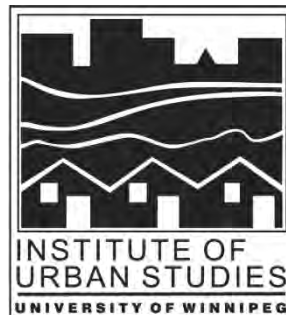
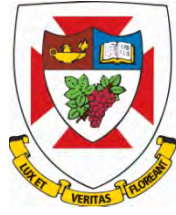
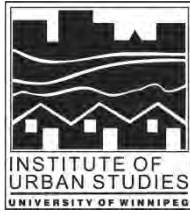


A Study of the Community Schools Concept: The Fort Rouge Experiment

**by Sheila Vanderhoef with Jackie DeRoo
1978**

The Institute of Urban Studies





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A STUDY OF THE COMMUNITY SCHOOLS CONCEPT: THE FORT ROUGE EXPERIMENT

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with Jackie DeRoo

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COMMUNITY SCHOOLS CONCEPT
The Fort Rouge Experiment

Institute of Urban Studies
University of Winnipeg
Winnipeg, Canada
March, 1978

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Sheila Vanderhoef

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INTRODUCTION

The usual approach in dealing with urban problems has been to fragment the urban area into its various components. Housing, employment, and social service provision, for example, are each treated as separate entities, when actually they are related and influenced by each other.

Most studies dealing with the issue of urban education would approach the subject from the perspective of educational technique and theory. This report, however, will examine the educational system, as an urban institution which is influenced directly by other aspects of the urban environment. The major focus here will be the recent changes in the urban environment, in general, and the inner city in particular. It is posited herein, that the inner city has been changing quite rapidly in recent times, and these changes have impacted adversely upon most inner city schools. The concepts of community involvement in education and the community school, have been suggested as possible solutions to urban educational problems. These two concepts will be explored in this report.

Specifically, this report focuses on the central city area of Winnipeg known as Fort Rouge. In June of 1976, the school board, in response to declining enrollments in the inner city, was considering closing Fort Rouge School and several other smaller schools. The parents of Fort Rouge School, launched a successful appeal to the school board to keep the school open. This report arose out of these events and the subsequent attempt to organize a community school in Fort Rouge, and thus develop new uses and a new role for the school in the community.

While examining the case of Fort Rouge, it was discovered that many Winnipeg school division residents felt the need to develop a new role for the school in the community. The changing character of the inner city - deteriorating housing, falling incomes, and increasing heterogeneity of population - has contributed to the problem of school/community relations. This problem, typified by disparity between school values and community values, was dealt with by inviting members of the community to participate in the school - witness the development of William Whyte Community School.

The changes in the inner city are such that what may work in one area, may not work in another area. Each inner city community, because of its specific population mix, has a unique school population. The problems may differ and the solutions should also. Some basic questions, however, must be answered: Are changes in the inner city such that the present educational techniques and structures are no longer valid, and if so is the community school model the correct answer? The problem of the schools also emanates from traditional and perhaps archaic forms of curriculum, physical structure, finance and administration. Can the community school model deal with these problems?

Since the school must be viewed as one of many related institutions of society, and changes in any society must be met by compensating changes in its social institutions, (in order to keep them functioning and relevant), an overhaul of the educational system, particularly for the inner city, may be long overdue.

This report will be looking at the urban institution of the school to try to determine what, if any changes are needed to make this institution more responsive to the inner city environment. The Fort Rouge School Community will be used as a case study for this report.

The inner city is a complex amalgam of architectural types, land uses, and cultural and racial groups. The inner city is also that section of the city which usually has a higher incidence of single parents, crime, unemployment, low incomes, and other social and economic problems. Physically, the inner city is defined as the area with older housing. It is considered to have been also, the area of first settlement in a city and as such, has been the home of successive groups of urban immigrants.

On a map, the inner city of most Canadian cities can be generally delineated, but this spatial description may not accurately reflect the true condition of the area. Within the inner city are a variety of neighbourhoods, all exhibiting to some degree the physical, social and economic characteristics described above. In Winnipeg the inner city has been defined as:

"... 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 centre for Winnipeg's 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."¹

1. Christine McKee & Joyce Epstein, "Inner City Profiles & Processes of Change" in Innovative Strategies for the Renewal of Older Neighbourhoods, McKee, Christine, ed., (Winnipeg: IUS, 1977), p. 31.

The inner city then, must be viewed as a collection of neighbourhoods with certain physical, social or economic characteristics which differentiate it from the outer or suburban areas of the city. Because of the variety of neighbourhoods existing within the spatial area of the inner city, it is necessary to describe the neighbourhoods in relative terms.

DEFINITION OF INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS

There are, perhaps, four major types of neighbourhoods in the inner city; declining, transitional, stable, and revitalizing. In Winnipeg, it is possible to identify three major types because the transitional and stable areas are usually one in the same. The declining neighbourhoods are those where the housing is in poor condition, and renter occupied. Incomes are significantly lower than in the remainder of the city. The residents have a variety of social problems, and the quality of life is seriously degraded because of unemployment, lack of skills, high transiency rates, drunkenness, crime, and a lack of communicative skills. The declining inner city neighbourhoods are visually and economically the worst areas of the cities.

The transitional or stable neighbourhoods are lumped together here, because often those inner city areas which serve as buffers between declining and stable neighbourhoods, or revitalizing and stable neighbourhoods, are themselves quite permanent. The transitional/stable neighbourhood is often such, just because of its location between two different neighbourhood types. While these areas may exhibit certain characteristics of the declining areas, they are not in a state of decline themselves.

The revitalizing neighbourhoods, of the inner city, are usually those areas adjacent to the CBD which are experiencing pressures for conversion of land uses from low-moderate density residential, to high-density residential or commercial. In these areas, the housing stock is usually old with a mix of renter - and owner - occupied dwellings. Often the pressure for high-density residential land uses, is caused in an attempt to provide housing for employees of the CBD commercial area. These revitalizing neighbourhoods, also contain a mixture of income groups, but with a fairly definite trend towards an increase in upper - and middle income households.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Most housing programs and literature which focus on the inner city, attempt to deal with the trend toward physical deterioration. The built environment is a very important aspect of neighbourhoods. But also as important, if not more so, are the social, political and economic aspects of the neighbourhood. It is when the community leaders leave, and the support institutions of an area cease to function, that decline really takes place.

"The fact is, as many studies show, that neighbourhoods decline when the elements of social, political, and economic strength of a community begin to wane."²

The school is one urban institution which is an element in the social fabric of the neighbourhood. The school catchment area, often delineates the boundaries of social interaction in an area. Changes in the resident population often, are first reflected in the local school. For these reasons, the school must be viewed as one important and extremely sensitive element in an urban neighbourhood.

Social, economic, and political elements combine with the physical condition of an area to define the relative health of urban, and in particular, inner city neighbourhoods.

THE WINNIPEG INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS

Winnipeg has a tradition of strong ethnic neighbourhoods. Thus, many of the physically deteriorating neighbourhoods, have quite strong community support elements - ethnic stores, clubs, or fraternal organizations. In fact, Winnipeg, in relation to the age of its inner city, has few declining neighbourhoods. Balmoral West, an area adjacent to the University of Winnipeg and bounded by "Notre Dame to the North, Maryland to the West, Portage Avenue to the South, and Colony/Balmoral to the East," is considered a declining area. It houses an influx of recent

2. Lloyd Axworthy "Position Paper" in McKee, ed., "Innovative Strategies for the Renewal of Older Neighbourhoods", p. 155.

immigrants to Canada, many of whom use this area as a reception center until they acquire jobs and language skills to allow them to move about more freely. Low incomes, high transiency rates, lack of skills, and language difficulties, characterize the population of this area.³

The stable areas of Winnipeg include much of what is referred to as - "the North End." Many of the residents have been in the area a long time. The housing, though old, is in fair to good condition. Many of the area's residents are members of ethnic groups which dominate the cultural and economic life of the community.

The revitalizing areas are those where the most rapid changes are occurring. Fort Rouge is considered such an area. This community is experiencing extreme pressures on land values which in effect dictate higher density than the present low/moderate residential use.

THE PHYSICAL FORT ROUGE AREA

The Fort Rouge area is strategically located between new development on the fringe and employment in the CBD. The study area is flanked by two major thoroughfares, Osborne St. and Main St. The area is bisected by another thoroughfare, Donald Street. Each one of these roads has a bridge which crosses the Assiniboine River, into the CBD.

The trend in land conversion has been a redevelopment of residential to commercial and office uses on the first blocks in from Osborne and River Streets. The remaining residential area is being converted from low/moderate density to high density, with mostly high rise residential structures. This process started on certain edges of the area (e.g. the street directly behind the Assiniboine River - Roslyn Road, and Stradbrook), but is now moving to the smaller, internal streets of the area. Besides the encroachment of higher density residential and commercial areas, the quality of life in the area is being steadily degraded by improvement to the road network.

The location of Fort Rouge combined with the age of its housing and the change in urban attitudes, (the desire by some middle class elements in Canadian Cities to live "downtown", instead

3. OP. Cit. McKee, p. 55.

of in the suburbs), has led to the exertion of tremendous pressures on the land. The resulting artificially inflated property values and demands for conveniently located inner city housing have caused many land owners to convert properties to higher density residential uses.

Light industrial uses are scattered throughout the area with a concentration of such uses located adjacent to the CNR rail line which borders the southeast edge of the area.

The area is critically deficient in the availability of recreational facilities. On the northern edge of the area is the Assiniboine River. Although public access is allowed, much of the land with river frontage is so densely developed that the presence of the river is all but unnoticed by neighbourhood residents. The yard space of many of the apartments is used for parking. Yard space of single family dwellings is small and some is used for parking also. The area has two small parks - Fort Rouge Park and Mayfair Park. The pair, offer a total of 1.4 recreational acres.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF FORT ROUGE⁴

The residents of the Fort Rouge area are a mixture of the former low to moderate income groups who occupied single family or apartment units in the area and the residents of the new high rises or refurbished single family units.

Following is a presentation of a demographic profile of Fort Rouge as contained in the 1971 Census of Canada Characteristics of the Housing and Population, Series A & B.

4. All information in this section obtained from Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Characteristics of the Population and Housing, Series A, and Series B. And 1976 Census of Canada, Population Results.

The Fort Rouge area under consideration in this report corresponds to Statistics Canada Census tracts 12 and 14. Tract 12 is the area south of the Assiniboine River, East of Osborne, West of the Red River and North of McMillan Avenue. Census tract 14, is North of the Assiniboine, East of Balmoral, South of York St., and West of the Red River. These two census tracts roughly correspond to the catchment area of the Fort Rouge School.

The population of Census tract 12 was 5,465 in 1971, and 5,187 in 1976, which represents a net population loss of 5%. The population of Census tract 14, was 4,322 in 1971 and 3,734 in 1976. This represents a net loss of 14%. (The net population change for the city was a gain of 5%.)

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

Of 2,515 households in Census tract 12, 41.25% or 2,295, have non-family persons in the household. Of 2,510 households in Census tract 14, 86.25% or 2,165 households contain non-family members. This compares with the Metropolitan figure for non-family persons in households of 66,400 or 60% of 166,670.

More households in the study area include unrelated persons, than metropolitan households generally.

INCOME

The population of Census tract 12 had an average household income of \$6,822.00 in 1971. Census tract 14, had an average household income of \$6,673.00 in 1971. The average household income for the Winnipeg metropolitan area, was \$9,382.00.

This figure is 37.2% and \$40.59 higher*, respectively than the incomes of Census tract 12 and 14. This fact indicates that households in the Fort Rouge study area, have significantly lower incomes than households in the metropolitan area. Family average incomes, though, were \$7,937 and \$8,844 in Census tracts 12, and 14 respectively in 1971. This is 25.8% and 12.94% lower than the metropolitan area average of \$9,989.

OCCUPIED DWELLINGS

In the Metropolitan Area, 31.51% of the occupied dwellings are apartments. In both Census tracts 12 and 14 the number of apartments or renter occupied dwellings is over 50%.

RENTS

In 1971, the average cash rent for metropolitan area units was \$108.00. In Census tract 12 and 14, they were \$113.00 and \$103.00 respectively.

In 1971, rents did not differ significantly in the study area from those in the metropolitan area.

EMPLOYMENT

In 1971, employed males 15 and over in metropolitan Winnipeg were 93.08%; 6.89% were unemployed. In Census tract 12, and 14, 9.23% and 10.16% of the above group were unemployed. (The economy has gotten worse since 1971, and higher unemployment rates are probably closer to the present reality.)

* Note: It is important to realize that the population of Census tract 14 is largely apartment dwellers. These persons are living in an area 2 to 3 blocks from the downtown area. It is mostly a neighbourhood of singles or unrelated households - not families with children. The lower incomes often represent one or more students, with small incomes who are sharing apartments. When family incomes are compared, the income gap between the study area and the city is smaller.

HOUSING STOCK

Of 1,760 housing units for which "date of construction" information was obtained, 65.06% were built before 1946, in Census tract 12. Of 1,840 housing units in census tract 14, for which "date of construction" information was obtained, 70.38% were built before 1946. This compares with the metropolitan area, where 62.03% of the housing units were build before 1946.

In terms of housing value, the median value was \$14,797.00 and \$15,000.00 for census tracts 12 and 14 respectively, while it was \$17,780 for the metropolitan area in 1971. This represents a 16.77% decrease in value in Census tract 12 and a 18.35% decrease in value in Census tract 14, from the Metropolitan area.*

LENGTH OF OCCUPANCY

The Fort Rouge area under consideration, has a population composed largely of persons who have lived in the area two years or less. In Census tract 12 and 14, 38.29% and 36% of residents have lived at their present address for less than one year. In the metropolitan, 20.23% of the residents have lived at their present address for less than one year. An average of 15% of the population of the study area has lived at its present address for less than two years. In the metropolitan area, 37% of the population has lived at its present address for less than two years.

* This decrease in value is for the structure. It is true that land and buildings are included in the price, but if a building is in poor condition, or the neighbourhood is such that sale will be difficult, the perceived value of the building will reflect this. The pressures on inner city areas are such that the value of buildings will usually decline until the use is upgraded or changed so that the profit potential of the site is fully realized.

MIGRATION

In 1971, 21.31% of the Winnipeg metropolitan area residents were classified as migrants. That means that within the last five years their place of residence was outside the municipality in which they were residing at the census date. In Census tract 12, 39.44% of the population were migrants and 33.69% in Census tract 14, were migrants.

In the metropolitan area, 37.27% of the migrants were from rural areas. In census tract 12 and 14, 55.25% and 42.55% were from rural areas. The study area appears to serve as a reception area for rural/urban migrants.

EDUCATION

The education information contained in the census data is not very useful for purposes of determining the level of completed school for adults. The data is aggregated for highest level of schooling completed by persons age five and up. It does not reflect how many are continuing their education.

Discussions with employees of the Fort Rouge Project and area residents indicate a diverse level of educational achievement among the adults, many of whom are presently university or vocational school students.

SUMMARY OF DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The Fort Rouge area of 1971 did not differ significantly from the Fort Rouge population of 1961. The total population decline for the area was 14% from 1971 to 1976, but an intimate knowledge of the area confirms that drastic changes have taken place in the years since 1971. The 1971 profile of the population indicated that the area residents on the average had lower incomes, and were more likely to live in apartments which were slightly older than the general housing in the metropolitan area. Also the value of this housing was significantly lower than other areas of the city. Fort Rouge residents were also more likely to be recent immigrants to Winnipeg, most often from rural environments, and experience a higher rate of unemployment for males.

The Fort Rouge resident of 1977 is also more likely to rent than own, is probably a recent resident to the area, and is still living in housing slightly older than metropolitan average. The housing values have increased dramatically in the area. A 1971 \$15,000 house is now offered for \$32,000.

The population has changed a great deal since 1971 also. The number of residents from rural environments and native Canadians particularly has increased slightly and the area, as evidenced by the declining school population, has fewer families than before. There has been, during the last few years, an influx of Chileans into the area.

Many of the older apartments are now occupied by students and the newer or the refurbished apartments are occupied by upper income groups who have recently started to move into the area. In the aggregate, the population of Fort Rouge is a diverse mixture of racial, ethnic and income groups.

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL

The role of the school in North America is quite important and complex. At its inception, the public education system was designed to fulfill certain needs of the society. The focal point of the curriculum was to teach basic academics such as reading, writing and arithmetic. Vocational training was a function of the home environment. Skills such as homemaking, sewing, carpentry, blacksmithing, etc., were taught by parents.

The traditional school year developed in response to the farmer's timetable. Children were released during the summer to assist with planting and other farm chores. The school day started at 9:00 a.m. or 10:00 a.m., so that children had plenty of time to complete morning farm chores before the school day began. The school day ended early enough for children to arrive home and complete evening chores before dark.¹

The school building was also the center of the life of the rural community. School classes and church services were usually held in the same building. The school served as the site for social occasions or celebrations. To the children, the rural school was a place to learn rudimentary skills, a place for meeting friends, a place for games and picnics. To the larger community the school was usually the religious center of the community, a place for meeting friends, and socializing.

1. Hugh A. Stevenson, Robert M. Stomp, & Donald J. Wilson, eds., The Best of Times/The Worst of Times, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1972), p.11.

The early school was not rigidly structured. The classroom material varied from season to season or year to year. School books often consisted of the bible or the almanac. The school's tasks were clearly defined and its role was to promote those values, attitudes or academic skills which the community delegated to it. The population which it taught was a small homogeneous group and "the values were firm, the horizons clearly marked."² "Typically, rural schools, are maintained by the local community for its members."³ The rural society was not idyllic but the lifestyle was simple and clear, and the homogeneous population directed the school.

The rural educational model, stresses the relationship of the system as part of the community and as such accommodates itself to the needs of the rural community.

THE SCHOOL AS AN URBAN INSTITUTION

The urban environment is quite different from the rural environment, hence a school designed to complement the city environment must, of necessity, differ from the rural school. The rural population was a homogeneous group while the urban population is very heterogeneous. The rural school taught remedial or basic skills, while the urban school is asked to become a technical vocational training institute, as well as assume some duties of moral and ethical education once assumed by the church. The urban school, using the framework of its rural role model, is being asked to assume a variety of tasks which the present framework cannot accommodate.

2. John Olsen, Edge on Community Education (British Columbia: Educational Research Institute of B.C., 1974), p. 4.

3. Joseph A. Lawreys & David G. Scanlon, eds, The World Yearbook of Education (London: Evans Brothers Ltd, 1970), p. 9.

"As a generalization, however, it is possible that in the past, the main features of the rural and small town school system have been retained in the cities. The size of these schools has grown enormously and their socio-economic context is no longer rural in spite of the fact that many of the in-migrants carry with them rural attitudes. The apparent viability of a rural school system in a suburban environment may frequently disguise the fact that radically different institutions are needed in the cities."⁴

The school, if it is designed to fulfill the needs of the population it serves, should function to strengthen and define the community as it did in the rural setting.

THE INNER CITY SCHOOL

The urban area itself has different parts with different needs. The inner city or core area, as previously defined, is one such area. The problems of low incomes, unemployment, poor living conditions, etc., make this area quite different from the metropolitan region and hence the educational needs of these children differ also.

"As characteristics of metropolitan populations changed, the problems confronting the schools, and especially inner city schools, have increased."⁵

The potential of the community school to relieve the problems lies in its ability to adapt and respond to the community in which it operates.

The traditional school with its rural roots lacks the necessary flexibility to respond to the diverse inner city population. The traditional school is typified by the following characteristics:

4. Holmes, Brian, "Education in Cities," in World Yearbook of Education, p. 9.

5. Lloyd G. Cooper & Gregory P. Maltby, eds., New Direction for Education, (New York: MSS Information Corporation, 1975), p. 157.

- "a. structured grade system
- b. labels kids bright, dull, average, etc.
- c. promotes order, control, and uniformity
- d. sometimes artificial divisions of subject matter in the curriculum
- e. punishment and manipulation which results in an inferior self image for the children
- f. stress on memorization of data instead of teaching children how to think
- g. emphasis on conformity instead of creativity and spontaneity,
- h. externally forced discipline."6

Winnipeg schools more or less fit this model 9 - 10 years ago. In the intervening years, Winnipeg schools, as well as many other urban schools, have changed.

The social unrest of the late 1960's, early 1970's, brought about these changes to the educational system. The schools were forced to modify their programs and methods. The open classroom, team teaching and "automatic passing" to the next grade were some of the modifications. These changes, though, were not well thought out and are not applicable in every school. Parents, teachers, and the general society are calling for additional changes and in some cases a return to traditional values, for while the traditional school does not work for the diversified inner city, it does have some merit in the suburban setting. Nevertheless, "The apparent viability of a rural school system in a suburban environment may frequently disguise the fact that radically different institutions are needed in the cities."7

If a "radically different institution" is needed for the cities, the difference between the metropolitan area and the inner city, may call for a totally unique institution in the inner city.

6. Hugh A. Stevenson, Robert M. Stomp, & Donald J. Wilson, eds., The Best of Times/The Worst of Times, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1972), p. 11.

7. Holmes, "Education in Cities," p. 9.

In communities where unemployment is rife, welfare is common, single parent families occur with greater frequency than usual, and where chronic illness is a greater possibility than elsewhere in society, the value system of the traditional school simply does not make much sense to the residents.⁸

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL CONCEPT

The community school is an educational alternative which attempts to design educational programs, materials, administrative procedures, and a physical layout, which allow the surrounding community and the school to develop in complementary ways. The community school, has the potential lacking in traditional schools to adequately service the urban population and the inner city population in particular.

The concept of the community school can be viewed as a continuum, extending from the use of school space on evenings and weekends, by the community, up to the total involvement of the community in teaching, administration, and use of the school. The operative word in community school is "community", and it is the community residents who actually define their particular community school.

"The community school is based on people and on a renewed sense of partnership between the school and the families, youngsters and neighbors, who form the surrounding community."⁹

The community school can be described as a community resource facility designed to improve and amplify the quality of life in a community. Community control, community education and community development are three mechanisms whereby this is achieved.

8. D.A. MacIver, "The Limits of Community Schools", The Failure of Educational Reform in Canada, Douglas Myers, ed., (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1973), p. 137.

9. Margaret Gayfer, Open Door A Community School, (Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1976), p. 6.

COMMUNITY CONTROL

In the late 1960's, there was a movement toward increased citizen involvement and citizen participation in government. Additionally, there was an increased desire on the part of parents to be involved in the running of schools. The roots of each was a high level of dissatisfaction with the status quo in government and service delivery.

The idea of community control of the urban school is probably one of the most controversial aspects of the community school concept. Community control of schools is thought by some to mean the abdication of responsibility by the principal, the school board, and the teachers, with all power falling to the parent and the community. The proponents of this view hold that if all power, including economic control, belong to the community, the idea of the teacher as a competent professional becomes void. Teachers would be hired and fired on the basis of the sometimes unrealistic desires of the community.¹⁰ Also educational inequities could occur as teachers, in fear of losing their jobs, allow classroom discipline to disappear. Or, as various communities direct their schools in different curriculum areas, "basic educational requirements and standards", (reading, writing and math skills), may be discarded.

The idea of community control of schools, as presented above, is threatening to the present power structure. This is not, however, the intent of the community school concept. Community schools do expect that communities will have a certain amount of control in particular areas but will share power with the school.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION

Community education, another concept related to the community school idea, is concerned with fulfilling the learning or educational needs of the entire community, not just children. Community education programs include, adult education, pre-natal classes, sex education for teenagers, parenting classes, and any other learning opportunities which the community wishes to experience. In short, community education, responds to the

10. Cooper-Maltby, New Directions for Education, p. 159.

community's desire or need for educational opportunities.

"Community education is a philosophical concept which serves the entire community by providing for all of the educational needs of all of its community members."¹¹

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development, which can be accomplished through or assisted by community education, is the process whereby a community becomes able to articulate its needs. As a community develops, it should be able to define its needs and propose solutions to satisfy them.

The community development process takes a long time. The diverse population of the community must find solutions to overwhelming personal problems which serve to isolate individuals. The individuals must also come to see themselves as a group of persons with similar issues of importance in their lives. They must perceive a common goal toward which they are striving. The identification of specific community issues and their resolution is often a first step in community development.

The manner in which the three concepts of community control, community education and community development relate, is in the idea of the community school. The community school is the coordinator of community education programs and the vehicle through which community control is exercised.

The community school must evolve from forces within the community. Area residents must recognize some common goals and must be willing to strive for things together. The community school can only be defined in relation to the community that it serves. Whether it will be a school which offers adult classes in English, or mountain climbing, after school sports or study sessions for children, or "Saturday Family Days," are decisions which are made by each community. It is important not to constrain the community school's development or program with rigid rules of

¹¹. Jack D. Minzey & Clyde Lee Tarte. Community Education from Program to Progress, (Midland: Pendell Publishing, 1972), p. 19.

operation. The only rule of the community school is that it have as few as rules as possible, so that it remains flexible and able to respond to community needs. It must be able to develop in the direction which the community wants to go.

"The community school concept supplies a broad view of the functions of the school, of the school day and year, of the curriculum, and of the student body. Embodied in this concept is the idea that school facilities are available for use all day long and for all 52 weeks of the year. It is also understood that school facilities are available for use by people of all ages, races, and creeds."¹²

THE INNER CITY AND THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

The problems of the inner city which relate to housing are addressed in most government programs. The social problems of unemployment, welfare, or single parents, for example, are also targeted for solution in government programs. What these programs fail to do, however, is to revitalize the failing social institutions which are also essential to the health of urban neighbourhoods. In Winnipeg, the movement toward the development of community schools is an example of the effort of urban neighbourhoods to revitalize their failing institutions. "Common efforts to revitalize local neighbourhoods include food co-ops, neighbourhood day care, and the community school movement."¹³

The community school model's potential to respond to the inner city situation makes it a plausible vehicle for inner city education. The inner city population is composed of poor persons, single parent families, ethnic minorities, transient families, and other persons with social or physical limitations. Teachers, traditionally, are from the middle-class and may lack

12. Fred Totten & Frank J. Manley, The Community School, (Galen, Mi.: Allied Educational Council, 1969), p.1.

13. Donald W. Oliver, Education & Community. (Beckeley-McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1976), p. 12.

an understanding of the lifestyle of the children they are trying to teach.

"Once the teacher has become familiar with the inner city lifestyle, he may then "know", how to do things,...

and

it has already been argued that for inner city situations the community schools seem to be an essential first step."¹⁴

The teacher needs a firm understanding of the child's environment in order to be able to develop program and methods which will reach that child. For example, in a family which periodically relocates within the city during the course of the school year, the children "lose," each time they change schools. In some cases, children move from school A to B, and are then transferred from school B to C, and before the end of the school year are returned to school A. Such children have special problems which cannot be accommodated in the traditional school model based on the single grade class which proceeds through a given amount of learning material per year regardless of the individual level of students.

The working single parent, usually living in the inner city for economic reasons, may have to leave a child alone from morning until five or six o'clock in the evening. This child, in the traditional school system where the doors are not open until 8:50 and the school closes at 3:45 is left unattended at home or outside in the cold. These children are also unattended during the lunch hour. The special problems of this family may effect this child's performance in school. The needs of this child for adult supervision and companionship, a hot lunch, or after school snack, are not accommodated in the traditional 9 to 4 school situation.

The ethnic minority family often predominant in inner city areas, may not have a good command of English. The language most frequently spoken at home may be something other than

14. MacIver in Issues in Education, p. 139.

English. How does this child cope with English speaking teachers, classmates, and written English? Also, certain aspects of this child's culture may make it difficult for him to fully utilize the school system, as in some ethnic groups where the oldest child is expected to assume responsibility for the younger ones. If one of the younger children is ill, the oldest child may be expected to stay home and assist. The traditional school system may not be able to determine why the child is absent and if known, may not be able to do anything about it. In a more flexible system, instead of threatening the parents because they are violating the law by keeping their child home, a social worker may be involved to help the family understand the culture of their new country.

The inner city also has an acute need for recreational space. "The few existing community schools arise from the evident waste of community resources during the 18 hours when the school is not processing its primary clients."¹⁵ The school building with its outside play yard, in the community school model, could be used at night, on weekends, and throughout the summer, to provide additional recreational opportunities for inner city residents. The need for recreational space in the inner city community is critical, and therefore more intensive use should be made of available facilities and space - e.g. the school building and yard.

The community school is concerned with the well-being of the student, his parents and the community. Therefore, the school becomes a resource facility that will deal with problems whose symptoms are reflected in the school. It is the function, purpose, and desire of the community school model to determine and provide for the needs of the community. But, there are certain problems with the transposition of the community school model to an inner city area.

1. The community school requires a strong community in order to operate;
2. The principal is a key actor in the community school for he must make the community feel welcome;

15. Op. Cit., Olsen, Edge on Community Education, p. 10.

3. The school facility must be designed so that the community does not interfere or disrupt the regular school activities;
4. Community schools could become quite parochial in their outlook and hence become just as repressive to the individual as the traditional school.
5. In communities where assistance is needed to help the community organize - this assistance must be free to the community and come from individuals without prejudice or values. They must truly be willing to help the community develop its own self-image.

The major weakness of the community school model is that its development must come from within the community. The natural assumption then is that the model will only work in those inner city neighbourhoods which have some remaining local organizations and strength. Actually, though, it is probably time that the school was viewed as part of an integrated whole.

Inner city housing programs focus on restoration of a physical type. Social service programs focus on the provision of care or service. What may be needed is a coordinated focus; programs that aim at the revitalization of the inner city, in the physical sense and also aim at the restoration of neighbourhood social institutions. These programs would aim broadly at community development which is an essential first step for the development of community schools. The Fort Rouge project discussed later in this paper, sets as a goal, community development of the area in preparation for introduction of the community school concept.

WINNIPEG INNER CITY SCHOOLS

The inner city of Winnipeg, as other urban inner city areas, has essentially lower incomes, more single families, more native Canadians, and hence more social - psychological and physical problems than the city as a whole. An educational structure that does not recognize these factors will not provide adequate service to the community. The Winnipeg School Board has recognized the unique nature of the inner city student and has established an "Inner City Advisory Committee", to recommend programs and methods for dealing with the inner city school. This committee issued a report in February of 1977 recommending

that schools with the following characteristics should be given extra financial and general resource help. The criteria, unlike the earlier definition of the inner city, did not have a spatial component but examined the social fabric and isolated the following six characteristics:

- "1) Income of area - 25% or more below median income of the city
- 2) Turnover of school - 35% or greater
- 3) Single parent families - 10% or greater
- 4) Unemployment of area - 10% or greater
- 5) Heads of families with below grade 10 education level - 50% or greater
- 6) Population of School - 40% or more - from public housing." 16

The characteristics, themselves of a sociological nature, reflect upon the previous statement in this report that the school is an urban social institution. Therefore, changes in the social fabric of the area and breakdowns in the social institutions create a problem cycle that is difficult to break.

The school cannot hope to solve the problems of the inner city. It is just one of a group of actors who must be involved. The better the school can tailor education to meet the needs of inner city children, the closer it comes to fulfilling its role as a responsive urban.

In order to help the inner city schools, the advisory committee recommended additional funds be granted, to allow for the development of special programs to meet the inner city needs. The school board ranked all of its elementary schools according to the above mentioned criteria. Those schools having six to four of the above characteristics were classified as inner city schools. (Only one school had all six, three had only five and three had only four). Schools with three characteristics were classified as "core area" schools. (There were eight schools in this category). The schools with one or two characteristics were termed "fringe inner city". (There were nine schools in this category).

16. Inner City Advisory Committee Report No. 393, Feb. 15, 1977.

The recommendations as put forth by the Inner City Advisory Committee, would guarantee that those schools so designated as inner city or core would receive extra resources.

The Provincial Department of Education was also aware of particular problems related to inner city schools. To try to attack these problems, the board created the Community Assessment Program, (C.A.P.), and the Schools for Urban Neighbourhoods, (S.U.N.), programs.

THE COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT PROGRAM - (CAP)

The Community Assessment Program developed by the Department of Education was designed to increase community participation in education. It was felt that the problem-plagued population of the inner city, could make better use of an educational program where they had input into its development. The program was developed to deal with those student populations in schools which had high turnover rates, in neighbourhoods with higher than 10% unemployment, many single parent families, and low educational levels, below-average incomes, and large numbers of native Canadians.

The stated program objective was "to develop the processes, resources, programs, structures, and local leadership: 1) The community becomes a resource to enhance the schools educational process. 2) The school becomes a resource to assist in meeting community needs. 3) The school and community are able to co-operatively make decisions in an advisory capacity."¹⁷

The CAP was to provide funds to hire local residents as teacher-community aides. The role of these aides was to be defined by the principal of the school. It was hoped that by bringing local residents into the school as staff, an increased understanding would flow to the community. To achieve this, the aides were to perform community outreach tasks. This included home visits to parents and also serving as liason between parents and teachers, as necessary.

In sum, the CAP program was designed to initiate community use of school facilities, to encourage the use of volunteers in the

17. Community Assessment Program information sheet from the Provincial Department of Education.

school, and to make the community feel welcome to participate and contribute to the school.

The Department of Education feels that this program has been a success in alleviating some inner-city educational and community problems.¹⁸ The program, by hiring area residents was to provide employment and training for unemployed or under-employed local residents. The small size of the program and its limited life-span, did not allow it to reach as many people as it should have.

In those areas where the program operated, significant changes in the role of the community in the school occurred. Parents did learn to understand and deal effectively with the school and school staff gained a new respect for neighbourhood residents. The CAP program, through the use of Community outreach procedures was able to ascertain and make known the desires of area residents in reference to the school. As with most programs designed for a specific target group, the timetable of the program does not reflect the time needed to do the job, nor does the funding reflect the true scope of the problem. Programs such as CAP must try to reach more of the problem in order to really assess their true potential.

SCHOOLS FOR URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS - (SUN)

The objectives of the SUN program, although similar to the CAP, was more limited in the number of schools involved. The SUN program was only tried in three schools and each of those, as a prerequisite, had to be part of a designated Neighbourhood Improvement Program (N.I.P.)¹⁹ area.

The goal of the SUN program was to also make the school more relevant to the community it served. The method employed was to hire a "Community Education Worker" for each school. This staff person's role was to organize the community so that it could articulate its needs through a chosen resident committee.

18. Personal assessment by Provincial Education Department employee involved in the program.

19. For discussion of NIP programs see Donald Epstein, "Toward Neighbourhood Improvement: Policy Development and Program Recommendations, Housing Innovation & Neighbourhood Improvement, Donald Epstein, ed., (Winnipeg: IUS, 1974).

The SUN program was designed to last three years. It was thought that by that time, resident groups could survive without the assistance of the community worker.

The SUN program is due to end in January 1978, and although a final assessment has yet to be made, of the two Winnipeg Schools in the SUN program, both have developed a community school program.

OTHER WINNIPEG SCHOOL BOARD PROGRAMS

The Winnipeg School Division has, in addition to taking advantage of provincial programs, established or taken advantage of some other programs.

The division has a program for teaching English As a Second Language, (ESL). The funding for this program is shared by the province and the division. The division also shares the cost of community workers, and "native aides" in some schools. Additionally, the division has recently developed a policy paper concerning the development of community schools throughout the division.

The CAP and SUN programs were designed to motivate and stimulate the community to participate in the school and to use school facilities. The community involvement model as put forward by the Winnipeg School division is interested too, in joint use and joint input into the educational program.

The Winnipeg School division and the Provincial Department of Education, both seem to realize the importance and value of community involvement in education. The SUN and CAP programs of the Provincial Department were instrumental in helping many communities become involved in their schools.

WINNIPEG COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

THE WILLIAM WHYTE COMMUNITY SCHOOL²⁰

William Whyte Community School, at 200 Powers St. in Winnipeg, has a school population of approximately 500 students. It is located in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic community in Winnipeg's North End. The school had a high turnover rate, many students with a minimal knowledge of the English language, and many single parent and social allowance families.

"In 1974 the community, with no prior history of involvement, organized to obtain a new, much needed, school facility."²¹ Also at the time a new principal came to the school, who was interested in the community school concept. The fact that residents were able to organize for the issue of a new school, indicated that they could probably continue this level of involvement if encouraged.

In the fall of 1974 a community liaison worker, paid by the Research and Planning Branch of the Department of Education, was working half-time at William Whyte School. Some parents were involved in the classroom as volunteers since the principal, John Montieth was encouraging parent involvement.

In January 1975, the CAP started to operate at William Whyte. This program helped further organize the community so that in May of 1975, parents in the community approached the school board to designate William Whyte as a Community School.

The school board approved the designation and thus "formalized a commitment by both staff and the surrounding area residents

20. William Whyte Community School staff, et. al. William Whyte Community School. Winnipeg: 1977.

21. Authors Note: The new school facility has a gymnasium which was built under the joint use agreement between the City of Winnipeg and the Winnipeg School Division. In this way, better school and community facilities were provided than either separate agency could have provided.

to the new direction. Moreover, it crystallized in the minds of staff and community alike, the concept of a community school, and provided a focus for activities relating to the attainment of the objective contained herein."²²

William Whyte is also classified as an inner city school by the school board, because it has five of the six characteristics of inner city schools as set out (on page 26) in this report. Since the school has been operating as a community school, it has been able to respond to the needs of area residents in a positive manner, and residents have responded to the school in an equally positive manner.

"At first glance it seems unusual that a school in this deprived neighbourhood - an area plagued with the social ills of unemployment, social allowance, inadequate housing, economic disparities and enough radical groups to form a mini-United Nations, should have such a positive atmosphere within its walls."²³

But it has happened and is working.

SHAUGHNESSY PARK COMMUNITY SCHOOL²⁴

The Shaughnessy Park Community School is located at 164 Manitoba Avenue in Winnipeg, on the northwest side of the city.

The Shaughnessy Park community, unlike William Whyte, did have a history of community involvement on issues. In 1968 the community was organized to obtain a new recreational facility, which was opened in June 1975 as part of the Shaughnessy Park Community School.

22. William Whyte Evaluation Committee. Report of the Evaluation Committee on the William Whyte Community School. Winnipeg: June, 1976.

23. Op Cit. William Whyte Community School. pg. 5.

24. Rosenberg, Stephen et al. Shaughnessy Park Community School. Winnipeg: 1976.

Shaughnessy Park is also classified as a core city school by the division, and as such has three of the six characteristics (see page 26, this report). It was a participant in CAP and was thus entitled to a community worker paid by the Department of Education. This worker was instrumental in helping to develop additional community programs, and in obtaining funding and more community support for continuance of programs.

Shaughnessy Park is one of the largest elementary schools in Winnipeg with 770 students and became a community school during the 1975-76 school year. This has meant the continued involvement of parents in the school, and the continuous innovation of the school program to fit the needs of the community.

OTHER WINNIPEG COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

Also in Winnipeg are several community schools starting or in progress that will be mentioned briefly here in this report. These are all elementary schools, with the exception of Tyndall Park.

DUFFERIN SCHOOL

This school, located in North Central Winnipeg, has one of the highest student turnover rates in Winnipeg School Division 1. It is classified as an inner city school, with five of the six characteristics and was a participant in the SUN program. The school enrollment was 325 as of December, 1977.

KING EDWARD

This school, with an enrollment of 375 students, is classified as a core area school in the West End of Winnipeg. This school is still in the process of organizing as a community school and was part of CAP in January 1975.

DAVID LIVINGSTON SCHOOL

This is the only school in the division with all six of the characteristics of inner city schools, as listed on page 26 of this report. This school is part of CAP and is also receiving some additional resources from the division in an attempt to help the students. David Livingston school, located in North Central Winnipeg, operates as a community

school but is still organizing a final operating format. The enrollment at the school is approximately 420 students.

MACHRAY SCHOOL

Machray school, an operational community school, has an enrollment of 416 students, and is located in North Central Winnipeg. This school also has five of the six inner city characteristics.

TYNDALL PARK COMMUNITY SCHOOL

This school is located in a new section of town and the catchment area abuts the Shaughnessy Park Community School Area. This is a new Junior high and high school to serve the residents of new housing developments in the area. This school is due to open by September 1978, with a projected enrollment of 603 students.

The above discussion and presentation of various community schools, probably does not cover all of the schools where parents and the community are working with the school to make it more clearly meet their needs. The communities mentioned in this section, though, have some things in common concerning their structure or relationship to the school board. But, the major element of each is that the resultant school was an outgrowth of parental and community involvement. Some of the communities involved in the school, had initial organizational help from CAP or SUN workers, but they were able to become self-sustaining.

Many of the community schools discussed above have not had an official assessment of the impact of their new method of operation. Shaughnessy Park and William Whyte schools were both assessed, with the help of the Provincial Department of Education. The assessment focused on the organizational aspects of the schools. No evidence of increased test scores or such was presented. The reports focused mostly on the improved attitude of area residents and students towards their school. This improved attitude served to better teacher/parent and student/teacher relationships which in themselves can seriously affect the quality of the educational experience.

Some people may feel that the community school model might result in a loss of control or an increase in the workload. Most community school workers, teachers and principals, however, feel that these fears are unfounded. In fact, people who work in or are associated with community schools usually feel that it is a worthwhile and enjoyable experience. The community school, by definition, is a partnership of parents, teachers, and the community working together to make the school building and the educational experience of value to them.

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL MODEL IN A REVITALIZING AREA

Fort Rouge has been described as a revitalizing area. Changes are taking place at a rapid rate in such areas in the characteristics of the population and land usage. Most of the community schools presently operating in Winnipeg are located in declining or slightly stable inner city areas. The school population in each case is in excess of 300 pupils. The original organization of the school was accomplished with help from the provincial government or the Winnipeg School Division, in the form of teacher or community aides. (The principal is allowed to define these workers role and therefore, include community outreach activities in their job descriptions.)

The schools eligible for school division or provincial grants are those having three to four of the inner city characteristics listed previously. Schools in the revitalizing neighbourhood, the area that has not totally deteriorated, are not included for grants and thus organization in these areas is very difficult to accomplish. Either parents must devote many hours in the initial stages, or community workers must be hired using funding sources other than the Department of Education or the School Division, to help with initial organization.

In schools where SUN and CAP programs operate, the development of the community school is not automatic. The impetus must come from the parents. That impetus may take the form of an expression, to the community worker, of a desire to meet the teacher or principal of the school. It may be a desire to see what equipment the child is describing at home as being part of the gym class. It could be a hidden desire on the part of a parent to be able to read better, or speak English better in order to help the child with school work. These are some of

the more covert indications that parents want to be more involved in the school. In some inner city communities, the impetus for community involvement may surface more dramatically with the threatened closing of a small neighbourhood school, as was the case in Fort Rouge.¹

Fort Rouge offers a unique opportunity for study. It is unique because of the wide diversity of its population and the influx of families and upper-middle class elements into the community. This new population is partially able to organize and articulate needs. This group of parents is able to see the need for the local school to be able to respond to the diversity that is its community.

HISTORY OF FORT ROUGE SCHOOL

The Fort Rouge School is located at 120 Mayfair Avenue in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The school is a small facility with six classrooms, a library, multi-purpose room, medical room and office space. The school has approximately one acre of recreational space on three sides and parking spaces for ten cars on the remaining side.

In 1976, the enrollment at the school had declined, to the point where the school board was considering closing the school in June, 1977, and transferring the children to other schools in the area. The parents fought against this decision and won a temporary victory - the school remained open for the year. A side victory of the battle was the origination of

1. This information was gleaned from interviews with parents, and present workers in the Fort Rouge Community, some of whom were direct replacements for the original grant staff.

the Fort Rouge Community School Project. This project was designed not only to assist the parents' future involvement in the running of their school, but to also help the community to develop a voice with which to articulate its particular needs and concerns in many different areas.

Area residents, operating as community leaders in the school battle, looked to their MLA for possible funding sources. Through the efforts of these involved residents and the MLA, the Fort Rouge Community School project applied for operating funds under the Local Initiatives Program (LIP).

THE FORT ROUGE PROJECT

The Fort Rouge Community School Project received funds and commenced operation in November 1976. It employed three people and was funded under the LIP grant. In the grant application, the stated objectives of the program were: to establish "programs with emphasis on 'Lunch and Afternoon Child Care', Adult Education and programs that involve senior citizens". Also, people in the Fort Rouge Area had expressed a need for programs concerning Health Services, Legal Aid and Information on Urban Housing which the project hoped to fulfill. Of the above stated objectives in November 1976, the Fort Rouge LIP project achieved some, and modified and added others as new community needs were realized.

At its inception the project had some difficulty establishing itself in the area. Two of the original staff members lived in the Fort Rouge area but not necessarily in the area serviced by the school, which was the focus of the project. None of the original staff members were parents of children at the Fort Rouge School. The staff often clashed with staff of other social service agencies in the area. Many events were offered without community consultation or input and thus were poorly attended or unattended.

In a series of early "get together" sessions which included social service staff, teachers and the principal from Fort Rouge School, and some parents, the project staff were often abusive and unsympathetic. The social service workers and school staff were often accused of being inept at their jobs.² The Fort Rouge Project was off to a very stormy start. They had alienated social service staff and residents of the area.

In January of 1977, a reorganization of the project staff was carried out. Two of the original staff members left the project and a new co-ordinator was hired. It was necessary to try to re-establish contacts with existing social service staff in the community along with school staff. All of the new staff lived in the Fort Rouge Area and one staff member had a child attending Fort Rouge School and therefore had had some contact previously with both the staff and the principal of the school.

As early as February of 1977 the community staff had organized activities and were distributing a monthly newsletter. Cub scouts, babysitting training, women's exercise class, and Saturday afternoon movies, were some of the scheduled activities. Also, plans were being made for a Crafts Bazaar to be held in April. The organizer for this event was one of the parents who had been involved in the fight to keep the school open.

2. This information was gleaned from interviews with parents, and present workers in the Fort Rouge Community, some of whom were direct replacements for the original grant staff.

On the surface, it would appear that the project had made progress in providing programs for the residents of Fort Rouge. But the project itself had problems.

The original title for the project was Fort Rouge Community School Project. But a community school, as defined earlier assumes use of the school facility. The Fort Rouge workers were unable to use the school facility. In fact, project workers never saw a community school as part of their mandate. They felt their job was strictly community development.

At the time the project was conceived, enrollment at the school was declining, (see enrollment history following page). By November of 1976 enrollment was 150, up from a low of 113 in May 1976. The school has grades nursery through 6, and five classrooms. There are offices for the principal, her secretary, the maintenance staff and a teachers' lounge area. In short the school facility, did not have any space to give over for use by the project workers. The project did not have physical space from which to carry-on its activities. Therefore, the activities and workers were scattered throughout the community at three different sites: Mayfair Park, the Fort Rouge School, and the Fort Rouge Information and Resource Center.

The school provided the locus for some of those activities which occurred outside of school hours and the lunch program, but Mayfair Park was the major center for the project's activities. The Mayfair Park site, a small park with two full tennis courts and a basketball or volleyball court, had been a little used facility. The building on the site, is owned by the Parks and Recreation Department of the City of Winnipeg, but is not obviously identified as such. The building contained some equipment such as tennis and volleyball nets, bathrooms and one large room for changing into hockey skates and equipment. The site was most frequently used in the winter when the tennis courts were converted to hockey rinks.

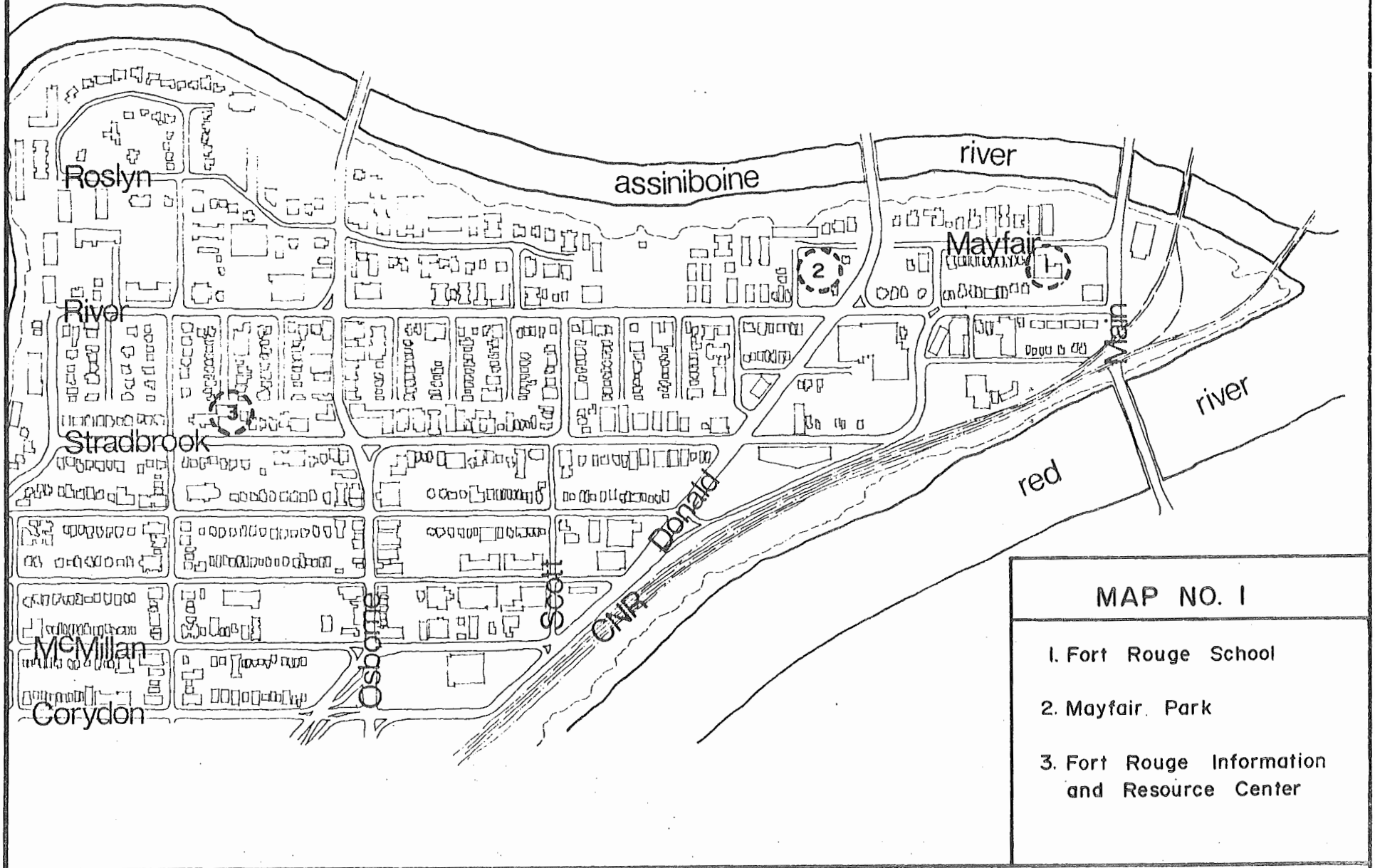
The project workers, while scheduling activities at Mayfair Park and at the Fort Rouge School, had office space at the Fort Rouge Information and Resource Center. (See map on page 42 for exact location of these facilities.)

TABLE 1
FORT ROUGE SCHOOL
Enrollment

Year	Month.	Total (at end of Month)
1975	Sept.	119
	Oct.	123
	Nov.	122
	Dec.	125
1976	Jan.	119
	Feb.	121
	Mar.	126
	Apr.	119
	May	113
	June	116
	Sept.	163
	Oct.	157
	Nov.	150
	Dec.	145
1977	Jan.	145
	Feb.	145
	Mar.	144
	Apr.	133
	May	132
	June	123
	Sept.	116
	Oct.	106
	Nov.	109
	Dec.	106

Source: Fort Rouge School Principal
 Mrs. Slaughter, official school enrollment figures
 for 1975 - 1977.

LOCATION OF PROJECT STAFF AND ACTIVITY CENTERS



The project's work as viewed by project coordinators and resource people*, was to develop the Fort Rouge School as a community school. The project workers, though, feel that their task was more a community development function. They concentrated on developing programs, some of which would operate from the school such as "Lunch and After 4", and others which would operate at other community facilities, which would fulfill certain needs of the community. The school facility, as a long standing community focal point and also a facility through which contact could be made with the parents of the one hundred or so pupils, was viewed by the project staff as a useful facility but not as the primary focus of their work. The limitations of the facility and the fact that project staff viewed their role as community development, moved the staff to seek office space at other community sites.

The Community School Concept, has a major tenant, the use of the school facility by all community residents as a community resource. In the Fort Rouge case, the facility was not adaptable for extensive use by the community. For many of the community project's programs and activities, other community facilities were better suited, e.g. Mayfair Park. The project staff felt that initially, the principal and staff were not very supportive of their efforts in the school. Conversations with the principal of the school, reveal that she does not agree with the idea of a community school imposed upon a community from outside, nor does she feel that a community school - as described in the William Whyte experience - is a viable alternative for this area. The problems of Fort Rouge and any other area must be seen as unique individuals. Indeed, the transposition of the community school concept or any other may be inappropriate for a particular area. The community and the school staff must, in concert, determine needs, and develop programs to fulfill those needs.

The principal and school staffs' attitude is very important in the development of community schools or any other specific program for a community. The Fort Rouge School was a traditional school,** where formal parent-teacher interviews were the usual circumstances under which parents met with teachers. Although parents could call or come by the school, this was seldom done.

* Dr. David Walker, professor at the University of Winnipeg and Dr. Lloyd Axworthy, Director, Institute of Urban Studies and MLA for the area.

** Based on an assessment of the school from several parents of children in the school, and project workers, and others involved in the community school movement in Winnipeg.

The project staff who were involved in supervision of the lunch program, which brought them in daily contact with the principal and school staff, felt uncomfortable in the school, particularly at the start. These feelings softened, yet the staff said that they did not feel completely welcome or accepted in the school during this time.

In spite of the limitations of the school site, the project offered many worthwhile and well attended activities in addition to the daily lunch program. To follow is a schedule and explanation of the various activities offered by the Fort Rouge Community School Project staff and volunteers.

FORT ROUGE COMMUNITY SCHOOL PROJECT SCHEDULE OF ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMS

For the months of February through April, a record of all scheduled events, the attendance, participation, and comments from the staff were recorded. Also in the month of April, the authors of this report attended nearly every event as "participant-observers".³ (During the month of May, the staff was in the process of turning over their duties to volunteers in the community because their LIP grant funding was due to end on June 10, 1977. Therefore a close record of events and attendance was not kept.)

1. THE LUNCH PROGRAM

One of the main objectives of the project was to provide a "Lunch and After Program". Many children whose parents worked were without supervision during the noon lunch hour. Some would go to nearby restaurants and then stand outside until the school re-opened. The school needed an alternative for these children, so the lunch program was started. The project staff had notices sent home with the school children announcing the start of the program. Parents were encouraged to volunteer their time, if possible, to help with noontime supervision. The staff decided that the lunch program would be open to any student who came with his lunch, whether his parents worked or not. The major problem with this system was that the staff had no way of knowing how many children would show up on a

3. This sociological method for gathering data requires that the person who gathers the data becomes a part of, and participate in, the life of the study group.

particular day. On one day in February, there were 49 children, almost twice the average of 29 children on a given day in February.

Following is a daily attendance chart for the lunch program in February and March, (which were two of the coldest months in one of the coldest winters in Winnipeg history). Yet on March 10th and March 15th, not very cold days, in excess of 40 children stayed for lunch, and the project worker was at a loss to explain why.

TABLE 2
Lunch & After Attendance

	February		March	
	Date	No. of Children	Date	No. of Children
Tuesday	1	29	1	33
Wednesday	2	33	2	35
Thursday	3	29	3	33
Friday	4	26	4	34
Monday	7	26	7	29
Tuesday	8	31	8	29
Wednesday	9	30	9	35
Thursday	10	30	10	43
Friday	11	27	11	31
Monday	14	21	14	33
Tuesday	15	29	15	40
Wednesday	16	27	16	38
Thursday	17	29	17	35
Friday	18	No school	18	23
Monday	21	32	21	32
Tuesday	22	49	22	20
Wednesday	23	36	23	22
Thursday	24	No school	24	23
Friday	25	27	25	
Monday	28	30		

SPRING BREAK

The staff had originally conceived of their role as not merely a custodial one, although that was the primary need of many of the students during the lunch hour. They had hoped to arrange physical and craft-type activities for the noon hour, plus tutorial help if desired. This was never accomplished, and the staff member in charge of the program, felt that the space which the school provided for the lunch program, the gym, was too difficult to work in. One staff member complained there were no tables and chairs for lunch, so students had to sit and eat on the floor or on a window seat which runs the length of the gym. It was difficult to keep order under those circumstances, or to encourage the use of good table manners. The children started running and playing as soon as they were finished eating. Each day the students were taken outside for the last fifteen or thirty minutes of the lunch period to run and play.

Although the lunch program served a real school/community need, the staff of the project were disappointed with the types of activities they could add to their custodial role because of limitations of the facility. Also, none of the parents volunteered time to help with the lunch program, although the good attendance indicates that this was a needed program.

2. AFTER SCHOOL AND SATURDAY RECREATION ACTIVITIES FOR CHILDREN

In addition to the lunch program, an after school and weekend recreational activity program schedule was maintained.

The project workers felt that many of the area children who were unattended during lunch hour, were still without parental supervision after school because in some cases working parents could not possibly arrive home until after six o'clock. Also because of the lack of recreational space in the neighbourhood, many youth simply stood about on the streets with nothing to do and no place to go.

After school and weekend activities were organized to include both the young children attending Fort Rouge School and teenagers in the area. Since the project started in the winter, most of the initial activities were indoor games and entertainment. The staff made one serious error in starting the after

school program at 4:00. The students were released from school at 3:30 and most had left the area by the time the workers had arrived.

a. MOVIES

The project scheduled movies for each Saturday from 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. The attendance was good but poor planning on the part of the staff in setting prices and determining cost, forced the movies to be cancelled because they were uneconomical.

b. CUBS

Prior to the project, there were no cub scout troops in the area. The Cub Scouts of Canada were willing to train troupe leaders, if the project could find parent volunteers. The parents and children were very enthusiastic and the Cub Scout troop is continuing to operate from the Fort Rouge School.

c. FLOOR HOCKEY

This activity was originally planned as coed, for 14 to 18 year-olds. The game was scheduled for 7:30 - 9:30 on Thursday, in the Fort Rouge School gym. This usually had twenty or more players. The games were fast, lively, and well received. This activity was probably one of the major events to involve the teens in the Fort Rouge Project.

d. AFTER 4 GAMES & CRAFTS

The main thrust of this activity was to provide some organized games for the school age children after school. The major problem the staff encountered was poor attendance because the students were released at 3:30 and by the time staff had arrived, at 3:45 or 4:00, most youngsters had left. Also, notes were required for the children to remain at school, so that the parents assumed responsibility for their safe arrival home. Many notes were never returned, but the staff did not feel that it could simply turn children away, so home visits, phone calls, and additional notes were sent home.

Board games, drawing and clay modeling activities were some of the activities offered after school.

As the weather began to warm up, many wintertime indoor activities were exchanged, where possible, for outdoor activities, and passive winter games were exchanged for more active pursuits.

e. EASTER EGG HUNT

A Saturday morning event at Mayfair Park, was attended by 40 to 50 children from the area.

f. PAINT-IN

This event was scheduled for the younger children (7-3 yrs.) while the older children (8-12 yrs.) had a bike swap. What actually occurred was that all of the children who came, painted. Large sheets of paper were attached to the outside of the building and a communal mural was painted.

g. TEEN DANCE

Once the teen-agers became involved in the floor hockey, they had monthly meetings to decide what sort of activities they were interested in and often these meetings led to dances being held. Most were well attended and chaperoned by parents and staff, and were held at the Mayfair Park building.

h. TREASURE HUNT

Arranged for, what turned out to be a nice Saturday, weather-wise, at the park, this activity was well attended - 39 participants, 3 staff and 7 adults.

The above is by no means all of the youth activities offered. Some activities were offered but no one showed up. Other activities, started well but attendance dwindled as the weather became warmer.

3. ADULT ACTIVITIES

The Fort Rouge Project faced a real problem in trying to organize and motivate the adults of the area to participate. The area contained many senior citizen residences, many single parents, (both employed and unemployed), and many persons whose first language was other than English. Some educational activities were offered in areas where the staff felt there was a need and some recreational activities were offered, in hopes of getting the adults involved. The project offered both daytime and evening activities, with children welcome and relatively inexpensive (25¢) babysitting available in the evening.

Aside from regular community meetings to plan the activity program for the coming month, the adults could be involved in:

a. ADULT CRAFTS

This was held on Thursday afternoon. It started as a quilting class but interest in other crafts was expressed. Each participant, (regularly 3 or 4 plus this author, and the instructor) was allowed to bring a project or select some craft suggested by the instructor. Each participant was then instructed to purchase the necessary materials and given instruction in her (only females attended) craft. The result was that the instructor was constantly moving about to try to control 3 different crafts at once, quilting, macrame, and crocheting. The group involved, though, was patient and willing to help each other. This activity began in March and continued until the end of April.

b. WOMENS EXERCISES

This activity, held in the evening, usually had three to seven participants. The activity was to be held at the Fort Rouge School but the facility was sometimes unavailable. This activity was dropped due to lack of space at Mayfair Park and sporadic interest.

c. COFFEE AND CONVERSATION

This activity was scheduled for Tuesday morning at Mayfair Park. The original hope was to have people drop in for coffee, just to acquaint themselves with the staff and alert the community to the fact that the building was open. This function was changed to coffee and volleyball as the weather warmed up. Usually this activity was attended by one or two regular area residents, the project staff, and this author.

d. CONVERSATIONAL ENGLISH

This class was scheduled for Monday and Wednesday evenings. There was a nominal charge for the course and the staff felt the poor attendance was due to people not wanting to pay. After three meetings this class was cancelled due to low enrollment.

In addition to the regular activities listed above for parents, some occasional courses for both children and adults were part of the program.

e. HELP WITH INCOME TAX

This class met during late March to offer community residents some aid with their taxes.

f. CAKE DECORATING

This class met twice to organize but was cancelled from lack of interest.

g. BABYSITTING TRAINING

This course was offered for the teens to help them get babysitting jobs by registering them with the project and taking the training course. This group met twice and then was discontinued. There was a lack of interest, because the project staff erred in choosing to offer this course to high school students who had usually had babysitting jobs before, or had other part-time jobs.

Some of the time, single issue meetings were scheduled such as:

h. FIRE PROTECTION MEETINGS

Residents expressed interest in learning how to protect themselves in case of fire but only seven residents showed.

i. SOUTHWEST TRANSIT CORRIDOR MEETING

The City of Winnipeg's proposed transit corridor will destroy some homes and seriously affect the quality of life in the area, so the project staff thought residents would be interested in talking to the corridor designers. Eight residents were in attendance.

j. CRAFTS BAZARR

This event was held at the Fort Rouge School with forty-one exhibitors and about 150 visitors. This event acquainted many residents in the area with the project and the school. This was probably the one event which highlighted the extent of the project's influence in the area. The project had been in operation seven months when this event was held and the turn-out of area residents, many of whom had heard of the project but not attended before, was very satisfying.

The above summary does not cover all of the activities that were offered, but it does represent the range and variety of activities which the project offered.

The Fort Rouge Community School Project did not lead to the development of a community school in Fort Rouge but the staff agrees that they did organize the community to make better use of community resources. The project ran out of funds in June, 1977. Additional funds and a new staff started work in January, 1978.

POST-PROJECT SURVEY⁴

A student at the University of Manitoba, surveyed the Fort Rouge residents to determine if the project had had any impact on the community. One hundred (100) households were contacted and sixty-nine (69) completed surveys were obtained, nineteen (19) households were not home (six or seven attempts were made), 8 households refused to answer and 4 households were vacant.

The sample was chosen from approximately 1800 listings for the area contained in Hendersons Directory 1977. The sample was selected by the use of random numbers table with numbers from 1 to 2,500. The sample was then adjusted to include apartment blocks which had originally been excluded.

4. Special thanks for this information goes to Donna Von Bergen, a graduate student in Psychology at the University of Manitoba, and her advisor, Dr. Robert Altemeyer, P.H.D., Professor of Psychology, St. John's College, University of Manitoba. All statistics were determined using the total number of respondents as the universe, so on questions where multiple answers were received, percentage totals may not equal 100%. Ms. Von Bergen chose this method to interpret her data. Questionnaire in Appendix, A.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE

TABLE 3
Age Breakdown of Sample

Age Group	Freq.	%
15 - 19	4	6%
20 - 24	17	25%
25 - 29	17	25%
30 - 34	8	12%
35 - 39	2	3%
40 - 44	2	3%
45 - 49	1	1%
50 - 54	3	4%
55 - 59	2	3%
60 - 64	1	1%
65 - 69	5	7%
70 - 74	2	3%
75 - 79	1	1%
80 - 84	2	3%
x 5	2	3%

The sample contained 35 males and 34 females. Of the 69 respondents, two (3%) were home owners. Sixty-seven or 97% were renters and only ten of the respondents had children aged sixteen (16) or under.

Most of the respondents had lived at their present address, 2 years or less, (57%). Only 25% had lived at their present address for more than 5 years. Less than half the respondents, 41%, had lived in the area for 2 years or less.

This survey was designed to assess the impact of the Fort Rouge Community Project and therefore questions were designed to determine if and how people, had heard of the project.

5. Two persons refused to answer.

The interviewees were asked if they had heard of the Fort Rouge Community Project and what they had heard. The responses were as follows:

	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>%</u>
Had not heard	37	54%
Had heard	31	45%
from family or friend	4	13%
from posted notices	11	35%
from community newspapers	16	52%
from walking by site	7	23%

People were also asked what their perception of the project was, to try and determine what general image of the project was coming across in the community. The responses were in the following categories:

	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>%</u>
Trying to build up the community	15	48%
Located at Mayfair Park and trying to get people to use it	5	15%
That the project was trying to develop the community	2	3%

It was also important to determine to what extent the people in the area were using the activities provided by the project. To determine this, they were asked in which programs they had participated. Of the total sample of 69 respondents, only eight (8) had been to any function. Of those eight, four (4) had taken advantage of the tennis courts.

The respondents were also asked for their suggestions in various areas:

What is the best way of informing the community of programs or services offered at Mayfair Park?

	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>%</u>
Leaflets	38	55%
Community Newspapers	24	35%
City Newspapers	14	21%
Television and radio	11	16%
Notices in buildings	11	16%

What improvements would you like to see in this neighbourhood?

	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>%</u>
No response	28	41%
Traffic noise and train	17	25%
Area unkempt	9	13%
Run down buildings	8	12%
Drunk people on street and going through garbage	6	9%
Need more trees and green areas	5	7%
Other (including needing traffic lights, lack of parking, too many high rises, unsupervised children, noise of neighbors parties)	11	16%

When asked what they liked about the neighbourhood the respondents cited the following:

	<u>Freq.</u>	<u>%</u>
Central location	48	70%
Trees, parks, river	28	41%
Characters of area (nice houses, old buildings, quiet)	23	33%
Good transportation and bus service	15	22%
Friendly people and variety of people	13	19%
Lower taxes	2	3%
No response	8	12%

All the respondents were asked if there were particular services or activities which they would like to see in the Mayfair Park facility, and would they help to organize such an activity:

	<u>Use Service</u>		<u>Help Organize</u>	
	<u>F</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>%</u>
Babysitting service	8	12%	3	4%
Childrens activities	3	4%	2	3%
Lunch program	2	3%	—	

	Use Service		Help Organize	
	F	%	F	%
Adult Activities				
Bingo	11	16%	14	20%
Cooking	7	10%		
Bridge	5	7%		
Crafts	7	10%		
Gardening	13	19%		
Mother-Tot times	4	6%		
Senior Citizen Activities	2	3%	12	17%
Community events	34	49%		
Dances	20	29%		
Picnics	22	32%		
Festivals	26	38%		
Community issues	34	49%	14	20%
Sports Activities	11	16%	3	4%
Other	6	9%	2	3%

The post project survey presents a demographic profile of a population that has few children under 16 and a large proportion of renters. Also, 50% of the population is between 20 and 29 years of age, which would indicate a high percentage of students, singles, and young marrieds. The area population does not include a high percentage of families with children.

Of the people surveyed, 45% had heard of the project but only 12% had ever attended any of the activities. Of the 45% who had heard of the project, 35% had gotten their information from community newspapers, and 55% had gotten their information from leaflets. Most of the project's advertising was done using leaflets and newspapers because it was the least expensive. Since 45% of the survey respondents had heard of the project advertised in this manner, it would appear that this method was a suitable way to reach the community.

CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE FORT ROUGE COMMUNITY PROJECT

The post project survey, highlighted the fact that many area residents had heard of the community project and had noticed the increased activity at Mayfair Park, but had declined to become involved. Community organizing is often a very slow process. Even though residents clearly wanted and might have participated in certain activities, few were willing to work in those activity areas. To develop a self-sustaining resident community group, was one task which the Fort Rouge workers set for themselves. To this end, they were able to get volunteer staff elected to maintain the Mayfair Park building at the end of their grant period. The workers felt that this was one of their greatest accomplishments.

In evaluating any activity, it is important to consider the stated goals and objectives of the activity. The Fort Rouge workers, at no time felt that they were going to establish a community school, even though that was the stated intent of the project coordinators - Dr. David Walker and Dr. L. Axworthy. The staff did feel that in the course of developing programs and activities, they could provide needed services to the community.

The Fort Rouge workers, in setting tasks, focused firstly on establishing services for the parents and students of Fort Rouge School. The "Lunch and After School Program," was designed specifically to meet the needs of this group. It was realized that during this program, older youth would be standing about outside the school. These youth tried to disrupt activities with shouts and rocks and in one case several school windows were broken.

The project workers, recognizing that these youth had no activities to fill their after school hours, invited them to participate in the activities and started programs which would include them. One such activity was Floor Hockey, held on Thursday evenings at the school. Many of the teenagers were eager to help with the younger children and to arrange games and activities to be included in the after school programs. Periodically, dances were held by the teenage youth for younger children.

The community served by the Fort Rouge School contained certain active and viable community groups or resource facilities: the Stradbrook Senior Citizens Center, the River - Osbourne

Association, St Lukes Church and Fort Rouge Co-op Nursery, Augustine United Church and the River Avenue Co-op Nursery Inc., and the Children of Tomorrow School of Survival.* The project staff made contact with most of these organizations and tried to determine what areas of service were lacking in the community. The project staff, tried to arrange additional programs for senior citizens, based on examination of the services provided by the senior citizen center and conversation with senior citizens in the area. The liason between groups which the project staff set as a task for themselves was much needed. Community services, in order to cover the greatest number of residents, should operate as a cohesive whole. One group should not be duplicating a service provided by another.

Prior to the start of the Fort Rouge Community Project, the various community service organizations in the area, were sometimes unaware of the existence of other competing services. The project workers tried to open channels of communication between these various services. They attempted to make their work supplement and complement, instead of compete with, existing programs in the community.

The Fort Rouge Community Project staff were interested in providing for the community, whatever services or activities were necessary. They started with the local school which was a stable institution that provided links from which to establish contact with one segment of the community. Also, the school was recognized as a potentially viable site from which to launch a program of activities for the community.

On the whole, the project workers, through the efforts of community outreach, were able to delineate many strengths and weaknesses of the community. They viewed the school as a strength and tried to get, not only parents of students, but also other community residents, interested in using the school.

* This was an alternative school for Indian Children. The enrollment of this resident school was quite small, (less than 20) and composed of older children, 15 - 20 years old, mostly from the Main Street area of Winnipeg. The main focus of the school was to provide an environmental setting which relied upon Indian culture exclusively. This school was not receptive to the project staff - who were not Indian, and has since moved from the city.

The project workers perceived certain problems in the community such as, the high proportion of single parents, and the diversity of residents - many of whom had a minimal knowledge of the English (or French) language. They addressed themselves to these areas; and in general sought to improve the quality of life in the community by helping residents to develop to a level where they could articulate their own needs and help themselves.

The project ended too soon to complete the community development process. In January of 1978, a new staff of community workers tried to pick up where the initial project staff stopped. In the intervening months, the enthusiasm of the elected officer at Mayfair park, waned. At the time of this report, much of the initial community development foundation has fallen. Contact with various services in the area must be re-established. The new community project staff will not have as difficult a job as the original staff. Area residents are aware that Mayfair Park is a public facility. The new project workers also feel that the principal at the Fort Rouge School is more flexible and open than she was to the original group. In the months between the end of the original project and the start of the new project, the principal said that she noticed the community workers were gone, and missed them.

The Fort Rouge Community Project, in the eyes of the workers, did start the process of community development. This was the task they set for themselves, and from that perspective, the project can be viewed as successful. It provided services to the area population, which were absent before its inception.

The issue of the school being developed as a community school was not a task which the workers set for themselves, nor was it one which could have been accomplished in the lifespan of the project. Earlier in this paper the case is made that a community school develops from a community. The project workers started the process of community development in Fort Rouge. If the new staff continue along these lines, the Fort Rouge community, should, in the future, be able to articulate and establish a community school if that school format is desired.

Community workers from outside the area can aid in the development of a community consciousness, and provide services which are necessary but perhaps require time commitments beyond the capabilities of the needy population. The Fort Rouge project

staff performed well in setting tasks - to provide needed services - and in accomplishing those tasks within their allotted time.

Future of the Area

The community school idea thus far has been presented in this context as a partial solution to the inadequacies of the traditional educational system in the inner city. The inadequacies are largely due to the system's inability to recognize and deal with diversity in the population it serves.

The Fort Rouge area has been described as an area in a state of change. It presently exhibits many inner city characteristics and even though the area is witnessing significant pressures for change and development, the long term picture suggests a continued, predominantly residential character with increasing numbers of school age children. The following is a review, firstly, of those known factors affecting the general long term nature of the area, i.e. Municipal Plans and Zoning Bylaws, and secondly, a review of some specific development proposals and their likely shorter term implications.

It must be stated clearly at the outset that "predicting the future" of an area is merely a "calculated guess" of what is possible, given some known information from which to project. Nevertheless, if one is to attempt to plan for the future then one must attempt to anticipate future conditions. Also, this does not deny that one can and should try to influence future conditions.

PLANS

In brief terms a "plan" is a document which consists of text and maps formulating a description of the "measures for the improvement of the physical, social and economic environment,

and transportation"¹ within an area. Map 2 (following page) illustrates those existing City of Winnipeg Plans that affect the Fort Rouge School District. As can be seen on this map, the School District straddles the Assiniboine River, bounded by Osborne St. to the west, Main St. to the east, the Red River to the South and York Ave. to the north. Map 2 also indicates the location and School District boundary of Gladstone School, Fort Rouge's nearest neighbour.

RIVER OSBORNE DISTRICT PLAN

A "District Plan" for that portion of the Fort Rouge School District south of the Assiniboine, including Fort Rouge School itself, was prepared by the City of Winnipeg Department of Environmental Planning during 1974 and 1975.² During its preparation, this Plan was discussed and modified by residents, property owners, civic agencies and elected officials and finally approved by the Fort Rouge Community Committee.

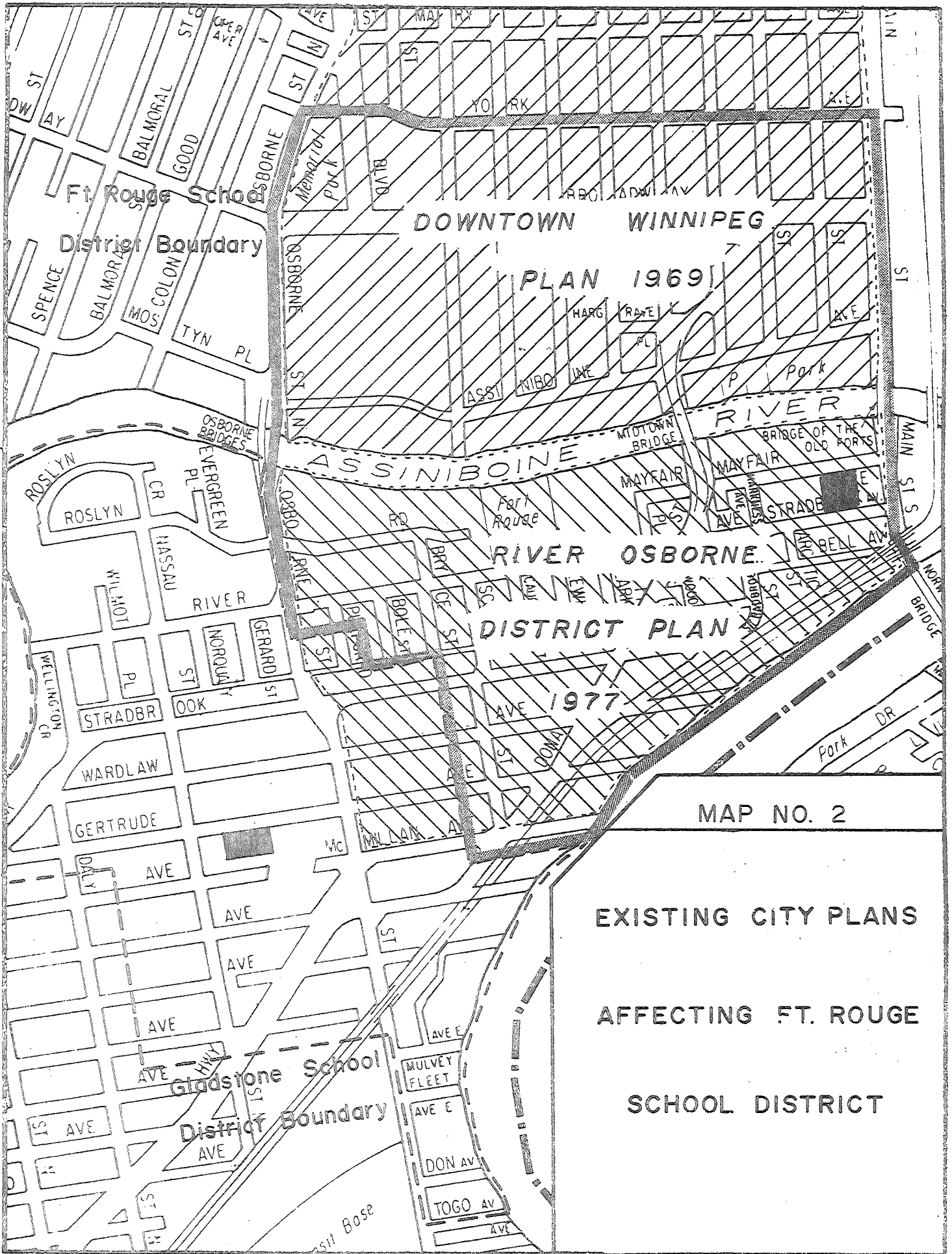
Briefly, the draft Plan calls for the retention and rehabilitation of existing residential buildings, where feasible, and requires that any new development be compatible with existing neighbourhood scale and character. It sets height and density limits on development that are, in fact, based on the existing zoning in the area. In many cases, the prescribed heights and densities are greater than existing; however, these limits, coupled with the strong rehabilitation policy included in the Plan, would work to preserve the existing residential character of the neighbourhood, if not specific residential buildings.

The Plan, however, has not advanced any further through the formal approval process and, with the recent amendments to the City of Winnipeg Act³, it is now expected that it may never be approved in its present form. Other than zoning, it is the only published statement of policy that exists for the area.

1. City of Winnipeg Act. Part XX, The Environment. City Plans. Sec. 569, Definitions, 1977. See Appendix B for a discussion of the City of Winnipeg planning legislation related to Plans.

2. River Osborne District Plan: 1976 (revised draft, May 1976).

3. The City of Winnipeg Act, Statutes of Manitoba, 1971 c.105. as amended by Bills 62 and 85, November, 1977.



DOWNTOWN WINNIPEG

PLAN 1969

ASSINIBOINE RIVER

RIVER OSBORNE

DISTRICT PLAN

1977

MAP NO. 2

EXISTING CITY PLANS

AFFECTING FT. ROUGE

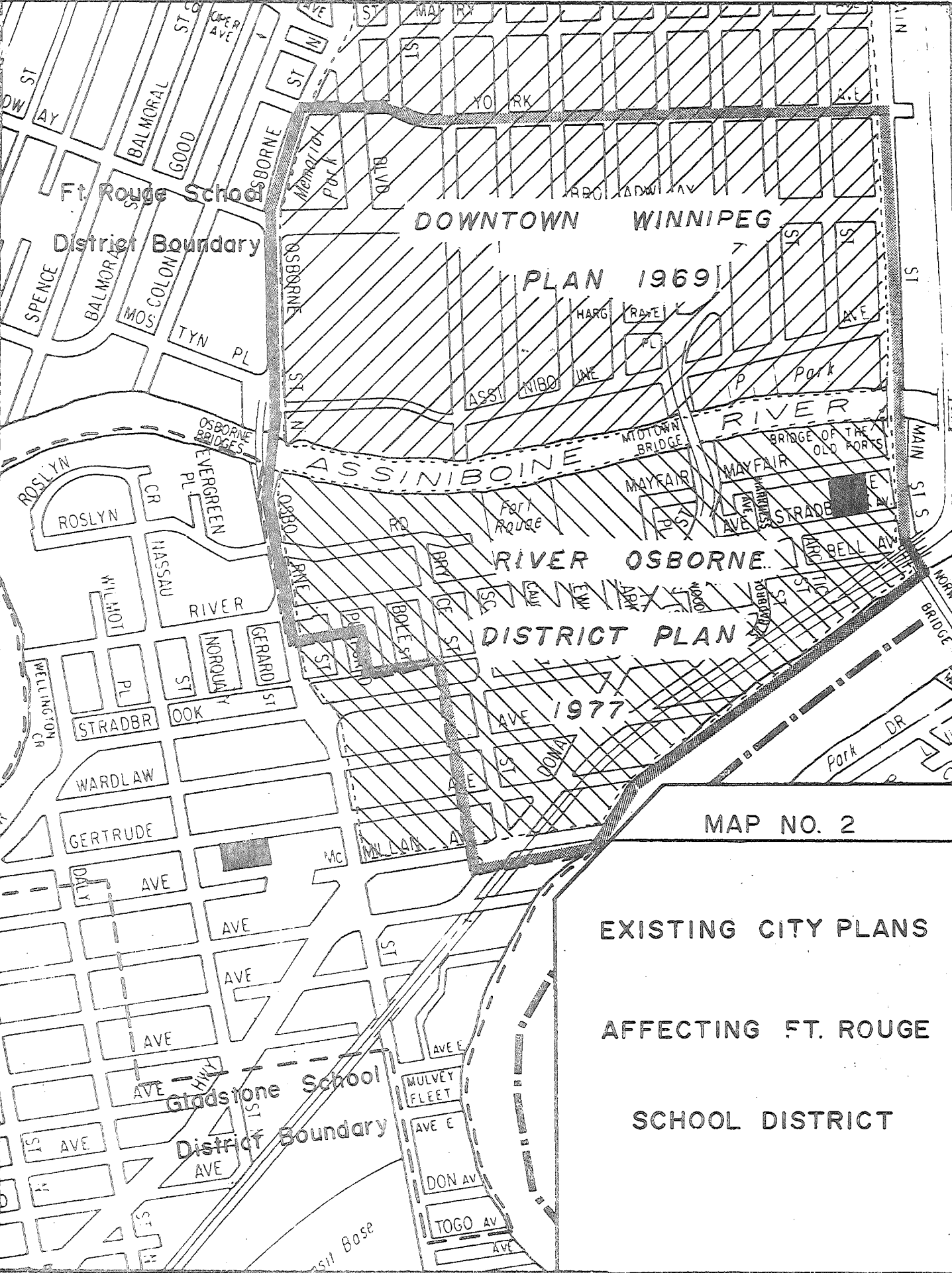
SCHOOL DISTRICT

Ft. Rouge School

District Boundary

Gladstone School

District Boundary



Although the details of densities and appearance of new development may be changed, the continued residential nature of the area can be expected over the long run.

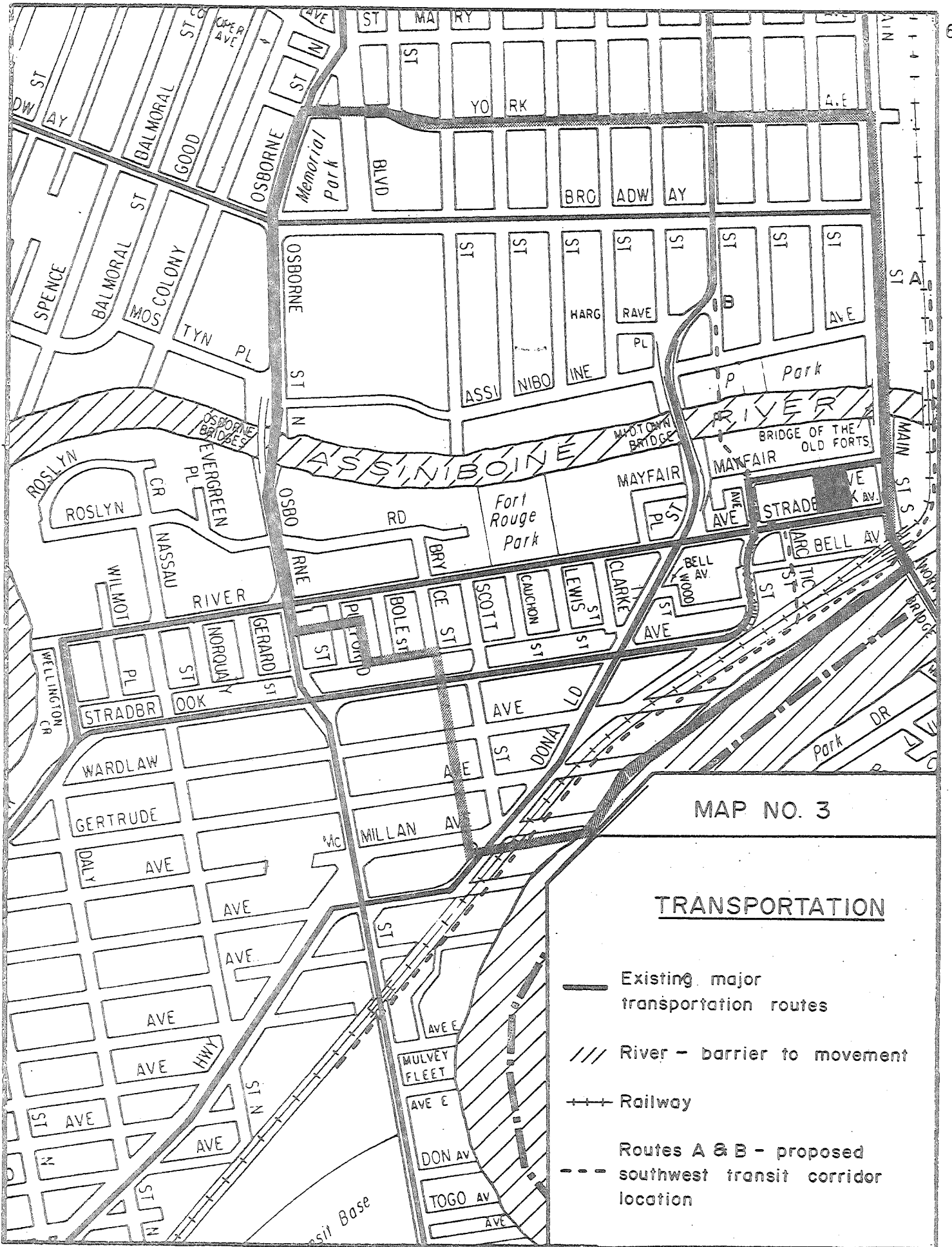
THE PLAN FOR DOWNTOWN WINNIPEG⁴

The portion of the Fort Rouge School District located north of the Assiniboine River is included in the Downtown Winnipeg Plan. This Plan was completed in 1969 and is still the most recent published policy for Winnipeg's downtown core. The Plan was designed to reverse the trend of downtown decline through a rehabilitation process of private and public expenditure, including extensive residential development. For the area of concern in this report, between York Street and the river, the Plan leaves the existing residential uses south of Broadway virtually intact. No major changes are proposed with the exception of a new River crossing at Edmonton and Carlton. In short, the bulk of the residential uses that presently generate the school age population north of the Assiniboine, for Fort Rouge School, are planned as a continuing and important feature of Winnipeg's downtown. To date, no major disruptions have occurred in this area and the continued residential nature of this area can be expected.

OTHER PLANNING CONSIDERATIONS

Transportation, graphically illustrates another aspect of planning that could significantly affect the Fort Rouge School District (see Map 3, page 65). The area is seriously dissected by major transportation corridors, heavily used for suburban/downtown through traffic. Donald, River, and Stradbrook are of particular concern as these roads are major barriers which school children must cross in their travel to school. The Red and Assiniboine rivers present additional barriers to movement, resulting in the bussing of children from the north portion of the school district. The traffic problems in this area can only be expected to increase in the future with continued use of the automobile. The City had made some preliminary moves into the realm of improved transit with its Southwest Transit Corridor Study. However, one of the proposed alternate routes

4. Downtown Winnipeg, The Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Planning Division, April 1, 1969.



Route B, passes right through the Fort Rouge School District. This proposal would seriously disrupt the neighbourhood and would further cut off the existing school from the district it serves. Route A, along the CNR line, would involve the least disruption for the neighbourhood, but the City, to date, has not taken any action concerning the Transit Corridor study.

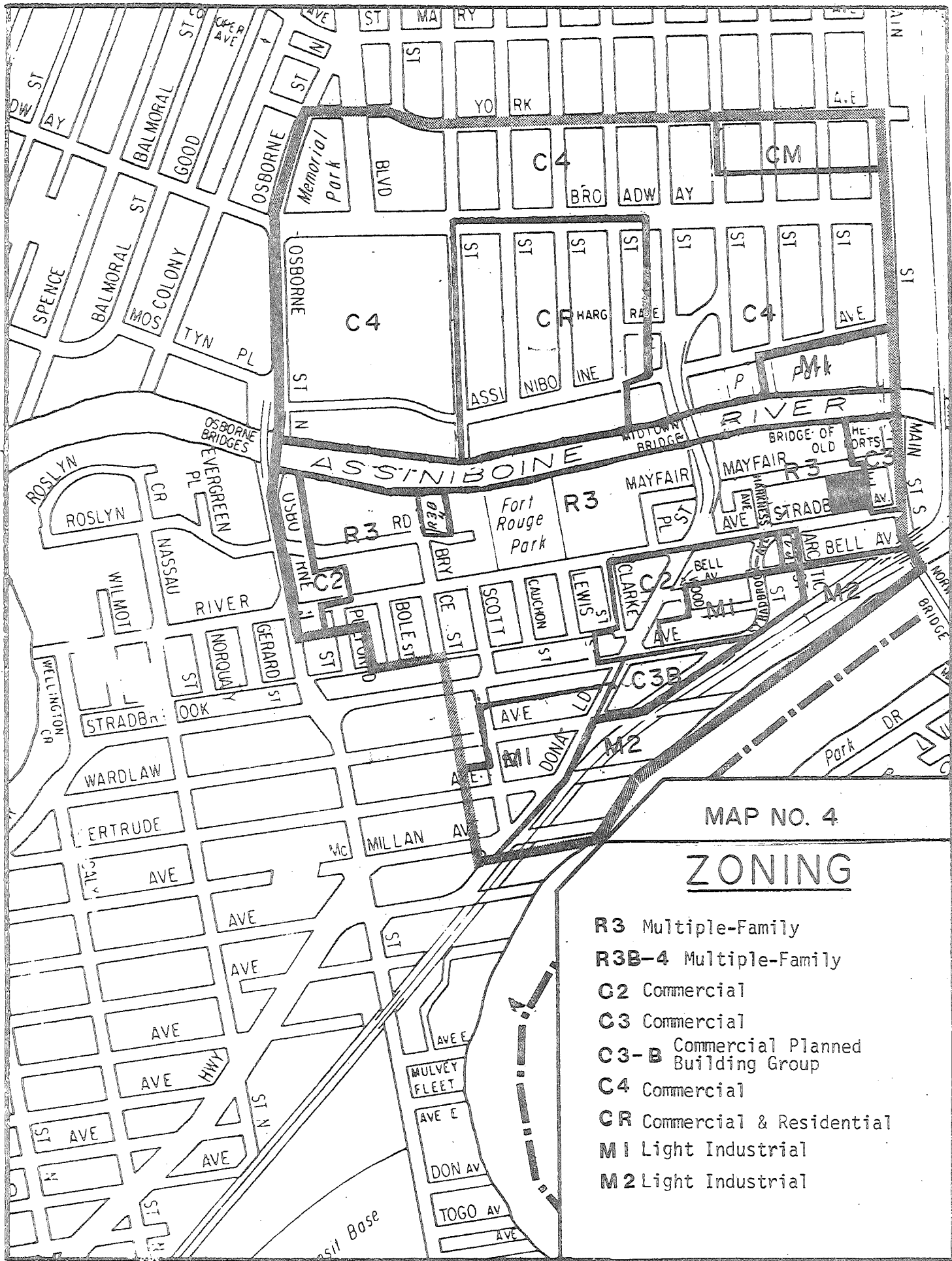
ZONING

On a day to day basis, the most important document that controls development and determines the future of an area is the Zoning Bylaw. This is particularly the case when higher level policy-type Plans have not been approved or are very outdated. This is the case in the Fort Rouge School District area. Map 4 illustrates the zoning presently in effect for the area.

Each zone in a zoning bylaw permits the use of land for particular activities, and by exclusion, prohibits the use of land for all other activities. Any one land owner wishing to change the Zoning Bylaw as it relates to his land, must apply for an amendment to the Zoning Bylaw. This involves a complicated procedure of Committee and public hearings. The system is rigid, formalized and it essentially controls development (or does not control it, depending on one's view). Appendix C⁵ includes a list and description of the various uses that are permitted in the Fort Rouge School District area under the Zoning Bylaw that covers the area.

The portion of the School District south of the Assiniboine River, includes a mix of zones as Map 3 indicates. "M1" and "M2" Industrial and "C2" and "C3" Commercial zones along the CN tracks and the Red River, allow a mix of commercial, industrial and residential uses. It is unlikely that this area will ever be developed into a residential area with this kind of zoning. With the exception of a "C2" commercial zone along Osborne Street, the remainder of the area south of the Assiniboine is zoned "R3" Multiple Family District. As stated earlier in the District Plan discussions, this zoning permits

5. Vide Appendix C - Explanation of zoning districts in the City of Winnipeg Zoning Bylaw #16502.



MAP NO. 4
ZONING

- R3 Multiple-Family
- R3B-4 Multiple-Family
- C2 Commercial
- C3 Commercial
- C3-B Commercial Planned Building Group
- C4 Commercial
- CR Commercial & Residential
- MI Light Industrial
- M2 Light Industrial

substantial residential densities. Approximately one hundred dwelling units to the acre are permitted. The existing densities in this area average around 18 to 20 units per acre, where older single family houses have been converted into apartments. The densities average 40 to 50 units per acre in older walk-up apartment block areas along major streets like River and Stradbrook. It is evident that either rehabilitation of existing residential structures or deterioration and redevelopment into townhouses and apartments is quite likely under this zoning. Whether it is rehabilitation, or decay and redevelopment, will depend to a large extent on what policies and programs are implemented at both the municipal and higher levels of government. However, it is likely that the area will continue to be residential in nature, and will continue to generate school age children. Without government intervention, permitted high density will likely predominate any redevelopment. This could mean the elimination of much of the existing housing stock.

North of the Assiniboine River, the zoning is predominantly "C4", "CR" and "CM" Commercial. As stated earlier, this area contains a large number of existing residential uses, particularly south of Broadway Avenue. With these commercial zonings allowing redevelopment into high rise hotels, offices, etc., it is unlikely that any new family residential development will occur, unless it is an upper income component of a mixed use development. However, those residential uses that presently exist at medium to high densities, can be expected to remain over the medium use as they represent substantial capital investments. Under the present zoning then, it is likely that redevelopment and intensification of land uses will occur where land is available, however, it is estimated that existing high density residential uses will continue to generate school age children as in the present.

DETAILED DEVELOPMENT PROPOSALS AND PREDICTED SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN

The zoning and plans for the Fort Rouge School District dictate a continued major residential component in the area over the long term. In the short term, there are a number of known specific development proposals in and near the area that are already planned and that will add significantly to the existing school age population in the Fort Rouge district.

Until recently, Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation was very active in the area and had four public housing projects planned for completion within three to five years. However, the change in government at the Provincial level has resulted in major cutbacks in government activities, including the cancelling of two of the proposed Fort Rouge projects. It is possible now that these sites may be developed in the private sector rather than the public sector.

There are also a number of privately owned new residential projects in the school district that are either built and unoccupied or approved for construction in the near future. Table 4 lists all of these known projects and Map 5 shows their locations. Following is a brief description and analysis of each project relative to the school age populations that each project is likely to generate.

Site 1 - Mayfair/Stradbrook

This project is a proposed MHRC stacked townhousing development located immediately adjacent to the existing Fort Rouge School on Mayfair and Stradbrook Avenues. Seventy-five 2 and 3 bedroom public housing family units are included in the approved design. MHRC estimate that this project will generate approximately 105 children, approximately 42 of whom will be elementary school age.⁶

Site 2 - River/Scott/Bryce

This project was originally purchased for development as an MHRC public housing project, but has since been cancelled by the Provincial Government. It is likely that the property will be returned to the private sector for development. The site area is approximately 0.5 acres and under the present "R3" zoning, new development on this site could include upwards of 50 units. Such a development would, in fact, include more units than the 38 townhouse units originally proposed by MHRC. However, residential projects that might be built by the private sector would more than likely include a mix of smaller units, with less emphasis on family units. It follows that a private project would generate fewer children than a

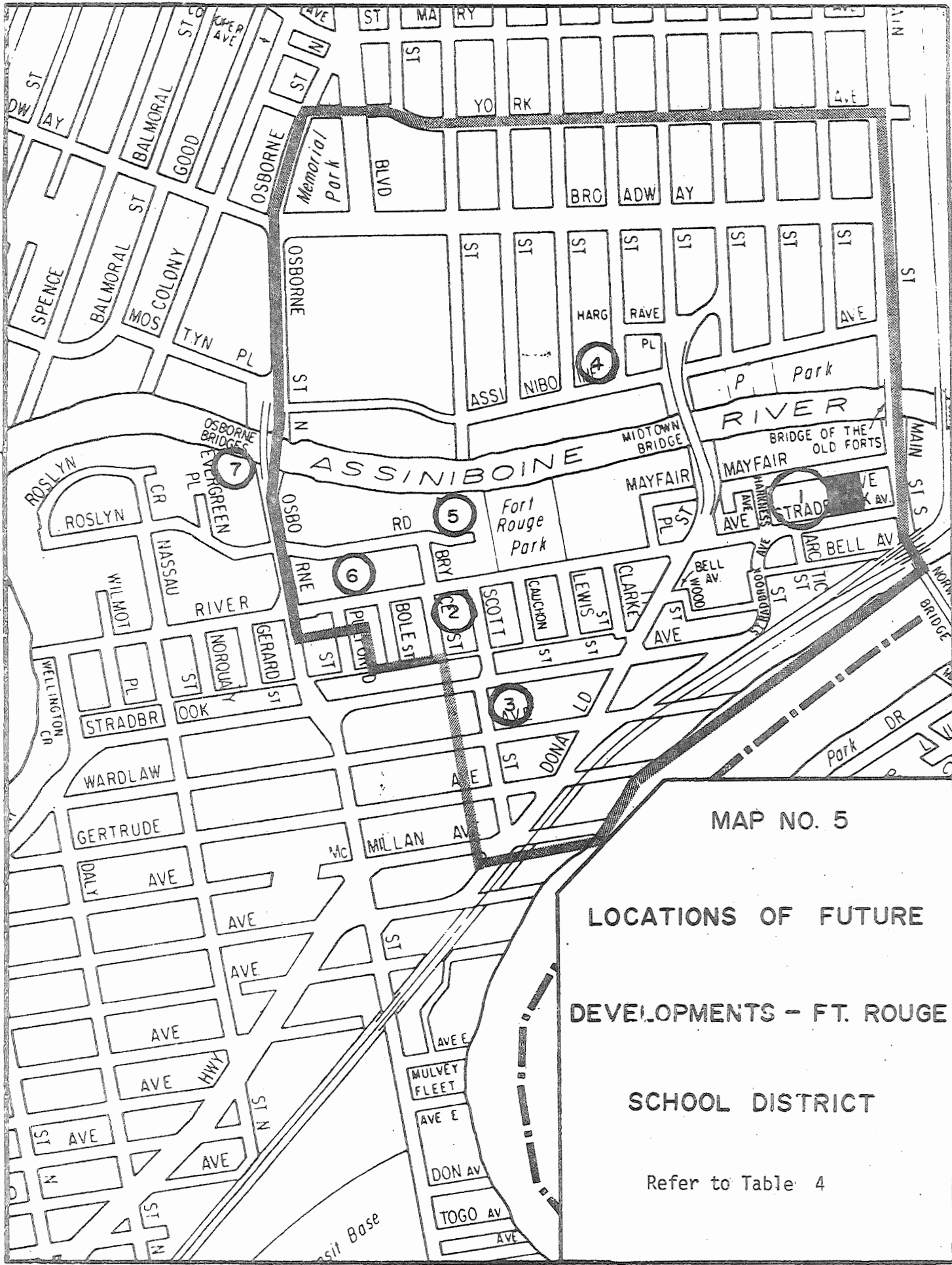
6. MHRC estimates of children generated by public housing are calculated as follows:

3 bedroom family unit = 2 children

2 bedroom family unit = 1 child

40% of all children are elementary school age

These rules of thumb standards obtained in discussion with MHRC officials.



MAP NO. 5

LOCATIONS OF FUTURE
 DEVELOPMENTS - FT. ROUGE
 SCHOOL DISTRICT

Refer to Table 4

TABLE 4

Summary of Known and Likely Housing Projects - Fort
Rouge School District-March 1978

	Developer	Location	Total # of Units	Project Status	Estimated Total Children	Estimated Elementary School Age Children
Site 1	MHRC	Mayfair/Stradbrook	75 family	approved not yet built	105	42
Site 2	private (former MHRC)	River/Scott/Bryce	50 units	possible under present zoning	12	5
Site 3	private (former MHRC)	Stradbrook/Scott	33 units	possible under present zoning	8	3
Site 4	MHRC	Assiniboine/Hargrave	35 family 90 elderly	built and occupied	20 actual	4 actual
Site 5	private	15 & 21 Roslyn	111 mixed	approved not yet built	28	12
Site 6	private	90 Roslyn	24 mixed	approved not yet built	2	1
(Site 7)*	(private)	(Roslyn Towers at Osborne Bridge)	(202 family) (195 elderly)	(approved not yet built)	(25)	(10)

TOTALS

418 units

170

67

PRESENT FORT ROUGE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT (JAN. 78) 110

PROJECTED FORT ROUGE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT (3YR. HORIZON) 177 say 180

* Site 7 - Roslyn Towers is actually located on the periphery of the present Ft. Rouge School district. Because the project is so large, the figures are presented in the table for information only, they are not included in any of the totals.

public housing project. It is estimated that 12 children could be generated, with an estimated 5 of elementary school age.⁷

Site 3 - Stradbrook/Scott

This site is another cancelled MHRC project. It is the site of the former Vansittart apartment block which was destroyed by fire in 1977. It is small in size and includes approximately 0.3 acres. Under the present "R3" zoning, a new private sector development could include upwards of 33 units. Applying the same standards as for Site 2 - this could result in approximately 8 children with possibly 3 at elementary school age.

Site 4 - Assiniboine/Hargrave

This high rise MHRC project has been recently completed and is now fully occupied. It is a mixed project, containing both elderly persons and family units. Since it has already been tenanted, the actual numbers of children are included, these being 20 children in total with 4 at elementary school age. This is lower than might be expected from the MHRC standards, however this project is somewhat unique. Day care facilities have been incorporated into the project and the age profile of the children reflects this feature of the project. There are presently 10 children between the ages of 2 and 5. As time goes on, these children will reach elementary school age and will have to be accommodated. For the purposes of this report, however, the current figure of 4 has been used.

Site 5 - 15 & 21 Roslyn Road

This privately developed high rise apartment block has been built but, to the writer's knowledge, is not yet occupied. The project includes 111 mixed 3, 2 and 1-bedroom units. Applying the standards for private

7. Estimates of children from private apartment projects are based on standards, much reduced from MHRC family public housing figures, as follows:

3 bedroom units = .5 children

2 bedroom units = .25 children

Very little information is actually available in which these figures can be based. Even existing apartment data is not very reliable since many of the larger projects in this area were tenanted prior to recent Human rights legislation.

projects approximately 28 total and 12 elementary school age children might be expected from this project after occupation.

Site 6 - 90 Roslyn Road

This private sector project has been proposed at 90 Roslyn Road and to the writer's knowledge, has been approved. It includes a total of 24 predominately 1-bedroom units. The estimated number of children is very low for this project, 2 in total, with possibly 1 at elementary school age.

Site 7 - Roslyn Towers

As mentioned in the footnote to Table 4, this project is not actually located within the Fort Rouge School District. It is, however, located immediately to the west of the boundary line in the Gladstone School District at the Osborne St. bridge. It is approved by council and due to its size, is included here for information. A total of 397 units, 195 elderly and 202 'regular' mixed units have been approved. From the 202 mixed units, an estimated 25 total and 10 elementary school age children could be generated by this project.

The foregoing discussion of known and likely residential developments within the Fort Rouge School District indicates that a total of 170 additional children are possible in the short term horizon of 2 - 3 years. Of this total, it is estimated conservatively that 67 of these children would likely be of elementary school age. Combined with the present Fort Rouge School enrollment average of 110 students for fall 1977 (refer to Table 1, p. 41), this would result in a total school enrollment of say 180 students.

It is emphasized that this potential additional student population is conservative in that it only includes known development projects in the area. It has already been discussed earlier in this section that the present zoning over much of the Fort Rouge School District permits new residential development at significantly higher densities than presently exist within the present physical housing stock. In other words, major private redevelopment could occur within the limits of present planning controls.

In summary, it would appear that there is, and will be in the future, a need for a school in this area of Fort Rouge. The demands placed on school facilities by current enrollment patterns will increase significantly over short term, and will likely continue to increase, although probably not as rapidly, over the long term. The most significant impact will be felt by fall of this year (1978) with the completion of MHRC's public housing project as presently planned, at Stradbrook and Mayfair.

PLANNING ANALYSIS

The present Fort Rouge School building does not have enough space to accommodate more than 15 to 25 additional students. If any of the proposed family housing projects proceed, some decisions concerning the school will have to be made. Additional school spaces will probably be necessary either at the present Fort Rouge site and/or at the site of Gladstone School. The enlargement of the Gladstone School building, which at present only has space for approximately 50 more students, would necessitate the busing of any additional students. All except one of the developments listed in the previous section would occur in the Fort Rouge School catchment area.

If all of the proposed developments occur over the next three years, approximately 420 new housing units would be added to the Fort Rouge School district (Table 4). These units could contribute approximately 70 additional school age children and bring the total enrollment of the school to a minimum of 180. The capacity of the present Fort Rouge School is 125 - 150 students.

In the case of suburban subdivisions, a 10% dedication is required from the developer to serve as a possible school site. In the inner city, however, development usually occurs on a piecemeal basis so that usually no single development is responsible for a great increase in the school population. However, in an instance where the school is small, such as Fort Rouge, a single development has obvious effects. The school board should be able to obtain some cooperation in providing school space from the developers involved.

As of January, 1978, the site of MHRC housing, (Map 5, site #1, page 69) had been cleared but construction had not started. (In fact most MHRC developments are in a holding category since the recent election in October, 1977, of the new Conservative Government in Manitoba). The fact that the site is cleared, situated adjacent to the school, and owned by the province, offers a unique opportunity for the school division to try something new. For example, the school board could encourage MHRC to develop a school/apartment facility similar to the one proposed for the St. Lawrence site in Toronto, Ontario.⁸

The district superintendent was asked directly, in a recent discussion, if there was any prohibition against a school leasing space that happens to be located on the lower floors of an office or apartment complex. Legislation, in fact, gives school boards the right to build and lease school space. The superintendent, however, felt that the idea of a school with apartment or office space above it was a novel concept which had not yet been tried, and perhaps, not even seriously considered, in Winnipeg.

At present there is no mechanism to inform the school board of decisions by MHRC or other developers to build in an area and thus increase school populations. In fact the Fort Rouge Project workers, were the first persons to indicate to the school board that MHRC was planning to build on the site adjacent to the school. They also organized a meeting between the board and MHRC to establish a dialogue. If the school board were better informed of development proposals, perhaps it would have an opportunity to make better decisions concerning school space requirements. This information would also give school trustees an opportunity to encourage a developer to design his building so as to provide space which could then be leased by the board for future use as a school. This could prove to be a less expensive way for school boards to acquire space quickly and economically.

A flexible building design which allows it to function as a school or something else, can be a cost saver in the future. At present if the school board buys the site and builds a structure, a large capital outlay is required. If the school

8. See appendix D.

population decreases, then the school board has an underutilized structure with high fixed cost of operation. On the other hand, in cases where the school board leases space, this leased space can be converted to other uses or returned to the leasee when the school population decreases.

Aside from the issue of needing more school space, the development in Fort Rouge also has other impacts. The majority of the development proposals are for MHRC - public housing. Public Housing tenants often bring with them an additional array of problems.

Some of the MHRC housing is family public housing, some is elderly housing, and some is mixed. Elderly persons too have a particular set of social service requirements which must be met. Small, inexpensive dining rooms, or area cafeterias can become a vital part of an elderly persons life. They may provide the forum for making and meeting friends, or a source for nutritional meals on a daily basis. Elderly persons should also have easy access to public transportation and medical services, including drugstores.

The Fort Rouge area at present, is well serviced with public transportation, and the commercial area near Osbourne and River Streets supplements the few corner stores in the area. The redevelopment of the area to higher densities may so aggravate existing pressures on the land prices that many corner stores and laundramats may cease to operate. The new resident, the elderly and the poor, lack the mobility to find these services outside of the neighbourhood. Also, the influx of upper and middle class elements into the neighbourhood may be slowed or reversed, as more public housing tenants move in. Indeed, the diversity of incomes, ethnic groups, and housing types could be destroyed if large numbers of any single income group enter the area. The increased density in the area will also put serious pressure upon the already strained recreational space.

Any increase in traffic flows through the area, either caused by the implementation of the Southwest Transit Corridor proposals, the widening of existing streets and bridges or additional development on the suburban fringe, can only lead to a general lessening in the quality of life in the area. The increased air pollution, traffic noise, and hazardous street crossings, will make the area less attractive to families.

The planning proposals presented in the previous section have one major flaw - none of the proposals are connected. There has been no consideration of purpose, or impact in planning these developments. Little serious consideration was given to the effects of increased numbers of low income persons in the area, increased densities or congestion, increased traffic, or increased school age children. The problems which will occur if the planned developments proceed are certainly not difficult to anticipate.

A PROPOSAL FOR THE SCHOOL

If the school population increases, as certainly it will if the planned development takes place in Fort Rouge, additional school space will become imperative. The physical format, which this additional space could take, will be discussed.

As long as the (MHRC) site adjacent to the school, is in a holding state, the school board has the opportunity to open negotiations with the Province concerning the possibility of a new type of development on that site. The buildings to be constructed on the site could be designed to provide space on a lower level to be leased and used as classrooms for the school. The existing school could be linked to such space either at or above ground level in a covered corridor. Structurally, the existing school may be able to support vertical expansion and this, plus any space gained in the MHRC project, might be adequate for the school's needs.

If the imagination is given some room for expansion, if the idea of the traditional school, a single storey, sprawling affair, on an expansive site, can be discarded, the school can be innovative physically as well as in the areas of curriculum and administrative procedure.

The questions for Fort Rouge are, what type of school, where will it be located and how is it to be built? For Fort Rouge the answers are thus: The type of school should be one based on the economic, social, and physical reality of the neighbourhood in which it is located. If the value of land precludes the acquisition of a large tract of land upon which to build a school, that concept should be replaced with one that more nearly fits the reality of the situation; namely a school in a leased part of an apartment building or abandoned factory.

Where the school is located should be a flexible decision based upon the best information available. That means that the school board must establish links of communication with those who supply the school population, namely the builders. The school board must start to confer with MHRC and other builders of housing in the inner city concerning the impact of their plans on the local school. It is poor planning to allow two public agencies, the school board and the public housing authority, to spend public monies in conflicting ways. More money could be put into schoolbooks, teachers, and programs, if less money were misspent because of a lack of coordination and communication between agencies.

How the school is built, has both a design and location aspect. In response, though, the school should be built in the most economical and functional manner possible. A school should not be considered as only used by, and hence designed for, one specific segment of the community. The school must be built to serve as a multi-purpose community resource and this fact should be reflected in its design.

The school board may not be able to afford or justify a large gym in an elementary school. If parks and recreation share the cost and use, the larger gym might be viable, meanwhile, neither public agency pays the entire cost of separate facilities. If the developer of a large housing project in the area can be encouraged to provide space for leasing by the school board to serve as a school, the school would then be located close to the population it is designed to serve. The builder, on the other hand, might expect lower turnover rates and greater rapport among residents, through their use of the school space on evenings and weekends.

The main reason that many things are done in a particular way, is because they have always been done that way. In examining the physical plant of the school, the key to innovation is free-thinking. The ordinary visions of school buildings - separate, single storey, modern - and apartment buildings - separate, for tenants only, - must be vanquished. The school cannot be viewed in this constricted fashion any longer. The economical and physical development of the city dictates a change. The school design should be made flexible to deal with a more flexible society. The physical school and the agencies that impact directly upon schools must grow and evolve in pace with the society which they serve.

Analysis, Recommendations, and
Conclusions

ANALYSIS

The inner city has some problems which set it apart from the "fringe", areas. These problems should not serve as an excuse for allowing the children to pass, unaffected, through the school system. The perpetuation of poverty over generations, high drop-out rates, and low scores on standardized tests, are only some of the indicators that these children are just passing through the system. The Community School offers the school the chance to tailor curriculum based upon informed knowledge of the child's environment. Only if the child, and his parents, see some relevance in what is being taught will real education take place.

The community school enlarges upon the traditional notion of the school as a homogenizer, an institution which passes on the values of the dominate culture. Instead, it develops from within a community and in order for the community school to emerge, it is sometimes necessary to hire professional community workers, to help the community organize. Individuals who consider themselves as part of a community, share, as part of the definition of community, a sense of commonality of purpose. This common purpose can be articulated by the community after a certain level of development is reached. A community must be organized and developed to recognize itself as a community.

The initial community organization phase of the development of the community school, has been started in Fort Rouge. Once the community has established that it can mobilize around a specific issue - in Fort Rouge it was the threatened closing of the school - the community development professional can work to see that the mobilized group starts to recognize and

p.80 - first paragraph, lines 6 through 8. Parents were not necessarily concerned with the educational curriculum, but more with the educational environment at the Fort Rouge School. Parents complained about fights and the disorderly conduct of other students.

tackle other issues. This movement toward other issues can at first confine itself to school related issues, and gradually move to larger community issues.

The Fort Rouge Community School Project attempted to carry the residents beyond the single issue of the closing of the school. The project workers organized community meetings to encourage residents to articulate their concerns. They also tried to coordinate the delivery of social services in the area by serving as liasons between the various agencies. Many parents expressed doubts concerning the value and quality of the particular kind of education offered by the Fort Rouge School. Many parents discussed the need for additional child care services and some community residents had other concerns such as the impact of increased traffic flows through the area. Most of these concerns were voiced in the early history of the project and it was these concerns which project workers first attempted to solve. The post project survey showed that many of the respondents felt that the Fort Rouge - Mayfair Park workers were doing a good job. The good attendance at the "Lunch and After Programs," also indicated that this particular program served a real need in the area.

In its final weeks of funding, the project staff, with great enthusiasm, watched as for the first time a volunteer committee was elected to accept responsibility for keeping the building on the Mayfair Park site open. This was a very significant gain for a community which prior to this time did not even realize that the building was a public community resource and not a private club.

The community was starting to develop, but, the removal of the staff may have been a bit premature. Since the end of the LIP grant, work has been done to obtain a Canada Works Grant. This appears to be forthcoming, but in the interim, the momentum has been lost and will take time to regain. Many of the parents who were involved in the original fight to keep the school open have moved away from the area. The "Lunch and After Program" was not started up again this past September. Even though in the post project survey, this was one service many people said they would use, no one said they would work in such a program. Perhaps, because it does require a regular committment, this activity cannot initially be staffed by volunteers even in a small school such as Fort Rouge.

The Fort Rouge School is now closed on evenings and weekends as it was prior to the project's start. For the most part, six months after the original LIP grant ended, the Fort Rouge community had essentially returned to its original state. There are, however, some positive impacts that remain:

1. Area residents now know that it is possible for them to have some control over their lives and their government, i.e. the school board.
2. Residents are going to have new elections to try to get volunteers to again agree to keep the Mayfair Park building open.
3. And most importantly, there is a spirit of effort, of wanting to try, which remains in some people who were touched by the project. (i.e. One community resident who was employed to help during the lunch program had enrolled in community college, hoping to improve her English and maybe get a certificate in Child Care.)

It takes time to organize a community and to get that organization to such a level that it is self sustaining. The Fort Rouge Project has been instrumental in nurturing the initial development of the community, but much work is yet to be done.

WHAT OF THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL?

The Fort Rouge Community is still one that is in need of special educational and service programs. The community, with the help of the Fort Rouge Community School Project, has learned how to articulate these needs to a point. This author feels that evidence of the value of the school facility as an evening and weekend resource in addition to its 9 to 4 role, has been proven by the good response which project workers obtained in the short life of its operation.

What appears to be the major stumbling block to fuller use of the school facility, is the reluctance of the principal and staff to become involved. In discussions with parents and organizers at other community schools, it was obvious that the feeling was that the principal, by encouraging parent participation, actually served to keep the community commitment alive in the area. (The principal of Fort Rouge School

in the absence of the project workers these past months, has felt the loss. She now, would like them back in the area.)

Winnipeg School Division No. 1, in the month of December 1977, discussed some proposed guidelines for the instigation of community schools. At present the board will recognize and designate, as community schools, those schools which present a detailed brief of aims and objectives of the community and show significant community support. The discussion in December, was the first attempt by the board to standardize and thereby, actively sanction the creation of community schools. The Provincial Department of Education's Research and Evaluation Branch, through the CAP and SUN programs has been instrumental in introducing the first community school to Winnipeg, William Whyte Community School.

Some teachers feel that community schools mean more evenings and weekend work for them, and both principals and teachers see community schools as usurping their power. This feeling arises from ignorance of the concept and spirit of the community school. Teachers and administrators must be informed. In the community school, power and classroom duties are shared by teachers and parent volunteers. Teachers do not lose authority in the classroom. They are, in fact, likely to gain more time to deal individually with students because of the assistance of parent/volunteers in the classroom. They also gain insights, via daily contact with community residents, of the environment from which their students come. This can only aid the educational process because the teacher and parent, in understanding each other, can better help the student see the relevance of his educational experience to his daily life.

At a conference on community schools held on Saturday November 19, 1977, one theme constantly recurred in group discussion. Parents stated: "Now we, as parents feel very comfortable and very much a part of OUR school. My children enjoy school now and I won't be moving from this neighbourhood soon."

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL FACILITY - COSTS

One of three newly elected school board members who was present at the Saturday conference, voiced a concern of the school board in relation to community schools. She mentioned that if community schools mean that new school facilities must be constructed, many board members will be opposed to the community school. She asked, "Can't a community school operate from the regular school building?"

Two schools in Winnipeg were designed and built originally as community schools, they are William Whyte and Tyndal Park. These school buildings appear large, expansive and well designed with well lit interior spaces. While most inner city schools are situated on small sites, these newer buildings are constructed on large sites. The area surrounding the community schools is completely developed. In most cases, land in the inner city is far too expensive for the school board to acquire in the quantity necessary for a community school facility such as Tyndal Park. (William Whyte, though located in the inner city, was able to buy the land of several houses in order to get a site big enough to build upon). The inner city is nevertheless, the area most in need of the flexibility offered by the community school. While a community school does not necessarily need a new building it does require a building which can accommodate the varying needs of the community; a building which is flexible in terms of its interior spaces and location possibilities.

Inner city populations are more transient than other parts of the metropolitan population. Hence, the building of a new school or addition to serve a temporary population is not necessary. Instead, the school board should consider leasing space in buildings, and encouraging private and public developers to design new buildings with the school board in mind. Additionally, the board must enlarge its perception of its role to include community education. School buildings should not be designed for the use of particular age groups, but for the use of the general community. The development of a school with an innovative and flexible curriculum must be combined with innovations in the physical plant.

The Fort Rouge School facility, because of its limited size, even with the support of the principal, would not have offered a good physical environment for a community school. The

planned development of a site adjacent to the school facility would have allowed an excellent opportunity to enlarge the Fort Rouge School. The school board should have considered (and there may still be time to do so) asking MHRC to provide school space in one of its buildings. Why couldn't the school be integrated into an apartment building? What are the arguments against the integration of the school facility and an office tower or a high rise apartment structure? (The present district superintendent attributes it to the fact that it is a new idea. "It just hasn't been done before !") Toronto is proposing just such a development in their St. Lawrence Project, (See Appendix D), where a school is located on the lower floors of an apartment/office complex.

These are some alternative physical models that might be explored before the community school is rejected as too costly to be practical. A site should be located in Fort Rouge where a facility, adequate to operate as a community school can be built or bought and renovated. The community needs and has demonstrated its ability to use, special alternative social service and education delivery models. The Fort Rouge Project workers found a needy and responsive population for their programs.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Winnipeg School Board at present has several programs operating in various schools. These programs are given to a particular school, usually to fulfill the request of the principal or certain predetermined criteria. The school board has a program which provides extra funds and assistance to a school for the establishment of an English as a Second Language Program, (ESL). The board also has programs to provide native aides, and has recently come out with a policy proposal for establishing community schools in Winnipeg. All of these gestures on the part of the board are evidence that they concede that there are some problems in the schools. But there is some question as to whether policy for individual school problems can be made from central bodies.

In New York City, and a few other U.S. cities, the school boards are experimenting with the idea of giving block grants to schools. Then, the school and community together decide what is needed. If package programs from the school board

can solve their particular problem then they can buy those. If not, the school is free to formulate its own program.

In Winnipeg, since the schools are already ranked according to a certain number of inner city characteristics, perhaps these characteristics should be weighed in terms of their impact upon the school process. Additional funds could then be granted to schools based upon the relative weight of problems instead of just the aggregation of problems as presently proposed. (As proposed, a school with a certain number of the six criteria, would receive additional funds. A school with 2 or 3 more would receive a certain amount more.)

It is also time that school boards begin to realize that the building boom of the early 1960's left them with vacant, underutilized, and poorly located schools. Birth rates are falling, and can be expected to continue to fall or stabilize. People with children are more mobile. They are even choosing to live in the inner city (witness the Cabbagetown and Yorkville revitalization in Toronto) instead of suburbs. All of this should indicate to school boards, that traditional modes of operating are insufficient. There is nothing in the present school legislation which strictly precludes a school from locating within apartment buildings. In fact the legislation specifically gives school boards the power to lease space. The leasing of space in buildings would allow schools to have mobility, nearly equal to that of the population it serves. As a neighbourhood ages, instead of busing students or closing schools, leased space could simply be converted to other uses. The school should be more than child oriented; it should be community oriented.

The solution for buildings presently underutilized, is to enlarge the function of the school. The school must seek out users if necessary. Each community is unique in its needs and desires. Vacant classroom space may be needed to house a day-care, to serve as a meeting place for senior citizens, or as a quiet study area for university students in the area. This author fully recognizes the legal liability problems of the school operating in this fashion, but the needs of the people must take precedence over legal technicalities. By-laws and statutes can be amended to allow for more complete use of the schools, and well they should be in areas where the community residents could benefit from such a use.

The inability of inner city children to, in some cases, make the most of their educational opportunity, either because they are hungry, or because they are cold because they've been standing outside for thirty minutes, or because their parents are constantly moving and they have no friends, or because they just don't really understand why or what they're being taught for any number of reasons, should be of real concern to educators. It is easy enough to fall back on the old role of the school as a homogenizer and to say that these children should adapt to the system. Instead, parents, the community, and society at large, are demanding more social responsibility for the institutions of the society, including the schools. The school can no longer deny the right of each child to be able to have the greatest benefit possible from his/her educational experience.

The school board, as a representative of the total urban scene, cannot represent each individual community. The inner city, in this paper, has been referred to as a collection of diverse communities. The school board cannot expect to design programs which will serve the needs of all the diverse groups in the population. Therefore, individual school/community groups must have more say in the formulation of the education programs. Only through complete understanding of the child's environment, can the educator understand why one child, or group of children, are not taking advantage or getting the greatest benefit from, the educational process.

The community school model as presented here, requires an optimum number of parents to really get underway. The research for this report would indicate that the population is in the range of 300 students. This should not be taken to mean that schools of less than 300 cannot have parent input. It merely means that, small schools have a more difficult time maintaining a supply of parents willing and able to give time to the school. The school board, should seek to develop a policy, which while encouraging the development of community schools, will also encourage community participation, of whatever type, in the decision making process. In several U.S. cities, "community school boards", which have broad powers over a sub-district size area, have been established. These boards operate as "mini-school boards". The membership is largely parents, teachers and other interested community persons. This type of system could work well to involve parents and the community in the work of the school, without requiring extensive commitment of time as would a volunteer school aide or lunch program.

Additionally, those institutions responsible for teacher education should develop within their curriculum, courses which will help teachers learn to respect and recognize their students as unique individuals, and to realize that the total child cannot be taught without understanding the environment in which he lives. Schools should have on staff a community school vice-principal who will serve as primary community contact. It will be his/her role to be available for community meetings, to organize community meetings if a particular issue comes up, and to generally keep the community informed of what the school is doing. In this way, the parents of children in small schools can still be involved. They may not be able to sustain an extensive after school program, but maybe a needed lunch program can be arranged.

The school cannot afford to move away from the population it purports to serve. It must maintain an intimate relationship with the community in order to fulfill its role in the community, as it is defined by the community. In recognizing the needs and desires of the community, the school must not become entrenched in tradition. Traditional financing modes, curriculum preparation, administration, and physical design, must be discarded in the situation where they do not work.

The community school need not cost the school board any more. The actual dollars may appear to be more sometimes, but maybe the savings are in the increased realization of potential on the part of students and their parents, and the fulfillment of the schools' role as one urban institution designed to serve the needs of the population.

CONCLUSION

This report has given a view of the school, the problem of inner city schools, evaluated one experimental inner city school project and put forth some policy recommendations for the school board.

The intent here was to explode the myth, if not already crumbling, that schools are doing the best they can. Many children simply pass through the system unaffected. This is not acceptable. School systems constantly increase expenditures and introduce new programs but many of the programs and expenditures are wasted because they do not respond to real needs. The

school system must start to see itself as a collection of systems within the urban framework. Each school and the community it serves must be seen as having special needs. These special needs are best addressed by the community, in conjunction with professionals, designing programs, and programing expenditures to fulfill those needs.

As the cost of city services increase generally, and property taxes (the only city generated source of school revenues) increase dramatically, people are unwilling to finance an educational system which seems large, unmanageable, and unresponsive.

The inner city resident and the urban poor are most likely to find the school system unresponsive to their needs. The perpetuation of poverty over generations, crime, unemployment and a lack of skills are environmental conditions under which these children live. If the inner city school is unable to deal with these problems, because they are unfamiliar with the environment with which they are connected or fail to see the relevance of these conditions to the learning situation, society bears the cost of wasted potential.

It is hoped that some of the solutions presented in this paper will be implemented by the Winnipeg School Divioion No. 1 and that the issues herein discussed will help stimulate further discussion, leading to action, on the whole issue of school/commumity relations.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

POST PROJECT SURVEY

1. Maybe there are some improvements which you can imagine which would make the neighborhood a nicer place to live in. What are the problems you notice in this community which need to be worked on?

Let me ask your opinion about a few other things. But please DON'T say "Yes" unless you think these things really are serious problems:

_____ Vandalism (people destroying other people's property).

_____ Too much traffic on the streets (Too noisy? Too unsafe?)

_____ Deteriorated housing (buildings getting very run down, being boarded up).

_____ Lack of child care services?

_____ Lack of organized activities for children; _____ Lack of organized activities for adults.

2. What are some of the things about this neighbourhood that you like?

3. The Ft. Rouge Community Project operates out of Mayfair Park, and there seem to be a number of services which could be organized there. Would you or your family be likely to use of any of

the following:

Would Use Would Work In

- _____ _____ A baby-sitting service. (Suppose a baby-sitting co-op were organized through Mayfair Park, and parents took turns baby-sitting for one another in their homes. Would you use such a service?
- _____ _____ Children's activities: crafts? dance classes? outings? sports programs?
- _____ _____ Lunch Program at the School?
- _____ _____ Adult activities: Bingo? A cooking club? Bridge club? Adult crafts? Gardening? Mother-tot afternoons?
- _____ _____ Senior Citizen activities?
- _____ _____ Community events: dances? picnics? festivals?
- _____ _____ Meetings about community issues; learning about city and provincial plans for this neighbourhood?

4. Many of these activities could only get going if people in the community volunteered their time to get them organized. Now you said you might be interested in _____ . Would you be willing to share in the work involved in getting this going? (Go down list.)

5. What have you heard about the Ft. Rouge Community Project? Have you heard of it before?

_____ Had not heard of it before.

_____ Heard of it (How?/What? _____)

_____ Have gone to programs/activities at Mayfair Park (Which ones? _____)

(If Respondent has heard of project or been to an activity)
Were there some things about the project which you did not like? _____

6. What would be the best way of informing you about services or programs being offered at Mayfair Park?

_____ Leaflets deliver to door.

_____ Radio announcements. _____ ROAR _____ Lance _____ Tribune
of _____ Free Press

Demographic Information Sex: M F Age _____ (if problem, "Are you in your 20's, 30's, etc.)

How long have you lived in this area (this part of Ft. Rouge)?
_____ years

How long have you lived at this address? _____ years

How long do you think you'll stay in this neighbourhood, why?

If planning on moving out of this neighbourhood, why?

Do you own or rent your home? _____ own _____ rent

Do you have any children living with you at home?

Ages: _____

(If respondent indicated he/she would be willing to help organize activities at Mayfair Park:

Respondent's name: _____

Phone Number: _____

Address: _____

APPENDIX B

A DISCUSSION OF PLANNING LEGISLATION AS IT RELATES TO THE EAST OF OSBORNE AREA-CITY OF WINNIPEG

A "District Plan" under the City of Winnipeg Act 1971 was defined as follows:

"district plan" means a plan for a district within the city or the additional zone, which consists of text and maps or illustrations formulating, in such detail as the council think appropriate, proposals for the development and use of land in the district, and a description of the measures which the council considers should be undertaken for the improvement of the physical, social and economic environment and transportation within the district.¹

The area bounded by Osborne Street, the Assiniboine River, the Red River and Corydon Avenue was considered a District for the purposes of the legislation and a plan was prepared - River Osborne District Plan: 1977. A District Plan Bylaw is the actual device that implements a District Plan. The River Osborne District Plan Bylaw was prepared in unpublished draft form in late 1977 by the Environmental Planning Department and has to date, not been advanced for approval by Council.

The Bylaw actually includes:

"only those portions (of the Plan) which relate directly to land use controls ...the bulk of the Plan,...should be adopted for information only."²

1. City of Winnipeg Act, S.M., 1971, C.105 Part XX, Definitions, 569, as amended by S.M. 1977, C.64, SS55-58.

2. River-Osborne District Plan: 1976, May 1976, Part III, District Plan Bylaw, page 2.

In short, even without the complications of changes in legislation, the detailed District Plan would have been merely advisory and Council would not have been required to adhere to policies contained in it unless they were also stated in the Bylaw.

In the recent amendments to the City of Winnipeg Act,³ certain changes were made with respect to the City's planning structure including changes to the format, scope and context of Plan documents for policy expression. The "District Plan" format was eliminated from the City's Plan hierarchy and "Community Plans" and "Action Area Plans" are substituted. The definitions of each are as follows:

"community plan" means a plan for the whole area of a community or all that part of a municipality that is within the additional zone, within the framework established in the Greater Winnipeg Development Plan and which consists of text and maps or illustrations formulating in such detail as the council considers appropriate, proposals for the development and use of land in the community or all that part of the municipality that is within the additional zone and a description of the measures which the council considers should be undertaken for the improvement within the community or within all that part of the municipality that is within the additional zone;

"action area plan" means the statement of the city's policies and proposals for the comprehensive treatment during a period prescribed in it on an action area, by development, redevelopment or improvement of the whole or part of the area, or by the establishment and implementation of a social development program, or partly by one and partly by another method, and the identification of the types of treatments selected, and may be expressed in texts, maps or illustrations;

A Community Plan, as defined above, applies to a whole community,

3. Bill 62 An Act to Amend the City of Winnipeg Act & Bill 85 An Act to Amend the City of Winnipeg Act (2), 1977.

of which there are six, under the revised legislation:

1. City Centre/Fort Rouge
2. St. Boniface/St.Vital
3. Assiniboine Park/Fort Garry
4. St. James/Assiniboia
5. Lord Selkirk/W.Kildonan
6. E. Kildonan/Transcona.

The Action Area Plan applies to "action areas" which are not geographically defined. It would seem that this is open to interpretation and definition as the need arises. In other jurisdictions, the intention with this type of Plan is to provide guidance for change that is to commence in the short term (over the next ten years), in a specific area (such as city centres, old and new residential areas, recreation areas, a major traffic intersection, etc.), for the purpose of informing the public about municipal intentions, of advising property owners how they will be affected and to indicate to developers where the opportunities are.⁴

The River Osborne District Plan: 1977 could not qualify as a Community Plan under the new Plan hierarchy. It could qualify as an Action Area Plan, depending on interpretation, and could then be approved, as such, by Council. However, in discussions with Environmental Planning Department staff, it appears unlikely that this initiative will be taken. It is likely that the Plan will never be approved, will not have any legal influence over development in the area and the zoning bylaw will continue to provide the inadequate development guidance.

4. Development Plans: A Manual on Form and Context, "Action Area Plans: Functions, Form and Context", chapter in, (London, England: Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1970), p.57.

APPENDIX C

DESCRIPTIONS OF PERMITTED USES AND DENSITIES IN ZONING DISTRICTS FOR ZONING BYLAW #16502, CITY OF WINNIPEG

"R1" ONE - FAMILY DISTRICT

This District is intended to provide areas for single-family homes and certain other specified uses, such as schools, parks, churches, group foster homes, etc. usually associated with residential areas. The minimum site area required is 4,400 square feet with a maximum lot width of 40 feet. The density resulting from such lot sizes in developed areas is approximately 6 houses per acre, with a maximum height of 35'.

"R2" TWO-FAMILY DISTRICT

This District is intended to provide not only for all of those uses permitted in "R1" Districts but also for two-family dwellings and row and multiple dwellings. The densities resulting from the permitted lot sizes of this District could vary from 6 dwelling units per acre in areas developed solely with single-family dwellings, to 12 per acre in areas developed solely with two-family dwellings or row and multiple dwellings. Again the maximum height permitted is 35'.

"R2-C" CONVERSION DISTRICT

In addition to allowing all "R1" and "R2" uses as above, this District is intended to provide for the conversion of existing dwellings into multiple-family dwellings. It is intended to be used for older areas of the city containing larger homes, at least 20 years old, which can no longer be operated economically as single- or two-family dwellings. The minimum lot area per dwelling unit after conversion is 1,500 square feet. The minimum lot area required for conversion in the first place is 4,400 square feet and minimum lot width of 40 feet with a height maximum of 35'. The density of dwelling units after conversion in such areas is approximately 18 dwelling units per acre.

* All summarized from: Planning Division, The City of Winnipeg(Metro), January, 1972.

"R3" MULTIPLE-FAMILY DISTRICT

This District is intended for multiple dwellings, group and row dwellings, court apartments, boarding, lodging and rooming houses, apartment hotels and hotels and other uses such as private schools, hospitals, fraternity houses, etc. which are compatible with such multiple-family residential uses. In addition, all "R1" and "R2" uses are also allowed. The minimum lot area required is 4,800 square feet and the minimum lot width 40 feet. The minimum lot area per dwelling unit is 800 square feet and per bachelor unit is 400 square feet. The density produced by these requirements could vary from approximately 6 dwelling units per acre where there are single-family dwellings, to 55 dwelling units in apartment buildings containing dwelling units only, to 109 per acre in apartment buildings where there are bachelor units only. Generally speaking the approximate density in apartment areas, because of the mix of dwelling units and bachelor units, would be 70 units to the acre. The maximum height permitted in "R3" Districts is 45'.

"R3B-4" MULTIPLE-FAMILY DISTRICT

This zoning is intended for high density apartment buildings in areas located near the Central Business District or other major centres of commercial activity. A limited range of retail and personal service uses are permitted within the larger apartment buildings primarily to serve the occupants of these buildings.

Assuming an average of 1,000 square feet of building space per suite, the density of suites in this District can vary between 77 per acre with 30% usable open space to 142 per acre with 100% usable open space. The heights allowed in this district depend on the amount of open space included in a development, however, very high rise buildings can be achieved in this zone, upwards of 25 stories such as 55 Nassau Street.

"C1" LIMITED COMMERCIAL DISTRICT

This District is intended to provide areas for commercial uses serving the day to day needs of persons living in adjoining residential areas. It also permits the same type of residential uses allowed in "R3" Multiple-Family Districts and at the same densities. There is a height limitation of 35 feet.

"C2" COMMERCIAL DISTRICT

This District is intended to provide for general retail uses not permitted in "C1" Limited Commercial Districts and includes all of the commercial uses usually found in central shopping districts, e.g. amusement enterprises, hotels, automobile service stations, commercial clubs, medical and dental clinics, office, etc. It also permits all of the "C1" uses and the "R3" Multiple-Family District uses at the same densities. There is no height limitation on buildings.

"C3" COMMERCIAL DISTRICT

This is identical to the "C2" District except that the multiple family residential densities permitted are the same as the "R4" District.

"C3-B" COMMERCIAL PLANNED BUILDING GROUP DISTRICT

This District is intended to stimulate the construction of improved kinds of commercial development by providing greater freedom of choice in the grouping of the various types of commercial buildings and by permitting maximum flexibility in site planning. It is intended primarily for the development of regional shopping centres. There are no stated area, width yard and height, etc. requirements, but plans are subject to the approval of Council. Thus development is by compromise and agreement.

"C4" COMMERCIAL DISTRICT

This District allows all "C1" uses, however it places some restrictions on the "R3" residential uses normally allowed in "C1". No residential use is allowed unless it includes more than six self-contained units. There is no height restriction, but detailed plans are required and are subject to the approval of Council. Thus development is by compromise and agreement, at the discretion of Council.

"CR" COMMERCIAL & RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT

This District is intended to contain some high rise apartment blocks, hotels and office buildings in conjunction with limited commercial enterprises. These enterprises would provide for the retailing of commodities classed as "convenience goods" such as

groceries and drugs and other businesses to satisfy the daily and weekly household or personal needs of the residents in the immediate and adjacent areas. Any development is subject to detailed plans submission for approval. In this district, development must not be less than 4 storeys or 40' (whichever is greater).

"M1" LIGHT INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT

This District is intended to provide for light industrial uses which are carried on within a building or where any outside storage is enclosed by a wall or fence. This District will be used to ensure that industrial areas present an orderly appearance when seen from adjoining thoroughfares, highways and residential areas. All of the uses permitted in the "C2" District are also permitted including the residential uses. There is a height limitation of 45 feet. The lot area requirements for residential uses are the same as the "R3" District.

"M2" LIGHT INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT

This is a general light industrial district and is intended to provide for very much the same uses as those in the "M1" District but enclosure within a building is not required. Other similar uses are permitted providing they are not obnoxious or offensive. No residential uses are permitted except living quarters for the use of watchmen and their families employed upon the premises of an industrial establishment. There is a height limitation of 85 feet.

MIXED USE - AN INNOVATIVE APPROACH TO SCHOOLS

Mixed use -- an innovative approach to the provision of school accommodation -- is being pioneered in Canada in the St. Lawrence Housing Project through the co-operative efforts of the Toronto Board of Education, the Metropolitan Separate School Board, the Metropolitan Toronto School Board, the Ministry of Education, and the City of Toronto Non-Profit Housing Corporation. This school, the first of three planned for the 1,250 pupils expected to come from the 44 acre redevelopment, will be housed on part of the first and second floors of an eight-storey building with the balance of the space being occupied by apartments, with some commercial use at ground level. "This school" is actually two schools -- one to be operated by the Metropolitan Separate School Board which is projected to receive 30% of the pupils from the first phase, and one to be operated by the Toronto Board of Education for the remaining 70%. The classrooms and ancillary spaces are provided on opposite sides of twin general purpose rooms which are separated only by a folding door which can be opened to provide an unobstructed open space of 4,032 square feet for school or community activities. The outdoor play space of slightly less than an acre will be owned and maintained by the City with the two boards sharing in the development costs to produce a facility to meet both school and community needs.

Participation in such a new and exciting experiment carries with it a twinge of uncertainty and apprehension since there is no Canadian precedent for such a building. However, all partners in the project are dedicated to making it work and the results of this experience could have important implications for not only the other schools planned for the project but also for the provision of school accommodation in urban areas throughout Canada. The four educational partners are proud to be a part of this pioneering effort.

Thomas L. Wells

Minister of Education
PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

Bernard J. Phillips

Chairman
METROPOLITAN TORONTO SCHOOL BOARD

Edward F. Boehler

Chairman
METROPOLITAN SEPARATE SCHOOL BOARD

Douglas H. Barr

Chairman
CITY OF TORONTO BOARD OF EDUCATION

September 9, 1977

THE ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE TOWN OF YORK

ESTABLISHED 1793 · RE-ESTABLISHED 1977

The park between Jarvis and George, which is approximately one acre, will be a combination school playground and community park. During school hours, its use will be restricted. However, the park will not be fenced off and will have a non-institutional character. The second park lies between George and Frederick Streets, and has an area of one acre. This is a community park, with an emphasis on sitting-out areas and spaces designed for quiet enjoyment.

The third park in Phase A is located between Frederick and Sherbourne Streets, and has an area of one and a half acres. This is a playfield, to be used mainly for such activities as baseball and hockey.

Cityhome

Cityhome, the City of Toronto's Non-Profit Housing Corporation, is developing a mixed-use building on the southwest corner of Jarvis and Wilton Streets. The site, which has an area of approximately 60,000 square feet, is the gateway to Phase A-I of St. Lawrence. The building will contain approximately 210 residences, public and separate schools located at the first two levels, commercial and retail space at street level, and a recreational facility

a) Residential

The majority of units (170 out of 210) are located on the third to sixth floors. All of these units are non-family, ranging from small bachelors to full one-bedrooms. All units are air conditioned, and have balconies or terraces. Access is from three elevator locations. The remaining 40 units face the interior loop road. They are mostly two- and three-bedroom

THE ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE TOWN OF YORK

ESTABLISHED 1793 - RE-ESTABLISHED 1977

have balconies or terraces. Access is from three elevator locations. There is underground parking available. The remaining 40 units face the interior loop road. They are mostly two- and three-bedroom family apartments, with balconies facing the street and large back terraces on the upper floor. These units also have skylights into the kitchen/dining areas.

At the south end of the building there is a health facility containing squash courts, saunas, and an exercise room. The gymnasium and other facilities of the schools will be available for community use after school and during holidays.

b) Schools

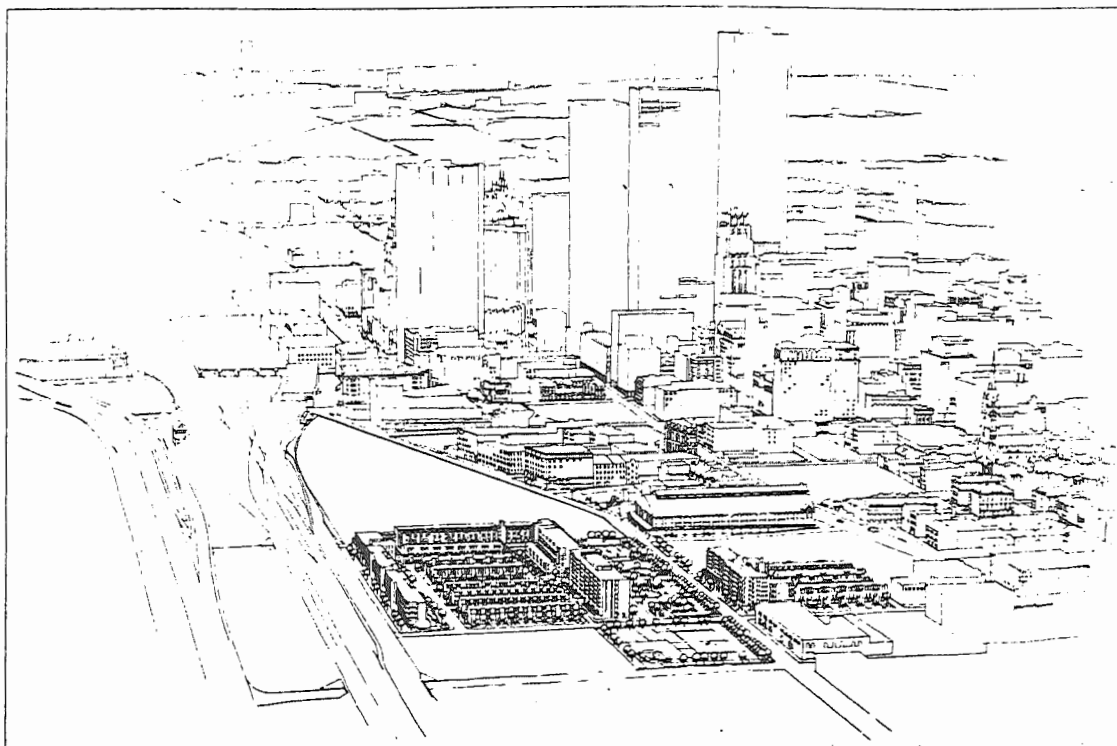
The two schools will occupy approximately 40,000 square feet, mostly on the second floor. The Separate School is located along Wilton Street, with an entrance off the park at the eastern end. The capacity is 160 pupils from grades one to six. The Public School, will accommodate 200 pupils from kindergarten to grade six.

c) Retail

There are 10,500 square feet of retail space in the building. The prime retail locations are on the corner of Jarvis/Wilton directly across from the St. Lawrence Market, and a strip running south from the east-west arcade, parallel to Jarvis Street. The cor-

THE ST. LAWRENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE TOWN OF YORK

ESTABLISHED 1793 • RE-ESTABLISHED 1977

**PHASE A**

The entire first phase of the St. Lawrence project will cover sixteen and one half acres, five of them devoted to parks. Street patterns and architectural styles deliberately recreate the character of the original Town of York, preserving a close relationship with the surrounding district.

