges of having unsanitary washrooms against six hotels in the area. Recently, the Winnipeg Police Commission requested that the city's medical director report on the substandard health conditions in Main Street area hotels.

Annual reports from the Liquor Control Commission indicate that over the years it is pretty well the same hotels committing the same offenses against the Act. A recent investigation of all beverage rooms in the City of Winnipeg concluded that all Main Street beverage rooms are not excessively deviant in comparison to those in other areas of the city, but five could be singled out as having high incidences of non-compliance with the provisions of the Liquor Control Act.<sup>21</sup>

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20. The Winnipeg Tribune, September 11, 1974

21. Dr. P.H. Wichern, unpublished and uncirculated report prepared for the Manitoba Liquor Control Commission.

The most common infractions of all beverage rooms concern service to intoxicated persons and improper service procedure to customers. These offences are particularly severe in Main Street area hotels. It appears to be a regular occurrence that patrons are allowed to consume alcohol well past the point of intoxication and continue to be served. Other regular infractions are serving too many beverages at one time to a patron, not serving full amounts of draught beer and liquor, and not selling draught beer from various breweries according to commission guidelines. Complaints made by Police officers in the area and by hotel patrons concern over service to intoxicated persons, waiters deliberately short changing their customers, and complaints of either the owner's attitude or the belligerent attitude of bouncers. A news release on the recent investigation of Winnipeg beverage rooms reported that a few bouncers in Main Street hotels seemed to get pleasure from the use of excessive violence and harsh mistreatment of their patrons. The report also noted that more often than not the victims were natives.<sup>22</sup> The situation in the Main Street area hotels appears to amount to a sheer lack of control and disregard to the regulations of the Liquor Control Act by hotel proprietors as well as serious injustices and disrespect afforded to patrons. All of this becomes manifest in problems of disorder, drunkenness, fighting and violence in the Main Street area which the police must contend with. The reaction by the Liquor Control Commission to liquor offenses committed by a hotel operator is usually a warning or a one to two day suspension. The point to be made here is that the offenses and the penalty are clearly out of line and have little effect on changing the operation of the beverage rooms. The onus then is on the Liquor Control Commission to enforce stricter controls and mandatory compliance to these regulations.

In summary the "alcohol problem" of the Main Street area is largely due to several factors:

1. The concentration and close proximity of hotel beverage rooms and the lack of any other social functions.
2. Failure of hotel operators to comply to the regulations of the Liquor Control Act and a lack of control in beverage rooms.
3. Failure of the Liquor Control Commission to strictly enforce regulations and assure hotel operators abide by the Act.
4. A large number of people whose leisure-time activities are channeled to a singular passtime of drinking.

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22. C.B.C. Radio Noon, September 17, 1975

The obvious question is what is being done to meet the problem. The answer is also simple - very little. There are social agencies in the Main Street area and in other areas in the city geared specifically to alcohol problems. The facilities available for detoxification or dryout are felt to be adequate to handle the present number of cases. However, the Social Planning Council reports that police officials, City Welfare workers, and Main Street Project staff feel there is a definite need for long-term mandatory facilities - "capable of breaking the revolving-door syndrome, in which chronic alcoholics and problem drinkers are repeatedly channeled through existing agencies. The short term custodial treatment is not sufficient treatment for chronic drinkers. The Social Planning Council recommends long-term facilities with specialized programs of education and job training, psychiatric and medical care to treat the chronic alcoholic."<sup>23</sup>

#### SUMMARY

Every community is held together by a network of organizations. In some cases the activities of those organizations strengthen the community, give it vitality, provide opportunities for fulfillment and enjoyment. In the core area, the effect of the organizational network is to create dependencies. There is dependency on the remedial nature of the social services, the welfare system, the beer parlours. The schools and recreation areas, with some exception, add little to creating strength or self-reliance amongst the young people in the community. The consequence is that the core area does not have an organizational base that is a positive force.

There are of course exceptions to this general conclusion. Several organizations are attempting to break out of the dependency syndrome and create new options and opportunities. There has been some public action recently directed toward the core area and more is contemplated.

The study will in a following section turn to a survey of these responses to the problems of the core to determine how apt they may be to meet the problems in an effective way.

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23. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg "Main Street - A Position Paper", p. 17

## 5. CRIME IN THE CORE AREA

### 5-1. GENERAL TRENDS

Before examining the specifics of crime in the core area a brief review of general trends for the City of Winnipeg seems in order. Winnipeg until 1970 was below the national crime average for cities of 100,000 - 250,000 population. Since then Winnipeg's crime rate has risen slightly above the national average. Winnipeg's increase in volume of crime from 1960-1970 was 23%.<sup>1</sup> This also seems fairly consistent with the national increase of 20% for cities of this size.<sup>2</sup> These figures seem to indicate that while Winnipeg's increased crime rate in the past decade is serious, it is not an increase which seems out of proportion to other cities of Winnipeg's size. In general, Winnipeg does not experience the same incidence of serious organized crime as larger urban centers.

TABLE 1. TOTAL NUMBER OF CRIMES REPORTED OR KNOWN TO THE POLICE

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1975</u>
Winnipeg	13,082	13,644	20,885	21,261
Net Average for Cities of 100,000-250,000	15,400	14,452	19,987	-

Source: City of Winnipeg, Police Department, Annual Report

### 5-2. CORE AREA TRENDS

Prior to amalgamation, crime statistics for Winnipeg were maintained on a city wide basis, and not broken into specific areas. As a result it was impossible to develop comparable data on "core" crime for years prior to amalgamation.

There were similar problems gathering comparable data on recent core crime rates. Amalgamation in January of 1975 saw the City of Winnipeg divided into six police districts, none which correspond to the area identified as reflecting "core" conditions (see Map 2). However, an approximate idea of what was happening in core areas was gained by pulling police records on selected crimes committed in "core" parts of Districts 1 and 3 over a six week

1. All crime statistics presented for years prior to amalgamation in January, 1975.  
2. Perspective Canada, Science Council of Canada, 1975, page 292.

period of June 23rd to August 3rd. Statistics were tabulated on the following offence classifications: Intoxicated Persons Detention Act (IPDA), Sexual Offences, Assault, Juvenile Delinquency Act, Thefts over and under \$200, Break and Entering, Robbery, Child Welfare Act, Narcotics Control Act, Offensive Weapons and Homicides. Information on the location of such crimes and the offender were then taken from court assistance forms found in case reports of the Bureau of Police Records.

In order to gain a more accurate look at the overall crime situation in the core and the real workload of the police department, statistics were collected on the actual and weighted number of calls during the sample period. This data was tabulated by district for the entire City in order to gain some comparative data on crime in the core relative to other parts of Winnipeg. The actual number of police calls was taken from complaint reports maintained by the Bureau of Police Records. Then, a weight of 1 - 3 was assigned to each call the police handled. This weighting system was recommended by Glen Ash, a research officer at the Police Department. The weights are assigned on the basis of the seriousness of the crime and the amount of time the police spend on its investigation. The weights are as follows:

1 - all summary offences e.g. missing persons, liquor act offences, obscene literature, offensive weapons, breach of IPDA.

2 - all indictable crimes against property e.g. thefts under and over \$200, break and enter, willful damage, fraud.

3 - all indictable crimes against a person e.g. sexual offences, assaults, homicides, criminal negligence.

TABLE 2. CRIME STATISTICS FOR CITY OF WINNIPEG - June 23 to August 3, 1975

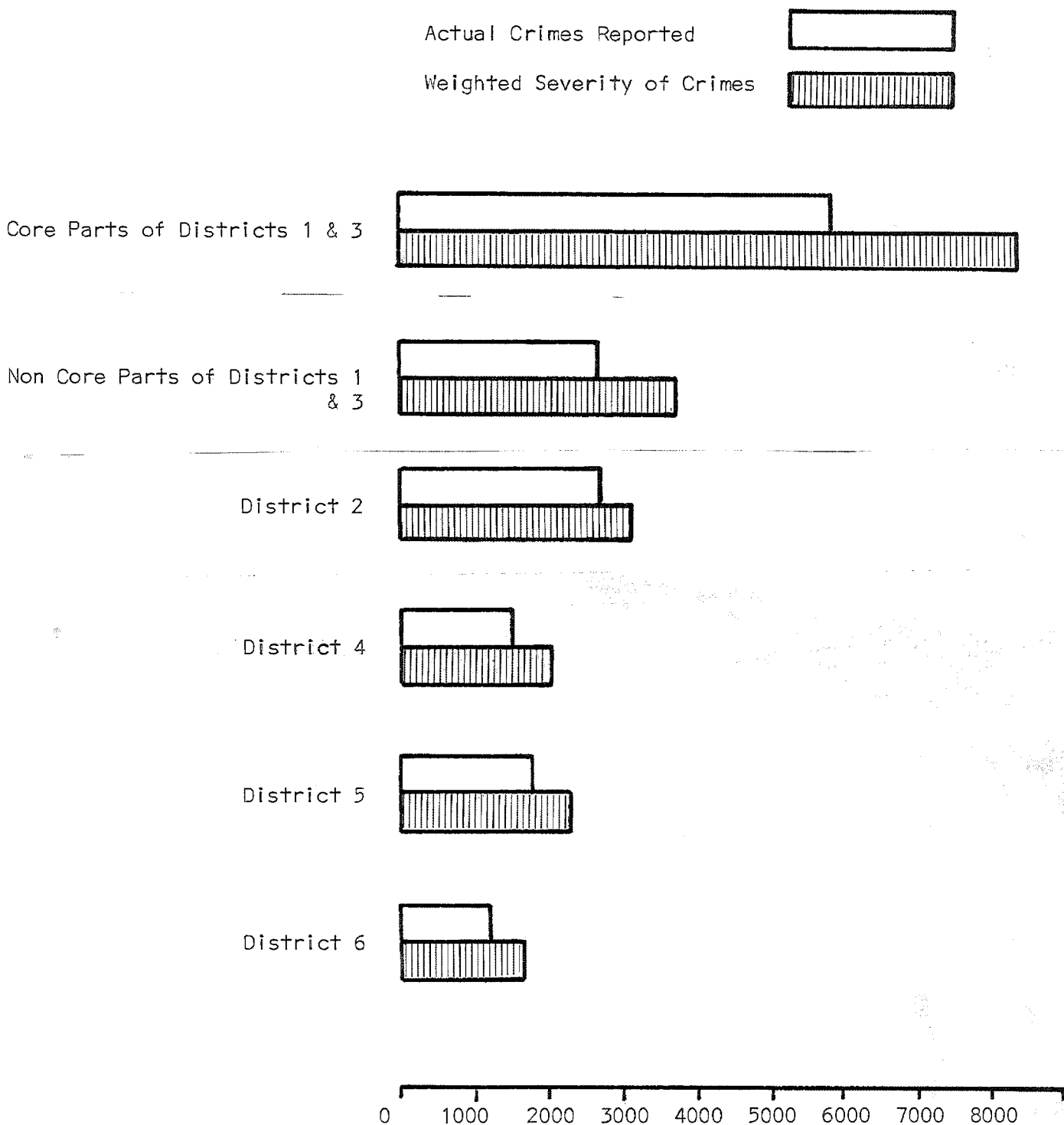
POLICE DISTRICT	ACTUAL CRIMES REPORTED	% OF TOTAL CRIMES REPORTED	WEIGHTED SEVERITY OF CRIMES	% of TOTAL
1 *	1,099	7.1	1,720	8.1
C1**	4,269	27.6	6,084	28.6
2	2,659	17.2	3,075	14.5
3*	1,586	10.2	2,071	9.8
C3**	1,588	10.3	2,328	11.0
4	1,421	9.2	2,012	9.5
5	1,720	11.1	2,278	10.7
6	1,148	7.4	1,668	7.9
TOTAL	15,490		21,236	
CORE 1 & 3	5,857	37.8	8,412	39.6
NON CORE 1 & 3	2,685	17.3	3,791	17.9

\* includes only the non core parts of the police district

\*\* includes only the core area parts of the police district



CRIME STATISTICS FOR CORE AND NON CORE AREAS  
 CITY OF WINNIPEG POLICE DISTRICTS  
 June 23 to August 3, 1975



Approximate Area Covered by Police Districts:

- District 1            Downtown
- District 2            St. James-Assiniboia
- District 3            North End and West Kildonan
- District 4            East Kildonan, Transcona and Old Kildonan
- District 5            St. Boniface and St. Vital
- District 6            Fort Rouge, Fort Garry, Tuxedo and Charleswood

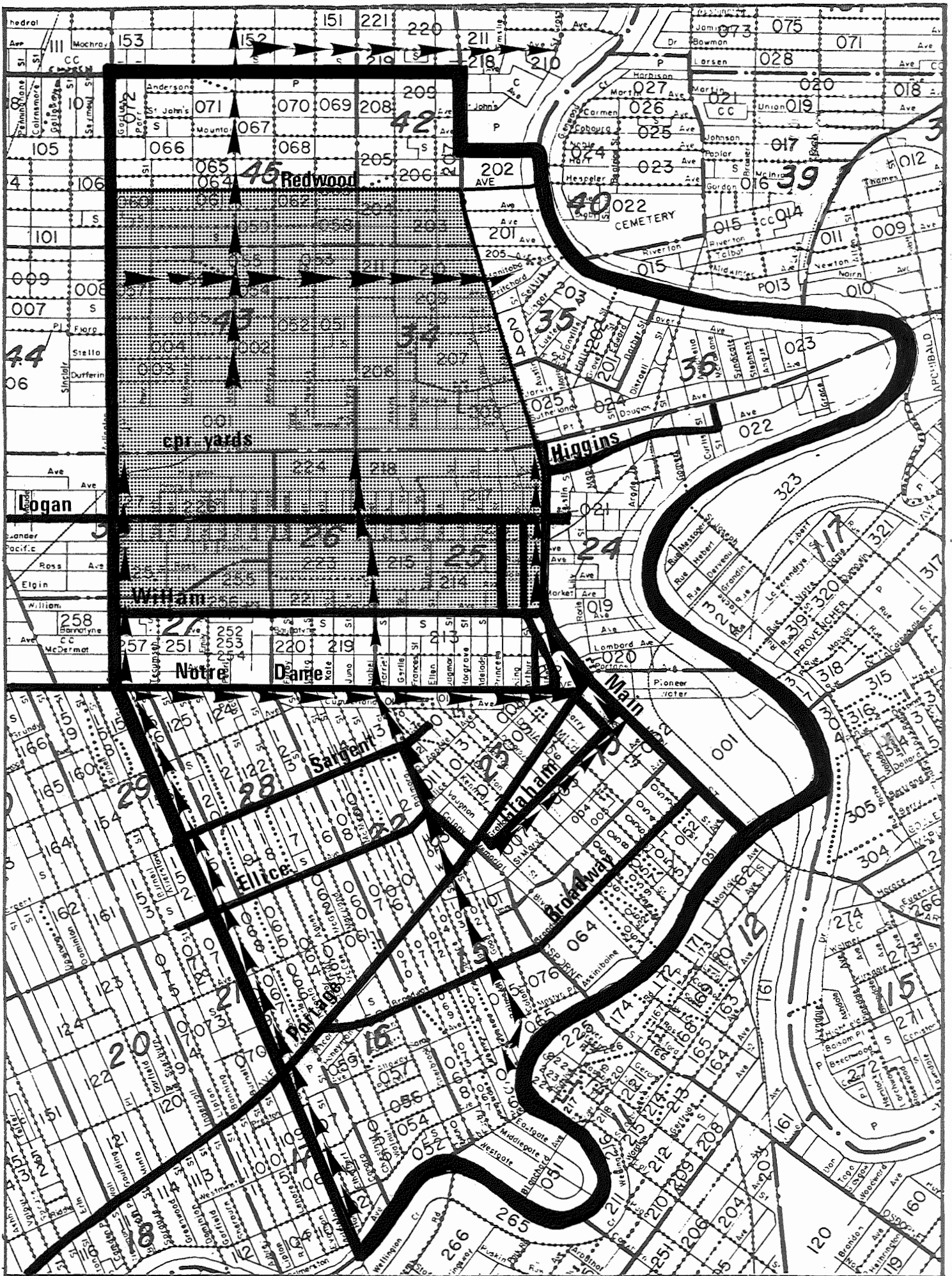
The accompanying table illustrates the crime situation in the core relative to the rest of the city for the sample period. Not only does the police department answer a far greater number of calls in the core area (37.8%), but they also answer calls of a more serious nature (39.6%). This situation is also reflected in the fact that police activity is highly concentrated in this area, as shown on police patrol beat and cruiser car areas, Map 3. Police constables have noted that they could remember many evenings when they had only twenty minutes between each call. They pointed out that this meant very little time could be spent on actual patrol and crime prevention,<sup>3</sup> in an area where it was needed most.

The crime rates illustrated in the accompanying graph vividly depict the higher incidence of crime in the core area relative to other areas of Winnipeg. Our sample of selected offences for the core gives a greater insight into certain aspects of core crime. Table 3 shows prosecutions under the Intoxicated Persons Detention Act to be very high for this area. This is not surprising when one notes that there are 16 hotel liquor outlets operating within a 12 block area on Main Street. Main Street 1980 also notes that in 1973 the IPDA shows 4,527 detentions under the Act, an increase of 952 from the previous year. Police estimate that 75% of these are from the Main Street area and our statistics show that 48% of the IPDA violations occurred in census tracts 24 and 25 - the area bounded by the Red River, Notre Dame, Isabel and the C.P.R. Of those detained under this Act, 28% were from the area bounded by the Red River, Portage, Sherbrook and the C.P.R. (census tracts 22-26), while 21% were classified as non-core residents and 23% had no fixed address. Prosecutions under the Liquor Act were also highest in these areas. In addition, statistics taken from annual reports of the Manitoba Liquor Control Board show that 20% of liquor license suspensions occurred in census tracts 24 and 25.

The disturbing part of these results is the very high percentage of native people charged with violations under this Act. Fifty-one percent of those detained were native people, while natives represent only 4% of Winnipeg's population. Of this 51%, 38.4% were unemployed and 17% were receiving social assistance. Main Street workers and officials of the Salvation Army confirm that the majority of their clients are native people - "lonely, defeated and unmotivated individuals."

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3. Interviews with cruiser car patrolmen, July 8 and July 11, 1975.



MAP 3

# CORE AREA STUDY

## FOR THE WINNIPEG POLICE COMMISSION

CORE AREA BOUNDARY



POLICE CRUISER CAR DISTRICTS



POLICE BEAT PATROLS



JUVENILE CRIME AREA



INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES 1975

Table 3  
CRIME

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

Magistrate Ian Dubiensi also refers to this problem in his report: "Analysis of Arrests in 1969, with Particular Reference to Persons of Indian Descent." He notes that 36% of the offences committed by those of Indian descent were charged under the Liquor Control Act. Our findings show that 63% of the charges against native people in our list of selected offences were charges under IPDA (52%), or the Liquor Act (11%). The Dubiensi report also states that in 1969 no person of Indian descent was charged under the Narcotics Control Act, while a substantial majority were apprehended for glue-sniffing.<sup>4</sup> This is still the case in 1975. In our sample period, thirty-five persons were charged under the Juvenile Delinquency Act, with the majority of these charges related to glue-sniffing or consumption of alcohol by minors. Of this 35, 62.8% were listed as native, 11.4% non-native and 25.7% not known.<sup>5</sup>

The other area in which native offenders seem disproportionately represented is prosecutions under the Child Welfare Act. Sixty-seven percent of those charged were of native origin, while 24% were non-native with 9% not known. This problem is particularly acute in the Main Street area (census tracts 24 and 25). On trips with the police the number of young children loitering around hotels waiting for their parents was frequently noted. Workers of the Main Street project have also noted this to be a problem of particular concern.

Magistrate Dubiensi states that by looking at the offences with which Native people are charged, "...it becomes abundantly clear that Indians are not involved in as many serious offences as it is believed. A consideration of the offences that would be regarded as violent against the person such as:

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4. Magistrate Ian Dubiensi and Professor Stephen Skelly, "Analysis of Arrests for the Year 1969 in the City of Winnipeg, with Particular Reference to Arrests of Persons of Indian Descent", September 1, 1970.
  5. Manitoba Liquor Commission Annual Report, 1974. It should be noted that many observers such as Frank Syms of the Liquor Control Board, and staff of ~~Alcoholic~~ Family Services feel that problems of alcohol abuse amongst the Native population are no worse than those of other ethnic groups. Mr. Syms suggested that native people are more highly visible along the Main Street Strip, encouraging the view of the "Drunken Indian". He feels that the fact of the matter is that the majority of native people are forced to drink in bars and on the street because for many this is the one available form of recreation they can afford. Whites on the other hand are generally in a much better economic position and can drink at home or with friends in "respectable" bars. However, whether the incidence of alcohol abuse is greater among Natives or Whites, the incidence of detainment of natives is higher - still a problem of great concern.

assaults, wounding, murder, offensive weapons, robbery, sexual offences, abduction, and attempted suicide indicate persons of Indian descent being responsible for 2.7% of all offences attributable to them while all other ethnic classes account for 3.6% attributable to them. This is a negligible differential."<sup>6</sup>

Our statistics also bear this out. Of all native offences, crimes against persons represent only 5.7%. However, this does not mean to say that there is not any cause for alarm. Alcohol abuse is quite obviously a very serious problem amongst native adults, with glue-sniffing representing a very serious problem amongst native juveniles.

### 5.3 JUVENILE CRIME

The Winnipeg Police Department recorded 6,068 juveniles arrested or summoned in 1973.<sup>7</sup> This is an increase of 23.9% from the 1969 figure of 4,566 juveniles. Of the 740 crimes monitored over our six week investigation, 31% were committed by juveniles. A 1969 police report on juvenile crime estimated that about 8.96% of all Winnipeg children between the ages of 7 to 17 were involved with the police.<sup>8</sup> That is, about 9 out of every 100 children residing in the city come into contact with police in a given year. This figure was much higher than the police department expected as 5% was generally felt to be the norm. The 1969 police investigation on juvenile crime was able to pinpoint the hard core problem area for juvenile offences as that section of the city between William Avenue, Arlington Street, Redwood Avenue and Main Street, as illustrated on Map 3. A breakdown of the total number of offences committed between September, 1968 and August, 1969 reveals that of the juvenile offenders, 25% were of native origin, 31% came from

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6. Ibid., p. 10.

7. Annual Report of the Chief of Police of the City of Winnipeg Police Department, 1973, p. 34.

8. "A Report Respecting Juvenile Delinquency Within the City of Winnipeg," Winnipeg Police Department - Juvenile Branch, 1970, pp 4 - 5.

broken homes, 22% came from families on welfare and 56% were repeaters.<sup>9</sup>

The police report concluded, three main factors influential in juvenile delinquency could be prioritized as follows:

1. Parent/Child Relationship
2. Schools
3. Home Location Environment.

Generally speaking the total environment of the delinquent youth is a causal factor in law breaking. That is, home, school, church, playground, community club, et cetera.

Of particular interest to this study is the home location environment.

The Juvenile Branch made specific reference to some core area conditions which are particularly relevant to the incidence of juvenile crime.

1. The lack of recreational facilities: "...other than very few groups attempting to find wholesome activities for these young people the area is devoid of recreational facilities." The Juvenile Branch feels that it is usually left up to them to deal with the offenders and the problems associated with crime.

2. Peer group pressure: The Branch feels that particularly juveniles in lower socio-economic areas of the city are pressured by their peers to participate in delinquent activities. Workers at Y.A.P. and Y.A.C. also identified peer group pressure as being highly influential in delinquency and general attitudes toward the law.

3. Indian and Metis children: The report acknowledges that the majority of the Indian and Metis population live within the core area. The police department feels the percentage of Native juveniles involved in crime is more a result of economic depravity than one of race.<sup>10</sup>

That there has been an increase in the juvenile crime rate for the City of Winnipeg is a known fact by police authorities. As well, residents from the Centennial and Lord Selkirk areas have recently voiced their concern to City Council and the Police Commission. Residents refer to a particular increase in gangs of rowdy youths and in the offenses of glue-sniffing and alcohol abuse.

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9. Ibid.,.

10. Ibid., p. 30.

#### 5.4 RESULTS OF THE SIX WEEK INVESTIGATION

As illustrated in Table 3, the breakdown of the 740 crimes reveals the following characteristics of the offenders: 40% were of native origin, 34% were non-native, and 26% were not known; 25% of the offenders were employed, 38% were unemployed, 12% were receiving social assistance, 11% were students and 13% were not known. Of those charged, 69% were adults and 31% were juveniles. Over one half of the offenders (56%) had a core area address, and of this group about 16% resided in the ~~area east of Isabel and between Notre Dame and the C.P.R., census tracts 24 & 25.~~ This is the area with the poorest housing, the lowest income, least education and the greatest transiency - all factors leading towards social disorder and law breaking. It is therefore not surprising that these areas have the greatest concentration of criminal activity in the city.

The results from our investigation indicate that some pattern of crime and traits of the offenders are identifiable. In order to determine the degree to which a relationship exists between the home address of the offender, the location of the offense and the other socio-economic characteristics, a regression technique was used and the following factors were correlated with crime:

- 1) unemployment
- 2) family income under \$3,000
- 3) renting accommodation
- 4) a change of residence within the last 5 years
- 5) location of liquor outlets
- 6) density of population
- 7) immigration after 1945.

The results of the correlation revealed certain specific characteristics related to crime could be ranked in order of their degree of relationship:

1. The location of liquor outlets was found to be distinctly related to the incidence of crime and to the location of the offence. In the regression technique, 77.4% of the variation in core crime for the study period was "explained" by the single factor of liquor outlets.

2. A significant relationship to crime was found to be the condition of the neighbourhood environment. A higher incidence of crime occurred in unstable areas where a large transient population resided.



3. The crime rate was much higher in areas where the population density was highest and the level of income was low.

4. A greater number of offenders resided in immigrant areas of the city. This relationship is also influenced by the fact that recent immigrants tend to reside in areas which are transient and have lower income levels.

In conclusion, it seems that much of the core crime problem stems from our failure to find solutions to problems of poverty, alcohol abuse and lack of economic opportunity. All the data presented in Part 1 indicate that such problems are still with us, and in fact that they have become worse. Income disparities are increasing along with unemployment and deteriorated housing stock. Warnings over increased native militancy and loss of an economic base in the core represent further cause for concern.

Because these problems are increasing and because we have not found real solutions to tackle our socio-economic problems, greater pressure will be placed on police officers as the most available street level agents that are right there to tackle the problem. The large percentage of native people who run into troubles with the law indicate the need for special measures by the police in dealing with their group in the population. The high incidence of alcohol related crimes points to the need for more stringent action in controlling liquor abuse. And, the obvious connection between the factors of community deprivation and instability and demand for police services will require a particular strategy of prevention in those areas where the breakdown is most serious or is spreading.

## 6. PHYSICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC INTERVENTIONS

New initiatives to solve one form of difficulty or another are as much a part of the core area scene as are the problems themselves. Many of these initiatives have no impact at all. Many are useful but are too limited in resources to really make a difference. It is fair to say that at this stage the problems of the core area are not being addressed with the scale of resources or seriousness of commitment that the problem deserves. Nonetheless, the following survey of present day responses to core area problems, both from public and private sources, can provide some sense of the existing strategies that are being applied, and may suggest what kind of responses are still needed.

### 6.1 PHYSICAL PLANS AND PROGRAMS

A) Urban Renewal: During the late 1950's and 1960's the prevailing philosophy in dealing with the core area was embodied in urban renewal programs. This involved basically the tearing down of large sections of deteriorated physical structures and replacing them with new buildings, services, and facilities. The two major interventions of this kind that occurred in Winnipeg's core area were the Lord Selkirk Park project, just north of CPR tracks, and the Concert Hall - City Hall complex that straddled Main Street.

The negative features of the urban renewal approach were well illustrated by the failure of these two projects to make any substantial improvement to the quality of living in the core area. The Lord Selkirk Project provided 178 units of new housing, but it is questionable how much the standard of living has improved. That particular project in fact is one of the highest crime and juvenile delinquency areas in the core area.

The Concert Hall - City Hall Complex has had a different set of results. It undoubtedly has provided the city as a whole with excellent facilities for art and culture, and the new City Hall and Public Safety Building were necessary for the improved functioning of city government. But the effect of these new buildings on the core area has been minimal. The complex did not act as a stimulus for further efforts at redevelopment; it has not

provided any new facilities for the use of core area residents (unless one considers the Public Safety Building). In fact, the buildings are very much an island in the center of the core.

The poor results of urban renewal interventions as witnessed in Winnipeg, were repeated across Canada to the point where the federal government cancelled the urban renewal program. Since then the search has been on for alternatives to take its place.

#### B. NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMS:

The passage of new federal legislation in 1973 has led to what is now called a Neighbourhood Improvement Program. Under N.I.P., the emphasis is on smaller scale, selected physical renewal, rehabilitation instead of tearing down new buildings, and the improvement of local services and facilities. The planning of such facilities is to be undertaken in close collaboration with residents.

At present, the City of Winnipeg has entered into cost-sharing agreements with provincial and federal governments to cover two areas within the core - the North Point Douglas area and part of the Centennial Community Committee area bounded by Sherbrook and Pacific Streets and William and Logan Avenues. City funding for N.I.P. between 1974-78 is just under 6.5 million dollars and is to cover administration, facilities, land assembly, acquisition of industrial sites and relocation of families and individuals. To achieve closest contact with citizens, site offices have been opened in the two N.I.P. areas and consultation takes place with area residents.

In addition the Province of Manitoba has proposed a seven million dollar expenditure for public housing in or around the N.I.P. areas. This includes 60 units scattered throughout the area and a 150 units on the Midland Railway site. Specific plans have not yet been finalized.

It is still much too early to assess the impact of the N.I.P. program. It does represent a change in the style of core area planning, from one of massive renewal to selected smaller scale intervention with some degree of community participation. One question that must be raised, however, is whether the amount of funds for N.I.P. are sufficient to meet the tasks.

There is a large backlog of physical improvements that the core area requires - housing, recreation areas, new streets, lighting and services. N.I.P. may turn out to be using a teacup to bail out a flooded basement, unless there is a more significant commitment of funds.

C. REPAIR AND REHABILITATION:

In addition to the N.I.P. program both the federal and provincial governments have programs offering various forms of assistance for home repair. The federal government has a Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (R.R.A.P.) which provides a combination of grants and loans, for repair purposes.

The province is presently engaged in a Critical Home Repair Program, which provides up to a \$1,000 grant, with another \$1,000 loan to pensioners and low income homeowners for repair purposes. Over four thousand applications have been received for this program, with a two million dollar allotment of funds.

D. CORE AREA CAPITAL WORKS:

Compared to these smaller scale rehabilitative housing improvement programs which have limited funding is the proposed 42.9 million dollar investment in provincial public buildings in the core area; including a Court House, an Environmental Protection Laboratory and a joint Auto Pac building and Provincial Garage. These are undoubtedly of importance to the operation and administration of the provincial government, and will replace some of the dilapidated buildings in the core. But the impact on the residents of the core area can be expected to be of a similar nature to the old urban renewal public works.

E. PRIVATE DEVELOPMENT:

Private development takes two forms in the core area. One is the major development projects such as Centennial Gardens, and the CNR East Yards, which are normally combination residential, commercial projects undertaken with private monies, along with certain public dispensations. They provide the stimuli for an influx of downtown residents and the creation of new

commercial structure, a strategy that was seen by the downtown development plan as a major solution to restoring downtown vitality.<sup>1</sup> Such development does have its problems however. The increasing density and concentration in key areas of the downtown create problems of congestion and demands for vastly improved city services, including those of the police. In fact some studies suggest that the benefits derived from some developments are outweighed by the costs.<sup>2</sup> There is also the associated problem that high-rise, high density living areas can become particularly susceptible to certain kinds of crime problems. In a previously cited study it was indicated that certain kinds of high apartment areas have significantly higher crime rates than less dense areas.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the form that these developments take can have an important bearing on developing added pressure for police protection.

What is most obvious about such private developments, however, is that they offer no solution to the problems faced by most present residents of the core area. The developments are being built on the southern edge of the core and are designed for middle and upper income families. Thus, there is generally no provisions for the housing or recreation needs of lower income core residents. Until or unless there is some policy that provides for a mixture of income ranges in private housing development in the downtown the pressing problem of lack of good accommodation for low income people will persist.

There are, however, some limited private initiatives that do make a contribution. These are normally through the efforts of community non-profit organizations which have undertaken some innovative efforts at re-development. The St. Andrews Place is a co-operative effort between the United Church and the community. It will provide 116 units of senior citizens' housing, a recreation area, a health clinic and a co-op food store run by a non-profit corporation. As well, there have been efforts by community groups such as the Peoples' Committee and the Kinew Corporation to undertake housing programs for low income people. These groups utilize federal

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1. Cf. Greater Winnipeg Metropolitan Corp., Planning Division, Downtown Development.
  2. Cf. William K. Rolly ed. The Use of Land A Citizens Policy Guide to Urban Growth, Thomas Cromwell, New York, 1973.
  3. Cf. Oscar Newman, Defensible Space MacMillan Company, New York, N.Y. 1972.

mortgage money and special grants, but do not receive any assistance from the city.

F. NEW PLANS AND PROPOSALS:

In recent years there have also been a number of initiatives taken to promote innovative development projects in the core, but they have as yet not borne tangible results.

In 1970, the Chinese Benevolent Association set up a non-profit development corporation and received government funds to develop a renewal plan. Their proposed plan includes low rental housing units for 2500 people, a shopping mall, medical and dental clinic, Chinese language school, library and day nursery among other things. At this stage, no further action by City Council has been taken on the proposal.

Similarly there was a plan developed for an Indian Village called Neeganin, sponsored by native organizations and prepared by a private consulting firm. With government support a plan was developed that would have turned the east side of Main Street, between the Disraeli Freeway and the CPR into an area with housing units, commercial establishments and business sites run and operated by native people. The plan was put forward in the spring of 1974, and again there has been no action by government officials.

Another proposal which is also in limbo is the Core Commission idea, originally proposed by the City's Commissioner on Environment. After the tragic Patrick Street fire, Commissioner Henderson invited the core area residents to establish a Citizens' Commission on housing and living conditions to report to the Committee on Environment on how to improve matters in the core area. A proposal containing terms of reference for the Core Commission and a request for funding and staff were forwarded to the Environment Committee for approval. At this stage, the Committee has taken no action on the proposal. At a recent meeting the resident groups and agency workers who had been assisting them decided to go forward in setting up a Commission without authorization from the Environment Committee.

The Committee on Environment, however, did hold a one day hearing this last May to receive briefs on what should be done to improve housing and living conditions in the core. A variety of briefs were submitted containing a number of proposals, including the need for stiffer housing inspection, and the establishment of a city housing corporation. An ad hoc committee of five counselors was established to consider the briefs. As yet, no report from the ad hoc committee has come forward.

#### SUMMARY

In reviewing the efforts made to deal with the physical improvement of the core area, certain basic trends are clear.

The major efforts at physical renewal, those undertaken by government and the private sector at a cost of many millions of dollars have limited relevance to the real problems of the core. The problems described in previous sections - poor housing, poverty, alcoholism, lack of jobs, are not helped in any significant way by major development proposals or public capital works projects. Such projects create benefits in enlarging the tax base, providing more high income commercial and residential space and improving the working conditions and operations of government. They do not cut into the cluster of core area problems.

On the other hand there is no shortage of proposals and initiatives that could substantially improve surroundings of the core. But, such proposals are usually poorly funded, ignored or studied and re-studied until they become forgotten.

Thus, the real issue in determining physical renewal solution to core conditions is one of priorities. As yet there is no plan of action setting out housing targets for the core area or prescribing realistic means by which substantial numbers of new or renovated units for core residents can be provided. There is no action being taken to counter-act the continuing deterioration of the Main Street district. Instead, large amounts of money are allocated to projects in other parts of the city which,

while undoubtedly necessary, do not have the same priority as improving the quality of conditions in the core. Until there is a major commitment to improvement in the core, the poor quality of housing and neighbourhoods will continue to act as a depressant on the people living there.

## 6.2 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESPONSES

From our description of conditions in the core, it can be seen that a critical source of difficulties of people in the core is their poverty, their lack of employment and education. The task of overcoming these handicaps is a complex one, yet must be central to any effort at ultimately reducing the severe disadvantages experienced by core area residents.

At present there are a number of activities directed towards this purpose. Many of these activities are small in scale, experimental, working with limited funds; but they do provide worthwhile service and might be seen as portents for future action.

### A. EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

There are many agencies offering job training and employment placement services geared toward helping low income people. A complete list of all employment agencies in Manitoba is documented in the 1974-75 Manual of Social Services. The following are some examples of employment agencies which specifically assist those with social, education and vocation disadvantages.

#### a) CANADA MANPOWER

Canada Manpower Services offers assistance in placement of workers, recruitment for employers, occupational counselling and testing, labour market information, and selection of applicants for training under the Canada Manpower Program.

- . Under the training and industry program, provisions are made for on-the-job training and Manpower pays to the employer part of the employee's wages.
- . The Drop In Centre, located in the downtown area, provides participants



with training courses to help entrance to the labour market.

- . Canada Manpower subsidizes certain courses at Red River Community College allowing a client to further his education. Manpower provides the student's tuition, books, and also a training allowance.
- . Limited funds are made available to support innovative projects to create employment through the local initiatives program (LIP).
- . Through the Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP) funds are available for up to three years for projects initiated locally to create employment for the chronically unemployed and disadvantaged.
- . Manitoba Pathfinders is designed to meet the needs of Indians and Metis people. Pathfinders emphasizes a personal approach toward their clients and offers counselling and help in finding work or training opportunities, information and referral services, and help to find a place to live. If a person comes in to apply and is not seen again, Pathfinders will send a letter asking the applicant if he is still interested in seeking employment.
- . Work activity programs are initiated for training the disadvantaged in actual work situations where the emphasis is not so much on job performance as it is on getting along with co-workers and the working environment. One example is Pioneer Services which is a restaurant operating in a Senior Citizen's Home on Smith Street. Following a successful training period here, it is hoped that trainees will be able to secure work in the field of restaurant services.
- . Argyle School operates as an alternate high school for students who are unable to adjust to the regular school system. Employment opportunities are provided through Manpower Services. The enrollment is about 200 students, 30% from the core area south of the CPR.

Generally local employers respond well to people from Manpower's programs. Manpower admits that native people have a difficult time obtaining a job, in part due to lack of training, language, and cultural barriers.

b) EMPLOYMENT CO-OP:

One of the more innovative efforts that has taken place in the core has been the development of an employment co-op. This program was organized with the help of the CYC in reaction to the private employment agencies that

operated along Main Street. These private employment companies would confiscate large percentages of clients' earnings. In reaction to this exploitation an employment service working on a co-operative basis was established, insuring that the men would receive full return for their work.

c) MINORITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS:

One of the issues of concern to this study is the matter of special employment programs for native people, similar in nature to the proposal for special police programs. In general, personnel officers in government were reluctant to answer questions on native employment practices due to fear of making the suggestion that employment selection was based on race or background. Certainly at the City level there appears to be no special employment programs. The only specific public service employer having a special program is the federal government which set up the office of Native Employment in 1973. Since that time native people in offices and executive level positions rose from 181 in 1973 to 245 or 0.4 percent of the total number of public service employees in 1974. (TABLE 1) These numbers are small and the Public Service Commission recognizes that more progress is needed.

For most part the PSC tries to recruit natives for positions where there is a strong interface between native people and government. In Winnipeg, the PSC would like to recruit natives for such positions as parole officers and Manpower counselors. So far there seems to be some difficulties in gaining native applicants. In efforts to avoid discrimination, and because of the Civil Rights Legislation, ethnicity, among other personal traits, has been excluded from application forms. Thus, the PSC claims native people are recruited on the basis of sight, name or language spoken (for example Cree of Saulteaux). Not only is this a rather ambiguous type of selection but very few native people seem to reply to Public Service bulletin. Consequently the PSC tends to rely on various native organizations such as the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, or Department of Indian Affairs for candidates. The PSC also conducts on-campus interviews at Universities, but here again the proportion of native

students of Universities is very low. While the intentions of the Public Service Commission are good, and some new programs are underway, their success at reaching the Canadian Native population has been minimal.

TABLE 1

NATIVE EMPLOYMENT IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF CANADA<sup>4</sup>(Totals as of February 1975)

Public Service Commission	9	
Native Citizens Program - Secretary of State	7	
National Health and Welfare	3	(5)
Manpower and Immigration	18	(6)
Department of Justice	1	
Department of Regional Economic Expansion	1	
Department of Labour	1	
Indian Affairs	192	(7)
Parks Canada	7	(8)
Northern Affairs	5	
National Parole Board	1	
	245	

Source: "Statistical Information Relating to the Employment of Native People in the Public Service of Canada". Office of Native Employment, May 26, 1975.

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4. Office of Native Employment, PSC, except as indicated below.
  5. Medical Services Branch, February, 1975.
  6. Task Force Manpower Service For Native People (1974 Dept. of Manpower and Immigration).
  7. Indian- Eskimo Recruitment and Development, Department of Indian Affairs, February, 1975.
  8. Native Employment - Parks Canada, February, 1975.

## B. TRAINING PROGRAMS

One of the critical requirements to improve the position of those with limited skills and education is to find ways to up-grade their abilities and encourage good work habits. Several programs aimed at this objective are not operating in the core area. A sampling of those in operation are described below.

### a) WINNIPEG HOME IMPROVEMENT PROJECT (WHIP):

Operating under the Canadian Assistance Plan, WHIP offers on-the-job training for employable men and women who do not have the necessary skills to be employed by industry. Under the direction of skilled workers, participants repair homes of senior citizens and low income families while learning the trade. As well as job training, WHIP offers counselling in "life skills" and educational instruction geared towards an individuals own level and rate of learning.

WHIP provides somewhat of a "sheltered" work environment in that absenteeism and other work problems are tolerated, whereas this would not be the case in the private sector. Director, Don Cardinale noted that many clients leave at seeding, trapping or fishing season and return to WHIP later. He also felt that cultural differences and "culture shock" was a problem among some Native participants, but they were quite capable of handling the job itself. Similarly, cultural problems were experienced by ex-inmates due to the changed environment from the penal institution to the city.

### b) NEW CAREERS PROGRAMS

Funded by the provincial government, New Careers was initiated in 1970 as a program providing an alternate entry to jobs for the socially, educationally, and economically "disadvantaged" portion of the population. The program emphasis is on specially designed and individualized training, geared towards meeting the requirements of a particular job. The staff at New Careers work with an employer to set up a specific program and establish what trainees must know to meet the requirements for the job.

For two years a client is trained as an apprentice, spending 79 percent of the time on the job and 30 percent in class instruction sessions. During this time the trainee is paid a percentage of the regular salary for the job and receives a salary increase at six month intervals. At the termination of the training period the client receives the full regular salary. Communication between the employer, the trainee and New Careers is continued throughout the apprenticeship, with some follow-up afterward.

Approximately three-quarters of the applicants are of native ancestry. Careerists are selected on the basis of motivation and potential and to the largest extent on who needs help the most.

A real "plus" for the New Careers program is that every trainee, provided he or she makes satisfactory progress, obtains the job he or she is training for during the two years in the program - thus avoiding the perennial problem of employment agencies training people for non-existent jobs. The "success" rate, that is the percentage of people remaining on the program, is 80%-85%.

Linda Wiebe, the New Careers director, felt that positive results could be obtained by establishing a police training program for native people and other ethnic groups in the city. One suggestion was an entry training program to the regular series of police training.

### C. EDUCATION

As previously mentioned, the school system in the core area is experiencing severe pressure in terms of supplying an effective educational program. Traditional classroom procedures and curriculum make little sense in the face of a school age population who have different language and cultural backgrounds, come from poor and often unsettled homes, and have little expectation of being in the same school, or having the same teacher for any continuous length of time. Under such circumstances, the schools have begun trying to cope with their difficulties in several innovative ways.

a) The use of Native Teacher Aides in the Winnipeg School Division

is a very positive step toward the concept of community education.

Howard Loewen, Superintendent for the Division, explains the aides provide an important bridge between the schools and the homes of native children.

In the four years the aides have been working in the core area, they have been able to check truancy and effect a decrease in the drop-out rate.

Many of the aides are fluent in the English language as well as in Cree and Saulteaux. Where once few, if any, native parents attended parent-teacher meetings, now a significant proportion who attend are native.

Some 13 native teacher aides in the Division have succeeded in getting native parents and students to discuss their problems openly and the aides seem to have a positive effect on how native students relate to their teachers and other students in the classroom.

b) William Whyte Elementary School began classes this year with a new approach to community education. Since the Winnipeg School Board approved the project last June, 65 community residents applied for the 6 teacher aide positions and another 27 showed interest in the 15 positions on the Curriculum Committee. School Trustees allocated about \$50,000 for the project - \$7,500 for the development of a Community Curriculum Centre and the balance for hiring 6 teacher aides. A 12 member parents committee was formed with the express purpose of writing books for students about native people and the Filipino culture. The Curriculum Committee will follow up from the Parent's Committee, writing books and pamphlets geared towards the students and their abilities. The enthusiasm for the project is indicative of community residents' willingness to participate if the school is prepared. An evaluation team is planned to go into the school in May to report on the progress of the project.

c) This September twelve graduates from the Winnipeg Centre Project at Aberdeen School will be teaching in Winnipeg's core area schools.

Initiated three years ago by the Department of Education, and funded by the provincial government through Brandon University, the centre offers a three year Teacher Training program and a recognized University Degree.

Approximately fifty students are enrolled in the course and about one-half

are of native ancestry. Pre-requisites for the course include residence in the core area of Winnipeg, a good realization and appreciation of the community, and a motivation to help the community. Students are paid a subsistence salary geared toward the number of dependents and present financial situation. Faculty member, Stan Knight, explained the education programs offered at Universities are not specialized enough to handle the particular problems encountered in core area schools. People who have grown up in the core area are more familiar with the problems children in the area experience. The success of the Winnipeg Centre Project will be more fully realized this year by the twelve graduates currently teaching in the core area elementary schools.

d) R.B. Russell Vocational School at 364 Dufferin Avenue offers, for high school students, a preparatory program for entrance into the working world. The school offers sixteen vocational careers. Students choose a vocational area and spend 50 per cent of the time in the shop and 50 percent in an academic program, with emphasis on communication skills, basic mathematics and related vocational information. Applicants for the program should have completed grade eight and be between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one. Referrals are also accepted from social agencies, school principals, or the co-ordinator of Special Education. Before graduation most students spend sometime in the community on work-experience programs.

#### D. COURT SERVICES FOR NATIVES:

Another critical area where there has been an effort to provide special services to native people is in the court system, where a special program of court communicators has been established. The provincial government has recently extended its court communicator service to twelve centres in Manitoba.

Court communicator, Mrs. Dorothy Betz, was previous to the recent extension, the only court communicator available for native people in Winnipeg.

Her work, mainly with adults in the courts and periodically with juveniles, also extends beyond the courtroom. Mrs. Betz visits people in custody to give

counselling, inquires about their background, and interprets during investigations. She also makes bail applications, gives information relating to court procedures and the rudimentary principles of the legal system, and offers assistance to secure financial aid, employment, or residence. Mrs. Betz appears to fulfil three functions for native people, that of lawyer, social worker, and interpreter. The cultural shock of the courtroom, lack of communicative skills and difficulties with the English language and legal jargon, can make the court room a humiliating experience for native people.

#### E. MAIN STREET PLANNING PROGRAMS

In the summer of 1974, the City of Winnipeg, through the initiative of the Commissioner on Environment, established a special program to deal with problems of Main Street. Based on a report called "Main Street 1980,"<sup>10</sup> which outlined the need for a co-ordinated approach by city departments for coping with the multiple problems along the Main Street strip, an inter-departmental committee was set up to co-ordinate city activities with respect to improving the physical, social, and economic conditions of Main Street.

In October of 1974, an interim report<sup>11</sup> from the Inter-departmental group was submitted, outlining the following activities the committee had initiated.

1. A survey of residents in the area bounded by Princess Street to the river and from James to Market Avenue north to the CPR tracks. The survey aimed to determine residents' attitudes towards the various services provided by city departments working in the area.
2. Training of social work staff to detect fire hazards and unsafe premises.
3. A part time Chinese social worker assigned to the Chinese community.
4. The development of a port-a-park at Alexander and Main Street.
5. The recommendation to establish facilities for mandatory long-term treatment of hard-core alcoholics.
6. A recommendation for a public lavatory facility in the Main Street area.

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10. Main Street, 1980 Report to the Committee on Environment, August 27, 1974.

11. Interim Report, October 11, 1974.



7. A recommendation that amendments be made to the Liquor Act and provisions made for customers in beverage rooms to participate in games, dancing and singing.
8. The co-ordination of Chief of Inspection Forces including the Fire Department, Law Department, Engineers, Works and Operations and Health. Inspection teams, including Public Health nurses and Social Workers of the City Welfare Department conducted area-wide inspections on a block-by-block basis.

In September 1974 Council adopted a new Maintenance and Occupancy Bylaw, a new Building Code, a new Unsightly Premises Bylaw, which have led to a program of inspection of older buildings and a tighter enforcement against unsafe, or unsanitary accommodations.

#### SUMMARY

These illustrations of different efforts in the employment, educational, training and planning fields indicates the core area is not being ignored. A number of people working in both public and private agencies are trying to meet problems and develop programs offering progressive change and improvement.

Such efforts must be measured though, against the scale of problems in the core area. It was shown in previous sections that by a statistical count the incidence of unemployment, low income, poor education, alcoholism, and crime, are not improving in the core area. It was also seen that the disparities between the core area and the rest of Winnipeg are widening. The growing number of native people who reside in the core will not continue to placidly accept their fate as being permanent occupants of the bottom rung on the social and economic ladder. Most come to the city to achieve improvement and, if it is not forthcoming, their demands will soon increase. The RCMP have suggested that perhaps the most serious threat to disorder in Canada rests in the growing dissatisfaction of native people, particularly in the core areas of our cities.

This raises for all citizens of the city, major questions on what should be done. Against the backdrop of growing difficulties in the core is the

clear case that what is being attempted now is simply not enough. Programs achieving some success in finding jobs, upgrading skills, instituting a sense of self-reliance are too few, and too poorly funded. So unless there is a significant change in this state of affairs the deterioration will continue and out of the core will come problems which will plague the whole city.

## 7. POLICE WORK IN THE CORE

### 7.1 THE POLICE FUNCTION

The police are called upon to perform a variety of tasks in Winnipeg's core area. While the general perception of most citizens is that the police function is one of crime control, a substantial portion of police work in the core is involved in what can be called "order maintenance" functions or "keeping the peace." This involves breaking up fights, removing intoxicated persons from the street, intervening in domestic quarrels, finding missing children, and responding to a variety of complaints.<sup>1</sup> This does not mean that serious crime is unimportant to the policeman. It is simply that police officers are the only continuous 24-hour service available and most easily accessible in the core area. Consequently, the police are called upon to meet a wide range of situations having major social, behavioral and political consequences in the community.

This combination of roles increases the pressure, strain and tension of police work and calls upon a range of skills appropriate to the many diverse incidents and situations. As the core area continues to change, and the functions expected of the police increase, it is necessary to look at the policies, programs and procedures employed by the police to cope with the mounting volume of cases and widening scope of tasks they encounter. A review of this changing police role poses questions about the organizational strategy applied to the core area, the type of police training offered, the approaches used toward crime prevention, order maintenance, and community relations arising in the core area.

An examination of police activity is particularly important in light of the recent amalgamation of the police force. The tendency under amalgamation would be towards a higher degree of centralization of the management and delivery of police services. Under such circumstances the ability of the police to design a specific approach to this one particular area of the city should be of primary concern.

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1. It is estimated in various studies that only 10% of police duty is involved in crime fighting, the rest in "keeping peace, order and maintenance". See President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice Force Report: The Police, Washington, D.C., 1967.

## 7.2 POLICE ORGANIZATION AND STANDARDS OF SERVICE

The police department presently concentrates a high proportion of its manpower and resources in the core area. The basic unit of organization is the cruiser car district. These districts are determined according to formula using weighted crime statistics. Within the core area are seven cruiser car districts, a number which substantially exceeds the normal application of service in other parts of the city. In addition, the cruiser car districts are supplemented by beat patrolmen who generally work along Main Street, Portage, and other main arteries in the core area. In specific terms, the kinds of resources used by the police can be seen in figures supplied by Chief Stewart. He points out that Ross House Ward, encompassing the central portion of the core area, comprises approximately 20% of police district 1, but is afforded from 41% to 54% of available cruiser cars as well as foot patrolmen and constitute 38% of police workload.<sup>2</sup>

According to senior police officials and individual patrol officers the problem is that manpower shortages limit the capacity of the police to undertake any serious preventative work. In busy periods, primarily weekend evenings, officers in the core area are fully occupied in answering calls, most of which are serious in nature. This results in a reduction of patrol activity and a slower response to less serious calls or requests.

This problem could be rectified, according to the Police Department, with the additional manpower of another 50 constables added to foot patrol.<sup>3</sup>

While there is a good case for additional manpower, the problems and complaints raised by a number of residents and community organizations on the standards of service, indicate that more than just numbers of new police officers are necessary.

A number of representatives of resident associations suggest that the police have limited contact in individual communities and that this leads to poor crime prevention. For example, a representative of the Lord

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2. Memorandum from Police Chief Norman Stewart to Winnipeg Police Commission, August 12, 1975.

3. See Interview with Chief Norman Stewart, Winnipeg Tribune, August 19, 1975.

Selkirk Tenants' Association expressed fear of safety because of rowdy groups of young people who are not apprehended because it takes too long for the police to arrive when called.<sup>4</sup> This resident feels that the security system in the housing development is useless, but recalls that the system was effective - when there was a foot patrol policemen in the area. Mrs. Joy Fedoruk of the Youth Action Project which operates a recreation program for young people in the area north of the C.P.R. tracks, echoes the same concern about the slow reaction of police to calls and also expressed a further concern about police relations with native people, commenting that native people in the area are reluctant to call upon the police because they feel police have a poor attitude towards native people.<sup>5</sup> The same concerns over police attitudes and relations with the community were expressed by Mr. Hugh Steven of Project Open Door, a community development organization working with the parents of King Edward, William Whyte and Isaac Newton schools.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Ed Lobokare of the North End Community Organization felt there was a blasé attitude by the police towards the North End.<sup>7</sup>

The demand most often expressed by these groups was for some form of beat patrol and for neighbourhood police. It is felt that this approach would provide a continuous contact between police and the community, and afford the opportunity for police officers to become directly familiar with the people and problems of the neighbourhood.

Representatives from several agencies cited an experiment conducted in the summer of 1974 in the North End where a combined street patrol of police officers and social workers patrolled the area together. Residents of the North End community felt the program was so successful that they wrote Mayor Juba requesting the program be reinstated.<sup>8</sup>

From the point of view of the community, the issue is not only manpower, but also the manner in which the police are deployed in the community.

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- 4. Interview: Mrs. Stone, Lord Selkirk Tenants' Association.
  - 5. Interview: Mrs. Joy Fedoruk, Youth Action Project.
  - 6. Interview: Mr. Hugh Steven, Project Open Door.
  - 7. Interview: Mr. Ed Lobokare, North End Community Organization.
  - 8. Interview: Mr. Gregg Rappa.

It appears, therefore, that one of the major considerations for the police in dealing with the core area is to devise effective strategies for employing police officers in the local community. To allow this to occur an additional allotment of manpower would be necessary.

### 7.3 RECRUITMENT OF NATIVE POLICE OFFICERS

A related community issue is whether relations between the police and native people might be improved by recruiting police officers of native origin. The position of the police department is that any person can join the police force providing he or she meets the basic entrance requirements - a grade 11 education, certain physical standards, and have no record of arrests. Although many native people are, at the present time, unable to meet the police entrance requirements, the police department does not approve of making special concessions by lowering the entrance standards to specifically recruit native officers.

Against such a position is the advantage that might accrue to the police force in employing officers of native origin. Officers who have particular language skills would be helpful to newly arrived migrants to the city whose abilities in English may be poor. Native officers would have a certain understanding of cultural traditions and ways of their people in the core area, showing that the police force is not solely an organization run and operated by the white community.

### 7.4 TRAINING

Apart from the consideration of developing a community police strategy and recruiting native people into the force, there is also the question of how well the present training of police recruits prepares them for the full range of tasks they have to perform. As pointed out earlier, a police officer working in the core area is called upon to perform in situations that go beyond the definition of crime control or law enforcement. Police officers are also expected to deal with a mixture of people with different backgrounds and life styles. There has been an increasing number of organized community groups in the core, demanding closer working relations with the police in their own neighbourhoods. To meet this variety of conditions, police officers should have a degree of training in social science disciplines to

provide at least an initial exposure to the kind of conditions existing in the core area.

At present, the eleven week police training program provides little opportunity for acquaintanceship with the problems of the core, nor the ways of coping with these problems. Training is limited to basic police duties - knowledge of the law, police procedures, use of a firearm, et cetera. There is no instruction in the social or psychological aspects of working in the core, nor is there a review of the social agencies which are available.

While there is no doubt that the best training for a new recruit often occurs on the street, it does appear that provisions should be made for a more comprehensive education of police recruits. Once on the force there is opportunity for officers to take additional courses with support from the police department, and many constables take courses in sociology, criminology, et cetera at local universities. However, it is not a required nor organized part of police training, nor is there any particular incentive for acquiring additional education.

The Manitoba Police Commission and the Provincial Government recently proposed to establish a Police College in affiliation with Red River Community College. While there is certainly merit in the idea of an approved and expanded police training program the City of Winnipeg Police have certain reservations about being under the auspices of an outside educational body and question whether a provincial college would provide a program geared especially to the needs of an urban police force dealing with a core area such as exists in Winnipeg.

#### 7.5 ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES

Efforts to improve police productivity over the last several decades have resulted in an emphasis on increased mobility and specialization in police operations. Cruiser car patrols, equipped with two way radios, have become the standard organizational unit of police work allowing fewer officers to cover more ground and handle a higher volume of calls.

One result of these changes has been to limit the personal contact and communication between the community and the police. This in itself has had an adverse effect on the police role of crime prevention. Information that a foot patrol officer could acquire because of his familiarity with a certain neighbourhood cannot be as easily forthcoming to the cruiser car officer who is not known. The informal bonds of trust and rapport that can be built up in a daily contact between a police officer and residents of a community is lost, and the knowledge of the police officer of the problems and the offenders in a community is restricted.

The concern of many police departments has been to find a fresh approach to the organizational strategy of police work; one that would maintain the productive advantages of the cruiser car system and at the same time provide closer contact with the community.

#### A. COMMUNITY RELATION PROGRAMS

One effort common to many police departments has been to establish community relations divisions within the department. The task of such divisions is to improve the image of the police, and provide information on police work. In their efforts, departments have relied on classic forms of one-way communication formats, i.e. speeches to service clubs, schools, community organizations. The problem with such an approach is that there is little feedback from the community resulting in little direct effect on police work.

#### B. COMMUNITY RELATIONS INSTITUTES

A somewhat more advanced effort at community relations attempted by police departments has been the establishment of a series of seminars or workshops between police officers and community leaders. In Philadelphia, for example, a series of meetings are scheduled in core area neighbourhoods, and small discussion groups review neighbourhood police programs.

The difficulty with this approach is that it tends to be ad hoc in nature and is not organized on a continuous basis. Secondly, many police officers are unprepared for such meetings and unless they have had previous training, can react negatively to this kind of community process. It is



a useful idea, but only as part of a more comprehensive program.<sup>9</sup>

### C. COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICERS

Some police departments have established a program of selecting certain police officers to perform as community relations teams. The most notable Canadian example is in the City of Toronto which began a pilot project in 1967 in a downtown public housing development. Two full-time officers were placed in a specific neighbourhood with the primary focus of their work to be with juveniles. The officers became involved with tenant groups, social agencies and other segments of the community, and there was a noticeable drop in the crime rate.<sup>10</sup>

The success of this program led to the establishment of a community service officer's program in 1970. Twenty-two officers were selected from various divisions and received training in sociology, psychology and family counselling. These officers, designated as community service officers, are expected to work with community organizations, youth groups, and especially with schools and social agencies. While the program is not directed specifically to minority groups, special detachments of community service officers, fluent in Italian, work in the Italian communities of the city.<sup>11</sup>

The concept of community service officers is a definite improvement over the more public relations-oriented programs, and from all appearances the Toronto program has been successful. However, there are drawbacks. The community service aspect of police work is seen by other officers as a special prerogative of the community service officer and not necessarily part of the general police work. This can create divisions in the department, and may result in a lack of support for the program by the middle level supervisory officers.

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9. Op. cit., Task Force Report: The Police, p. 161.
  10. Information Sheet, Community Service Officers Program, Community Service Bureau, Metropolitan Toronto Police, May 1974.
  11. Letter from Mr. George T. Shaw, Staff Sergeant, Administrator Community Service Bureau, Metropolitan Toronto Police, July 4, 1975.

#### D. COMMUNITY TEAM POLICING

A much more extensive and comprehensive approach to the organization of police work in core areas being tried in several cities is the idea of neighbourhood team policing.<sup>12</sup> Essentially, team policing operates on the principle of assigning an integrated team of police officers to specified areas of the city which need special police attention. The idea of team policing involves the following elements:

Stable Geographic Assignment: A team of police officers involving both cruiser and foot patrols - numbering between 8 and 10 under the command of one sergeant - become solely responsible on a 24 hour day basis for the delivery of police service to a defined geographical area.

Decentralization of Authority: The police team is given authority to make decisions on shift scheduling and planning of activity in the area. Based on analysis of criminal occurrences within the area, the team decides the kind of shifts to be worked and the number of officers to work on a shift. This particular aspect is very important for not only does it allow for flexibility in response, but it can also have major cost-reducing results.

Community Relations Emphasis: The team is directed to engage in a number of community-related activities such as building strong working relationships with social agencies, schools, and probation services, setting up regular meetings with local residents, establishing local neighbourhood advisory boards; utilizing volunteers from the area, and initiating the use of para-professionals to help in aspects of police work; establishing a number of informal street level contacts with local businessmen and youth, and working out systems for referral of problems to social agencies.

Crime Prevention: Through its greater frequency of direct contact the team would employ a number of techniques to discourage criminal activity. This would include identification of potential offenders through contact with schools, agencies, recreation groups, and parole services, and extra surveillance of potential trouble spots such as bars, hotels, or parks.

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12. Cf. The Urban Institute - Evaluation of Operation Neighbourhood, Washington, D.C., 1972, and Task Force Report: The Police, Op.cit.

Internal Communication: The team would schedule regular discussions and meetings to exchange information and plan activities.

Reduced Reliance on Specialists: Within the assigned area, the police team would rely less on specialized groups of detectives and take on more investigative responsibilities for routine crimes. In some cases, detectives become part of the team.

The team policing concept, now being introduced in various police departments in North America, is meeting with success from both the point of view of reducing crime rates as well as improving community relations. This approach has been successfully utilized in the United States cities of Los Angeles, Dayton, Syracuse, Cincinnati, and Albany.

In Canada, the City of Calgary converted to a form of team policing in 1973-74. The police department developed a program where team units were assigned to one specific area for continual periods of time. Each zone team is responsible for determining its own hours of work, and there is a strong emphasis on community relations. The recruit training program was expanded from three to six months and now includes a work experience session with public service agencies.

One reason why the team police concept is further advanced in the United States than in Canada is because the American Federal Government has established a Law Enforcement Administrative Agency which provides funding assistance to city police departments to establish such innovations in crime prevention. President Ford requested the U.S. Congress provide an additional eight billion dollar funding for the program. This suggests that for any serious effort to reorganize police techniques, assistance should be forthcoming from the Provincial or Federal Government.

Another criteria for the successful implementation of a community policing strategy is the need to ensure that any such program is implemented only after full discussion with, and support from, senior and middle management police officers and representatives of police unions. Some efforts at team policing have been scuttled due to lack of such support.

Team policing also requires more sophisticated management and planning tools to be utilized by the police. Computerized record keeping, correlation of information, the ability to analyze various data for planning team district officers, and other measures to upgrade the information and planning capacity are important aspects in strengthening the capacity of the police. It is apparent that some addition of improved managerial techniques is essential.

In any event, the experiences drawn from police departments in North America, suggest team policing is a major step toward dealing with the mounting pressures on police working in core areas. Chief Ed Davis of the Los Angeles Police Department commented:

" We integrate them as a team and we based the operation on geographical areas. Citizens and policemen must form a partnership. I get my men into areas. They get to know the people. They have tea with the women and make people realize it is their territory. they've got to look after it with the policemen in one area for two years. I tell people this policeman is all you've got. You better love him."<sup>13</sup>

#### E. NATIVE PEOPLE ON POLICE FORCES

At the present time, very few Canadian police forces have special programs for recruiting native people. This contrasts very sharply with the American experience where in most cities, there are very specific efforts to include in the police department men and women from minority groups such as blacks, Puerto Ricans and Spanish-Americans.

The most notable example of Canadian efforts is the R.C.M.P. Special Constable program which was initiated in Saskatchewan. In Saskatchewan, an "on reserve" recruiting drive was conducted and eight candidates were selected for the program. A nine week training program on basic law and police procedures was provided and the special constables were posted to those R.C.M.P. detachments that have responsibility for policing the reserves.

As the program is very new it is not possible at this stage to provide any evaluation of how it is working. But, the assessment of the senior R.C.M.P. officer in charge of the program is as follows:

" We feel by recruiting from the native populace they will be able to sympathize with other natives and help us to understand some of their social, cultural and sociological problems." 14

British Columbia plans to follow suit with a twelve man Special Constable program scheduled to begin on October 1, 1975, with a further twelve to be added each year for a period of three years. The province of Alberta is presently considering a special constable program and negotiations are also under way in Manitoba.

In Ontario, the Provincial Police have instituted a series of programs to provide more effective policing on or near Indian Reserves. These include a two week training course for specially selected officers which will deal with matters of sociology, Indian culture, and police procedures. They are also negotiating a cost-sharing program for an improved system of Band Constables. There is at present no program similar to the R.C.M.P. Special Constable Program.<sup>15</sup>

In Quebec, a government white paper was issued in 1972 which recommended that policing in local areas where there was a preponderance of Indian or Eskimo people should be undertaken by native people. The Quebec Provincial Police Force was to aid in the selection and training of native police officers in the local area. There is no evaluation on the progress of the program.<sup>16</sup>

In city police forces there has been virtually no program to specifically recruit native police officers. The cities of Edmonton, Regina, and Saskatoon indicate that anyone who qualifies and meets the standards, will be accepted in the police force. The City of Vancouver Police Department reports it has established a two-man Indian liaison team which meets regularly with leaders of Indian organizations and with native people who live in the core area; however there are no native officers on the police force.

Calgary is the only city where a special recruiting program has been tried.

"Kenora, Ontario recently initiated a program, but its small size makes a comparison to Winnipeg difficult." In 1972 the City of Calgary Police Department

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14. A Letter from Inspector N.D. Inkster, Officer in Charge of Recruiting, R.C.M.P. July 17, 1975.

15. Letter Supt. A.J. Goord, Ontario Provincial Police, July 12, 1975.

16. Letter M. Paul Benoit, Deputy Minister, Dept. of Justice, Province of Quebec.

recognized the desirability of employing more native people as police officers. In 1973 the police department launched a recruiting program, and arranged with the Department of Indian Affairs to develop a special upgrading program. Mount Royal Community College was commissioned to apply special tests to ascertain if a candidate had the potential to reach a Grade XII academic standing. The College would then provide an upgrading program while the police department would take the applicant on as a probationary constable, until he or she fulfilled the academic requirements.

Five to six applications were screened and one candidate was selected. He completed a two year police service course and was taken on to the force. Soon after, he became intoxicated, pistol whipped another Indian, was discharged from the force and convicted of assault - a sorry end to the experiment.

The Calgary police officer who responded to our inquiry, indicated that one of the primary reasons for failure of the native constable was the pressure and hostility he felt from his own people. He was apparently under serious strain and received little support or encouragement.<sup>17</sup>

#### F. AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

Most American police departments, to a greater or lesser degree, have recruited substantial numbers of Black, Puerto-Rican and Spanish-American police officers. To do this, the traditional pattern of police recruitment was altered. The rationale for this change is spelled out in the President's Commission on Law Enforcement Report.

"In order to gain the general confidence and acceptance of a community, personnel within a police department should be representative of the community as a whole. But the need for competent minority group officers is more than a symbolic one. The frequent contact of white officers with officers from minority groups on an equal basis can help reduce stereo-typing and prejudice of white officers. Minority officers can provide to a department an understanding of minority groups, their languages and sub-cultures that it often does not have today."<sup>18</sup>

The issue is seen then, to be one of improving the ability of the police force to operate in communities where there is a high percentage of people from the non-white culture or background. To achieve this purpose, special recruitment programs are set up in schools and neighbourhoods where there are large numbers of black or Puerto-Rican people.<sup>19</sup>

17. Letter from Superintendent K. W. Evans, Officer-in-Charge of Staff Development, City of Calgary Police Department, June 19, 1975.

18. Op.Cit., Task Force Report: The Police, p. 167.

19. Bernard Weintrob, "Police to Recruit in Negro Schools," New York Times, June 30, 1966.

Athletes and celebrities are used to promote the program, and police officers of the particular minority group conducted the recruitment.

Standards of selection have also been altered regarding physical and educational requirements, and past criminal records. Because most young men growing up in slum area conditions are likely to have some kind of court record, some American police departments take a tolerant approach to past criminal records and consider them only as one component in analyzing a potential candidate's moral character.<sup>20</sup>

A very important aspect of many American police department programs to recruit and employ police officers from minority groups centered on the provision of upgrading programs. In some cases, this involves special programs of academic remedial work, combined with the opportunity to work with police departments as paraprofessionals. To give one example, New York City in co-operation with a Federal Manpower program recruited six hundred highschool dropouts from minority groups. Following a special training period the recruits were assigned to work with police officers.

A proposal put forward by the President's Task Force on Crime recommends the recruitment and training of people from disadvantaged groups through means of police paraprofessional category, or as they call it, a community service officer. Under this proposal there would be a number of persons with low education working with regular police officers in the core area. They would perform many tasks, saving time for the professional officer. Along the way a series of training options would be provided so that eventually the paraprofessional could apply to be a full-time career police status.<sup>21</sup> Again, the basic thesis is that while the recruitment of police officers from the core area population groups might require special upgrading programs, it should not compromise police standards. This appears to be the basic approach used by American police departments.

#### G. POLICE TRAINING

Several American police departments have also undertaken special training and education for their personnel in preparation for the kind of conditions and people police officers face in core areas. Increasingly, the kinds of demands placed upon police officers is expanding in scope and depth of

20. Op. Cit., Task Force Report: The Police, p. 171.

21. Op. Cit., Task Force Report: The Police, p. 123.

activity. In the performance of their duties, police are expected to make a number of discretionary judgments which will have an effect on the lives of the people concerned. In this respect the police role compares, in terms of function and responsibility, with the role played by professional lawyers, ministers or doctors. Yet the training period of a police officer is not comparable to that of a professional. As one author who has studied police training techniques commented;

"Current training programs for the most part prepare an officer to perform police work mechanically, but do not prepare him to understand his community, the police role, or the imperfections of the criminal justice system."<sup>22</sup>

One way of meeting this problem adopted by some police forces, is to seek out recruits with some higher educational standing. A more common approach however, has been through the adoption of very comprehensive manpower and training programs. This includes more selective testing of potential candidates, a more extended training period to include courses of a social science nature, and a well structured career development training program for special police duties. For example, the creation of a neighbourhood team patrol, would be initiated by a special orientation for team officers.

#### 7.6 CONCLUSION

As a service agency of the city government, the police require the capacity to innovate. There are demands for new kinds of services, and these necessitate internal changes in both structure and program. Changes must be internally sponsored and supported within the police department and not imposed from outside the department.

One of the major challenges facing city government at this time is to provide the incentive, the wherewithal, and the resources to permit change to occur.

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22. See Peter B. Black, David Speebit, Evaluation of Operation Neighbourhood, The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C., December, 1973.



A starting point would be in the creation of a policy planning team in the police department, with full power to assess changes followed by a process of discussion with different levels of police officers to work out the program. This of course must be accompanied by commitment of resources to provide the additional manpower and technology necessary for experimentation and change.

In this respect, it is important to note the major impulse for innovation occurred in American police departments when the federal government offered direct assistance. The Law Enforcement Administration Agency has supplied much of the initial start-up funding for new approaches to police work. There is no such similar program presently available from either the provincial or federal levels of government.

## 8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was 1) to provide an up-to-date assessment of conditions in Winnipeg's core area, and 2) use these findings to recommend action that might be contemplated by the Winnipeg Police Commission. It is not the mandate of this report to prescribe a whole range of specific remedial actions. Rather, certain approaches for developing physical, social and economic responses are provided which might reduce the pressures on law enforcement agencies, along with suggestions that directly apply to the work of the police force.

### 8.1 FINDINGS

#### A.

The overall state of Winnipeg's core area as assessed in this study contains the same conditions noted in other studies. The population is mixed, heterogeneous and transient. It is generally poor, much older than the general population and disproportionately single. There is a high incidence of unemployment and frequent use of welfare and remedial social services. Alcoholism is a major problem as is family breakdown and health generally. The physical stock of the area is deteriorating, and there are serious pockets of sub-standard housing. Recreation facilities are in short supply. Schools are beset with problems of truancy, delinquency and very high turnovers in population, making any kind of continuous education program impossible. The social agencies are committed primarily to rescue work, although there are some examples of effective community organizations and economic self-help projects.

As can be expected when all these conditions are found in the same area, there is a corresponding crime problem. A large part of police resources, time, and effort are devoted to the core area, and the work of law enforcement in Winnipeg is substantially occupied with infractions arising in the core.

## B.

In several key respects the disparities between the core area and the rest of the city are widening. In the area of income for example, the gap has grown between 1961-1971. This might be occasioned by the moving out of certain working class groups who were on the low-median income scale, leaving only the lowest income group. It may also be a consequence of the in-migration of people from rural areas, many of whom are on the lowest income scale. Whatever the reason, there is a growing separation in income, schooling, and services between those who live in the core and those who live in the suburbs. This is becoming the source of increasing discontent, and could well lead to a more militant and aggressive reaction by dissatisfied groups.

The public policies adopted in the past - whether they be massive intervention of public capital works, the notion that general economic prosperity would filter its benefits to everyone, or the extensive availability of social assistance benefits, have not, it appears, produced a more equitable distribution of goods, services, and opportunities in the Winnipeg urban area. There is a need for very different approaches to attack the widening economic and social gap, if the City of Winnipeg is to avoid the creation of a segregated, isolated ghetto in its core. The ramifications of allowing that to happen in terms of the problems of crime and disorder are very serious.

## C.

A component part of the trend described above is the expanding settlement of native people in the core area. While exact figures are not available, the evidence suggests that the in-migration of native people is accelerating and that their numbers will grow. Coming to the city with a variety of expectations for bettering their lives, but with few resources, skills or opportunities to do so, they often become dependent on other people, on welfare support, and frequently resort to alcohol as a means of coping with their frustrations.

The efforts mounted to react to this major settlement of native people so far have been limited, especially in comparison to the scope and scale of the difficulties they encounter. A variety of programs have been tried, but most have been poorly funded or fall into the category of remedial services to repair personal damages. Very little is happening in the way of constructing the kind of economic and social development opportunities that would provide work, income, and a sense of self-reliance. The city will have to face increasing burdens and difficulties in providing social assistance, police services and corrective rehabilitative programs at greatly enlarged costs, unless there are ways found to meet the needs of native people.

D.

While the core area population has been decreasing, the physical deterioration, and social and economic breakdown associated with the core is spreading. Several neighbourhoods, particularly those on the northern and western fringes of the central core area, are showing signs of increased levels of transiency, higher proportions of people dependent on social assistance or social agency support, and an increasing degree of tenancy versus ownership of homes. The longer term residents of stable family neighbourhoods experiencing these kinds of changes generally react negatively to such developments. The result is increasing conflict between the different groups of people and new demands placed upon local services.

There is not at present any definable strategy adopted by city government to prevent neighbourhood deterioration in these transition areas or to accommodate the pressure for change. As a result, the brunt of the problem is faced by direct line agencies such as the police who must cope with the turbulence that occurs when a neighbourhood experiences severe change. This puts particular emphasis on the community role of the police.

E.

What the previous finding suggests in respect to public policy has a much wider application. The core area is the scene of a good deal of public activity, and consumes a sizeable portion of public expenditure in the social assistance field. As well, there are periodic announcements of major plans to renew the core area, which usually involves major investments of public and private

capital into construction for office buildings, hotels, luxury or semi-luxury apartments, or government facilities - none of which do a great deal to meet the economic and social disadvantages of core area residents.

While there are efforts being made to up-grade skills, create jobs, provide housing or develop resources for self-development, funds are too limited and the efforts too scattered. There is some reason for optimism in the potential of N.I.P., on-the-job training schemes, and the new educational programs. The plan put forward for Chinatown redevelopment, St. Andrew's Place and Neeganin demonstrate some worthwhile community initiatives. And, city initiatives in its Main Street 1980 program and the Core Commission are worthy ventures, if followed through.

But even with these efforts, the overall approach of public policy at all levels of government does not indicate a major commitment of resources, nor a comprehensive strategy to deal with the problems of the core.

F.

Generally, the social service agencies in the core area provide only remedial or rehabilitative assistance rather than measures for developmental self-help. The paternalistic approach of social agencies has resulted in the creation of a whole series of dependencies from welfare to housing to employment. Consequently, the vast amount of resources going into the core area is minimal in its impact, and conditions in the area are not improving.

G.

Particularly severe in the Main Street area is the obvious non-compliance to the regulations of both the Liquor Control Act and the Child Welfare Act. The penalties imposed on Main Street hotels and bars do not act as a deterrent to violations of the Liquor Act and the same offences continue to persist. Nor are the provisions of the Child Welfare Act effectively enforced. Every evening on Main Street the intentions of the Act are defeated. Certainly some measures can be taken to provide some sane and effective enforcement of the regulations set out by the Liquor Control Act and the Child Welfare Act.

## 8.2 CONCLUSIONS

How do these different trends affect police responsibilities in the core?

The changes described above indicate that the conditions contributing to acts of crime and disorder will be on the increase. Further, there is growing evidence of community conflict and tension placing even more demands on the police to establish and maintain open lines of communication in the core area neighbourhoods, and develop a more specific community role. The existence of increasing numbers of native people living in the core compel the police to develop methods of overcoming the growing estrangement between the police and native groups. This will place the onus on police officers to have the requisite skills to meet a growing variety of tasks and on the police department to provide an organizational strategy and adequate methods of training to enable their police officers to effectively meet their tasks.

The problems of the core area are not of police department making, nor are the solutions. But the police must bear the brunt of coping with the situations of crime and disorder that arise out of the conditions of the core. The pressures in the core will continue to build, and the police will be called upon for an intensified and expanding scale of operation in a situation of sensitive social change. This will require a specific strategy for the core, added manpower and resources to work in the core, and a degree of innovation in police programs to make the strategy work.

If there are to be new initiatives, they must be combined and integrated, tied together by a common strategy and central planning and direction. To do this will obviously require major political support of Council, in the Legislature and on the Federal level.

There will have to be a major thrust at putting financial resources into the core area for purposes of housing, infrastructure and services, and to create economic development opportunities for those with unskilled, low-paying jobs. Innovations in the management and organization of public services in

the core will be necessary to overcome fragmentation and to channel resources in a concerted fashion. Certainly the idea of a core area development corporation as employed in several American cities<sup>1</sup> provides a working example. Through such a vehicle the private sector can provide important sources of investment capital, job training opportunities and management skills. And there will have to be serious re-organization of the social service agencies and the social assistance approach to break the cycle of dependency. Rejuvenation of Winnipeg's core area may require unpopular political decisions because the resources required to make core area renewal work will mean that such resources will be denied for other projects and proposals. It comes down basically to a matter of priority and right now, the core area is not a priority.

### 8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

THE CITY OF WINNIPEG, IN CONJUNCTION WITH OTHER LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT, IMPLEMENT A COMPREHENSIVE CORE AREA STRATEGY.

This might include the following programs:

A.

A city-sponsored program of low-cost housing under which land and tax write-offs would be supplied to private, non-profit or co-op organizations, and where technical assistance would be offered to housing groups. This would also require co-operation from CMHC and MHRC in the provision of low interest mortgage money. One specific way to achieve this might be through the establishment of a municipal housing program which would involve the creation of a non-profit City Housing Corporation, and would utilize the 100% mortgage money at preferred rates available from the federal government to build and renovate housing in the core. With such a corporation, the City could utilize city-owned land, abandoned industrial sites, and parking lot areas to build medium density housing areas, incorporating appropriate social services, similar to

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1. Cf. Dave Henderson, "The Neighbourhood Development Corporation," in Lloyd Axworthy, ed., The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal, Institute of Urban Studies, 1972, and David Rogers, The Management of Big Cities, Sage Publications, London, 1971.

programs being developed by the newly formed City Housing Corporation in the City of Toronto. Such a corporation would also be used to provide preferred employment opportunities and housing programs in the construction field for core area residents. As well, a city housing corporation, again using CMHC funds, would be in a position to undertake preventative action in older neighbourhoods in the core area fringe, to offset physical deterioration.

B.

The creation of a Core Area Economic Development Corporation which would

1) funnel loans and grants, and technical assistance to local enterprise in the core area; 2) create new job opportunities; 3) initiate a joint undertaking with private business in the supply of on-the-job training opportunities; 4) act as sponsor for government assistance to neighbourhood style development corporations.

The economic regeneration of the core area is fundamental to any renewal efforts and yet is one program that is generally ignored. The emphasis in an economic development program is the establishment of local economic resources such as business, credit unions, development companies that are owned and operated by people within the core, aided with financial resources and management skills by public and private organizations

Renewal efforts should be designed in such a way to ensure that local residents are given the opportunity to participate and do things to help themselves. The above recommendation would encourage developmental self-help approaches and would help to overcome the problems of dependency supported by the traditional paternalistic efforts of agencies working in the core. In the area of housing for example, it should not be government providing housing for people, but the people themselves actively participating and responsible for the task. Even the performance of the smallest task, in exchange for welfare money, would help to change passive acceptance to some feeling of self worth. The impetus for change and economic regeneration in the core area must begin with a shift in the emphasis of approach from client and corrective to participant and developmental.



C.

Initiate with Federal and Provincial Governments major manpower training and education programs specifically for core area residents. The emphasis of the program should be on the development of new skills to provide previously dependent unemployables with the necessary qualifications for participation in the labour force. The principle of the New Careers Program to train for the requirements of a particular job, should be adapted to the design of this project.

D.

The provision of community social and recreation centers in the core area to provide entertainment, liquor facilities, space for community offices, health clinics and shops. Such centers might be operated by specific groups such as native people and could provide alternatives to the Main Street establishments. A center of this nature should be a community operation similar to the concept of St. Andrew's Place. Within such a center could be stores, shops, cafes, et cetera, operated by residents of the local community. Assistance to establish such enterprises could come from the Core Area Economic Development Corporation.

E.

The establishment of a Core Area Council representing government, agencies, and the community, to develop plans for the area and co-ordinate activities. The Core Area Council should be responsible for the initiation of a major review of the operation of the welfare system. The outcome of such a review should establish a relation of the welfare system to activity programs such as work training, money management and social service programs with the express purpose of adding some measure of flexibility to the administration of welfare assistance. The Core Area Council could initiate an inquiry concerning stricter enforcement of the Liquor Control Act, including more frequent inspections and more severe penalties.

THE CITY OF WINNIPEG POLICE DEPARTMENT REVIEW THE ACTIVITIES OF OTHER  
POLICE DEPARTMENTS WITH CONSIDERATION OF UTILIZING THESE APPROACHES IN  
WINNIPEG'S CORE AREA.

This should include consideration of:

A.

The implementation of neighbourhood team policing. Within the core area, the neighbourhood police teams would be a group of between eight to fifteen officers assigned to one specific neighbourhood with power to establish their own shifts arrangements and assignments. In addition to basic police tasks, would be a strong emphasis on preventative techniques as outlined in Section 7, which include extended foot patrols, working arrangements with schools, social agencies and community organizations. Part of the program might be to establish neighbourhood advisory groups to assist police in the implementation of the team policing approach, and the establishment of store front style decentralized police offices.

The focus of a neighbourhood team police program would be to provide a continued presence in a community; to develop a working familiarity with local people, problems and concerns; to provide an on-going system of two-way communication in the area; to anticipate and react to troublesome problems before they occur; and to develop an input from the police into the community planning and organization efforts. The end result, if other examples of where this concept has been applied hold true, would be to substantially decrease the incidence of order maintenance problems, help offset potential community conflicts and ultimately provide cost savings in the delivery of police services.

The implementation of a neighbourhood team police project would come about only after full discussion within the police department. Any outside assistance would be purely consultative not directive. Discussion should also be held with probation officials, and social agencies to enlist their co-operation or involvement in a neighbourhood team police approach. An evaluation of the impact of team policing should be part of the program.

To carry out a team policing approach would require an initial input of additional resources: to man the projects, to allow staff time for additional

training and to supply planning and policy assistance such as the computerization of records, data, information, additional communication technology, and facilities in the neighbourhood.

As previously stated, the experience in team policing elsewhere indicates that it eventually is a cost-saving technique. Initial start-up costs will be encountered, however.

B.

Special law enforcement funds by senior governments. To assist in the implementation of a team policing approach and in other innovations, it is recommended that Federal and Provincial Governments be requested to cover part, or all of the costs for innovative programs, and that one of the senior levels of government undertake the passage of an Urban Crime Bill that would provide grant support to municipalities that wish to undertake special law enforcement programs.

C.

Revisions in the recruitment, training and education programs be considered. It is recommended that the police do not develop a special detachment of officers of native origin. But the police department should undertake a specific review of its overall manpower recruitment and training program with a view to enlisting members of different ethnic groups, in particular native people. To achieve this, it is recommended that the City Police, representatives from Native organizations, and New Careers officials prepare a program of recruitment and upgrading for native people. The Police Department should consider employing para-professional people in its neighbourhood teams while the training and upgrading is being carried on. This would fit the format used in New Careers training to combine education with employment. It might also lead to the freeing of professional police officers from certain clerical and routine operational tasks.

Native organizations for their part should be prepared to assist in planning the program, the recruitment of trainees, and the provision of outside support and counselling for those who are enlisted.

In addition to this special area of recruitment and training of native people, it is also suggested that the police department undertake revision of its training program to provide more extensive education to its officers on conditions in the core, the background and culture of native people, community relations and communications. Special training should also be considered as part of the neighbourhood team policing concept.

D.

The organization of a policy planning unit within the police department.

In order to provide overall direction of these efforts and to maintain a managerial capacity in the police department that can adapt to changes in the core and undertake innovations, it is also recommended that a stronger policy planning unit be established in the department. Such a unit would be responsible to senior officers and would be composed of a small staff that could provide relevant data and assessments necessary for effective planning of police operations and evaluation of the impact of special core area programs.

It is the conclusion of those involved in preparing this report that the above recommendations if implemented, could be important steps in enabling the police to meet the increasingly complex problems generated in the core area. Building upon the good reputation and effective service in the past, the police have the opportunity afforded by amalgamation to shape a police approach relevant to contemporary conditions in the core. It is hoped that this report is of some assistance in meeting that important task.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TO: Winnipeg Police Commission  
FROM: Councillor William Hallonquist and Arthur Johnston  
DATE: January 17, 1975.

The letter from Mr. Wolfe dealt with the suggestion that the Winnipeg Police Force recruit and train suitable Native People for the Force.

It is implied in this suggestion that the requirement for Policemen of Native origin relates to the core area or the "Main Street Strip" as it is called.

In arriving at recommended solutions to this request we suggest a study be made of the core area to determine all of the contributing factors relating to the problems in this area.

We are reasonably certain that most of the information required for a report on the core area is already in existence. Thus it would be a matter of compiling this information and relating it to the request made by Mr. Wolfe.

The report with regard to the core area should include the following:

A Data re people and physical facilities

1. Definition of the core area.
2. Definition of Native people - Indian, Metis, etc.
3. Population of the core area and its density as related to other areas of the City.
4. Distribution by age, sex, single male and female, family, etc.
5. Ethnic distribution.
6. Permanent residents vs. transient residents.
7. Housing - residential, rental, rooming house, etc.  
- housing standards.
8. Educational facilities for Native people in core area and use made of these facilities.

9. Recreational facilities - type outdoor facilities, indoor facilities, etc.
10. Liquor outlets.
11. Licensed premises.
12. Standard of any accommodation which is rented or leased.
13. Legal requirements of those who are property owners in the core area - method of enforcement. Results.

B Data re Police activities

1. Basis for standard of service supplied to this core area.
2. Standard of service actually supplied to area as a whole, business premises, public housing, etc.
3. Crime statistics - actual  
- weighted
4. Statistics re drugs, alcohol, prostitution, gambling, etc.
5. Crime statistics related to Native people.

C Data re Research in other areas

1. Studies done, methods adopted and results in R.C.M.P. re Native people.
2. Studies done, methods adopted and results in other major Metropolitan areas in Canada re Native people; other ethnic groups.

D The Native People in the core area

1. Number of permanent residents - single male, female, family.
2. Number of transients - summer, fall, winter, spring.
3. Origin of transients.
4. Housing facilities available to Native people
5. Recreational and other facilities available to Native people.

6. Native people organizations providing assistance.
7. Other organizations, government and private, providing assistance to Native people - hours when services available.
8. Standard of education of citizens of Native origin and where obtained.
9. Personnel of Native origin now working in Government and private agencies in the core area - number, method of recruitment, standard of ability, etc.

E Liquor Control Board

1. Number and nature of licensed premises.
2. Number of Liquor Board Patrol personnel - hours of operation.
3. Legal requirements of proprietors re drunkenness, etc.
4. Number and type of fines imposed during 1974, 1973, 1972.
5. Relationship between Liquor Control Board Patrol personnel and Winnipeg Police Force.

F Conclusions

1. The status of the core area as related to other districts in the City.
2. Requirements in the core area to alleviate social problems.
3. Legislative action required by City and Province.
4. Enforcement required under existing laws: housing, health, etc.
5. Law enforcement and the core area.
6. Native people and the core area - is there a problem and a need.

G Recommendation

1. The need for Native Policemen and the number required - Regular Police or Para-police.
2. What legislation or other authority has been established related to Para-police.
3. Method of recruitment - assistance required from Native people organizations.
4. Induction and training.
5. Implementation.





JAN - 7 1975  
THE CITY OF WINNIPEG  
COUNCILLORS' OFFICE

*Mr. Arthur Johnston*  
B. R. WOLFE  
Councillor  
REGENT PARK WARD

CIVIC CENTRE • 510 MAIN STREET • WINNIPEG • MANITOBA • R3B 1B9

January 3, 1975.

Mr. F. Marion,  
Secretary,  
Winnipeg Police Commission,  
219 Provencher Blvd.,  
Winnipeg, Man.

Dear Mr. Marion:

I have on previous occasions communicated verbally in respect to the need of improving communication with the many native people who reside in Winnipeg in respect to the services provided by the Police Department. I am convinced that there is a great deal of merit and need for the development of specially trained personnel drawn from our native people who can best understand and interpret problems and solutions in respect to the great number of native Canadians who are located in the central core.

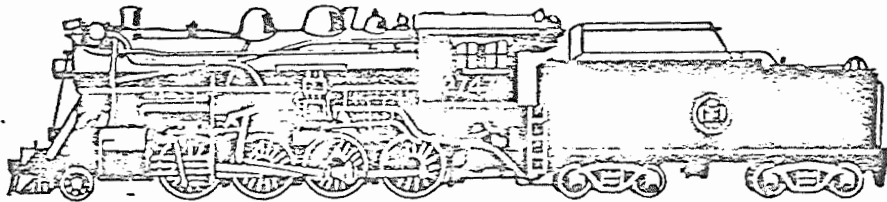
It seems to me to be just common sense that we should be able to attract, train and have in full time employment in the police force native people whom I am convinced could contribute a great deal to the success of a whole new program. In a force the size of Winnipeg's we should be able to have at least a half a dozen native Canadian Police officers whose background and language should assist greatly in strengthening the necessary link that I feel at this time does not exist in dealing with this particular group of Canadians.

Yours sincerely,

B. R. Wolfe,  
Deputy Mayor.

BRW/fk

*CC to all members of Police Commission*



Appendix C-1  
POPULATION CHANGE

1951-61 CENSUS TRACT NO.S	1971 CENSUS TRACT NO.S	1941	1951	1961	1966	1971	o/o CHANGE 1941-1951	o/o CHANGE 1951-1961	o/o CHANGE 1961-1966	o/o CHANGE 1966-1971	o/o CHANGE 1941-1971	o/o CHANGE 1951-1971	o/o CHANGE 1961-1971
36	13	4,451	3,245	1,576	1,316	1,275	-27.1	-51.4	-16.5	- 3.1	-71.4	-60.7	-19.1
37	14	5,659	5,414	4,447	3,960	4,320	- 4.3	-17.9	- 2.9	+ 9.1	-23.7	-20.2	- 2.9
35	15	10,286	9,564	8,664	8,012	7,470	- 7.0	- 9.4	- 7.5	- 6.8	-27.4	-21.9	-13.8
34	16	4,574	4,512	4,613	4,228	3,795	- 1.4	- 2.2	- 8.3	-10.2	-17.0	-15.9	-17.7
33	17 *	5,624	5,713	5,981	5,857	5,165	+ 1.6	+ 4.7	- 2.1	-11.8	- 8.2	- 9.6	-13.6
32	21 *	9,121	8,269	8,308	8,350	8,035	- 9.3	+ .5	+ .5	- 3.8	-11.9	- 2.8	- 3.3
21	22	9,097	7,649	7,490	6,930	6,400	-15.9	- 2.1	- 7.5	- 7.6	-29.6	-16.3	-14.6
20	23	6,327	5,402	3,925	3,829	3,780	-14.6	-27.3	- 2.4	- 1.3	-40.3	-30.0	- 3.7
18	24	3,210	2,738	1,554	1,355	825	-14.7	-43.2	-12.8	-39.1	-74.3	-69.7	-46.9
19	25	7,896	6,666	5,927	5,051	4,215	-15.6	-11.1	-14.8	-16.6	-46.6	-36.8	-28.9
22	26	5,475	4,715	4,576	3,861	3,440	-13.9	- 2.9	-15.6	-10.9	-37.2	-27.0	-24.8
24	27 *	3,908	4,009	4,215	3,712	3,055	+ 2.6	+ 5.1	-11.9	-17.7	-21.8	-23.8	-27.5
25	28	13,490	12,553	13,147	6,400	5,970	- 6.9	+ 4.7	-51.3	- 6.7	-55.7	-52.4	-54.6
23	33	2,249	2,163	2,145	1,930	1,790	- 3.8	- .8	-10.0	- 7.3	-20.4	-17.2	-16.6
10	34	6,531	6,010	5,796	3,700	4,060	- 8.0	- 3.6	-36.2	+ 9.7	-37.8	-32.4	-30.0
12	35	4,230	3,931	3,857	3,299	3,075	- 7.1	- 1.9	-14.5	- 6.8	-27.3	-21.8	-20.3
11	36	2,319	2,169	1,688	1,439	1,135	- 6.5	-22.2	-14.8	-21.1	-51.1	-47.7	-32.8
9	42	4,075	3,962	4,218	3,933	3,775	- 2.8	+ 6.5	- 6.8	- 4.0	- 7.4	- 4.7	-10.5
5	43	9,926	8,972	8,904	7,859	7,355	- 9.6	- .8	-11.7	- 6.4	-25.9	-18.0	-17.4
6	45	9,764	9,364	9,200	8,551	8,020	- 4.1	- 1.8	- 7.1	- 6.2	-17.9	-14.4	-12.8
TOTAL		128,212	117,020	110,231	93,572	86,955	- 8.7	- 5.8	-15.1	- 7.1	-32.2	-25.7	-21.1
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG		299,937	354,069	475,989	508,759	540,265	+18.0	+34.4	+ 6.9	+ 6.2	+80.1	+52.6	+13.5
OUTERCITY		171,725	237,049	365,758	415,187	453,310	+38.0	+54.3	+13.5	+ 9.2	164.0	91.2	23.9

Source: D.B.S. Census

\* Census tract data is used here and this includes the area beyond the western study area boundary in tracts 17, 21, and 27.

Appendix C-2  
POPULATION COMPOSITION

CENSUS TRACT	- AGE GROUP -										Total
	0-14	%	15-24	%	25-44	%	45-64	%	65+	%	
13 T	75	5.9	205	16.0	255	19.9	405	31.6	340	26.6	1,280
M	40	3.1	95	7.4	165	12.9	195	15.2	150	11.7	
F	35	2.7	110	8.6	90	7.0	210	16.4	190	14.8	
14 T	160	3.7	1,165	26.9	1,020	23.9	1,025	23.7	955	22.1	4,325
M	80	1.8	480	11.1	555	12.8	385	8.9	330	7.6	
F	80	1.8	685	15.8	465	10.8	640	14.8	625	14.5	
15 T	720	9.6	1,905	25.5	1,690	22.6	1,690	22.6	1,475	19.7	7,480
M	355	4.7	820	11.0	920	12.3	690	9.2	485	6.5	
F	365	4.9	1,085	14.5	770	10.3	1,000	13.4	990	13.2	
16 T	580	15.3	1,075	28.3	940	24.7	705	18.5	495	13.0	3,795
M	275	7.2	410	10.8	485	12.7	280	7.3	160	4.2	
F	305	8.1	665	17.5	455	12.0	425	11.2	335	8.8	
17 T *	270	13.7	640	32.6	415	21.1	365	18.6	270	13.7	1,960
M	120	6.1	190	9.7	190	9.7	140	7.1	85	4.3	
F	150	7.6	450	22.9	225	11.4	225	11.5	185	9.4	
21 T *	1,015	22.2	870	19.0	1,045	22.9	790	17.3	840	18.4	4,560
M	555	12.2	445	9.7	570	12.5	365	8.0	365	8.0	
F	460	10.0	425	9.3	475	10.4	425	9.3	475	10.4	
22 T	1,205	18.8	1,460	22.7	1,680	26.2	1,260	19.6	800	12.5	6,405
M	595	9.3	685	10.6	915	14.3	570	8.9	360	5.6	
F	610	9.5	775	12.1	765	11.9	690	10.7	440	6.9	
23 T	255	6.7	665	17.6	850	22.5	1,030	27.2	975	25.8	3,775
M	125	3.3	295	7.8	500	13.2	490	12.9	385	10.2	
F	130	3.4	370	9.8	350	9.3	540	14.3	590	15.6	
24 T	105	12.8	105	12.8	170	20.7	240	29.3	200	24.3	820
M	55	6.7	65	7.9	115	14.0	185	22.6	165	20.1	
F	50	6.1	40	4.9	55	6.7	55	6.7	35	4.2	
25 T	910	21.6	620	14.7	875	20.8	1,035	24.6	770	18.3	4,210
M	450	10.7	305	7.2	495	11.8	670	15.9	610	14.5	
F	460	10.9	315	7.5	380	9.0	365	8.7	160	3.8	
26 T	945	27.4	610	17.7	810	23.4	685	19.8	405	11.7	3,455
M	470	13.6	275	8.0	405	11.7	350	10.1	210	6.1	
F	475	13.8	335	9.7	405	11.7	335	9.7	195	5.6	
27 T *	410	17.2	710	29.8	710	29.8	360	15.1	195	8.2	2,385
M	210	8.8	165	6.9	350	14.7	165	6.9	80	3.4	
F	200	8.4	545	22.9	360	15.1	195	8.2	115	4.8	

\* Data by enumeration areas for part of census tracts 17, 21, and 27 within the study area boundary.

cont'd

CENSUS TRACT	- AGE GROUP -										
	0-14	%	15-24	%	25-44	%	45-64	%	65+	%	T
28 T	1,305	21.9	1,215	20.4	1,480	24.8	1,205	20.2	760	12.7	5,965
M	655	11.0	515	8.6	730	12.2	500	8.4	295	4.9	
F	650	10.9	700	11.7	750	12.6	705	11.8	465	7.8	
33 T	565	31.8	340	19.2	415	23.4	320	18.0	135	7.6	1,775
M	280	15.8	170	9.6	230	13.0	155	8.7	70	3.9	
F	285	16.0	170	9.6	185	10.4	165	9.3	65	3.7	
34 T	1,205	29.6	670	16.4	805	19.8	795	19.5	595	14.6	4,070
M	625	15.4	335	8.2	385	9.5	385	9.5	330	8.1	
F	580	14.2	335	8.2	420	10.3	410	10.0	265	6.5	
35 T	665	20.3	430	13.1	780	23.8	625	19.1	780	23.8	3,280
M	330	10.1	220	6.7	295	9.0	325	9.9	395	12.0	
F	335	10.2	210	6.4	485	14.8	300	9.2	385	11.8	
36 T	285	25.3	165	14.7	245	21.8	265	23.6	165	14.7	1,125
M	140	12.4	90	8.0	115	10.2	130	11.6	95	8.4	
F	145	12.9	75	6.7	130	11.6	135	12.0	70	6.3	
42 T	1,000	26.5	705	18.7	855	22.7	715	19.0	495	13.1	3,770
M	495	13.1	330	8.8	420	11.1	320	8.5	220	5.8	
F	505	13.4	375	9.9	435	11.6	395	10.5	275	7.3	
43 T	2,195	29.8	1,280	17.4	1,480	20.1	1,460	19.8	955	13.0	7,370
M	1,095	14.9	635	8.6	770	10.4	700	9.5	470	6.4	
F	1,100	14.9	645	8.8	710	9.6	760	10.3	485	6.6	
45 T	2,030	23.1	1,495	17.0	1,695	19.3	1,695	19.3	1,855	21.2	8,770
M	1,055	12.0	765	8.7	875	10.0	765	8.7	1,275	14.5	
F	975	11.1	730	8.3	820	9.3	930	10.6	580	6.7	
TOTAL											
CORE AREA	15,900	19.7	16,330	20.3	18,215	22.6	16,670	20.7	13,460	16.7	
M	8,005	9.9	7,290	9.0	9,485	11.8	7,765	9.6	6,535	8.1	
F	7,895	9.8	9,040	11.2	8,730	10.8	8,905	11.1	6,925	8.6	
OUTER CITY	127,100	27.6	87,575	19.0	114,335	24.9	92,910	20.2	37,790	8.2	
M	64,745	14.1	43,625	9.5	56,825	12.4	44,005	9.6	15,480	3.4	
F	62,355	13.5	44,100	9.6	57,510	12.5	58,905	10.6	22,310	4.9	
METROPOLITAN											
WINNIPEG	143,000	26.5	103,905	19.2	132,550	24.5	109,580	20.3	51,250	9.5	
M	72,750	13.5	50,915	9.4	66,310	12.3	51,770	9.6	22,015	4.1	
F	70,250	13.0	52,990	9.8	66,240	12.3	57,810	10.7	29,235	5.4	

Source: DBS Census 1971 except C.T's 17, 21, & 27 where data was compiled for the Enumeration areas within the study area boundary. Due to problems of rounding off numbers, discrepancies in the total population figure exist.

Appendix C-3  
MARITAL STATUS

CENSUS TRACT	TOTAL POPULATION	SINGLE MALES OVER 15	%	SINGLE FEMALES OVER 15	%	TOTAL SINGLES OVER 15	%
13	1,275	270	21.2	200	15.7	470	36.9
14	4,320	680	15.7	1,045	24.2	1,725	39.9
15	7,470	1,265	16.9	1,520	20.3	2,785	37.3
16	3,795	565	14.9	820	21.6	1,385	36.5
17 *	1,845	195	10.6	365	19.8	560	30.4
21 *	4,795	555	13.2	500	11.9	1,055	25.1
22	6,400	1,055	16.5	905	14.1	1,960	30.6
23	3,780	790	20.9	635	16.8	1,425	37.7
24	825	305	37.0	15	1.8	320	38.8
25	4,215	1,070	25.4	350	8.3	1,420	33.7
26	3,440	490	14.2	380	11.0	870	25.3
27 *	2,405	245	10.2	590	24.5	835	34.7
28	5,540	615	11.1	810	14.6	1,425	25.7
33	1,790	225	12.6	140	7.8	365	20.4
34	4,060	600	14.8	330	8.1	930	22.9
35	3,075	405	13.2	255	8.3	660	21.5
36	1,135	175	15.4	125	11.0	300	26.4
42	3,775	400	10.6	295	7.8	695	18.4
43	7,355	935	12.7	610	8.3	1,545	21.0
45	8,020	910	11.3	635	7.9	1,545	19.3
CORE AREA TOTAL	79,315	11,750	14.8	10,525	13.3	22,275	28.1
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG	540,265	57,400	10.6	50,920	9.4	108,320	20.0
OUTER CITY	460,950	45,650	9.9	40,395	8.8	86,045	18.7

\* Source: D.B.S. 1971 Census except census tracts 17, 21, and 27 where data was compiled for the enumeration areas within the study boundary.

Appendix C-4  
FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD FORMATION

CENSUS TRACT	NO. FAMILIES IN 1971	% CHANGE 1961-1971	NO. HOUSEHOLDS 1971	% CHANGE 1961-1971	% FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN 1971	% CHANGE 1961-1971
13	190	-34.7	610	+10.9	28.9	-58.6
14	800	-12.9	2,510	+21.9	20.0	-34.4
15	1,360	-23.4	3,655	+26.2	40.8	-30.5
16	740	-25.4	1,435	+35.4	56.1	-21.3
17*	425	-15.8	1,800	+25.5	58.6	-12.3
21*	1,060	-12.8	1,680	+26.3	55.7	-13.6
22	1,325	-22.0	2,755	+22.0	55.5	-21.6
23	590	-22.8	1,750	+ 3.0	36.4	-38.4
24	115	-48.2	215	-34.7	56.5	-50.0
25	700	-35.5	1,190	-15.5	67.9	-29.4
26	715	-32.1	965	-57.3	69.2	-28.8
27*	515	-25.3	795	+ 4.0	57.2	-31.3
28	1,445	-58.4	2,265	-38.6	59.9	-57.2
33	410	-15.5	550	+28.8	72.0	-16.9
34	865	-31.8	1,285	-18.7	67.1	-32.4
35	605	-30.0	860	+ 1.1	62.0	-29.0
36	235	-36.7	335	-17.7	63.8	-39.3
42	1,000	-14.2	1,310	- 1.3	62.0	-11.3
43	1,645	-23.7	2,230	- 8.5	67.5	-24.0
45	2,065	-18.2	2,610	- 4.7	61.0	-20.8
TOTAL	16,805	-27.5	29,805	- 1.2	56.9	-28.7
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG	132,860	+13.3	166,670	+29.7	66.0	+10.9
OUTER CITY	116,055	+24.7	136,865	+40.2	67.5	+20.0

Source: D.B.S. Census 1961 and 1971.

\* Data by enumeration for part of census tracts 17, 21, and 27 within study area boundaries.

Appendix C-5  
SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES  
1971

CENSUS TRACT	TOTAL FAMILIES	FEMALE HEAD SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES	%	MALE HEAD SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES	%	TOTAL SINGLE PARENT FAMILIES	%
13	190	30	15.8	5	2.6	35	18.4
14	800	80	10.0	10	1.3	90	11.3
15	1,360	210	15.4	30	2.2	240	17.6
16	740	130	17.6	15	2.0	145	19.6
17 *	425	60	14.1	5	1.2	65	15.3
21*	1,060	140	13.2	25	2.4	165	15.6
22	1,325	205	15.5	50	3.8	255	19.3
23	590	80	13.6	25	4.2	105	17.8
24	115	25	21.7	10	8.7	35	30.4
25	700	145	20.7	35	5.0	180	25.7
26	715	155	21.7	40	5.6	195	27.3
27*	515	55	10.7	15	2.9	70	13.6
28	1,445	210	14.5	35	2.4	245	16.9
33	410	60	14.6	15	3.7	75	18.3
34	865	185	21.4	45	5.2	230	26.6
35	605	100	16.5	15	2.5	115	19.0
36	235	55	23.4	65	27.7	120	51.1
42	1,000	195	19.5	35	3.5	230	23.0
43	1,645	330	20.1	85	5.2	415	25.3
45	2,065	300	14.5	70	3.4	370	17.9
TOTAL	16,805	2,750	16.4	630	3.7	3,380	20.1

\* Data by Enumeration Areas for part of Census Tracts 17, 21, 27 within study area boundarys.

Source: Diana Butler Planning Secretariat of Cabinet, Province of Manitoba.

Appendix C-6  
BIRTHPLACE AND IMMIGRATION

CENSUS TRACT	BORN IN CANADA	%	BORN OUTSIDE CANADA	%	IMMIGRATED AFTER 1945	%
13	915	72.6	340	27.0	140	11.1
14	3,355	77.4	980	22.6	415	9.6
15	5,515	73.9	1,945	26.1	1,045	14.0
16	2,765	73.1	1,020	27.0	720	19.0
17*	3,795	73.5	1,360	26.4	950	18.4
21*	5,355	66.7	2,670	33.3	1,720	21.4
22	4,095	64.0	2,305	36.0	1,725	27.0
23	2,575	67.6	1,225	32.2	615	16.1
24	510	63.4	290	36.0	80	9.9
25	2,735	65.0	1,485	35.0	840	19.9
26	2,355	62.4	1,085	31.5	800	23.2
27*	2,045	70.6	850	29.4	625	21.6
28	3,885	65.1	2,080	34.9	1,565	26.2
33	1,310	67.9	615	31.9	510	26.4
34	2,650	65.4	1,400	34.5	775	19.1
35	1,885	59.9	1,255	39.9	615	19.6
36	795	71.3	315	28.3	135	12.1
42	2,540	67.3	1,240	32.8	715	18.9
43	5,455	74.2	1,900	25.8	1,040	14.1
45	5,630	70.2	2,400	29.9	1,340	16.7
TOTAL	60,165	69.2	26,760	30.8	16,370	18.8
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG	432,835	80.1	107,425	19.9	64,490	11.9
OUTER CITY	372,670	82.2	80,665	17.8	48,120	10.6

\* Because statistics on origin were available only by Census Tract and not by enumeration areas, data for tracts 17, 21 and 27 go beyond the western boundary of the study area. Thus discrepancies in the 'Total' figures exist.

Source: D.E.S. 1971 Census.



Appendix C-7  
ETHNIC GROUPS  
1971

CENSUS TRACT	ASIAN		BRITISH		FRENCH		GERMAN		HUNGARIAN		ITALIAN		NETHERLANDS		POLISH		RUSSIAN		SCANDINAVIAN		UKRAINIAN	
	%		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
13	30	2.6	570	50.0	180	15.8	105	9.2	-	-	5	.4	40	3.5	70	6.1	5	.4	40	3.5	95	8.3
14	60	1.5	2,420	60.7	270	6.8	345	8.7	35	.9	25	.6	100	2.5	140	3.5	25	.9	205	5.1	360	9.0
15	260	3.9	3,550	53.2	490	7.3	600	9.0	100	1.5	160	2.4	180	2.7	285	4.3	20	.3	260	3.7	765	11.5
16	145	4.1	1,410	40.9	210	6.0	575	16.4	45	1.3	70	2.0	115	3.4	250	7.1	30	.9	165	4.7	485	13.9
17*	30	1.8	725	44.2	65	4.0	275	16.8	15	.9	30	1.8	25	1.5	90	5.5	5	.3	45	2.7	335	20.4
21*	115	3.0	1,940	50.4	230	6.0	605	15.7	65	1.7	255	6.6	70	1.7	115	3.0	15	.4	150	3.9	295	7.7
22	320	6.2	2,070	40.1	480	9.3	575	11.1	50	1.0	535	10.4	85	1.6	215	4.2	40	.8	225	4.4	570	11.0
23	140	4.3	1,860	57.5	360	11.3	240	7.4	30	.9	30	.9	65	2.0	120	3.7	40	1.2	95	2.9	255	7.9
24	30	4.4	175	25.5	95	13.9	30	4.4	10	1.5	25	3.6	5	.7	50	7.3	5	.7	25	3.6	235	34.3
25	540	17.0	1,085	34.2	375	11.8	235	7.4	85	2.7	135	4.3	30	.9	175	5.5	10	.3	125	3.9	375	11.8
26	75	3.0	940	37.5	425	16.9	185	7.4	65	2.6	180	7.2	10	.4	215	8.6	20	.8	95	3.8	300	12.0
27*	185	8.4	895	40.8	150	6.8	335	15.3	35	1.6	95	4.3	65	3.0	135	6.2	35	1.6	90	4.1	175	8.0
28	280	5.8	1,895	39.0	350	7.2	710	14.6	60	1.2	355	7.3	125	2.6	255	5.2	25	.5	315	6.5	495	10.2
33	25	2.0	475	37.3	220	17.3	240	18.8	5	.4	10	.8	25	2.0	85	6.7	-	-	25	2.0	165	12.9
34	25	.8	965	29.2	475	14.4	180	5.5	50	1.5	80	2.4	65	2.0	655	19.8	15	.5	45	1.4	745	22.6
35	40	1.6	490	19.5	185	7.4	170	6.8	35	1.4	85	3.4	20	.8	430	17.1	20	.8	50	2.0	990	39.4
36	35	3.6	245	25.3	105	10.8	65	6.7	10	1.0	5	.5	10	1.0	120	12.4	10	1.0	20	2.1	345	35.6
42	40	1.4	800	28.5	130	4.6	375	13.3	35	1.2	60	2.1	40	1.4	415	14.8	40	1.4	55	2.0	820	29.2
43	60	1.0	1,560	25.7	730	12.0	430	7.1	125	2.1	40	.7	100	1.6	925	15.2	40	.7	75	1.2	1,995	32.8
45	60	.8	1,635	23.0	440	6.2	1,100	15.4	90	1.3	190	2.7	85	1.2	980	13.8	50	.7	140	2.0	2,350	33.0

CORE AREA TOTAL

2,495	3.7	25,705	38.5	5,965	8.9	7,375	11.1	945	1.4	2,370	3.6	1,260	1.9	5,725	8.6	450	.7	2,245	3.4	12,150	18.2
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METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

7,305	1.5	232,125	47.8	46,205	9.5	62,000	12.8	3,860	.8	9,395	1.9	15,020	3.1	25,910	5.3	2105	.4	17,530	3.6	64,305	13.2
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OUTER CITY

4,810	1.1	206,420	49.3	40,240	9.6	54,625	13.0	2,915	.7	7,025	1.7	13,760	3.3	20,185	4.8	1655	.4	15,285	3.6	52,155	12.4
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\* Source: D.B.S. 1971 Census except census tracts 17, 21 and 27 where data was compiled for the enumeration areas within the study area boundary.

Appendix C-8  
MIGRATION

CENSUS TRACT	NON-MIGRANTS		DIFFERENT DWELLING		MIGRANTS		FROM SAME METROPOLITAN AREA		FROM A NON METROPOLITAN AREA		FROM SAME PROVINCE	
		%		%		%		%		%		%
13	2,333	68.9	395	46.2	385	31.0	20	5.2	130	33.8	80	20.1
14	2,775	66.3	1,590	57.3	1,410	33.7	120	8.5	600	42.5	415	29.4
15	4,955	69.7	2,260	45.6	2,155	30.3	150	6.6	1,015	47.1	750	34.8
16	2,305	64.5	1,055	45.8	1,270	35.5	50	3.9	615	48.4	505	39.8
17*	3,440	72.4	1,435	41.7	1,310	27.6	60	4.5	750	57.3	540	41.2
21*	5,720	76.8	2,365	41.3	1,725	23.2	55	3.2	585	33.9	495	28.7
22	3,795	64.8	1,805	47.6	2,065	35.2	60	2.9	745	36.1	560	27.1
23	2,500	68.2	1,330	53.2	1,165	31.8	55	4.7	370	31.8	275	23.6
24	675	86.0	305	45.2	110	14.0	5	4.5	20	18.2	10	9.1
25	3,060	78.8	1,235	40.4	825	21.2	15	1.8	290	35.2	215	26.0
26	2,425	78.1	1,115	46.0	680	21.9	15	2.2	175	23.7	105	15.4
27*	1,840	68.7	755	41.0	840	31.3	25	3.0	375	44.6	265	31.5
28	3,980	72.8	1,570	39.4	1,490	27.2	80	5.4	485	32.6	340	22.8
33	1,255	72.5	350	27.9	475	27.5	-	-	165	34.7	155	32.6
34	3,090	83.6	1,810	58.6	605	16.4	15	2.5	275	45.5	195	32.2
35	2,290	79.8	1,065	46.5	580	20.2	30	5.2	230	39.7	150	25.9
36	900	90.5	280	31.1	95	9.5	5	5.3	45	47.4	40	42.1
42	2,835	83.0	1,350	47.6	580	17.0	25	4.3	265	45.7	200	34.5
43	5,550	91.4	2,530	45.6	1,020	16.8	55	5.4	480	47.1	385	37.7
45	2,205	84.8	2,205	35.5	1,110	15.2	20	1.8	390	35.1	280	25.2
TOTAL	60,450	75.2	26,805	44.3	19,895	24.8	860	4.3	8,005	40.2	5,960	30.0
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG												
	389,960	78.7	141,140	36.2	105,620	21.3	16,325	15.5	39,365	37.3	26,355	25.0
OUTER CITY												
	329,510	79.4	114,335	34.7	85,725	20.6	15,465	18.0	31,360	36.6	20,395	23.8

Source: D.B.S. 1971 Census

\* Data only available by census tract not enumeration areas so includes area beyond study area boundary in C.T.'s 17, 21, and 27. Thus discrepancies in the 'Total' figures exist.

Appendix C-9  
EDUCATION LEVELS\*

CENSUS TRACT	POPULATION 5 YEARS & OLDER		LESS THAN GRADE 9		9-13 WITH NO OTHER TRAINING		9-13 WITH OTHER TRAINING		UNIVERSITY	
		%		%		%		%		%
13	1,240	97.3	405	32.7	560	45.2	140	11.3	135	10.9
14	4,250	98.4	855	20.1	1,830	43.1	830	19.5	725	17.1
15	7,170	96.0	2,245	31.3	2,775	38.7	990	13.8	1,160	16.2
16	3,570	94.1	1,260	35.3	1,275	35.7	560	15.7	475	13.3
17**	4,755	92.1	1,685	35.4	1,720	36.2	770	16.2	585	12.3
21**	7,460	92.8	3,620	48.5	2,615	35.1	780	10.5	450	6.0
22	5,910	92.3	2,900	49.1	1,925	32.6	645	10.9	430	7.3
23	3,670	97.1	1,430	39.0	1,375	37.5	480	13.1	375	10.2
24	780	94.5	480	61.5	235	30.1	35	4.5	35	4.5
25	3,885	92.2	2,650	68.2	940	24.2	165	4.2	125	3.2
26	3,105	90.2	1,910	61.5	885	28.5	215	6.9	90	2.9
27**	2,695	93.1	945	35.1	750	27.8	565	21.0	435	16.1
28	5,475	98.8	2,550	46.6	1,900	34.7	640	11.7	390	7.1
33	1,730	96.6	1,205	69.7	390	22.5	80	4.6	65	3.8
34	3,695	91.0	2,410	65.2	920	24.9	240	6.5	125	3.4
35	2,870	93.3	1,935	67.4	755	26.3	115	5.9	55	1.9
36	1,050	92.5	670	63.8	270	25.7	65	6.2	40	3.8
42	3,410	90.3	1,890	55.4	1,080	31.7	255	7.5	185	5.4
43	6,620	90.0	4,245	64.1	1,755	26.5	400	6.0	225	3.4
45	7,380	92.0	4,085	55.4	2,330	31.6	610	8.3	355	4.8
TOTAL	80,720	92.8	39,375	48.8	26,285	32.6	8,580	10.6	6,460	8.0
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG	497,070	92.0	197,530	39.7	180,575	36.3	63,470	12.8	55,490	11.2
OUTER CITY	416,350	91.8	158,155	38.0	154,290	37.1	54,890	13.2	49,030	11.8

\* Level of education achieved for population over 5 years of age.

\*\* Data only available by census tract not enumeration areas so includes area beyond study area boundary in C.T.'s 17, 21, and 27. Thus discrepancies in the 'Total' figures exist.

Source: D.B.S. 1971 Census

Appendix C-10  
MALE LABOUR FORCE  
1971

CENSUS TRACT	MALES 15 AND OVER	IN THE LABOUR FORCE	%	EMPLOYED	%	UNEMPLOYED	%
13	630	430	68.3	375	87.2	55	12.8
14	1,735	1,280	73.7	1,150	89.8	130	10.2
15	2,910	2,170	74.6	1,890	87.1	285	13.1
16	1,325	1,085	81.6	965	88.9	115	10.6
17*	1,785	1,435	80.0	1,320	92.0	115	8.0
21*	2,965	2,260	76.3	2,070	91.6	195	8.6
22	2,535	1,915	75.5	1,665	86.9	250	13.1
23	1,690	1,205	71.2	1,055	87.6	145	12.0
24	550	290	52.8	260	89.7	35	12.1
25	2,105	1,100	52.2	850	77.3	250	22.7
26	1,245	865	69.5	715	82.7	155	17.9
27*	990	775	78.3	700	90.3	75	9.7
28	2,030	1,520	75.1	1,375	90.5	150	9.9
33	660	500	76.3	455	91.0	50	10.0
34	1,495	930	62.4	780	83.9	150	16.1
35	1,200	675	56.1	610	90.4	65	9.6
36	425	265	62.3	235	88.7	30	11.3
42	1,325	955	72.0	835	87.4	120	12.6
43	2,600	1,780	68.6	1,540	86.5	240	13.5
45	2,930	2,195	74.8	1,975	90.0	210	9.6
CORE AREA TOTAL	33,130	23,630	71.3	20,820	88.1	2,820	11.9
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG	191,350	152,060	79.5	141,540	93.1	10,520	6.9
OUTER CITY	158,220	128,430	81.2	120,720	94.0	7,700	6.0

\* Data only available by census tract not by enumeration areas. For tracts 17, 21, and 27 census data was used. Thus discrepancies in the 'Total' figures exist.  
Source: D.B.S. 1971 Census.

Appendix C-11  
FEMALE LABOUR FORCE  
1971

CENSUS TRACT	FEMALES 15 AND OVER	IN THE LABOUR		EMPLOYED		UNEMPLOYED	
		FORCE	%		%		%
13	570	285	50.3	265	93.0	20	7.0
14	2,440	1,515	62.1	1,435	94.7	75	5.0
15	3,820	2,160	56.6	1,980	91.7	180	8.3
16	1,875	1,025	54.8	935	91.2	85	8.3
17*	2,385	1,330	55.9	1,230	92.5	100	7.5
21*	3,400	1,595	45.0	1,465	91.8	125	7.8
22	2,655	1,445	54.5	1,355	93.8	90	6.2
23	1,860	895	48.1	820	91.6	75	8.4
24	160	55	33.8	50	90.9	-	-
25	1,195	520	43.6	475	91.3	45	8.7
26	1,260	580	46.2	540	93.1	40	6.9
27*	1,450	960	65.9	915	95.3	45	4.7
28	2,635	1,430	54.3	1,315	92.0	115	8.0
33	610	275	44.6	245	89.1	25	9.1
34	1,410	560	39.8	455	81.3	110	19.6
35	1,185	405	34.6	365	90.1	40	9.9
36	450	125	28.3	105	84.0	20	16.0
42	1,470	645	43.7	570	88.4	75	11.6
43	2,585	980	37.9	865	88.3	115	11.7
45	3,075	1,300	42.3	1,155	88.8	140	10.8
CORE AREA TOTAL	36,490	18,085	49.6	16,540	91.5	1,520	8.4
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG	205,985	95,995	46.6	88,095	91.8	7,900	8.2
OUTER CITY	169,495	77,910	46.0	71,555	91.8	6,380	8.2

Source: D.B.S. 1971 Census

\* Data only available by census tracts not enumeration areas so data includes area beyond study area boundary in C.T.'s 17, 21, and 27.

Appendix C-12  
MALE OCCUPATIONS  
1971

CENSUS TRACT	MANAGERIAL/ PROFESSIONAL		CLERICAL/SALES SERVICE		TRANSPORTATION/ MANUFACTURING LABOUR		OTHERS	
		%		%		%		%
13	65	15.1	145	33.7	110	25.6	30	7.0
14	300	23.6	450	35.4	330	26.0	75	5.9
15	390	18.4	650	30.7	695	32.8	155	7.3
16	150	14.2	380	35.8	290	27.4	80	7.5
17*	240	17.0	385	27.3	575	40.8	110	7.8
21*	235	10.5	705	31.5	925	41.4	170	7.6
22	135	7.2	555	29.5	815	43.4	130	6.9
23	175	14.8	395	33.5	310	26.3	100	8.5
24	10	3.6	65	23.6	90	32.7	20	7.3
25	30	2.9	255	24.8	425	41.3	120	11.7
26	10	1.2	180	22.1	325	39.9	95	11.7
27*	175	22.9	135	17.6	290	37.9	75	9.8
28	140	9.4	395	26.4	710	47.5	145	9.7
33	30	6.1	115	23.2	245	49.5	50	10.1
34	55	6.2	205	23.0	465	52.2	105	11.8
35	30	4.5	120	18.2	330	50.0	80	12.1
36	15	6.0	50	20.0	95	38.0	25	10.0
42	85	9.2	215	23.2	485	52.4	90	9.7
43	100	5.8	395	23.1	845	49.4	220	12.9
45	175	8.1	590	27.3	1,045	48.3	215	9.9
CORE AREA TOTAL	2,545	11.0	6,385	27.7	9,400	40.8	2,090	9.1
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG	28,230	18.8	49,610	33.1	51,865	34.6	10,860	7.2
OUTER CITY	25,685	20.2	43,225	34.0	42,465	33.4	8,770	6.9

\* Data by Census Tract not enumeration areas so includes area beyond study area boundary in C.T.'s 17, 21, and 27.

Source: D.B.S. 1971 Census.

Appendix C-13  
FEMALE OCCUPATIONS  
1971

CENSUS TRACT	MANAGERIAL/ PROFESSIONAL		CLERICAL/SALES SERVICE		TRANSPORTATION/ MANUFACTURING LABOUR		OTHERS	
		%		%		%		%
13	35	12.5	185	66.1	25	8.9	5	1.8
14	305	20.3	970	64.5	25	1.7	30	2.0
15	475	22.4	1,290	60.7	130	6.1	60	2.8
16	200	19.8	550	54.5	125	12.4	25	2.5
17*	245	18.9	760	58.7	130	10.0	60	4.6
21*	235	15.0	905	57.8	255	16.3	60	3.8
22	150	10.5	760	53.3	305	21.4	55	3.9
23	185	21.0	450	51.1	110	12.5	15	1.7
24	5	9.1	25	45.5	10	18.2	15	27.3
25	40	8.0	215	43.0	155	31.0	25	5.0
26	35	6.1	225	39.5	160	28.1	40	7.2
27*	545	58.0	220	23.4	160	17.0	40	4.3
28	225	16.3	715	51.8	265	19.2	70	5.1
33	15	5.7	95	35.8	110	41.5	20	7.5
34	30	5.6	285	53.3	125	23.4	40	7.5
35	30	7.7	155	39.7	125	32.1	25	6.4
36	5	4.3	70	60.9	15	13.0	5	4.0
42	75	11.8	350	55.1	115	18.1	15	2.4
43	70	7.3	490	51.6	250	26.3	60	6.3
45	90	7.1	775	61.0	265	20.9	55	4.3
CORE AREA TOTAL	2,995	16.8	9,490	53.3	2,860	16.1	720	4.0
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG	35,245	37.6	57,280	61.1	7,545	8.0	2,835	3.0
OUTER CITY	32,250	42.5	47,790	62.9	4,685	6.2	2,115	2.8

\* Data by Census Tract not enumeration areas so includes area beyond the study area boundary in C.T.'s 17, 21 and 27.

Source: D.B.S. 1971 Census.

Appendix C-14  
MALE EMPLOYMENT INCOME 1970  
(In 1970 Dollars)

CENSUS TRACT	UNDER \$3,000		\$3,000-\$4,999		\$5,000-\$6,999		\$7,000-\$9,999		\$10,000+	
		%		%		%		%		%
13	95	21.3	125	28.1	135	30.3	150	11.2	25	5.6
14	345	25.2	250	18.2	370	27.0	245	17.9	155	11.3
15	745	33.3	560	25.1	490	21.9	260	11.6	160	7.2
16	345	31.2	270	24.4	295	26.7	145	13.1	40	3.6
17*	370	24.7	340	22.7	425	28.3	290	19.3	75	5.0
21*	540	23.5	560	24.4	645	28.1	435	19.0	105	4.6
22	620	31.8	525	26.9	485	24.9	225	11.5	60	3.1
23	475	36.8	355	27.5	200	15.5	180	14.0	70	5.4
24	115	37.7	100	32.8	65	21.3	25	8.2	10	3.3
25	510	43.8	315	27.0	220	18.9	95	8.2	15	1.3
26	265	30.3	270	30.9	210	24.0	105	12.0	25	2.9
27*	180	22.4	230	28.6	205	25.5	150	18.6	45	5.6
28	415	25.5	375	23.0	465	28.5	290	17.8	65	4.0
33	135	26.0	115	22.1	175	33.7	80	15.4	15	2.9
34	320	33.3	225	23.4	290	30.2	105	10.9	15	1.6
35	165	23.1	210	29.4	180	25.2	120	16.8	35	4.9
36	80	28.1	100	35.1	50	17.5	50	17.5	10	3.5
42	300	29.1	230	22.3	275	26.7	165	16.0	60	5.8
43	585	31.9	400	21.8	520	28.3	270	14.7	65	3.5
45	555	24.3	525	23.0	615	26.9	495	21.7	85	3.7
CORE AREA TOTAL	7,160	29.1	6,080	24.7	6,315	25.7	3,780	15.4	1,135	4.6
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG	34,095	21.5	22,850	14.4	35,560	22.4	39,190	24.7	26,090	16.5

Source: D.B.S. 1971 Census.

\* Data only available by census tract not enumeration areas so includes area beyond the study area boundary in C.T.'s 17, 21 and 27.



Appendix C-15  
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT INCOME 1970  
(In 1970 Dollars)

CENSUS TRACT	UNDER \$2,000		\$2,000-\$2,999		\$3,000-\$4,999		\$5,000-\$6,999		\$7,000+	
		%		%		%		%		%
13	70	23.0	75	24.6	110	36.1	35	11.5	5	1.6
14	415	25.2	205	12.4	580	35.2	260	15.8	170	10.3
15	700	30.0	360	15.5	905	38.8	235	10.1	110	4.7
16	445	36.3	160	13.1	445	36.3	100	8.2	60	4.9
17*	510	34.2	205	13.8	530	35.6	165	11.1	70	4.7
21*	610	34.0	295	16.4	665	37.0	140	7.8	70	3.9
22	495	31.4	325	20.6	595	37.8	95	6.3	35	2.2
23	325	32.3	145	14.4	330	32.8	120	11.9	65	6.5
24	35	58.3	15	25.0	10	16.7	5	8.3	0	0
25	230	39.3	100	17.1	190	32.5	15	2.6	5	.9
26	255	39.2	90	13.8	230	35.4	30	4.6	5	.8
27*	410	41.6	100	10.2	225	22.8	165	16.8	60	6.1
28	495	31.7	285	18.3	575	36.9	155	9.9	30	1.9
33	145	45.3	70	21.9	95	29.7	5	1.6	5	1.6
34	200	33.6	175	29.4	155	26.1	45	7.6	0	0
35	180	39.6	70	15.4	155	34.1	15	3.3	10	2.2
36	55	37.9	35	24.1	40	27.6	10	6.9	5	3.4
42	295	36.4	120	14.8	285	35.2	35	4.3	30	3.7
43	465	41.0	210	18.5	370	32.6	50	4.4	15	1.3
45	615	38.3	265	16.5	490	30.5	125	7.8	50	3.1
CORE AREA TOTAL	6,950	34.3	3,305	16.3	6,980	34.4	1,805	8.9	800	3.9
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG	42,035	38.2	14,930	13.6	32,335	29.4	11,410	10.4	5,765	5.2

Source: D.B.S. 1971 Census

\* Data only available by census tract not enumeration areas so includes area beyond the study area boundary in C.T.'s 17, 21 and 27.

Appendix C-16  
INCOME LEVELS FOR FAMILIES  
AND MALE WAGE EARNERS  
1971

CENSUS TRACT	% FAMILIES EARNING LESS THAN \$3,000	% OF MALE LABOUR FORCE EARNING LESS THAN \$3,000	% OF MALE LABOUR FORCE EARNING MORE THAN \$7,000
13	21.1	21.3	16.8
14	11.8	25.2	29.2
15	13.6	33.3	18.8
16	15.5	31.2	16.7
17*	11.5	24.7	24.3
21*	12.5	23.5	29.9
22	20.0	31.8	14.6
23	25.4	36.8	19.4
24	30.4	37.7	11.5
25	27.9	43.8	9.4
26	27.3	30.3	14.9
27*	11.6	22.4	24.2
28	11.4	25.5	21.8
33	19.5	25.7	18.1
34	27.2	33.3	12.5
35	17.4	23.1	21.7
36	31.9	28.1	21.1
42	20.0	29.1	21.8
43	26.4	31.9	18.3
45	15.5	24.3	25.4
TOTAL	18.0	29.1	19.0
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG	7.8	21.5	41.2

Source: D.B.S. 1971 Census

\* Data only available by census tract not enumeration areas so includes area beyond the study area boundary in C.T.'s 17, 21 and 27.

Appendix C-17  
HOUSING CONDITIONS

CENSUS TRACT	GOOD		FAIR		POOR		VERY POOR		TOTALS	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
13	0	0	53	54.1	32	32.6	13	13.3	98	100
14	77	37.4	83	40.3	46	22.3	0	0	206	100
15*	-----NOT AVAILABLE-----									
16	45	7.4	513	84.4	46	7.6	4	0.7	608	100
17**	51	15.2	273	81.3	12	3.6	0	0	336	100
21**	91	5.7	1,274	79.1	214	13.3	30	1.9	1,609	100
22	37	4.3	676	79.6	133	15.7	3	.4	849	100
23	5	3.3	101	64.8	45	28.6	5	3.3	156	100
24	6	4.2	44	30.8	49	34.2	44	30.8	143	100
25	12	1.9	310	49.1	191	30.2	118	18.8	631	100
26	9	1.7	329	65.1	113	22.4	55	10.8	506	100
27**	144	28.1	271	59.9	81	15.8	16	3.1	512	100
28	125	5.3	1,865	79.3	345	14.7	16	.7	2,351	100
33	6	1.7	214	63.5	103	30.6	14	4.2	337	100
34	12	1.6	402	54.5	259	35.2	64	8.7	737	100
35	37	7.1	358	68.5	87	16.6	41	7.8	523	100
36	3	1.2	132	54.5	72	29.8	35	14.5	242	100
42	168	22.8	386	52.4	155	21.0	28	3.8	737	100
43	35	2.4	1,132	78.1	259	17.9	24	1.6	1,450	100
45	420	24.1	949	54.5	319	18.3	53	3.0	1,741	100
TOTALS	1,283	9.3	9,365	68.0	2,561	18.6	563	4.1	13,772	100

## SOURCE:

Census Tracts 27, 42, 45: City of Winnipeg, 1973

Census Tract 14: Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg - Planning Division, 1969.

Census Tracts 16, 17: City of Winnipeg, 1969

Census Tracts 13, 21-26, 28, 33-36, 43: Urban Renewal Study. Urban Renewal Area No. 2, Final Report; 1967.

\*Census Tract 15: Because Housing Conditions have not been updated since 1963 data for this area seemed invalid and is therefore excluded.

\*\* Data for whole census tract so includes area beyond study area boundary in C.T.'s 17, 21 and 27.

Appendix C-18  
HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS  
1971

CENSUS TRACT	OCCUPIED DWELLINGS	SINGLE DETACHED		SINGLE ATTACHED		APARTMENT (FLAT)		OWNER		TENANT		MEDIAN VALUE \$	AVERAGE CASH RENT \$	CONSTRUCTED BEFORE 1946		CONSTRUCTED AFTER 1960	
			%		%		%		%		%				%		%
13	605	15	2.5	10	1.7	585	96.7	10	1.7	590	97.5	17,500	99	400	66.1	170	28.1
14	2,505	30	1.2	20	.8	2,460	98.2	25	1.0	2,485	99.4	15,000	103	1,295	51.6	545	21.7
15	3,645	560	15.4	120	3.3	2,970	81.5	395	10.8	3,250	89.2	21,992	88	2,765	75.9	315	8.6
16	1,435	395	27.5	35	2.4	1,005	70.0	370	25.8	1,065	74.4	16,106	89	1,210	84.3	85	5.9
17*	805	185	23.0	10	1.2	580	72.0	255	31.7	550	68.3	15,780	91	1,745	89.0	20	1.0
21*	1,675	710	42.4	65	3.9	930	55.5	605	36.1	970	57.9	13,155	90	2,065	73.1	465	16.5
22	2,745	605	22.0	85	3.1	2,050	74.7	515	18.8	2,225	81.1	14,808	74	2,220	81.0	150	5.5
23	1,745	75	4.3	215	12.3	1,460	83.7	50	2.9	1,710	97.4	15,962	87	1,210	69.1	405	23.1
24	215	75	34.9	35	16.3	105	48.8	75	34.9	140	65.1	13,700	51	175	87.5	5	2.3
25	1,190	430	36.1	130	10.9	625	52.5	315	26.5	875	73.5	12,500	68	1,105	93.3	5	.4
26	965	395	40.9	120	12.4	450	46.6	310	32.1	655	67.9	14,034	75	840	87.0	45	4.7
27*	790	310	39.2	25	3.2	460	58.2	235	29.7	555	70.3	15,647	88	550	56.1	70	17.3
28	2,270	965	42.5	50	2.2	1,255	55.3	785	34.6	1,485	65.4	12,164	85	1,835	81.0	180	7.9
33	550	385	70.0	50	9.1	110	20.0	255	46.4	290	52.7	11,292	71	495	90.0	20	3.6
34	1,285	375	29.2	290	22.6	615	47.9	305	23.7	985	76.7	12,070	68	915	70.1	310	23.8
35	860	400	46.5	160	18.6	300	34.9	365	42.4	495	57.6	13,248	72	670	82.2	15	1.8
36	330	175	53.0	50	15.2	105	31.8	145	43.9	185	56.1	11,736	80	295	82.2	25	6.8
42	1,310	490	37.4	65	5.0	760	58.0	510	38.9	805	61.5	12,904	87	985	74.9	50	3.8
43	2,220	1,025	46.2	350	15.8	845	38.1	845	38.1	1,375	61.9	10,983	74	1,875	84.7	100	4.5
45	2,595	1,510	58.2	195	7.5	895	34.5	1,420	54.7	1,175	45.3	11,776	84	2,180	84.0	145	5.6
TOTAL	29,740	9,110	30.6	2,080	7.0	18,565	62.4	7,790	26.3	21,865	73.7	13,700	81	24,830	83.5	3,125	10.5
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG																	
	166,480	105,565	63.5	8,100	4.9	52,465	31.6	98,375	59.1	68,105	40.9	17,780	108	69,005	41.4	41,750	25.1
OUTER CITY																	
	136,740	96,455	70.7	6,020	4.4	33,900	24.9	90,585	66.2	46,240	33.8	-	-	44,175	32.3	38,625	28.2

\* Data by enumeration areas for dwelling characteristics; data by census tract for value, rent and construction period.

Source: D.B.S. Census 1971.

Appendix C-19  
LENGTH OF OCCUPANCY  
1971

CENSUS TRACT	LESS THAN 1 YEAR		1-2 YEARS		3-5 YEARS		6-10 YEARS		MORE THAN 10 YEARS	
		%		%		%		%		%
13	220	37.0	100	16.8	75	12.6	80	13.4	120	20.2
14	905	36.0	440	17.5	390	15.5	320	12.7	460	18.3
15	1,165	32.0	600	16.5	475	13.0	565	15.5	835	23.0
16	425	29.5	275	19.1	225	15.6	185	12.8	330	22.9
17*	525	26.9	325	16.7	265	13.6	285	14.6	550	28.2
21*	745	26.4	435	15.4	285	10.1	485	17.2	870	30.9
22	970	35.4	505	18.4	350	12.8	250	9.1	665	24.3
23	480	27.4	400	22.9	295	16.9	245	14.0	330	18.9
24	30	14.6	30	14.6	50	24.4	40	19.5	55	26.8
25	235	19.8	240	20.3	100	8.4	185	15.6	425	35.9
26	295	30.6	165	17.1	110	11.4	140	14.5	255	26.4
27*	275	28.4	175	18.0	130	13.4	115	11.9	275	28.4
28	560	24.8	445	19.7	250	11.1	325	14.4	680	30.1
33	100	18.2	90	16.4	75	13.6	110	20.0	175	31.8
34	240	18.3	285	21.7	315	24.0	125	9.5	350	26.6
35	170	21.0	180	22.2	90	11.1	75	9.3	295	36.4
36	50	13.7	40	11.0	35	9.6	35	9.6	205	56.2
42	300	23.0	220	16.9	180	13.8	185	14.2	420	32.2
43	470	21.2	405	18.3	285	12.9	290	13.1	765	34.5
45	445	17.2	395	15.3	295	11.4	330	12.7	1,125	43.4
CORE AREA TOTAL	8,605	26.7	5,750	17.9	4,275	13.3	4,370	13.6	9,185	28.5
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG	33,635	20.2	26,715	16.1	25,105	15.1	25,685	15.5	55,080	33.1
OUTER CITY	25,030	18.7	20,965	15.6	20,830	15.5	21,315	15.9	45,895	34.2

Source: D.B.S. 1971 Census.

\* Data by Census tract not enumeration areas so includes area beyond study area boundary in C.T.'s 17, 21, and 27.