Public Opinion in Canadian Prairie Inner Cities

Canadian Prairie Inner-City Series No. 1

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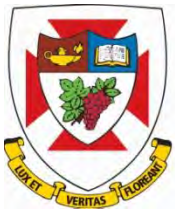
by Catherine Charette
1994

The Institute of Urban Studies

INSTITUTE OF
URBAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG



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PUBLIC OPINION IN CANADIAN PRAIRIE INNER CITIES
Canadian Prairie Inner-City Series No. 1
Published 1994 by the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg
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Note: The cover page and this information page are new replacements, 2015.

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PUBLIC OPINION IN CANADIAN PRAIRIE INNER CITIES

Canadian Prairie Inner-City Series I

Catherine Charette

Institute of Urban Studies

1994

PUBLICATION DATA

Charette, Catherine
Public Opinion in Canadian Prairie Inner Cities

(Canadian Prairie Inner-City Series I)

ISBN: 1-896023-12-6

I. The University of Winnipeg. Institute of Urban Studies. II. Title. III. Series: Canadian Prairie Inner-City Series (The University of Winnipeg, Institute of Urban Studies); 1.

This publication was funded by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, but the views expressed are the personal views of the author(s) and the Corporation accepts no responsibility for them.

Published by:

Institute of Urban Studies
The University of Winnipeg
515 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3B 2E9

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ISBN: 1-896023-12-6

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CANADIAN PRAIRIE INNER-CITY SERIES
PREFACE

Since the late 1980s it has been documented that Canadian inner cities have been experiencing a reverse in a thirty year period of decline as characterized by changes in demographic, family, cultural and other socio-economic characteristics. The trend, often referred to as the back-to-the-city movement, has created a resurgence of literature on the topic. The knowledge pertaining to ongoing change and improvement in the inner city is, however, far from complete. Despite widely available theoretical discussions of such change, there are, for example, fewer "empirical observations accounting for change in the central city's built environment and its occupants and activities" (Bunting and Filion, 1988). This Series aims to make a significant contribution in terms of accurately and comprehensively defining the changing nature of the inner city—a contribution which is crucial in determining the need and form of intervention for renewal and the suitability of existing renewal programs and public policies. With a mandate to undertake research related to urban and housing studies and to serve as a community resource, the Institute of Urban Studies (IUS) historically has led or been involved in a number of inner-city initiatives relating largely to Winnipeg. In keeping with the current mandate of the Institute, this Series will focus upon inner-city change within the five major cities of the Canadian Prairies.

This, the first study in the Series to be published, describes public opinion in Prairie inner cities as gathered through a number of public opinion surveys, primarily the "Urban Canada Study" (Angus Reid, 1991). Presented are the views of inner-city residents regarding a variety of factors such as their quality of life, their satisfaction with their city as a whole, their housing, downtown and municipal services. The "Urban Canada Study" was the largest survey of the subjective views of Canadians on life in cities to be carried out since the federal Ministry of State for Urban Affairs (MSUA) commissioned York University's Institute for Behaviourial Research to carry out "A Study of Urban Concerns" in 23 Canadian CMAs in 1978. The objectives of the two surveys were similar—to assess residents' responses to urban policy issues and to determine those aspects influencing policy preferences. Underlying these objectives, and also IUS's involvement in the "Urban Canada Study," is the rationale that subjective surveys are an important component in the making of relevant public policy.

To be presented next in this Series will be an analysis of Prairie inner-city change according to select *objective* indicators—quantitative demographic and socio-economic measures based upon Census of Canada Data. While a review of the literature pertaining to measures of quality of life indicates a lack of agreement regarding the way in which subjective and objective measures should

be integrated into the public policy making process, there is agreement that the inclusion of *both* measures is crucial to the making of relevant public policy.

The reader will also find insight into downtowns and inner cities in other IUS publications such as those on housing and sustainability and in the proceedings of a Workshop on inner-city research (November, 1993). I welcome your thoughts regarding this report and/or future pieces of work on the topic of the Canadian Inner City.

As mentioned, this report focuses upon public opinion gathered in the "Urban Canada Study." A parallel report, *Green City Views: Public Opinion and Urban Environments in Ten Canadian Cities* (Patterson, forthcoming 1994)—one in a series on Sustainable Urban Development, is also derived from the same Study but focuses on a different set of variables.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report would not have been possible without the support and participation of a number of organizations and individuals. I extend my thanks as follows: to Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) for the generous financial support provided to the Institute which enables it to undertake research and related programs; to the Angus Reid Group for inviting the Institute of Urban Studies to be a subscriber to the "Urban Canada Study"—the data which form the basis of this report; to The Sample Survey and Data Bank Unit at the University of Regina for contracting with IUS to replicate a portion of the "Urban Canada Study" in Saskatoon and Regina—a task which was essential in ensuring that all Prairie provinces were represented in this study. I am also grateful to the following individuals: Brij Mathur for the support and encouragement he provided as I developed the Inner-City Series; Herb Koehl and Dorota Budziszewska for their skill and diligence in handling the computer applications of the survey data; Nancy Klos for her assistance with Library searches; Joan Duesterdiek and Donna Laube for their numerous hours spent word processing tables and formatting this report; Mary Ann Beavis for valuable editorial assistance; Jeffrey Patterson for valuable insight he provided during our discussions of the survey results; and CMHC research staff for reviewing this report and providing helpful suggestions. And last, but certainly not least, thanks to the residents who, through their participation in the "Urban Canada Study" and other related studies, have made public opinion surveys possible.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.0 DATA BASES FOR THIS REPORT

- This report describes public opinion in Canadian Prairie inner cities as gathered through a number of public opinion surveys, primarily the "Urban Canada Study" (Angus Reid, 1991) of which IUS was a subscriber. The "Urban Canada Study" surveyed residents living in eight of Canada's largest cities (Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Halifax) and is the largest survey of the subjective views of Canadians on urban life to be carried out since the "MSUA Study" (Ministry of State for Urban Affairs) in 1978.

- Also one of the primary data bases for this report is the "Urban Canada Study Supplement"—the replication of a portion of the questions contained in the "Urban Canada Study" in Regina and Saskatoon. The "Supplement" was conducted by the University of Regina on contract to IUS for the purpose of creating a data set complete for the five Prairie cities. The entire questionnaire was not replicated due to cost and some data, therefore, are available only for the original eight cities.

- Other public opinion surveys are also drawn upon in this report to enhance the discussion. The "MSUA Study," for example, is often cited, as are surveys which have been conducted in individual Prairie cities (e.g., the 1985 survey of residents of central districts of Edmonton, or the 1990 survey conducted in Regina).

2.0 ORGANIZATION OF THIS REPORT: FOCUS ON PRAIRIE DOWNTOWNS AND INNER CITIES

- The survey results from the "Urban Canada Study" and "The Urban Canada Study Supplement" are presented in this report according to residents' place of residence which was self-described to be one of four areas—the downtown, inner city, older suburbs or newer suburbs.

- The Prairie downtown and inner city is the focus of analysis although the Prairie suburbs and the other cities surveyed are mentioned to provide some context for the focus areas.

- The survey results are often presented according to Prairie and non-Prairie groupings. In recognition that cities should be treated individually rather than as examples of a class, however, the Prairie and non-Prairie results should not be considered in the absence of the results for the individual cities.

3.0 HOW DOWNTOWN AND INNER-CITY RESIDENTS ASSESS THEIR CITY

- Intra-city differences of opinion existed particularly on matters related to safety and security, municipal services and housing.

- Quality of Life Rankings ranged quite markedly among Prairie cities.

    - Among all ten cities, Saskatoon and Calgary received the top two ratings. Edmonton and Regina received middle placed ratings; Winnipeg received one of the lowest.

    - Saskatoon and Calgary's downtowns and inner cities maintained first or second place rankings among all ten cities. In Edmonton, however, the downtown received a higher

rating than the city overall and the reverse situation occurred for the inner city. In both Regina and Winnipeg, the downtowns were rated lower than the city as a whole.

- In comparison to the findings of the "MSUA Study," Saskatoon and Calgary's downtown and inner city as well as Edmonton's downtown appear to have improved relative to the city as a whole. Since the earlier study, Regina's downtown and inner city have maintained their ranking relative to the city as a whole. In Winnipeg, however, the downtown and inner city appear to have lost ground in their relative placement to the city overall.

- In keeping with the findings of the "MSUA Study," environmental concerns continue to be a top priority among urban Canadians.

  - Although Prairie residents tend to be more optimistic than non-Prairie residents that the environment will improve, substantial proportions feel pollution will be worse ten years hence; this was particularly true in Calgary's inner city and suburbs and in Winnipeg's and Regina's downtown.

- Dissatisfaction with maintenance and repair of streets and boulevards, snow removal and welfare and social services for the needy was well above the "national average" (the level for all ten cities combined) among the Prairie cities. This result generally remained consistent regardless of residents' place of residence.

  - Satisfaction with public transit service, however, varied greatly according to city. Among Prairie cities, transit service received favourable ratings in Winnipeg, Calgary and Saskatoon, but lower ratings in Regina and Edmonton. Variations in transit satisfaction by area of residence was found to be insignificant relative to variation by city.

  - Roughly a quarter of urban Canadians, regardless of where they reside, feel that the value of services they receive from their municipal government is poor if not very poor.

  - In terms of ways to reduce the burden of paying for services, the support for contracting services to private companies was small to moderate in most of the original eight cities surveyed, Edmonton among the exceptions, regardless of area of residence. Similarly, support for user fees was generally supported by only one third of urban Canadians; user fees was met with greatest opposition in Winnipeg's and Calgary's inner city and Edmonton's downtown.

- Fear of crime was generally lower in the suburbs than in the downtown or inner city.

  - Levels of fear were particularly high in Winnipeg's and Regina's downtown and inner city, where levels were far above the "national averages" for these two areas. Alternately, however, there was no consistent correlation between perceived *increases* in crime and distance one lived from the downtown.

- Ratings of civic government varied widely among Prairie cities.

    - Winnipeggers gave their councillors the worst rankings among all eight cities originally surveyed, while Calgarians gave theirs one of the best.

    - In most Prairie and non-Prairie centres, downtowners and/or inner-city residents were more likely than suburban residents to disapprove of their councillors' performance and to feel that their councillors did a poor job of communicating to the public what it is doing and why.

    - Although similar proportions of residents within the residential areas in Calgary and in Edmonton felt that council should be downsized, downtown Winnipeggers were much less inclined to support this than residents from other areas of Winnipeg.

    - Most Prairie and non-Prairie residents, regardless of the area of the city in which they resided, tended to agree that municipal referenda should take place. They did not, however, have strong feelings towards having party politics at the municipal level or towards giving municipal governments greater constitutional powers.

- Ratings of a *prescribed list* of fifteen action areas were similar for all ten cities.

    - For all ten cities combined, the action areas for city-wide improvement which were perceived to be most important were: reducing crime and violence; developing programs for waste disposal/recycling; encouraging economic development; establishing more police foot patrols and community based policing; promoting greater tolerance between ethnic and racial groups; and preventing the demolition of historic buildings. Actions that were considered to be of lesser importance included: reducing municipal spending and property taxes; providing better municipal services; and improving public transit.

    - The above noted result generally remained consistent among individual cities although the proportion of residents who felt that the policy areas were important varied markedly across and within cities.

    - The highest value attached to community-based policing was found among residents of Winnipeg's and Edmonton's downtown. Waste disposal systems/recycling programs were deemed particularly important in Edmonton. In Calgary and Edmonton, historic preservation was of concern to all residents, whereas in most other Canadian cities it was more of a concern for downtown or inner-city residents.

    - The magnitude of support given to priorities tended somewhat to reflect the Overall Quality of Life ranking which residents had given their city—those who gave high overall ratings tended to feel less strongly about the importance of the actions.

4.0 WHERE DOWNTOWN AND INNER-CITY RESIDENTS PREFER TO LIVE

- The proportion of suburban residents who prefer a central location is, in all ten cities, very small. If preferences were realized, the number of residents moving from the suburbs to a downtown or inner-city area as compared to those preferring to move in the reverse direction would be nine times greater in the Prairie cities and three times greater in the non-Prairie cities. Though not all residential location preferences are likely to be realized, the potential negative impact upon Prairie downtowns and inner cities is obvious.

- The preference for the suburbs was particularly strong in the Prairies where the lowest percentages of downtown and inner-city residents prefer their current place of residence, and where the highest percentages of suburban residents prefer the suburbs over any other location. The newer suburbs were generally preferred over the older suburbs.

- Prairie downtowners who preferred to *stay* in the downtown were more likely to be: in the 45-65 or 65 plus age group; divorced/widowed/separated; without children; with less than a grade twelve education; and of no particular income group. Prairie downtowners who preferred an *alternate location* were a less uniform group and they also included a large proportion of the 18-24 age group.

- The above noted finding was similar among non-Prairie cities, although downtowns in these cities have a greater appeal among the 25-44 age group and double the appeal among households with children. Related to this was the finding that the preference for the downtown among households with children was twice as high in the non-Prairie cities as the Prairie cities.

- Another significant difference between Prairie and non-Prairie cities was that a substantial proportion of non-Prairie downtowners who prefer a location other than their present downtown location preferred the inner city.

- Fewer inner-city residents than downtowners preferred an alternate residential location to their present one. Among inner-city households who do not wish to move, a substantial portion have children. In the non-Prairies, the inner city, like the downtown, is more appealing to singles and younger age groups than in the Prairies.

- Despite the large proportions of downtown and inner-city residents who prefer the suburbs in Prairie cities, residents currently residing in these central areas have expressed that they feel a definite sense of community in their downtown and inner-city neighbourhoods. Residents enjoy "the people" and the convenience of being near facilities, programs and services.

5.0 THE DOWNTOWN

- Downtown ratings in all Prairie cities, except Saskatoon (which had the number one ranked downtown of all ten cities surveyed), were well behind the ratings residents gave their city overall. Edmonton, Regina and Winnipeg had overall Quality of Life rankings of fifth, sixth and eighth but their downtowns occupied the three lowest ratings—eighth, ninth and tenth respectively. Calgary's downtown had a fifth place rating despite its second place overall rating.

- When asked to assess a given list of specific features about the downtown, residents in each of the four residential areas in all five Prairie cities registered the greatest amount of dissatisfaction for availability and cost of parking. Safety and security from crime and violence was also rated high among concerns of residents of Winnipeg, Regina and Edmonton.

- Use of the downtown for shopping and entertainment is generally declining among residents of urban Canadian cities as a whole—with the proportion of residents shopping "less" outweighing the proportion shopping "more" by two to four times.

- The majority of downtowners, however, are unique in that they presently patronize their downtowns more now than before; this was more true in the Prairie than non-Prairie cities.

- Although they frequent the downtown for shopping, entertainment and professional services less often than downtown residents, inner-city residents frequent the downtown twice as much as residents of the suburbs.

- Urban dwellers who patronize the downtown *more* tend to be in the 18 to 34 age group, middle- or low-income and female. Roughly half are not employed at all or are not employed outside the home. Of those who are employed, about two thirds work in the downtown. Alternately, those who patronize the downtown *less* are likely to be in the over 34 age group and to work in a location other than the downtown.

- Car access to downtown workplaces is highest among Prairie cities. The proportion of residents of newer suburbs in Prairie cities who go to work by car, for example, is double the "national average"; in Regina it is three times. In Winnipeg and Regina, this finding is compounded by the higher than "national average" proportion of residents of the new suburbs who *work* in the downtown.

- The most important priorities for downtown improvement perceived by Prairie residents, when asked in an open-ended question, included two priorities—improving parking, and cleaning-up/beautifying/"greening" the downtown. Downtown and inner-city residents were more likely to suggest the latter priority ahead of parking.

- In the non-Prairie centres, these two improvements were also among those most suggested, although improving traffic flow tended to rate ahead of cleaning-up/beautifying/"greening" the downtown; non-Prairie dwellers also rated improved public transit much higher than Prairie residents.

- Other suggestions for improvements for Prairie downtowns varied considerably among the cities. Within their respective cities, however, downtowners—those with the most direct experience with the downtown—offered suggestions that were often somewhat distinct from those offered by residents of the other three areas. Downtowners, for example, were more likely to cite maintenance of older buildings (Edmonton, Calgary), provision of social services (Calgary) and control of loitering (Winnipeg).

- Within the Prairies, the open-ended question on downtown improvements resulted in lower than expected levels of value attached to improved safety and shopping/entertainment features.

- Compared to the "MSUA Study" in 1978, downtown issues have at least moved into the consciousness of urban Canadians' as an issue to be considered in the health of the total city, although they are still not considered a high priority relative to other city-wide issues.

6.0 HOUSING

- The need to look at both relative and absolute ratings of issues was particularly true concerning housing. Large proportions of all Canadians surveyed do not have high levels of satisfaction with many of the housing aspects examined in the survey.

- There was a strong divide between owners and renters as well as between downtown/inner-city residents and suburban residents.

- Prairie residents who hold conspicuously low levels of home happiness compared to "national," non-Prairie and Prairie levels were: owners in Regina's downtown; renters in Winnipeg's downtown and inner city; and renters in Edmonton's inner city and suburbs.

- The finding that home happiness was strongly correlated with tenure among Prairie inner-city residents (but surprisingly was not for the remaining Prairie and non-Prairie residents), combined with the previously mentioned finding that preference for living in the suburbs is particularly high among Prairie residents, suggests that home ownership programs targeted towards residents of central areas would go a long way to stabilize Prairie downtowns and inner cities.

- As a whole, residents of the ten cities surveyed were more happy with their home if they: were older; less likely to move to another city; perceived their city to be affordable, a good place to raise a family, and appealing in terms of scenery and surroundings; and if they were not worried about pollution.

- Among the downtowns and inner cities of all ten cities, the housing factors included in the housing dimension of the Quality of Life Index which tended to receive the lowest ratings were: inability to afford to purchase a home; housing affordability; and inadequate supply of government-subsidized housing. Of less concern was availability of units to either rent or buy. Among other parts of the city, the order of concerns, but not necessarily the magnitude, was similar.

- Most of the housing factors examined were of more concern to renters than to owners, although downtown or inner-city *owners* often registered the greatest concern. In the cities of Winnipeg, Regina and Edmonton, for example, perceptions that "subsidies for special needs groups is poor" was highest among downtown or inner-city owners.

- Housing concerns among downtown and inner-city residents include: affordability; lack of housing for special user groups; lack of housing offered in conjunction with services and supports; poor landlord/tenant relations; discrimination; poor maintenance of housing units by owners and landlords; parking and traffic intrusion; and lack of knowledge of housing programs.

- The importance of housing relative to other priorities for the city could not be determined from the "Urban Canada Study" and "Urban Canada Study Supplement." Other public opinion surveys conducted within various Prairie cities have indicated, however, that housing is a top priority when considering strategies for inner-city renewal.

- Public support for housing programs is likely to be high. Canadians, regardless of where they reside, were sensitive to the growing problems of poverty and homelessness and, as mentioned, owners registered more concern than renters regarding some social housing issues.

7.0 CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL AMENITIES

- Two Prairie downtowns (Edmonton's and Calgary's) took the top ratings among all ten downtowns for cultural and recreational amenities—ratings which were not sustained in the inner city of Edmonton or the inner city and suburbs of Calgary. The other Prairie residents had opinions which varied little by area of residence; Saskatonians provided middle place rankings while Winnipeggers and Reginans provided the two bottom ratings.

- Strong positive correlates of the cultural and recreational dimension of the Quality of Life Index included public libraries, stores and malls for shopping, and facilities for professional sports.

- The importance of recreation relative to other priorities for the city could not be determined from the "Urban Canada Study" and "Urban Canada Study Supplement." Other public opinion surveys which have been conducted, however, have indicated that recreation is a top priority when considering strategies for inner-city renewal.

- Strong public support for recreation programs in the inner city is likely to be high even among suburban residents who, for example, associate increased youth programs with decreased crime in their cities.

8.0 SOCIAL SERVICES

- Urban Canadians are highly attuned to the growing concerns of poverty and homelessness. When given a list of 21 issues affecting quality of life, the growing problem of poverty and homelessness was the second highest concern among Prairie dwellers (second to "avoid areas because of personal safety") and the top-most concern among non-Prairie dwellers; these results did not vary according to residents' area of residence.

- Dissatisfaction with welfare and social services for the needy, however, was highest, and over the "national average" among downtown or inner-city residents of each Prairie city.

- Alongside housing, services aimed at improving employment opportunities and recreational opportunities have been identified by inner-city residents to be among their top needs. Suburban residents also attach high value to these initiatives.

- The majority of residents do not support increased tax dollars to provide more and better social services to those who need them but neither do they support finding ways to reduce municipal spending and property taxes, even if it means cutting some services. They also do not support user fees to maintain services at the non-reduced levels.

9.0 URBAN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

- In keeping with the results of the "MSUA Study," Urban Canadians continue to be concerned about environmental factors in their city. They also attach high value to actions for disposal and recycling of solid waste.

- Despite the survey finding that indicates an overwhelming preference for the suburbs, the central areas of many Canadian cities have increased in population recently despite a thirty year period of decline. Requiring further clarification is the role that public opinion in relation to other forces such as public policy and capital investment has on inner-city repopulation.

- Urban Canadians want their downtowns to be easily accessed and, even in large centres where improved public transit is identified with improving the downtown, residents by and large associate better traffic flow and improved parking with increased accessibility.

10.0 FURTHER RESEARCH NEEDS

- Further analysis of the data collected in the "Urban Canada Study" and its "Supplement" on the topics of crime/safety, priorities and provision of services would be helpful in determining ways of improving the downtown and inner city.

- Requiring further clarification is the role that public perception plays in affecting repopulation in downtowns and inner cities relative to other factors and developmental processes (e.g., economic restructuring, labour market reorganization and housing provision). Despite strong preferences for

CANADIAN PRAIRIE INNER-CITY SERIES
PREFACE

Since the late 1980s it has been documented that Canadian inner cities have been experiencing a reverse in a thirty year period of decline as characterized by changes in demographic, family, cultural and other socio-economic characteristics. The trend, often referred to as the back-to-the-city movement, has created a resurgence of literature on the topic. The knowledge pertaining to ongoing change and improvement in the inner city is, however, far from complete. Despite widely available theoretical discussions of such change, there are, for example, fewer "empirical observations accounting for change in the central city's built environment and its occupants and activities" (Bunting and Filion, 1988). This Series aims to make a significant contribution in terms of accurately and comprehensively defining the changing nature of the inner city—a contribution which is crucial in determining the need and form of intervention for renewal and the suitability of existing renewal programs and public policies. With a mandate to undertake research related to urban and housing studies and to serve as a community resource, the Institute of Urban Studies (IUS) historically has led or been involved in a number of inner-city initiatives relating largely to Winnipeg. In keeping with the current mandate of the Institute, this Series will focus upon inner-city change within the five major cities of the Canadian Prairies.

This, the first study in the Series to be published, describes public opinion in Prairie inner cities as gathered through a number of public opinion surveys, primarily the "Urban Canada Study" (Angus Reid, 1991). Presented are the views of inner-city residents regarding a variety of factors such as their quality of life, their satisfaction with their city as a whole, their housing, downtown and municipal services. The "Urban Canada Study" was the largest survey of the subjective views of Canadians on life in cities to be carried out since the federal Ministry of State for Urban Affairs (MSUA) commissioned York University's Institute for Behaviourial Research to carry out "A Study of Urban Concerns" in 23 Canadian CMAs in 1978. The objectives of the two surveys were similar—to assess residents' responses to urban policy issues and to determine those aspects influencing policy preferences. Underlying these objectives, and also IUS's involvement in the "Urban Canada Study," is the rationale that subjective surveys are an important component in the making of relevant public policy.

To be presented next in this Series will be an analysis of Prairie inner-city change according to select *objective* indicators—quantitative demographic and socio-economic measures based upon Census of Canada Data. While a review of the literature pertaining to measures of quality of life indicates a lack of agreement regarding the way in which subjective and objective measures should

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- Alongside housing, services aimed at improving employment opportunities and recreational opportunities have been identified by inner-city residents to be among their top needs. Suburban residents also attach high value to these initiatives.

- The majority of residents do not support increased tax dollars to provide more and better social services to those who need them but neither do they support finding ways to reduce municipal spending and property taxes, even if it means cutting some services. They also do not support user fees to maintain services at the non-reduced levels.

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- Requiring further clarification is the role that public perception plays in affecting repopulation in downtowns and inner cities relative to other factors and developmental processes (e.g., economic restructuring, labour market reorganization and housing provision). Despite strong preferences for

the suburbs, some Canadian downtowns and/or inner cities are, nevertheless, experiencing a population turnaround after a thirty year period of decline.

- Given the variety of inter- and intra-city variation of opinion that exists, additional consultation with residents of individual cities, particularly at the neighbourhood level, is required. Despite the various public opinion surveys which have been undertaken and reported upon in this report, there is a need for ongoing means of gathering public input into decisions related to downtowns and inner cities. Consultations which focus on particular issues are likely to be of most use to policy makers.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

A large number of descriptions and analyses of the inner city have been undertaken—most of which are based upon objective data of which Census of Canada data are a prominent source (see for example, Bourne, 1992; Broadway, 1992; Bunting and Filion, 1988; Ley, 1988; McLemore, *et al.,* 1975; Ram, Norris and Skof, 1989). Studies which have explored residents' *subjective* views of their inner-city environment, however, have been few; most have been conducted in individual cities and offer no comparative analysis between cities (see, e.g., Program Management Services and Associates, 1990; Edmonton, 1985; Results Group, 1989). Understanding residents' perceptions of their city is of critical importance in assisting urban administrators and planners in adopting effective urban policies and programs.

An opportunity to capture such opinions presented itself in 1991, when the Institute was invited by the Angus Reid Group, Inc. (a major Canadian public opinion and marketing survey organization) to participate in The "Urban Canada Study"—a syndicated survey of Canadians living in eight of the largest cities in Canada (Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Halifax). The Institute of Urban Studies (IUS), along with the municipal governments of the eight Canadian cities and a large Canadian media conglomerate, subscribed to the survey. During September and October of 1991, approximately 500 residents in each of the eight cities were telephoned to elicit their views on a wide range of issues (see Appendix A) organized around twelve dimensions: economy; physical environment; social harmony; crime and safety; cultural/recreational amenities; downtown; housing; transportation; services/infrastructure; municipal politics; stress; and attachment to city. In addition to obtaining residents' views on these subjects, a primary objective of the study was to determine how residents rated the quality of urban life in their respective cities. The Angus Reid Group was then able to construct a comparative Quality of Life Index for the eight cities (see "Note", Table 3 and Section 2.1). Such a comprehensive survey of public opinion had not been conducted since 1978 when the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs undertook a "Survey of Urban Concerns" (herein referred to as the "MSUA Study" and cited as Atkinson, 1979).

In terms of applying this data to the study of the Prairie inner cities, the "Urban Canada Study" supplied consistent data for the cities of Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton. Although the samples were not stratified by geographic areas of the cities (downtown, inner city, suburbs), respondents were asked to self-identify their current area of residence in order for opinions to be analyzed according to where residents lived. To create a data set complete for the Prairies, the IUS's region of mandate, the IUS contracted the Sample Survey and Data Bank Unit at the University of Regina to replicate a portion

of the survey administered in the "Urban Canada Study" in Regina and Saskatoon (herein referred to as the "Urban Canada Study Supplement"). During July and August 1992, approximately 500 residents in each of Saskatoon and Regina were telephone surveyed.

While this report is based largely upon the "Urban Canada Study" and its "Supplement," other public opinion surveys are also drawn upon to enhance discussions and, when possible, to suggest changes in attitudes and behaviour that have occurred over time. The "MSUA Study" which surveyed 11,000 residents in 23 Canadian CMAs and other selected urban communities, is the major precursor of the "Urban Canada Study" and is often cited here. In addition, results from surveys which have been conducted in individual Prairie cities (e.g., the 1985 survey of residents of central districts of Edmonton, or the 1990 public opinion survey conducted in Regina) make useful contributions to the discussion despite their lack of applicability beyond the city concerned.

This report presents the findings of the survey with an emphasis on Prairie city residents. The purpose of the report is: to describe the views of inner-city residents regarding their perceived quality of life and their levels of satisfaction with various factors; to place these views within the context of non- inner-city areas and of the inner cities of other Canadian cities; and to draw implications for inner-city development policies. The Prairie inner city is the focus for discussion; the suburbs and the other five cities surveyed are mentioned in order to provide some context for the Prairie inner city. The results from the "Urban Canada Study" form the basis for discussion but, as mentioned, relevant material from related surveys is integrated to expand the discussion and analysis. While this report offers subjective opinions regarding the inner city—an essential component in the describing the inner city—it should be balanced with objective measures such as the demographic and socio-economic characteristics which will be presented in the next publication in the Institute's Canadian Prairie Inner-City Series.

1.1 TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THIS REPORT: A DOWNTOWN AND INNER-CITY FOCUS

The "Urban Canada Study" asked respondents to self-describe which of four areas they currently resided—"the downtown centre," "an older inner-city area near downtown," "an older suburb of the city not too far from downtown," or "a newer suburb located further out towards the city limits." A comparison of respondents' postal codes and their self-described places of residence showed that the survey responses were, with the exception of under-representation of the new suburbs in Ottawa and Toronto, adequate to delineate survey results by the four areas of the city. An outline of the number of respondents by their area of residence for each of the ten cities is shown in Table 1.

In this report, the attitudes and perceptions of the downtown and inner-city respondents from five Prairie cities will be highlighted although the responses from all residents are provided for context. While the report could have focused primarily on the downtown and/or could have combined the "downtown" and "inner city" (as many previously published studies of the "inner city" have done), the author chose to keep the downtown results as a separate category even though they represent a relatively small proportion of the responses. The author strongly holds that the inner city includes both the downtown and older surrounding areas, and, furthermore, that the inner city should be viewed as a composite of a number of unique areas rather than one homogeneous whole. The "MSUA Study" showed that "residents' evaluations of neighbourhood varied consistently by zone [intra-urban area] in each city and that these differences remained when the effects of income and age were controlled" (Atkinson, 1979, p. 3). As I have outlined previously, the "Urban Canada Study" also reveals distinct differences of opinion between residents of the downtown and inner city regarding some policy and priorities issues (Charette, 1991). In this report, keeping the downtown distinct reveals, for example, that downtown dwellers are very different from the remainder of residents in terms of gaining access to the downtown for shopping and entertainment. The results on a city-wide basis showed that "reduced visitation of downtown for shopping and entertainment was reported by at least a plurality of respondents living in all eight cities sampled, rising to a majority in Vancouver, Edmonton and Winnipeg" (Angus Reid Group, p. 35). Looking at the results as stratified by area shows how a similar result would have been derived by combining the downtown and inner city. In this report, which separated the downtown and inner-city results, it was shown how shopping patterns differed significantly between downtown and inner-city residents.

While the results of the older and newer suburbs have been shown separately in the Tables, the data generally are used to place the downtown and/or inner-city results in context. In most instances, therefore, the report refers to the suburbs in general and does not differentiate between the old and new suburbs unless there are significant differences between the two areas that are relevant to the study of the downtown and inner city.

Results at the total city level generally are not presented in this report (although they can be found in the companion report by Patterson, 1994) due to the emphasis on the downtown and inner city. That city-level analyses do not adequately reflect public opinion within a city due to the wide intra-urban variations that are often found to exist was illustrated when the "Urban Canada Study" showed that, on a national level, "home happiness" was rated highest among Winnipeggers as a whole, but lowest among downtown and inner-city Winnipeggers (Charette, 1992). Aggregate responses according to area of residence, however, have been compiled for two groups—the Prairie

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY AREA OF RESIDENCE:

AREA OF RESIDENCE	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE TOTAL	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	NON-PRAIRIE TOTAL	ALL 10 CITIES
DOWNTOWN													
All Respondents	28	23	20	10	17	98	26	28	49	15	36	154	252
(Weighted)	(19)	(8)	(7)	(7)	(13)	(54)	(41)	(71)	(34)	(30)	(13)	(189)	(243)
(Distribution)	(6%)	(5%)	(4%)	(2%)	(3%)	(4%)	(5%)	(6%)	(10%)	(3%)	(7%)	(5%)	(5%)
INNER CITY													
All Respondents	64	78	72	55	50	319	62	108	108	88	83	449	768
(Weighted)	(43)	(27)	(25)	(39)	(39)	(173)	(98)	(276)	(76)	(178)	(30)	(658)	(831)
(Distribution)	(13%)	(15%)	(14%)	(11%)	(10%)	(12%)	(12%)	(22%)	(22%)	(18%)	(16%)	(18%)	(17%)
OLDER SUBURBS													
All Respondents	209	198	190	221	194	1012	215	257	227	196	189	1084	2096
(Weighted)	(140)	68	(65)	(158)	(149)	(580)	(339)	(656)	(159)	(397)	(68)	(1619)	(2199)
(Distribution)	(42%)	(38%)	(38%)	(44%)	(39%)	(41%)	(43%)	(51%)	(45%)	(39%)	(37%)	(45%)	(44%)
NEWER SUBURBS													
All Respondents	196	216	224	213	232	1081	183	108	111	191	193	786	1867
(Weighted)	(131)	(74)	(77)	(152)	(179)	(613)	(288)	(276)	(78)	(387)	(69)	(1098)	(1711)
(Distribution)	(39%)	(42%)	(44%)	(43%)	(46%)	(43%)	(36%)	(22%)	(22%)	(38%)	(38%)	(31%)	(34%)
TOTAL													
All Respondents	497	515	506	499	493	2510	486	501	495	490	501	2473	4983
(Weighted)	(333)	(177)	(174)	(356)	(380)	(1420)	(766)	(1279)	(347)	(992)	(180)	(3564)	(4984)

Note: Distributions may not total 100%, as those respondents (75 in total) who did not state their current area of residence are not shown here.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

cities and the other five cities—for comparative purposes. Based on the notion, however, that grouping generalizes the results, and that cities "should be treated individually rather than examples of class, e.g., large or small cities" (and I should add Prairie and non-Prairie cities) (Atkinson, p. 17), these aggregates provide some context for discussion only.

In this report, therefore, the following areas identified in the survey will be referred to as follows:

As worded in the "Urban Canada Study":	*As worded in this report:*
"the downtown centre"	the downtown
"an older inner-city area near downtown"	the inner city
"an older suburb of the city not too far from the downtown"	the older suburbs
" a newer suburb located further out towards the city limits"	the newer suburbs

The "inner city" has already been used in the introductory pages of this report. It was used to delineate the areas of both the downtown and surrounding older neighbourhoods. In the remainder of this report, the terminology outlined above will be used when referring to the two primary data sources of this study—the "Urban Canada Study" and "The Urban Canada Supplement." Central areas will delineate the downtown and inner city combined. It is impossible, however, to avoid other terminology used in other surveys cited in this report. For example, the terms "core area" and "central districts" are used in Winnipeg and in Edmonton, respectively, to describe a combination of the downtown plus inner city as defined in the "Urban Canada Study."

The reader may assume that Tables are presenting data from the two primary sources for this report unless they are titled and sourced otherwise. Tables outlining data from these two primary data sources will generally indicate responses for all ten cities individually, as well as combined totals for all ten cities, the five Prairie cities and the five other or non-Prairie cities. Figures in the Tables may not add up to 100 percent because of rounding procedures and because the percentage distribution for "don't knows/no responses" are not shown.

1.2 LIMITATIONS

The data are limited due to the general limitations inherent in the survey research method. While surveys are an important means of encouraging citizen input into decision-making, and while there is much to be learned from the gathering of public perceptions, it is also important that the survey data be interpreted cautiously. The responses reported here represent the views of urban

Canadians towards a particular set of questions administered at a particular point in time. It has been shown, for example, that the results of the surveys analyzed in this report show that Montreal and Toronto are rated by their residents as having the lowest overall quality of urban life in Canada, yet international studies have shown that the same two cities are often judged to have the best overall quality of life relative to other large cities in North America. Similarly, a survey conducted in Winnipeg by the Institute of Urban Studies confirmed the "Urban Canada Study" results that, in terms of future policies and priorities, the environment/pollution is foremost in the public's mind; next to the issue of pollution, however, was "attracting tourists to Winnipeg"—an issue which did not surface in the "Urban Canada Study," as it was not included among items listed in the survey instrument. A different set of questions designed specifically for the downtown and inner city might have garnered data concerning community programs and facilities for target groups. Furthermore, the survey data provided are only a small portion of the information necessary to account for respondents' specific attitudes and behaviours.

Relative rankings are interesting and useful in comparing cities but it is important to remember that high relative rankings do not necessarily indicate satisfaction or vice versa. The Quality of Life Summary Index and the individual indexes are also useful for comparing cities and are discussed in this report although the arrangement of dimensions and survey questions defining the dimension are subject to scrutiny. The relative rankings and Indexes, therefore, are only useful for policy formulation if they are used in conjunction with the absolute response figures.

As outlined earlier, the "Urban Canada Study" and its "Supplement" were conducted by two different organizations at two different times. The question of comparability is therefore justified. As well, budgetary constraints necessitated that the Institute was able to replicate only a portion of the "Urban Canada Study" in Saskatoon and Regina. It is reassuring, however, that when the two surveys were integrated (the data re-weighted to reflect the actual relative populations of all ten cities) and when the Quality of Life Index was re-calculated for all ten cities on a smaller number of factors, the relative rankings of the cities generally remained the same as they had when the Index was calculated for the original eight cities using the longer survey instrument.

This report focuses primarily upon the material consistent for all five Prairie cities, which eliminates a considerable portion of the attitudes gathered in the original, longer survey of eight cities. Nevertheless, some important issues such as municipal government are discussed despite the absence of information for Regina and Saskatoon.

It is beyond the scope of this report to attempt to rectify the subjective measures described here with related objective indicators, although there is general agreement that both should be used

in the making of relevant public policy. Some attempt however, to reconcile subjective and objective indicators has been made in the report parallel to this one (see Patterson, 1994).

The analysis contained in this report is certainly not exhaustive, and attempts to provide an overview of results that have implications for planning and policy-making for downtown and older inner-city areas. In-depth investigations of particular issues noted in the final section of this report are warranted.

Finally, it was suspected by the author that certain groups would be excluded from the survey due to language difficulties or the absence of a telephone in their place of residence—a concern that would be particularly relevant in the downtown and inner city where the majority of immigrant groups and lower-income residents dwell. This concern was validated in a review of the representativeness of the survey sample.

1.3 REPRESENTATIVENESS OF SAMPLE

The sample was selected randomly through the telephone directory with the intent of selecting 500 residents from each city. For the eight cities, this resulted in a "margin of error of ±4.5 . . . 18 times out of 20" (Angus Reid Group, p. 12). For the cities of Saskatoon and Regina "results of the survey are considered representative of the population of both cities at a 95 percent confidence interval, ±4.3 percent (University of Regina, 1992, p. 3). While a respondent-to-population comparison has not, to date, been undertaken by users of the data, it is likely that a sample of 500 was adequate for a city at large, and that the error in deriving conclusions about the population at large from the sample is relatively low.

Before proceeding with the analysis on the downtown and inner city, however, the author felt it important to know how well the respondents represented the actual population. Census of Canada data compiled for an area equivalent to the downtown/inner city (Charette, forthcoming 1994) was, therefore, compared to the combined responses of downtown and inner-city respondents (Table 2). The comparison was limited due to some incompatibilities between the two data sources. The survey was conducted in 1991 and 1992, while the most recent Census data available at the time of this report was 1986. The census data pertaining to education include anyone 15 years and over, while the survey represents information for those 18 and over. Similar difficulties are noted in the Table with respect to sex ratios and the "adult" age distribution.

As suspected, lower income groups were under-represented and higher income groups were over-represented. In each city, there are double the number of households earning $50,000 plus than are actually present. Related to this is an over-representation of those with higher educations.

TABLE 2: COMPARISON OF DOWNTOWN/INNER-CITY RESPONDENTS (RESP) AND TOTAL INNER-CITY POPULATION (POP)[1]

	WINNIPEG		REGINA		SASKATOON		CALGARY		EDMONTON	
CHARACTERISTIC	Resp %	Pop %	Resp %	Pop %	Resp %	Pop %	Resp %	Pop %	Resp %	Pop %
HOUSEHOLD INCOME										
<10,000	11	30	12	13	19	29	5	21	8	25
10,000 - 19,999	21	27	13	27	14	27	14	22	21	25
20,000 - 29,999	26	18	27	23	16	17	21	19	17	19
30,000 - 39,999	16	12	11	15	16	12	16	13	21	13
40,000 - 49,999	5	6	8	10	16	7	9	8	13	8
50,000 and over	21	7	30	12	20	9	35	16	21	10
SEX (18+ survey; 20+ pop)										
Male to Female ratio	1.0	.91	.59	.84	.58	.86	1.4	1.0	1.1	1.0
"ADULT" AGE DISTRIBUTION										
18-24 (resp.), 20-24 (pop.)	20	15	14	16	18	17	10	17	22	17
25-34	36	26	31	25	27	26	46	34	33	31
35-44	23	14	17	12	15	11	19	14	16	14
45-54	7	10	10	9	8	9	6	9	10	10
55-64	10	13	9	12	4	12	8	10	6	11
65 and over	5	23	20	26	20	26	10	17	14	17
MARITAL STATUS										
Single	48	37	41	33	43	37	41	37	41	39
Married	31	47	27	49	40	46	37	48	35	46
Divorced, widowed, separated	21	17	32	18	17	18	22	15	24	16
HOUSEHOLDS										
1 person	42	43	47	45	36	50	35	47	35	49
2 persons	29	28	35	28	36	31	39	34	46	31
3 persons	11	12	9	12	13	9	13	10	12	10
4-5 persons	16	13	9	12	13	8	13	8	8	9
6 or more persons	2	3	0	3	3	2	0	1	0	2
Households ≥2 Persons										
With children	37	38	33	59	37	50	33	46	25	52
Without children	63	62	67	41	63	50	67	54	75	48
Households with children										
One parent	39	36	33	36	57	40	40	33	25	35
Two parents	61	64	67	64	43	60	60	67	75	65
TENURE										
Owners	41	34	43	41	41	27	45	31	31	23
Renters	59	66	57	59	59	73	55	69	69	77
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION										
Grade school/some high school	13	22	17	53	19	46	9	33	17	43
Completed Grade 12	26	9	11	8	10	8	20	9	17	9
Non-university post secondary	20	18	35	21	27	22	27	27	27	25
Some/all university	41	20	38	22	45	24	44	31	39	22
SINGLE ETHNIC ORIGINS										
British	16	21	29	36	30	34	11	49	11	29
French	3	9	6	5	2	4	2	5	2	6
Aboriginal	2	9	6	13	1	9	0	0	0	0
German	5	8	15	19	8	14	2	9	6	7
Ukrainian	7	12	10	5	13	13	11	4	4	12
Japanese	3	N/A	1	N/A	0	N/A	11	N/A	9	N/A
Chinese	20	3	1	N/A	0	N/A	26	5	26	9
Scandinavian	3	1	0	2	6	2	0	0	0	0
Hungarian	5	0	1	2	2		11	0	13	0
All others (3% or less each)	29	35	31	19	38	21	26	25	20	35
DOWNTOWN & INNER CITY TO TOTAL CITY: RATIO	.19	.20	.20	.19	.18	.08	.13	.18	.14	.13

Notes: [1]Respondents place of residence were self-determined to be one of four categories: "the downtown centre;" "an older inner-city area near downtown;" "an older suburb of the city not too far from downtown;" or "a newer suburb located further out towards the city limits." The results of "the downtown centre" and "an older inner-city area near downtown" have been combined here as they both represent the "core" of these cities—an area for which Canada Census data will be presented in a forthcoming IUS publication (see below). At the time of this report the most current Canada Census data available was 1986.

Source: Respondents - Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS;
- Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.
Population - Charette, C. Demographic and Socio-Economic Fact Sheets for Canadian Prairie Inner Cities. Institute of Urban Studies. Forthcoming 1994.

Approximately 20 percent of residents in each of Regina, Saskatoon and Edmonton have attended some university or have a degree yet almost double the sample has completed this educational level.

The population 55 years and over is under-represented in each city. Over-representation occurs most often in the 25-35 and 35-44 age groups. Over-representation of one person households is probably a reflection that the sample is younger and more affluent than the population.

Family households are under-represented in the sample as reflected by the proportions of respondents who are married and who have children. Renters are also under-represented. The importance of analyzing results by tenure is illustrated in this report (see section 2.7.1).

It is difficult to compare the sex ratios of the sample and population because they are based on different age groups. Nevertheless a noticeable over-representation of females is evident in Regina and Saskatoon.

The representativeness of ethnic origin is important to know given that the downtown/inner city has a greater ethnic variation and a greater proportion of immigrant groups than other parts of the city. The survey did not gather immigrant status data and survey respondents often had difficulty identifying the single ethnic origin to which they belonged. In Saskatoon, for example, 13 percent said they were "Canadian" and another 11 percent said they could not identify a single origin; the ethnic origin of nearly a quarter of the respondents in that city, therefore, is not known. A very large over-representation of those with Chinese backgrounds occurs in Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton. Alternately, Aboriginal representation, particularly evident in the actual population of inner city Winnipeg, Regina and Saskatoon, is absent in the "Urban Canada Study." Although many other groups were also under-represented, over-representation did not occur within the British origins. The survey respondents covered a vast range of ethnic backgrounds.

It is difficult to infer if proportions of one geographic area to another are a result of the sampling procedure used, the perceptions of residents regarding their geographic area of residence, or a combination of both. For consideration of how one defines the downtown/inner-city boundaries within one's city, however, the proportion of the downtown/inner-city respondents to the total number of respondents was calculated and compared to the proportion found by the author (forthcoming 1994), and based on definitions of "downtown/inner city" boundaries gathered from organizations, primarily the respective planning departments, within each of the cities. In Winnipeg, Regina and Edmonton, the proportion of downtown/inner-city respondents to the total number of respondents was similar to those found by the author. In Calgary, the proportion was somewhat different. That Calgary has a very large inner city, as defined in its planning documents, may explain why fewer respondents perceive themselves to be part of it than are. In Saskatoon, a much larger proportion of residents

perceive themselves to be part of the inner city. It is difficult to determine why this was, although given that Saskatoon has one of the smaller downtown/inner-city areas as defined in planning documents, it is possible that a larger number of residents consider themselves to be part of the inner city than the administrators and planners do.

1.4 ORGANIZATION OF REPORT

The topics discussed in this report format reflect the broad range of issues examined in the "Urban Canada Study" and its "Supplement." Presented first is an overview of downtown and inner-city residents' perceptions towards their quality of life, the appeal of living downtown, and the desire to remain in or move from their present location of residence (sections 2.1 - 2.2). The following sections (2.3 through 2.10) report upon the various dimensions—the downtown, physical environment, municipal services, priorities, *etc.*— contained in the "Urban Canada Study." In the final section (3.0), the survey results are discussed in relation to downtown and inner-city development policies generally and more specifically in relation to social services and urban sustainable development.

2.0 SURVEY RESULTS: A CANADIAN PRAIRIE DOWNTOWN AND INNER-CITY FOCUS

2.1 QUALITY OF LIFE IN PRAIRIE CITIES: AN OVERVIEW

A Quality of Life Index was designed in the "Urban Canada Study" to provide a comparative profile of each city's appraisal (see "Note," Table 3). Twelve dimensions were measured: the economy; physical environment; social harmony; crime and safety; cultural and recreational amenities; downtown; housing; transportation; services and infrastructure; municipal politics; stress; and attachment to city. The Index was revised slightly to accommodate the Saskatoon and Regina survey which was somewhat shorter than the original survey conducted in the other eight cities. The Saskatoon/Regina survey, for example, contained fewer transportation questions and there were no questions asked regarding residents' satisfaction with municipal government. Nevertheless, when the Quality of Life Index was re-calculated for all ten cities, the relative rankings of the cities remained the same as they had when the Index was calculated for the original eight cities; those cities which had ranked one through four dropped one place due to the insertion of number one ranked Saskatoon, while those cities previously ranked five through eight dropped two places due to the insertion of number sixth ranked Regina.

The Quality of Life Index was created for each of the four areas within the city (Table 3). The downtowns of Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton ranked first, second, and third respectively among the downtowns of all ten cities. In contrast, the downtowns of Winnipeg and Regina were ranked eighth and ninth, respectively. The inner cities of Saskatoon and Calgary continued to be ranked in the top two among all ten inner cities. Edmonton's inner city, however, dropped to an eighth place ranking while Winnipeg and Regina's received middle place rankings—an improvement over the downtown.

Suburban residents of Saskatoon and Calgary also gave their respective cities one of the two highest ratings which resulted in their two cities holding the top two rankings overall. In Edmonton, the suburbs were ranked in the middle of the ten cities, and combined with the high ranking of its downtown and low ranking of its inner city, the city overall was rated fifth. In both Winnipeg and Regina, the older suburbs received ratings equal to the inner city, while the newer suburbs rated one or two places behind the inner city.

Despite these relatively small variations in intra-city rankings, which were also characteristic of the non-Prairie cities, a few noteworthy exceptions did occur. In Regina, the downtown received a lower rating compared to the middle-placed ratings of its other areas, and in Edmonton, the inner city rated low compared to the other three areas. Among the five other cities, two exceptions existed and

TABLE 3: HOW RESIDENTS RATED THEIR CITY BY AREA OF RESIDENCE: OVERALL QUALITY OF LIFE INDEX AND RANKING

AREA OF RESIDENCE	PRAIRIE CITIES					FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES				
	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL
Downtown										
Overall Quality of Life Index	-70	-64	109	104	82	-6	-90	-30	-56	21
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	9	8	1	2	3	5	10	6	7	4
Inner City										
Overall Quality of Life Index	-21	-3	83	84	-37	-12	-58	6	-52	10
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	7	5	2	1	8	6	10	4	9	3
Older Suburbs										
Overall Quality of Life Index	-15	6	75	35	9	-31	-39	5	-65	21
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	7	5	1	2	4	8	9	6	10	3
Newer Suburbs										
Overall Quality of Life Index	-21	-18	70	53	7	-10	-34	26	-83	10
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	8	7	1	2	5	6	9	3	10	4
Total City (All 10 Cities)										
Overall Quality of Life Index	-19	-6	73	50	5	-17	-42	8	-68	17
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	8	6	1	2	5	7	9	4	10	3
Total City (8 Cities Only)										
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	6			1	4	5	7	3	8	2

Note: The index was created by calculating the average number of respondents for each city who gave a positive response to each of twelve dimensions listed in Table 4a and b. Each dimension was comprised of a number of survey questions. Each city's average score for each of the dimensions was then subtracted from the average of the ten cities. A positive number means that a city's residents rated their city better on that dimension than do residents for the ten cities as a whole. A negative number means that a city rates more poorly than the average. To obtain an overall composite quality of life index for each of the ten cities the pluses and minuses are totalled and the cities ranked on the resulting scores. These ranks are probably more important than the absolute magnitude of the sums of differences. Many of the quality of life dimensions are overlapping, and summing them may distant them. At the last two rows of the Table show, the relative rankings of the 8 cities remained unchanged when the Saskatoon and Regina data was added.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

both were related to the downtown. In Montreal, the downtown rated seventh—a low absolute rating, but higher than this city's last-place overall rating. In Vancouver, the downtown also received a slightly better rating (fifth) than the city overall (seventh). As the findings have shown, most downtowns tend to be rated lower than the rating for the city as a whole, with the only exceptions found in downtown Edmonton, Vancouver and Montreal. The inner city, however, did not have a consistent pattern of variation from the overall city rating.

The scores and rankings of the various dimensions included in the Index for the ten cities are outlined in Tables 4A and 4B respectively. If those dimensions which were rated above the average of all ten cities (a positive number on the Index) are considered to be positive features and those dimensions, which rated below the average (a negative number on the Index) are considered to be weaknesses, it can be seen that residents of all areas of Saskatoon and Calgary perceive their city to be strong with respect to most of the eleven dimensions. Residents of downtown and inner-city Saskatoon, however, are unlike their suburban counterparts in their concern with the economy. Residents of Calgary's downtown perceived transportation and services/infrastructure to be somewhat problematic, while suburban residents of this city considered housing to be a weakness in their city.

In Edmonton, downtown residents tended to have a healthier outlook on their city relative to residents of other areas in Edmonton, while inner-city residents tended to consider numerous dimensions to be problematic, particularly the physical environment, services/infrastructure, stress and attachment to city. Suburban Edmontonians also perceived many of these dimensions to be of concern but to a lesser degree than inner-city Edmontonians. One perception that all Edmontonians share is that their transportation service is a positive feature.

In Winnipeg, regardless of where residents resided, the majority of dimensions received lower than average ratings. The level of concern was often greater in the inner city, however, and this was particularly evident regarding cultural/recreational amenities, the economy, the physical environment and attachment to city. In addition, two dimensions—housing and stress—were rated below the average only by downtowners.

In Regina, the number of dimensions which were rated below the average of all ten cities varied considerably among the four areas of residence. The downtown was perceived to be weak in every dimension except housing while the inner city was perceived to have considerably fewer weaknesses relative to both the downtown and newer suburbs and even rated first among all ten cities in terms of housing. Common to all Reginans, however, is the extremely low rating of cultural/recreational amenities.

TABLE 4A: HOW RESIDENTS RATED THEIR CITY BY AREA OF RESIDENCE: QUALITY OF LIFE INDEX SHOWING DIMENSIONS AND INDEX SCORES

AREA OF RESIDENCE	PRAIRIE CITIES					FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES				
DOWNTOWN	**WPG**	**REG**	**SAS**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**
The Economy	-10	-1	-3	17	3	0	-1	-2	0	-4
Physical Environment	-11	-9	6	11	1	8	-13	3	-1	6
Social Harmony	1	-2	18	19	5	-8	-18	-3	-10	-2
Crime and Safety	-5	-7	6	7	0	-6	-7	4	6	1
Cultural/Recreational Amenities	-15	-23	3	12	18	-1	9	-9	2	5
Downtown	-4	-5	18	-1	-1	0	-6	0	-2	3
Housing	-2	5	9	3	7	-6	-15	-8	10	-4
Transportation	-3	-2	9	-3	14	9	-5	-7	-17	4
Services and Infrastructure	-4	-6	4	-1	5	4	3	-1	-7	3
Municipal Politics										
Lack of Stress	-5	-1	19	19	18	-14	-16	-6	-20	5
Attachment to City	-12	-14	21	21	13	9	-20	-2	-20	4
Overall Quality of Life Index Score	-70	-64	109	104	82	-6	-90	-30	-56	21
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	9	8	1	2	3	5	10	6	7	4
INNER CITY	**WPG**	**REG**	**SAS**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**
The Economy	-2	1	-1	13	-2	7	-6	-5	-4	-1
Physical Environment	-7	-5	9	9	-14	10	-10	6	-5	7
Social Harmony	0	3	9	6	1	-6	-11	4	-12	6
Crime and Safety	-5	1	5	10	0	-6	-8	3	-1	0
Cultural/Recreational Amenities	-6	-19	6	2	1	5	10	-3	6	-3
Downtown	-4	-6	8	1	-2	1	2	2	-4	4
Housing	7	11	9	5	-4	-11	-11	-4	-3	0
Transportation	-1	5	4	4	10	-3	-1	-4	-7	-7
Services and Infrastructure	-2	-1	1	11	-10	0	4	4	-9	2
Municipal Politics										
Lack of Stress	0	9	24	5	-10	-9	-16	2	-4	-1
Attachment to City	-2	-1	9	19	-7	0	-11	0	-10	2
Overall Quality of Life Index Score	-21	-3	83	84	-37	-12	-58	6	-52	10
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	7	5	2	1	8	6	10	4	9	3
OLDER SUBURBS	**WPG**	**REG**	**SAS**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**
The Economy	-6	0	3	6	3	4	-1	-3	-5	0
Physical Environment	-6	-4	6	8	-2	3	-6	4	-11	8
Social Harmony	5	3	10	3	4	-7	-12	3	-13	5
Crime and Safety	-1	0	4	2	-1	-1	-6	2	0	1
Cultural/Recreational Amenities	-3	-18	3	1	5	2	10	1	3	-2
Downtown	-7	-5	7	0	-5	0	6	3	-1	2
Housing	7	11	12	-4	-3	-7	-8	-6	-1	-1
Transportation	-1	2	7	-2	6	-7	1	2	-4	-5
Services and Infrastructure	-7	0	2	5	-4	-2	7	4	-7	3
Municipal Politics										
Lack of Stress	3	16	17	4	-1	-14	-15	-2	-11	3
Attachment to City	1	3	5	13	5	-3	-16	-2	-15	10
Overall Quality of Life Index Score	-15	6	75	35	9	-31	-39	5	-65	21
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	7	5	1	2	4	8	9	6	10	3
NEWER SUBURBS	**WPG**	**REG**	**SAS**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**
The Economy	-5	-3	1	9	4	6	-2	2	-8	-3
Physical Environment	-8	-7	6	7	-3	8	-6	8	-13	8
Social Harmony	4	-3	11	7	2	-8	-11	6	-13	4
Crime and Safety	-1	1	5	3	0	-1	-8	2	-3	2
Cultural/Recreational Amenities	-5	-21	3	4	5	10	10	-2	1	-4
Downtown	-8	-7	3	0	-3	-1	7	6	-1	4
Housing	10	8	10	-1	-2	-6	-9	-5	-2	-1
Transportation	-2	1	4	1	6	-1	5	0	-6	-6
Services and Infrastructure	-4	-2	2	3	-2	0	6	5	-7	-1
Municipal Politics										
Lack of Stress	2	17	18	10	-1	-17	-17	0	-15	2
Attachment to City	-4	-1	7	11	1	1	-9	6	-17	5
Overall Quality of Life Index Score	-21	-18	70	53	7	-10	-34	26	-83	10
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	8	7	1	2	5	6	9	3	10	4
ALL AREAS	**WPG**	**REG**	**SAS**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**
The Economy	-5	-1	-1	8	3	5	-2	-2	-6	-2
Physical Environment	-7	-6	6	7	-4	6	-7	6	-10	8
Social Harmony	4	0	10	6	3	-7	-12	3	-12	4
Crime and Safety	-2	0	5	3	0	-1	-7	2	-1	1
Cultural/Recreational Amenities	-4	-20	3	2	5	5	10	-1	3	-3
Downtown	-7	-6	6	0	-4	0	5	4	-1	3
Housing	8	10	10	-1	-3	-7	-9	-6	-1	-1
Transportation	-1	5	2	0	7	-3	2	0	-6	-4
Services and Infrastructure	-5	-1	2	5	-3	0	6	3	-7	1
Municipal Politics										
Lack of Stress	2	15	18	6	-1	-15	-15	-1	-12	2
Attachment to City	-2	0	7	13	2	0	-13	0	-15	6
Overall Quality of Life Index Score	-19	-6	73	50	5	-18	-42	8	-68	16
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	8	6	1	2	5	7	9	4	10	3

Note: Scores reflect differences between the average score for each city for each of the eleven dimensions and the average for that dimension for all ten cities.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 4B: HOW RESIDENTS RATED THEIR CITY BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE: QUALITY OF LIFE INDEX SHOWING DIMENSIONS AND RANKINGS

AREA OF RESIDENCE	PRAIRIE CITIES					FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES				
DOWNTOWN	**WPG**	**REG**	**SAS**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**
The Economy	10	5	8	1	2	3	6	7	4	9
Physical Environment	9	8	4	1	6	2	10	5	7	3
Social Harmony	4	5	2	1	3	8	10	7	9	8
Crime and Safety	7	9.5	3	1	6	8	9.5	4	2	5
Cultural/Recreational Amenities	9	10	5	2	1	7	3	8	6	4
Downtown	8	9	1	5	6	3	10	4	7	2
Housing	6	4	2	5	3	6	10	9	1	7
Transportation	6	5	2	7	1	3	8	9	10	4
Services and Infrastructure	8	9	3	7	1	2	4	6	10	5
Municipal Politics										
Lack of Stress	6	5	1.5	1.5	3	8	9	7	10	4
Attachment to City	7	8	1	2	3	4	10	6	9	5
Overall Quality of Life Index Score	-70	-64	109	104	82	-6	-90	-30	-56	21
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	9	8	1	2	3	5	10	6	7	4
INNER CITY	**WPG**	**REG**	**SAS**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**
The Economy	6.5	3	5	1	6.5	2	10	9	8	4
Physical Environment	8	7	3	2	10	1	9	5	6	4
Social Harmony	7	5	1	2.5	6	8	9	4	10	2.5
Crime and Safety	8	4	2	1	6	9	10	3	7	5
Cultural/Recreational Amenities	9	10	2.5	5	6	4	1	7	2.5	8
Downtown	8.5	10	1	5.5	7	5.5	3.5	3.5	8.5	2
Housing	3	1	2	4	8	9.5	9.5	7	6	5
Transportation	5.5	2	3	4	1	7	5.5	8	10	9
Services and Infrastructure	8	7	5	1	10	6	3	2	9	4
Municipal Politics										
Lack of Stress	5	2	1	3	9	8	10	4	7	6
Attachment to City	7	6	2	1	8	5	10	4	9	3
Overall Quality of Life Index Score	-21	-3	83	84	-37	-12	-58	6	-52	10
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	7	5	2	1	8	6	10	4	9	3
OLDER SUBURBS	**WPG**	**REG**	**SAS**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**
The Economy	10	5	3	1	4	2	7	8	9	6
Physical Environment	10	7	3	2	6	5	9	4	10	1
Social Harmony	3	7	1	5	4	8	9	6	10	2
Crime and Safety	9	6	1	3	8	7	10	2	5	4
Cultural/Recreational Amenities	9	10	4	6	2	5	1	7	3	8
Downtown	10	9	1	5	8	6	2	3	7	4
Housing	3	2	1	7	6	9	10	8	4	5
Transportation	6	3	1	7	2	10	4	5	8	9
Services and Infrastructure	9	6	4	2	8	7	1	3	10	5
Municipal Politics										
Lack of Stress	5	2	1	3	6	9	10	7	8	4
Attachment to City	6	5	4	1	3	8	10	7	9	2
Overall Quality of Life Index Score	-15	6	75	35	9	-31	-39	5	-65	21
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	7	5	1	2	4	8	9	6	10	3
NEWER SUBURBS	**WPG**	**REG**	**SAS**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**
The Economy	9	6	5	1	3	2	6	4	10	7
Physical Environment	9	8	5	4	6	2	7	1	10	3
Social Harmony	5	7	1	2	6	8	9	3	10	4
Crime and Safety	8	5	1	2	6	7	10	3	9	4
Cultural/Recreational Amenities	9	10	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	8
Downtown	10	9	4	5	8	6	1	2	7	3
Housing	1	3	2	5	6	9	10	8	7	4
Transportation	8	4.5	3	4.5	1	7	2	6	10	9
Services and Infrastructure	9	8	4	3	7	5	1	2	10	6
Municipal Politics										
Lack of Stress	4	2	1	3	7	9.5	9.5	6	8	5
Attachment to City	8	7	2	1	5	6	9	3	10	4
Overall Quality of Life Index Score	-21	-18	70	53	7	-10	-34	26	-83	10
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	8	7	1	2	5	6	9	3	10	4
ALL AREAS	**WPG**	**REG**	**SAS**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**
The Economy	9	5	4	1	3	2	7	8	10	6
Physical Environment	9	7	4	2	6	3	8	5	10	1
Social Harmony	4	7	1	2	6	8	9	5	10	3
Crime and Safety	9	5	1	2	6	8	10	3	7	4
Cultural/Recreational Amenities	9	10	5	6	2.5	2.5	1	7	4	8
Downtown	10	9	1	5	8	6	2	3	7	4
Housing	3	2	1	5.5	7	9	10	8	5.5	4
Transportation	7	3	2	6	1	8	4	5	10	9
Services and Infrastructure	9	7	4	2	8	6	1	3	10	5
Municipal Politics										
Lack of Stress	5	2	1	3	7	9	10	6	8	4
Attachment to City	8	6	2	1	4	7	9	5	10	3
Overall Quality of Life Index Score	-19	-6	73	50	5	-18	-42	8	-68	16
Overall Quality of Life Ranking	8	6	1	2	5	7	9	4	10	3

Note: Scores reflect differences between the average score for each city for each of the eleven dimensions and the average for that dimension for all ten cities.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

Given the variations among the individual cities, it is somewhat difficult to draw generalities regarding areas of concern among downtown and inner-city residents of the Prairies. The results could be summarized, however, by noting that residents of Saskatoon and Calgary, regardless of their area of residence, perceive their city to have few weaknesses. Especially positive features in Saskatoon included social harmony, lack of stress and housing, and in Calgary they included the economy and the attachment residents feel towards their city. Residents of Winnipeg and Regina perceive many of the dimensions in the Index to be weak, but particularly the physical environment, the economy, cultural, recreational amenities, the downtown and services/infrastructure; such weaknesses are considered greater in magnitude by downtown residents. In these two Prairie cities, housing in the inner city and in the suburbs was considered to be positive, but this finding results from the over-representation of owners in the sample (see, for example, Table 2). Edmonton is somewhat different from the other four Prairie cities in that its downtowners, in direct contrast to its other residents, perceive their city to be very strong in a number of areas including the economy, cultural, recreational amenities, transportation and services/infrastructure.

While the rankings are useful in rating the cities, it should be remembered that they are *relative* rankings. Though residents may have provided a high relative rating for a particular dimension, they still may be dissatisfied with that dimension in their city. Furthermore, Quality of Life ratings by residents are not, as shall be shown in the discussion to follow, necessarily related to whether residents prefer their current residential location to another in their city.

2.1.1 Quality of Life Rankings: 1991 and 1978

Table 5 provides a comparison of the rankings of the ten cities surveyed in the "Urban Canada Study" with the rankings these cities received thirteen years earlier in the "MSUA Study" of 23 Canadian CMAs. The "MSUA Study" found that, in 1978, "inner-city zones" in "Calgary, Regina, Vancouver, St. John and Montreal were unfavourably assessed" (Atkinson, p. 31). When these results were compared to those of the present surveys (which required the combining of the downtown and inner-city data of the present survey to equal the "inner-city zone" defined in the "MSUA Study") it was shown that perceptions of Calgary's "inner-city zone" have improved significantly, having moved from a last- to a second-place rating among the ten cities common to the "Urban Canada Study"/"Urban Canada Study Supplement" and the "MSUA Study." Very positive changes in attitudes were also evident among residents of Saskatoon's "inner-city zone," where the rating improved from fifth to first. Small improvements among residents of "inner-city zones" are also evident in Regina (from ninth to seventh) and in Edmonton (from sixth to fifth). In Edmonton, Calgary and Saskatoon,

residents of the older and newer suburbs were similar to "inner-city zone" residents in that they rated the quality of life in their city higher in the "Urban Canada Study" than in the earlier "MSUA Study." In Regina, the older suburbs received a higher rating and the newer suburbs received a lower rating. Among the Prairie "inner-city zones," Winnipeg's was the only one to lose ground in its relative placement, having dropped from third to eighth. The drop in the perceived quality of life among Winnipeg's "inner-city zone" residents is further illustrated when one considers that, among the 22 CMAs surveyed in the "MSUA Study," Winnipeg's "inner-city zone" was rated ahead of the "inner-city zones" of the other four Prairie cities, but fell behind the "inner-city zones" of all four of these cities in the "Urban Canada Study."

At the total city level, Winnipeg lost ground among the ten cities. Regina maintained a middle-place position and the other three Prairie cities improved their rankings by at least three places. Edmonton and especially Calgary improved greatly according to their residents. In the "MSUA Study," Calgary received low grades for roads/traffic conditions, public transportation, and housing cost/availability (Atkinson, p. 12)—areas which may well have been associated with the fast growth of the city during the late '70s, and which in the "Urban Canada Study" were rated relatively positively. Edmonton's previous overall low ranking was highly related to concerns about crime—concerns which remain high among the minds of Edmontonians but which rate relatively averagely in comparison to other cities. Like Calgarians, Saskatonians previously had identified roads/traffic as a concern, but the two similar issues examined in the present survey (transportation and services/infrastructure) were viewed positively. Reginans previously had raised concerns of roads/traffic, the social environment, and crime; in the "Urban Canada Study," they continued to perceive social harmony, services/infrastructure and social harmony as negative features of their city. Winnipeggers previously identified roads/traffic and the natural environment as negative; in the present survey, transportation/services and the physical environment continue to be perceived as weaknesses.

The "MSUA Study" sample included residents from the exurbs (that area located just beyond the city boundaries, but within the census definition of a Metropolitan Area) of Edmonton and Winnipeg and five other cities. "Winnipeg's exurbs were rated most favourably while the same area in Edmonton received the lowest assessments" (Atkinson, p. 31).

Among the five non-Prairie cities common to the "MSUA" and "Urban Canada Study"/"Urban Canada Study Supplement," the four largest cities (Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal) were all perceived to be less desirable now than they were thirteen years earlier by residents of all "zones" (with the exception of Vancouver's "inner-city zone" which improved from eighth to sixth place). In Halifax, however, the inner city and newer suburban "zone" improved and its older suburban "zone"

TABLE 5: RANKINGS OF QUALITY OF LIFE[1] (1991/1992)/AND NEIGHBOURHOOD ATTRACTION[2] (1978)

AREA OF RESIDENCE	PRAIRIE CITIES					FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES				
INNER-CITY ZONE[3]	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL
1991/1992	8/10	7/10	1/10	2/10	5/10	6/10	10/10	4/10	9/10	3/10
1978	12.5/22	21/22	15/22	22/22	17/22	20/22	3/22	10/22	19/22	14/22
(1978)[4]	(3/10)	(9/10)	(5/10)	(10/10)	(6/10)	(8/10)	(1/10)	(2/10)	(7/10)	(4/10)
OLDER SUBURBS										
1991/1992	7/10	5/10	1/10	2/10	4/10	8/10	9/10	6/10	10/10	3/10
1978	17/22	22/22	6.5/22	15/22	20/22	15/22	3/22	4/22	19/22	6.5/22
(1978)[4]	(7/10)	(10/10)	(3.5/10)	(5/10)	(9/10)	(6/10)	(1/10)	(2/10)	(8/10)	(3.5/10)
NEWER SUBURBS										
1991/1992	8/10	7/10	1/10	2/10	5/10	6/10	9/10	3/10	10/10	4/10
1978	7/22	8/22	10.5/22	15/22	13/22	22/22	2/22	4/22	1/22	21/22
(1978)[4]	(4/10)	(5/10)	(6/10)	(8/10)	(7/10)	(10/10)	(2/10)	(3/10)	(1/10)	(9/10)
EXURBS										
1991/1992										
1978	1/7				7/7	6/7	4/7	5/7	2/7	
ALL AREAS										
1991/1992	8/10	6/10	1/10	2/10	5/10	7/10	9/10	4/10	10/10	3/10
1978	12/23	14/23	9/23	13/23	20/23	23/23	1/23	2/23	4/23	19/23
(1978)[4]	(5/10)	(6/10)	(4/10)	(7/10)	(9/10)	(10/10)	(1/10)	(2/10)	(3/10)	(8/10)

Notes:
1. Based on a Quality of Life Index (see Table 3 for an explanation), resulting from a survey of Canadian 10 cities.
2. Based on an Index of Liking (See *A Study of Urban Concerns,* p. 28 for an explanation) resulting from a survey of 23 Canadian cities.
3. The *Study of Urban Concerns* (1979) combined the downtown and inner city and, therefore, to provide a suitable comparison, the results from these two areas were also combined for the 1991/1992 data set.
4. The rankings of the 23 cities were used to determine the relative rankings of just those 10 cities included in the present survey.

Source: Angus Reid. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urben Canade Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.
Atkinson, Tom. *A Study of Urban Concerns,* 1979. p. 45.

maintained its third-place rating among residents. While it may appear initially that the decline in the perceived level of quality of life is most pronounced among larger cities, one must consider the low rankings Vancouver and Montreal received in the "MSUA Study" (Vancouver's and Montreal's "inner city zones," for example, rated twentieth and nineteenth, respectively, out of 22 CMAs). The reader is reminded of the "general lack of association between size and liking" that was found in the Atkinson report (p. 12).

2.2 PREFERRED PLACES OF RESIDENCE

2.2.1 Desire to Move to Another City

Among the Prairie cities, a large proportion of downtown and inner-city residents are "generally content" with their city (Table 6). The proportion that would like to move from their city is small. Residents' preference to move away from their city entirely does not appear to be related to their area of residence within their city. In Winnipeg, for example, an equal proportion (roughly one tenth) of residents of the older inner city and the newer suburbs would prefer to move. Similarly, in Calgary, none of the downtown residents wish to move and no more than four percent of residents in any of the other three areas wish to move. Regina varies somewhat from this pattern, where the preference to move to another city is higher in central areas (17% of the downtown; 13% of the older inner city) than in suburban areas (6% in the older suburbs; 8% in the newer suburbs).

Among the other five cities, the preference to move away from one's city also does not tend to increase as the distance to the centre increases. It is interesting to point out, however, that, unlike the majority of the Prairie cities, the downtown *will* be one of the two areas with higher proportions of residents preferring to move away from one's city.

2.2.2 Preferred Places of Residence—The Downtown, Inner City or the Suburbs?

A comparison of which area of the city residents currently live and where they would like to live illustrates that in almost *every* city surveyed, the suburbs will contain the largest proportions of residents who prefer their current area of residence over the downtown and inner city. This preference for the suburbs is particularly noticeable among Prairie cities where the lowest percentages of downtown and inner-city residents prefer their current place of residence, and where the highest percentages of suburban residents prefer the suburbs over any other location (Table 7). Two notable exceptions are found within Edmonton's downtown and Calgary's inner city, where 90 and 77 percent respectively of these residents would prefer their present location to elsewhere in the city.

TABLE 6: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' GENERAL SATISFACTION WITH THEIR CITY BY AREA OF RESIDENCE

AREA OF RESIDENCE	VERY HAPPY, NO DESIRE TO IN ANOTHER CITY	GENERALLY CONTENT DESPITE DEFINITE DISLIKES	DON'T LIKE LIVING IN CITY, PREFER TO MOVE
DOWNTOWN			
Winnipeg	27	65	8
Regina	26	57	17
Saskatoon	60	35	5
Calgary	72	28	0
Edmonton	55	38	6
All 5 Prairie Cities	42	51	7
Vancouver	51	42	6
Toronto	13	73	14
Ottawa	40	54	4
Montreal	11	80	10
Halifax	54	40	6
All 5 Non-Prairie Cities	29	62	9
All 10 Cities	32	58	10
INNER CITY			
Winnipeg	23	65	11
Regina	31	55	13
Saskatoon	44	50	6
Calgary	72	25	3
Edmonton	27	61	12
All 5 Prairie Cities	39	52	9
Vancouver	37	59	5
Toronto	25	62	14
Ottawa	43	53	4
Montreal	29	65	6
Halifax	42	55	3
All 5 Non-Prairie Cities	31	61	9
All 10 Cities	32	59	9
OLDER SUBURBS			
Winnipeg	33	62	5
Regina	35	59	6
Saskatoon	40	56	4
Calgary	61	35	4
Edmonton	46	50	5
All 5 Prairie Cities	44	51	5
Vancouver	47	50	3
Toronto	19	67	13
Ottawa	42	54	4
Montreal	24	68	8
Halifax	53	44	3
All 5 Non-Prairie Cities	30	61	9
All 10 Cities	33	59	8
NEWER SUBURBS			
Winnipeg	27	63	10
Regina	28	64	8
Saskatoon	46	46	8
Calgary	55	41	4
Edmonton	36	56	8
All 5 Prairie Cities	39	54	7
Vancouver	48	46	7
Toronto	26	63	10
Ottawa	50	48	2
Montreal	19	68	13
Halifax	38	58	3
All 5 Non-Prairie Cities	32	59	9
All 10 Cities	34	57	9

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 7: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS CURRENT AND PREFERRED PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Area Currently Live	Prefer Current Location to Others	Where Remainder Prefer to Live			
		Downtown	Inner City	Older Suburbs	New Suburbs
Regina's newer suburbs	95	0	1	4	
Winnipeg's newer suburbs	91	1	2	6	
Edmonton's downtown	90		0	4	6
Saskatoon's newer suburbs	89	2	1	8	
Edmonton's newer suburbs	88	1	2	8	
Montreal's newer suburbs	82	3	2	10	
Toronto's newer suburbs	80	8	3	7	
Ottawa's newer suburbs	79	4	4	9	
Calgary's newer suburbs	78	0	8	11	
Halifax's newer suburbs	78	5	8	7	
Saskatoon's older suburbs	78	0	4		17
Winnipeg's older suburbs	78	1	0		16
Halifax's inner city	78	4		7	9
Calgary's inner city	77	3		8	12
Calgary's older suburbs	76	0	4		15
Vancouver's older suburbs	76	2	10		11
Vancouver's newer suburbs	75	3	5	14	0
Vancouver's inner city	75	5		11	7
Toronto's older suburbs	74	6	4		13
Ottawa's older suburbs	73	5	6		11
Edmonton's older suburbs	73	2	1		23
Montreal's older suburbs	72	2	7		17
Toronto's inner city	70	6		9	16
Ottawa's inner city	70	4		15	9
Halifax's older suburbs	70	3	7		17
Regina's older suburbs	67	1	1		31
Montreal's inner city	66	4		17	14
Ottawa's downtown	66		12	10	8
Saskatoon's inner city	65	0		10	24
Edmonton's inner city	60	2		14	20
Saskatoon's downtown	60		5	15	20
Vancouver's downtown	59		14	21	6
Regina's inner city	49	0		21	27
Winnipeg's inner city	48	6		15	26
Winnipeg's downtown	48		4	28	12
Halifax's downtown	46		8	11	25
Regina's downtown	43		17	9	30
Toronto's downtown	42		20	4	22
Calgary's downtown	28		20	44	8
Montreal's downtown	21		42	11	27

Note: Prairie City data are highlighted.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

Among those downtown and inner-city dwellers who would prefer to live in an alternate area of their city, the newer suburbs generally were preferred over the older suburbs. However, those wishing to move to another area who currently live in the downtowns of Vancouver, Winnipeg and Calgary and the inner cities of Vancouver and Ottawa prefer the old rather than the new suburbs.

The high value attached to suburban living, however, was not necessarily a reflection of poor Quality of Life rankings for downtowns and inner cities, but rather the perceived offerings of the suburbs. Downtown Calgarians, for example, ranked their city second (Table 4) among the downtowners of all ten cities, yet only 28 percent wished to remain in this area of their city. Regina's and Winnipeg's suburbs received seventh and eighth place ratings overall (Table 4)—low ratings but not the lowest ratings—yet the residents of these areas are in the very highest proportion (95% and 91% respectively) who prefer to live in the suburbs over any other location (Table 7). Also, we are again reminded that the rankings obtained through the Quality of Life Index are relative rankings; though residents may have provided a high relative rating for a particular dimension, they still may find that dimension to be problematic for their city, and vice versa. Furthermore, this finding implies the importance of examining responses to individual survey questions relating to residents' specific neighbourhoods in addition to questions relating to one's city as a whole.

The "Urban Canada Study" did not ask about the likelihood of residents moving to their preferred location, but the impact of such a move would affect Prairie cities the most, where anywhere from one third to two thirds each of downtown/inner-city residents in all cities (with the exception, as noted earlier, of Calgary's inner city and Edmonton's downtown) prefer to live in older or newer suburban areas. This desire is most pronounced in Calgary's downtown, where only 28 percent of its residents preferred to live. Despite the undesirability of living in downtown Calgary, none prefer to leave the city entirely (Table 6) .

2.2.3 What Residents Like About Living in the Downtown/Inner City

While the present survey did not ask respondents what they liked about their present neighbourhood but rather what they particularly liked or disliked about their city, a number of surveys conducted within individual Prairie cities have documented what residents like about living in the downtown/inner city or why they chose to live there. In Winnipeg, for example, person-to-person interviews with core residents in 1976 showed that the most common response given for enjoying life in the core area was proximity to facilities and services followed by the people that live in the neighbourhood (Table 8). While low housing costs undoubtedly played a role in residents residing in the core, only 15 percent mentioned this factor. When residents were asked what they disliked about

their core area accommodations and neighbourhood, "30% offered no answer, and of the remaining interviewees, respondents averaged only about one response per person" (Johnston, 1979, p. 22). While it is generally the case that residents are much more likely to point out what is wrong with their environment than what is right with it, the reverse occurred in this survey. Johnston suggests that this result is due to the "acceptant nature" of the low resource respondents (i.e., those with low incomes and low educations) and the "informed nature" of the high resource respondents who are able to exercise choice in selecting their inner-city housing location.

A follow-up survey of Winnipeg core area residents in 1977, however, revealed less diffuse responses to what residents disliked; interviewees had two principal complaints: the people in the neighbourhood (28%), and the urban ills of noise, dirt, pollution and traffic (29%) (Johnston, 1979, p. 24).

In the fall of 1978, the City of Winnipeg conducted meetings to elicit public opinions on housing which, in congruence with the findings of the 1976 survey, revealed an optimistic public:

> Three main factors emerged from this meeting: an appreciation for the positive elements of the inner-city environment; an awareness of housing problems; and a call for government intervention. People liked the character, style and ambience of the inner city, and saw a need to preserve older houses within an overall plan for the city . . . . The residents also appreciated the need to preserve and advertise the positive flavour of the inner city in terms of an age mix, ethnic mix, and housing variety. The urban/suburban split is perceived as a problem in Winnipeg. It fosters urban sprawl which is costly, in direct conflict with the existing and future resource conservation objectives, and should be re-thought (Johnston, 1979, p. 34).

The perceived convenience of living in the inner city and its strong spirit of community which were raised in these earlier surveys in Winnipeg prevailed in a series of focus group discussions conducted with several core area target groups in 1989 (Institute of Urban Studies, 1989). While principal dislikes included housing concerns (affordability, condition, lack of resale value, landlord/tenant relations), crime/violence, alcohol/drug abuse, pollution, unkempt appearance of public spaces, and the Native "presence," residents felt the core offered them proximity to their friends, multiculturalism, "friendly" neighbours, and a place they felt comfortable. A number of likes also centred upon the convenience of services, programs and facilities.

A sense of the positiveness of the downtown and inner-city areas was also revealed in a telephone survey of central district Edmontonians in 1985. "Seventy-two percent of residents surveyed rated their neighbourhood as good or excellent places to live. A further 24 percent of residents rated their neighbourhood as fair while only 4 percent of residents rated their neighbourhood as poor" (Edmonton, 1985, p. 16). The sense of community spirit apparent in Winnipeg, however, did

TABLE 8: SOURCES OF HOUSING AND NEIGHBOURHOOD SATISFACTION: CORE AREA RESIDENTS OF WINNIPEG 1976

SOURCES OF HOUSING AND NEIGHBOURHOOD SATISFACTION		SOURCES OF HOUSING AND NEIGHBOURHOOD DISSATISFACTION	
SOURCE	FREQUENCY (%)	SOURCE	FREQUENCY (%)
Close to facilities	35	House condition or appearance	12
Close to city centre	30	Condition of other houses	13
Easy access to city centre	30	Property does not increase in value	6
Friends and neighbours	23	Poor city services	8
Low rent or purchase price	15	Crime	10
House condition or appearance	11	People or neighbours	13
Quiet	7	General urban conditions(noise, dirt, traffic, crowding)	8
Safety from crime	6	Other	7
Open spaces, greenery	4		
Longevity	4		
Other	4		

Source: Johnston, Frank. *Core Area Report: A Reassessment of Conditions in Inner City Winnipeg.* Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1979, p. 23.

not appear as strong in Edmonton, with 39 percent feeling there is some sense of community, but 56 percent feeling that "everyone goes their own way."

In Saskatoon, a mail survey conducted of core neighbourhood residents (Saskatoon, 1978), which was centred primarily upon zoning issues, asked residents to give reasons why they chose to live in their particular neighbourhood (Table 9). "It can clearly be seen that the three most significant factors for locating in the core neighbourhoods are proximity to the C.B.D. and work, quality of the area, and proximity to community facilities" (Saskatoon, 1978, p. 3.30). Reasons varied little between renters and owners. Social contacts were not identified as they had been in Winnipeg, although the present survey indicated that Saskatonions from each of the four residential areas considered social harmony to be a particularly positive feature of their city (Table 4).

The opinions gathered in these surveys/discussions conducted within are not unlike those rendered in the "MSUA Study" which also asked a question on liked and disliked features of neighbourhood. On a city-wide basis, "positive attributes, in order of frequency, were: location, absence of pollution, good neighbours and parks/open space" (Atkinson, p. 35). As distance from the centre of the city increased, positive comments about location decreased, concerns about pollution decreased, and evaluations of public transportation became less favourable.

2.2.4 Characteristics of Residents Wanting to Leave the Downtown/Inner City

Characteristics of residents according to their current and preferred place of residence are outlined in Table 10. Individual city data are not presented due to the small number of cases that would have resulted in a number of the cells. However, an exception for Winnipeg (Table 11) is made for the purposes of comparing the current survey data to an earlier survey of core area residents of Winnipeg which also measured the preference of remaining in the core area or relocating to the suburbs.

In the Prairie cities, downtown residents who prefer living in the downtown to other areas of the city are more likely to be: in the 45-64 or 65-plus age group; divorced/widowed/separated; without children; having less than a grade twelve education; somewhat more likely to be owners; and of no particular wage-earning group. These findings tend to reflect the over-representation of seniors in Canadian downtowns/inner cities. Further reflecting this characteristic is the finding that the remainder (11%) of the 45-64 group, which did not prefer the downtown, preferred the suburbs, while the remainder (13%) of the 65-plus group, which did not prefer the downtown, preferred the inner city.

Downtown residents, however, who preferred an alternate location to the downtown are a less uniform group. Over half (56%) of the middle-aged (25-44) downtowners preferred the suburbs—not

TABLE 9: WHY RESIDENTS CHOSE TO LIVE IN CORE NEIGHBOURHOODS SASKATOON, 1978

REASON GIVEN	%
Proximity to the C.B.D. and work	52
Quality of Area (trees, setting, *etc.*)	39
Proximity to community facilities (shopping, schools, churches, *etc.*)	33
Transit Service	17
Price or Rent	14
Prefer Older Neighbourhood	13
Dwelling was available	11
Other	11
Particular dwelling was preferred	9

Source: Saskatoon, *Core Neighbourhood Study: Volume I Land Use Policy*. Saskatoon: City of Saskatoon, Planning Department, 1978, p. 3.30.

TABLE 10: CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTS BY CURRENT AND PREFERRED PLACE OF RESIDENCE: 1991/1992 (NUMBERS INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

CURRENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE	PREFERRED PLACE OF RESIDENCE					
	PRAIRIE CITIES			FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES		
Downtown	Downtown	Inner City	Old/New Suburbs	Downtown	Inner City	Old/New Suburbs
All Downtown Residents	57	7	36	51	22	28
Age: 18-24	58	3	39	57	18	26
25-44	34	10	56	46	26	28
45-64	89	0	11	54	20	26
65+	88	13	0	64	4	32
Marital Status:						
Single	48	4	48	54	24	22
Married	45	9	46	52	18	30
Divorced/Widowed/Separated	81	11	9	36	26	38
Children Present (Households≥2)						
Yes	26	0	74	59	20	21
No	49	11	39	45	24	31
Education: <Grade 12	73	5	22	30	5	65
Grade 12	59	6	35	54	33	13
Post Secondary	57	3	40	58	0	42
University	49	11	40	50	27	23
Income: <10,000	47	3	49	47	9	44
10,000-19,999	53	0	47	11	11	79
20,000-29,999	67	19	15	62	29	9
30,000-39,999	59	0	41	30	25	45
40,000-49,000	65	14	21	45	37	18
50,000+	53	11	36	62	15	23
Tenure: Own	68	6	25	71	16	13
Rent	54	8	38	47	22	31
Inner City	**Downtown**	**Inner City**	**Old/New Suburbs**	**Downtown**	**Inner City**	**Old/New Suburbs**
All Inner-City Residents	3	61	36	5	69	26
Age: 18-24	6	43	51	9	51	41
25-44	4	60	37	5	67	28
45-64	0	70	30	4	76	20
65+	0	81	20	0	88	12
Marital Status:						
Single	5	59	36	10	67	23
Married	2	59	39	1	72	27
Divorced/Widowed/Separated	0	71	29	0	69	31
Children Present (Households≥2)						
Yes	0	63	37	3	66	32
No	6	57	37	4	71	26
Education: <Grade 12	0	64	36	6	59	35
Grade 12	3	67	31	5	75	21
Post Secondary	3	56	41	4	55	41
University	3	63	34	5	76	20
Income: <10,000	7	33	60	7	61	33
10,000-19,999	3	54	43	10	59	31
20,000-29,999	4	67	30	1	72	28
30,000-39,999	5	62	33	15	54	31
40,000-49,000	5	59	36	4	72	24
50,000+	0	69	31	2	72	26
Tenure: Own	3	69	29	3	77	19
Rent	3	55	42	6	64	31
Old/New Suburbs	**Downtown**	**Inner City**	**Old/New Suburbs**	**Downtown**	**Inner City**	**Old/New Suburbs**
All Old/New Suburbs Residents	1	3	97	4	5	91
Age: 18-24	2	5	93	8	6	87
25-44	1	3	97	4	6	90
45-64	1	1	98	3	4	93
65+	2	2	97	2	6	92
Marital Status:						
Single	3	4	94	6	5	89
Married	0	2	98	3	5	91
Divorced/Widowed/Separated	1	1	98	3	6	91
Children Present (Households≥2)						
Yes	0	3	97	3	3	94
No	1	3	96	5	7	88
Education: <Grade 12	0	3	97	1	6	93
Grade 12	1	2	98	4	5	92
Post Secondary	1	2	97	4	5	91
University	1	3	96	5	6	89
Income: <10,000	4	5	92	0	3	96
10,000-19,999	3	2	96	5	7	88
20,000-29,999	0	2	98	3	7	90
30,000-39,999	1	2	97	4	5	91
40,000-49,000	1	2	98	4	4	92
50,000+	0	3	97	4	5	91
Tenure: Own	1	2	97	4	5	91
Rent	1	3	96	4	6	90

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by I.U.S.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

surprising, considering the high preference for the suburbs among households with children. However, a very large proportion (39%) of the 18-24 age group also preferred the suburbs which, in part, explains why the preference for the suburbs is also high among singles (48%) and childless households (39%). Prairie downtowners who would prefer to live elsewhere do, however, tend to have higher educations but not necessarily higher incomes. This may be reflecting a student population residing in the downtown, or possibly younger professionals entering the job market.

Among the non-Prairie cities, living downtown has substantially less appeal among the 45-64 (54%) and the 65-plus age group (64%) than it did in the Prairies. Among the 25-44 year old downtowners, however, there was a stronger preference to remain downtown than was evident in the Prairies. In congruence with the increased proportion of family-aged adults preferring the downtown is the finding that the preference for the downtown among households with children was twice as high in the non-Prairie cities (59%) as in the Prairie cities (26%). These results, which are heavily influenced by the cities with the largest populations—Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver—may be reflecting that working age groups desire the downtown due to the undesirability of commuting distances from home to work.

As in the Prairie cities, there was a lack of uniformity regarding characteristics of non-Prairie downtowners who would prefer not to live downtown. What is different between Prairie and non-Prairie cities, however, is the greater preference for the inner city by residents of the latter. In the Prairies, for example, the inner city was preferred by only seven percent of downtowners as a whole. In the non-Prairie cities, however, 22 percent of all downtowners overall preferred the inner city and, among particular socio-economic groups, this proportion increased to as high as 37 percent (in the $40,000-49,000 wage group).

Inner-city residents are somewhat different from downtowners in that a somewhat larger proportion, in both the Prairie and five other cities, prefer their current place of residence to other areas of the city. In the Prairie cities, the inner city tends to be appealing to a broader range of people than is the downtown. Although the inner city, like the downtown, tends to be preferred by the two older age groups and by the divorced/widowed/separated, it is appealing to a very substantial proportion of households with children (63%) and by a more varied educational group. In the non-Prairies, the inner city, like the downtown, is more appealing to the singles and younger age groups than is the Prairie downtown/inner city.

The proportion of suburban residents who prefer a central location (downtown/inner city) is, in all ten cities, very small. If preferences were realized, the number of residents moving from the

suburbs to the central areas as compared with those moving in the reverse direction would be nine times greater in the Prairie cities and three times greater in the non-Prairie cities.

In Winnipeg (Table 11), the preference among core area residents to remain in the core area (55%) is lower than it was in 1977 (61%). The core appears less appealing according to almost every characteristic, particularly for households with children, which now have almost half their number (25%) preferring to remain in the core as compared with fourteen years earlier (73%). It is somewhat difficult to compare preference by age as the categories used on the two surveys are not uniform; however, the growth in popularity of the central areas among seniors is obvious. While it could be suggested that these findings certainly do not support the notion that residents are experiencing a renewed interest (Back-to-the-City Movement) in living in the downtown/inner cities of these Prairie cities, it should be noted that the Movement (see for example, Ram *et al.,* 1989) could be interpreted as referring largely to downtowns and the changes they experienced between the 1981 and 1986 census periods.

Certainly not all residential locational preferences are likely to be realized, but the potential impact upon Prairie downtowns and inner cities is obvious. Stabilizing the population of the central areas should take into account the differences between the downtown and inner city, the latter having appeal among a broader range of demographic and socio-economic groups. Central areas, particularly downtowns, appeal to seniors, and will most likely continue to do so, provided there are suitable housing and services. It should be remembered, however, that at least a third of central area residents in each Prairie city (Table 2) are part of the 25-45 age group, and, while this group exhibits the greatest desire to leave the central areas, the majority (60%) of this group prefers to remain in the inner city (Table 10). Roughly the same proportion of the residents preferring to remain in the inner city (63%) also have children. The inner city, therefore, is appealing to a substantial (but decreasing, in at least the case of Winnipeg) proportion of families. The needs of this group would need to be met in order to ensure its continued appeal.

In terms of strategies to stabilize central area populations, additional examinations should be made of those downtowners whose preference is the inner city. Relatively high proportions, for example, of those earning over $40,000 would prefer the inner city; it would be useful to have a more specific description of this group and if the inner city could accommodate their preference.

The data also suggest that central areas have appeal for a small proportion of suburban residents. In Calgary, for example, four percent of residents of the older suburbs and eight percent of residents of the newer suburbs prefer the inner city. While these proportions may be small, a move by even a fraction of this group could mean an increased population of approximately 4,200 (one fifth

TABLE 11: CHARACTERISTICS OF DOWNTOWN/INNER-CITY RESIDENTS WHO PREFER THE SUBURBS: WINNIPEG ONLY, 1977 AND 1991

CHARACTERISTICS	1977		1991[1]	
	Want to Stay in Core Area n=180 %	Prefer to Locate in Suburbs n=112 %	Prefer Downtown/ Inner City[2] n=32 %	Prefer Old/ New Suburbs n=26 %
All Residents	61	38	55	45
Age: ≤25/18-24	50	50	47	53
26-40/25-44	48	52	50	50
41-59/45-64	60	40	67	33
≥60/65+	86	14	100	0
Marital Status:[3]				
Single	73	27	52	49
Married	56	44	39	62
Divorced/Widowed/Separated			85	15
Presence Children: Yes	46	54	25	75
No	54	46	56	44
Education: <Grade 12	68	32	44	56
Grade 12	52	48	58	42
Post Secondary			47	53
University	68	32	58	42
Income: as reported by respondents				
<10,000	80	20	44	56
10,000-19,999	60	40	47	53
20,000-29,999	33	67	65	35
30,000+	73	27	55	45
30,000-39,999			75	25
40,000-49,000			40	60
50,000+			47	53
Income: converting to 1991 base year				
<20,000	80	20	50	50
20,000-49,999	57	43	64	36
50,000+	27	73	47	53
Tenure: Own			54	46
Rent			57	43

Notes:
1. Represents weighted base. For actual number of respondents, see Table 1.
2. For the 1991 data, the "downtown" and "inner-city" responses and "old" and "new" suburbs were combined in order to equate these to the"core area" and "suburbs" as discussed in the 1971 study.
3. Household composition was measured in the 1977 survey and marital status in the 1991 survey. The "single" and "married" marital status categories for 1977 were deduced from the 1977 survey responses to provide a suitable, but not entirely accurate, comparison to the 1991 data.

Source: Johnston, Frank. *Core Area Report: A Reassessment of Conditions in Inner City Winnipeg.* 1979, p. 33.
Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.

of 4% of the old and new suburbs, assuming this population to be 521,940) (see Charette, forthcoming 1994) to the downtown/inner city of a centre the size of Calgary. While it was stated earlier that preferences for the suburbs among central area residents is far exceeded by preferences in the reverse order, the economic situations of suburbanites may render their preferences more likely. As described, suburbanites preferring central areas are most likely to be singles and those in either the 65+ or 18-24 year age group.

2.2.5 The Appeal of Rural Areas or Small Communities

In addition to the suburbs, surrounding communities or rural areas adjacent to the city are appealing to a large proportion (anywhere from 42% to 62%) of *all* Canadians regardless of where they live within their city (Table 12). In the non-Prairie cities, however, appeal is highest among those already living in the newer suburbs, while in the Prairie cities, this only holds true for Edmonton. In Calgary, for example, rural/small community living appeals most to the downtown residents,while in Winnipeg and Regina this idea appeals most to the inner city residents.

It is difficult to determine how many households will actually relocate to small communities, as certainly only a proportion of those who said it is very likely will actually realize their ambitions. Although the likelihood of residents moving to rural/small communities is not as high in Prairie cities as in the other cities, the Prairie impact of residents moving beyond the city limits entirely (which ranges from 8% to 12% in the five cities) coupled with strong desire for the suburbs (which, as previously discussed, is highest among Prairie cities) could have a tremendously detrimental effect on the future of the Prairie downtowns/inner cities. This is especially true for Winnipeg, Regina and Calgary, where high proportions of residents wish they lived somewhere else other than the downtown or inner city, and where relatively high proportions of these residents also believe that it is very likely they will move beyond the city limits entirely.

2.3 PERCEPTIONS TOWARDS THE DOWNTOWN

2.3.1 How Residents Rated their Downtown

The overall Quality of Life rating in Saskatoon, as indicated earlier, was rated first among the ten cities surveyed; its downtown was also rated first among the ten cities (Table 4b). In the remainder of the Prairie cities, however, the downtown rating was significantly behind the overall rating. Calgary was considered to offer the second highest quality of life among the ten cities studied, yet its downtown received a middle (fifth) place rating. Meanwhile, Edmonton, Regina and Winnipeg,

TABLE 12: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' APPEAL AND LIKELIHOOD OF MOVING TO A RURAL AREA OR SMALL COMMUNITY

	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE CITIES TOTAL	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	NON-PRAIRIE CITIES TOTAL	ALL 10 CITIES
A. APPEAL													
Downtown	45	47	30	64	27	44	32	51	40	51	49	45	44
Inner City	59	51	38	34	43	46	38	43	36	42	36	41	42
Older Suburbs	45	41	38	47	44	44	50	54	39	48	44	50	49
Newer Suburbs	56	44	39	49	61	53	69	61	67	75	54	68	62
B. GENERAL LIKELIHOOD OF MOVING													
Downtown	26	17	10	12	15	20	17	52	30	38	41	37	32
Inner City	31	32	17	18	30	27	25	27	18	21	21	24	26
Older Suburbs	20	19	24	21	21	22	33	42	26	27	29	34	31
Newer Suburbs	28	26	16	25	30	25	36	45	44	45	34	42	36
C. "VERY LIKELY" TO MOVE													
Downtown	15	4	10	12	0	10	13	18	15	15	30	17	15
Inner City	17	15	6	8	10	12	18	14	8	12	7	13	14
Older Suburbs	8	8	11	8	6	8	13	21	10	14	16	16	14
Newer Suburbs	14	10	7	11	17	12	21	29	21	29	23	26	21
All Areas	12	9	8	9	12	11	16	21	13	19	18	19	17

Note: The survey measured degrees of appeal and likelihood of moving to surrounding communities or rural areas. In Part A of this Table, the responses of "a lot of appeal" and "some appeal" were combined. The responses "very likely" and "somewhat likely" are combined (Part B) as well as separated (Part C).

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

as mentioned, had overall Quality of Life rankings of fifth, sixth and eighth and their downtowns occupied the three lowest ratings—eighth, ninth and tenth, respectively.

What are some of the resident-perceived weaknesses of Prairie downtowns? In all five cities, the greatest dissatisfaction was registered for availability and cost of parking (Table 14). Dissatisfaction with parking does not appear to be related to distance one resides from the centre of the city; large proportions are dissatisfied no matter where they live. Even in Saskatoon, which had the highest rated downtown of all ten cities, a large proportion of residents from each area of the city (30% in the downtown, 45% in the inner city, and 40% each in the older and newer suburbs) felt that parking in the downtown was "very poor" (Figure 1).

Downtown shopping and entertainment facilities in the Prairie cities were rated below the average for all ten cities by residents regardless of where they resided in the city with the exception of residents of downtown Saskatoon and Edmonton who rated their facilities somewhat above the average for all ten cities. Consistently in the five Prairie Cities, unlike in the non-Prairie cities, low percentages of residents felt that their downtown was "one of the best things about their city."

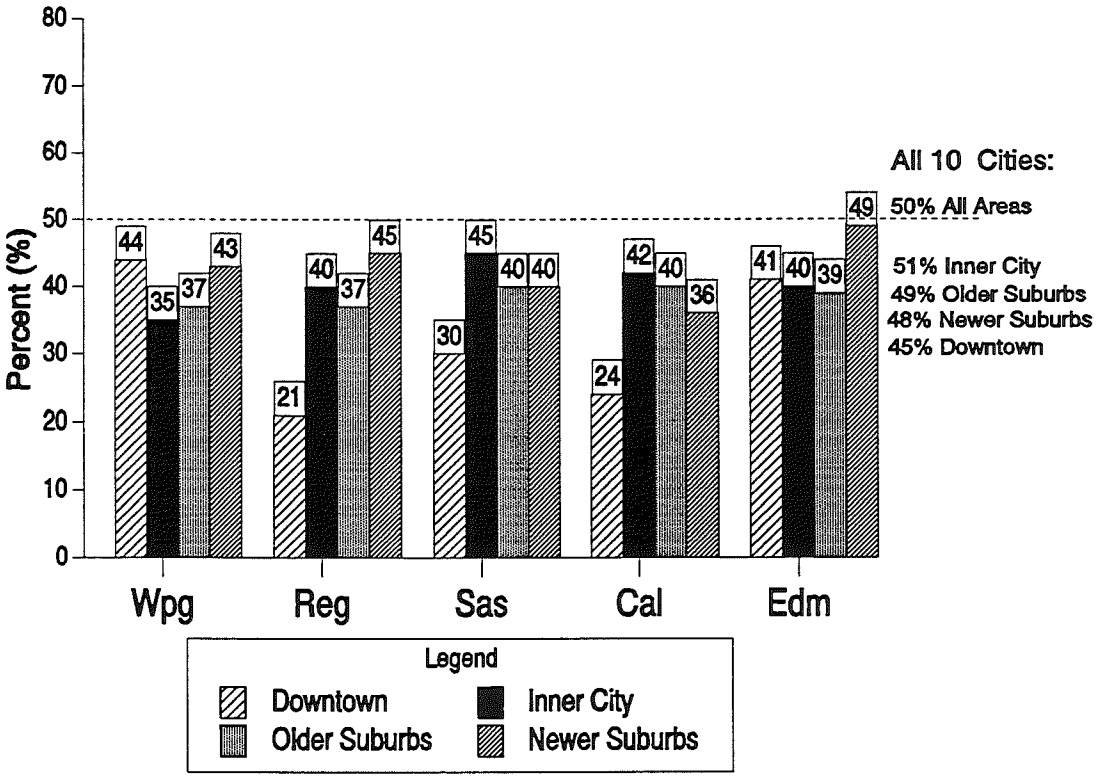
Safety and security from crime and violence in the downtown were rated high among concerns of residents of Winnipeg, Regina and Edmonton. For each of the ten cities, there does not seem to be a consistent relationship between perceptions of safety from crime and violence in the downtown and the distance one lives from the downtown. In Winnipeg, for example, the proportion of residents concerned with security from crime and violence diminished as distance from centre increased, but so did the proportion which were not concerned with this issue; it seems that, for Winnipeggers, those who live closer to the downtown have a more definitive opinion regarding the downtown, perceiving it to be safe or not safe, and those living in the older and newer suburbs further tend to be more in the middle regarding the issue. In Regina, however, the concern with downtown crime is higher among suburbanites (24%) than downtowners (17%) or inner-city dwellers (18%).

In Winnipeg and Regina, residents from all areas are also displeased with the general appearance and cleanliness of the downtown.

In general terms, then, it can be seen that perceptions towards the downtown are consistent regardless of where residents live; downtowns are generally not rated more highly by those who live there, although it is true that some features, such as parks/public spaces and shopping/entertainment facilities tend to be viewed more positively by residents who live downtown.

Attitudes towards Winnipeg's downtown have been explored in two other recent surveys by Dennis McKnight (1991, 1992). All three surveys showed that parking was perceived to be the worst feature of downtown Winnipeg (Table 15). The 1992 survey separated the issues of parking avail-

FIGURE 1: RESPONDENTS WHO PERCEIVE AVAILABILITY AND COST OF DOWNTOWN PARKING TO BE VERY POOR



Note: "Very Poor" is delineated as a 1 or 2 on a 7 point scale where 1 equals "very poor" and 7 equals "excellent."

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 13: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO GAVE HIGH RATING TO DOWNTOWN FEATURES

AREA OF RESIDENCE	PRAIRIE CITIES					FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES				
DOWNTOWN	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL
Good for Shopping/entertainment	57	35	65	30	71	58	71	51	80	67
Good availability/cost of parking	11	20	18	20	12	0	4	0	0	17
Good parks and public places	46	52	95	50	41	65	25	65	33	67
Downtown is safe	21	4	42	10	18	15	18	27	47	11
Good appearance/clean	21	30	70	80	41	54	39	51	33	39
Downtown is one of the best things about [city]	21	32	45	20	24	58	43	43	53	56
Go downtown more often for shopping/entertainment	43	32	47	50	47	19	29	27	20	19
Downtown will improve	46	55	59	30	35	27	21	33	13	44
Average	34	33	55	36	36	37	31	37	35	40
Index Score	-4	-5	18	-1	-1	0	-6	-4	-2	3
Rank	8	9	1	5	6	3.5	10	3.5	7	2
INNER CITY										
Good for Shopping/entertainment	48	34	47	46	54	63	80	53	74	46
Good availability/cost of parking	17	12	13	7	14	5	5	4	5	10
Good parks and public places	44	41	70	51	38	50	35	57	16	55
Downtown is safe	14	9	32	24	8	15	12	27	8	19
Good appearance/clean	17	21	52	56	30	50	49	47	24	41
Downtown is one of the best things about [city]	9	21	24	26	8	27	41	26	35	35
Go downtown more often for shopping/entertainment	20	15	23	13	26	11	13	19	21	25
Downtown will improve	34	38	40	24	46	24	19	20	23	36
Average	26	24	38	31	28	31	32	32	26	33
Index Score	-4	-6	8	1	-2	1	2	2	-4	4
Rank	8.5	10	1	5.5	7	5.5	3.5	3.5	8.5	2
OLDER SUBURBS										
Good for Shopping/entertainment	49	35	49	58	46	61	86	54	71	43
Good availability/cost of parking	10	9	9	8	8	7	3	4	3	7
Good parks and public places	41	37	68	49	28	48	39	60	25	59
Downtown is safe	14	11	24	16	10	10	16	20	12	21
Good appearance/clean	19	29	66	44	40	46	56	53	23	42
Downtown is one of the best things about [city]	12	14	21	13	8	19	39	22	41	25
Go downtown more often for shopping/entertainment	10	19	13	20	16	15	16	13	19	13
Downtown will improve	24	35	40	27	39	23	25	29	30	34
Average	22	24	36	29	24	29	35	32	28	31
Index Score	-7	-5	7	0	-5	0	6	3	-1	2
Rank	10	9	1	5	8	6	2	3	7	4
NEWER SUBURBS										
Good for Shopping/entertainment	43	30	43	51	44	66	86	56	69	53
Good availability/cost of parking	9	10	6	6	9	7	6	3	4	8
Good parks and public places	34	39	66	45	33	44	42	57	25	49
Downtown is safe	6	8	20	14	12	8	14	18	15	17
Good appearance/clean	16	29	62	58	33	47	56	64	24	42
Downtown is one of the best things about [city]	10	6	12	16	11	17	39	22	38	31
Go downtown more often for shopping/entertainment	19	10	11	16	15	15	20	15	21	19
Downtown will improve	28	36	36	26	48	21	20	38	27	38
Average	21	21	32	29	26	28	35	34	28	32
Index Score	-8	-7	3	0	-3	-6	7	6	-1	4
Rank	10	9	4	5	8	6	1	2	7	3

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 14: PERCEPTIONS TOWARDS DOWNTOWN: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO RATED DOWNTOWN FEATURES AS VERY POOR (VP) AND VERY GOOD (VG) (NUMBERS INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

AREA OF RESIDENCE	SAFETY FROM CRIME		SHOPPING/ ENTERTAINMENT FACILITIES		PARKING AVAILABILITY & COST		APPEARANCE/ CLEANLINESS		PARKS/PUBLIC SPACES/ACCESS TO WATERFRONT	
DOWNTOWN	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**
Winnipeg	31	23	17	54	44	9	28	21	7	52
Regina	17	4	4	34	21	17	0	31	4	52
Saskatoon	5	40	0	65	30	15	0	70	0	95
Calgary	12	8	0	32	24	20	0	83	8	51
Edmonton	7	20	6	69	41	14	0	43	6	45
All 5 Prairie Cities	15	19	7	55	37	14	10	42	6	53
Vancouver	17	16	4	57	46	0	0	54	10	68
Toronto	17	17	6	73	51	3	3	41	22	24
Ottawa	4	17	6	51	41	0	2	52	6	65
Montreal	11	48	0	83	56	0	21	38	17	31
Halifax	19	13	8	68	36	16	6	50	5	66
All 5 Non-Prairie Cities	14	23	3	67	48	2	5	45	14	45
All 10 Cities	14	22	3	63	45	5	7	43	12	47
INNER CITY	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**
Winnipeg	30	12	6	49	35	19	11	16	5	43
Regina	18	9	9	33	40	11	8	20	6	40
Sasketoon	4	30	4	47	45	13	5	51	6	69
Calgary	11	25	5	45	42	6	1	57	3	53
Edmonton	12	8	2	54	40	13	4	30	13	38
All 5 Prairie Cities	16	17	5	47	41	13	6	35	7	47
Vancouver	17	14	0	64	40	5	7	48	8	50
Toronto	14	12	1	80	66	5	5	48	18	35
Ottawa	13	27	2	53	46	4	5	47	5	56
Montreal	22	8	1	77	49	6	11	24	27	17
Halifax	7	20	7	43	32	10	2	41	2	54
All 5 Non-Prairie Cities	16	13	1	72	54	5	7	41	17	36
All 10 Cities	15	14	2	66	51	6	6	40	15	38
OLDER SUBURBS	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**
Winnipeg	27	15	4	49	37	10	14	20	12	41
Regina	24	11	8	35	37	9	9	29	7	37
Saskatoon	6	23	4	48	40	9	2	65	4	67
Calgary	13	16	1	58	40	8	0	45	6	49
Edmonton	16	10	4	46	39	8	7	40	12	29
All 5 Prairie Cities	17	14	4	49	39	9	7	38	9	42
Vancouver	17	10	2	61	46	7	5	46	11	48
Toronto	20	16	1	86	56	3	6	57	10	39
Ottawa	8	21	3	54	56	4	2	53	6	59
Montreal	12	13	3	71	48	3	8	24	13	25
Halifax	13	20	10	43	49	8	5	43	6	60
All 5 Non-Prairie Cities	16	15	2	72	52	4	5	44	11	40
All 10 Cities	16	14	2	66	49	5	5	43	11	41
NEWER SUBURBS	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**	**VP**	**VG**
Winnipeg	19	6	5	44	43	9	13	15	6	35
Regina	24	8	3	30	45	10	8	30	7	39
Saskatoon	5	20	3	42	40	5	3	62	3	65
Calgary	8	14	3	52	36	6	2	58	7	46
Edmonton	14	13	5	34	49	9	4	33	12	32
All 5 Prairie Cities	14	12	3	44	43	8	6	39	8	41
Vancouver	16	8	1	66	42	7	2	47	5	44
Toronto	17	13	2	87	57	5	2	56	7	42
Ottawa	13	18	3	56	57	3	1	64	6	56
Montreal	22	15	4	70	51	5	15	22	21	25
Halifax	14	15	12	51	45	8	3	31	8	49
All 5 Non-Prairie Cities	18	13	3	71	50	6	6	42	11	38
All 10 Cities	17	13	3	61	48	6	6	41	10	39

Note: "Very Poor" (VP) represents responses of 1 and 2 combined on a 7 point scale. "Very Good" (VG) represents responses of 6 and 7 combined on a 7 point scale.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 15: MEAN RATINGS OF ATTRIBUTES OF DOWNTOWN WINNIPEG: A COMPARISON OF THREE STUDIES

	Sept/Oct 1992[1]	Nov. 1991[2]	Sept/Oct 1992[3]
Cultural Facilities	5.7	5.0	
Shopping	5.5		
Shopping/Entertainment Facility			5.3
Public Transit	5.5	5.2	
Restaurants and nightclubs	5.3	5.3	
Oriented to pedestrians	4.8	5.1	
Overall appearance	4.6		
Cleanliness	4.5	4.2	
Overall appearance and cleanliness			4.2
Personal safety	4.3	3.9	3.7
Traffic flow	4.0	4.2	
Parks	4.0	3.7	
Parks, public space, access to waterfront			4.9
Recreational and sports facilities	3.9	3.4	
Availability of parking	3.6	3.2	
Cost of parking	2.7		
Availability & cost of parking			3.3

Notes: Rated on a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 means very poor and 7 means excellent.

Source:
1. McKnight, 2051 Inc., Dennis. *Quantitative Results of Attitude and Perceptions Towards the Downtown BIZ's "Easy Streets™" Program.* Oct, 1992, p.33. (Prepared by Dennis McKnight 2051 for the Downtown Winnipeg BIZ).
2. McKnight, 2051 Inc., Dennis. *A Quantitative Assessment of Attitudes and Opinions of City of Winnipeg Residents.* Nov., 1992, p.33. (From a study conducted by Dennis McKnight 2051 for the City of Winnipeg Planning Department).
3. Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991.

ability and parking cost, and the latter was of more concern. Perceptions regarding personal safety were fairly consistent for the "Urban Canada Study" and the first McKnight survey (1991) but was significantly higher a year later in the second McKnight survey (1992). The combined features of "parks, public space and access to waterfront" in the "Urban Canada Study" received a considerably higher mean rating than the single issue of "parks" included in the 1992 McKnight survey—possibly an indication of the positive attitudes towards "The Forks" in Winnipeg.

The later McKnight survey (1992) explored in more detail perceptions towards the downtown particularly as they related to parking. Residents displayed a great deal of neutrality towards the list of statements the responses of which were intended to determine how coming downtown could be made more appealing by alleviating parking concerns (Table 16). That a substantial proportion of residents perceive that free or cheaper parking would motivate them to go downtown more often was, however, obvious.

That parking is a significant deterrent to downtown shopping likewise was emphasized in a public opinion survey in Regina in 1990 (Program Management Services and Associates). In fact, parking was the most significant factor, rating substantially ahead of improved safety (Table 17). It is useful to compare this response to Reginans' ratings of downtown features resulting from the "Urban Canada Study" wherein the reverse rating occurred—i.e., downtown safety was rated far ahead of parking (Table 13). While the two responses indicate that both parking and safety features are critical to improving downtown Regina, they better illustrate the notion that will be discussed in a later section of this report that the relationship between perceived safety, or the lack thereof, and perceived health of the downtown is somewhat ambiguous.

Relatively healthy proportions of Prairie residents are optimistic that their downtowns will improve (Table 18). The proportion of all urban Canadians who feel their downtown will improve (27%) is equalled in Calgary (26%) and Winnipeg (28%), and far outweighed in Regina (36%), Saskatoon (37%) and Edmonton (44%). It is interesting to note that, while residents of Saskatoon rated their downtown first among the ten cities, its residents also had the second highest levels of optimism in the country that their downtown will improve. As Saskatonians show relatively lower levels of optimism regarding other issues, perhaps their healthy attitudes toward their downtown are enhanced by initiatives of the Downtown Partnership and other organizations working to promote, enhance and beautify their downtown. Also of interest is Edmontonians' and Reginans' optimism for their downtown, even though they gave their downtowns two of the worst ratings in the country.

Significant proportions of all urban residents, however, feel their downtowns will be either the same or worse off ten years hence (Table 18; Figure 2). Particular noteworthy is Winnipeg, where

residents gave their downtown the lowest rating among all ten cities, and where a large proportion of residents (38%) feel that the downtown will be worse in ten years. Winnipeggers' perceptions of the future are basically consistent, regardless of where they reside. Such pessimism is equalled only in two cities of much larger size—Vancouver and Toronto, where 37 percent and 39 percent, respectively, feel the downtown will be worse off in ten years time. Regina and Edmonton, with the two lowest downtown ratings next to Winnipeg, have relatively low proportions who feel downtown will be worse off in ten years.

The findings of the "Urban Canada Study" cannot be compared to those of the "MSUA Study," as the latter did not contain an analysis of the attitudes towards downtown—at that time the downtown had very low priority in the minds of residents of most urban areas in Canada (Atkinson, 1979, p. 8). The present survey indicates that, for at least some urban Canadians, downtown issues might now be considered a "middle place" priority relative to other issues (see, e.g., Table 40).

2.3.2 Using the Downtown for Shopping and Entertainment

Because a very large emphasis of downtown improvement policies is to re-establish the downtown as the place to shop in one's city, it is useful to examine how often residents go downtown for shopping and other purposes, and if their use of the downtown has changed over the past few years. Based upon the ratings Prairie cities gave their downtowns, it is not surprising that residents of Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton (comparable data for Saskatoon and Regina were not obtained) use their downtowns for entertainment purposes less than other urban Canadians (Table 19). Whereas 15 percent or less use the downtown for entertainment purposes once a week, at least 21 percent of residents of the other five frequent the downtown for such purposes on a weekly basis. For shopping purposes, however, Winnipeg mirrors the national average with close to a quarter (23%) of residents shopping downtown on a weekly basis. Smaller proportions of Calgarians (16%) and Edmontonians (16%) shop downtown on a weekly basis.

Further differences among these three Prairie cities are evident when use of downtown according to where residents reside is examined. Downtown Winnipeggers are far heavier users of their downtown for shopping; 78 percent are weekly users as compared with 64 percent in Edmonton and 40 percent in Calgary. Alternately, downtown Edmontonians are far heavier users of the downtown for entertainment purposes; 60 percent are weekly users as compared with 30 percent in Winnipeg and 20 percent in Calgary. For all three cities, frequency decreases as the distance residents live to the centre of the city increases.

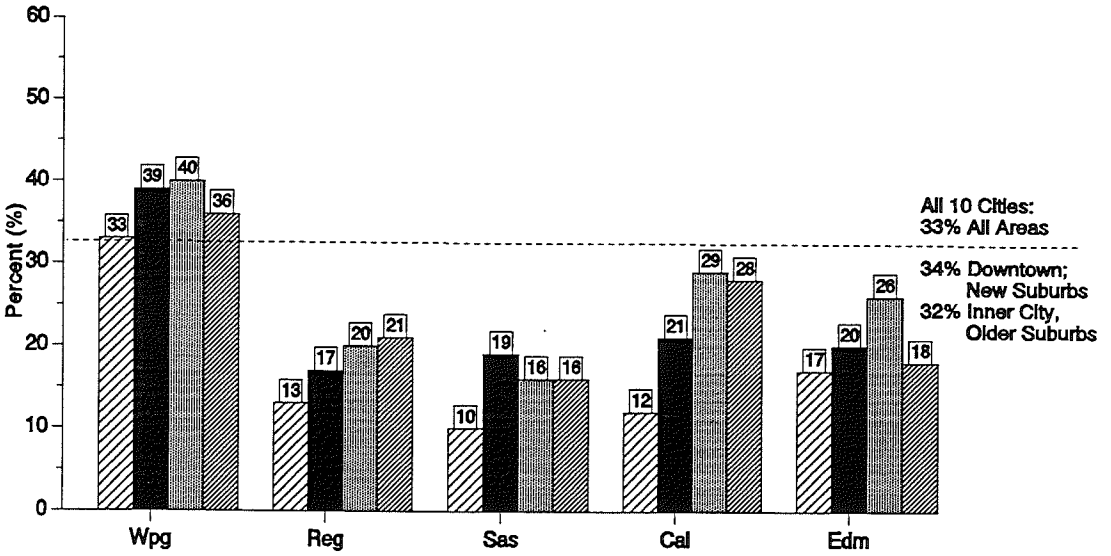
TABLE 16: ATTITUDES TOWARDS DOWNTOWN PARKING ISSUES: WINNIPEG, 1992				
	MEAN RATING	DISAGREE (%)	NEUTRAL (%)	AGREE (%)
Would go downtown more often if parking was free	5.0	19	21	48
Would come downtown more often if received parking tokens	4.3	24	32	34
Can afford to park downtown but object to paying	4.3	24	29	34
Downtown offers more than suburban shopping malls	4.3	25	36	33
Availability of parking is a greater problem than cost of parking	4.0	26	38	25

Note: The items were rated on a seven point scale; Disagree is equivalent to 1 and 2, Neutral - 3 through 5, and Agree - 6 and 7.

Source: Dennis McKnight 2051 Inc. *Quantitative Results of Attitudes and perceptions Towards the Downtown BIZ's "Easy Streets™" Program*, 1992. Extra to report.

FIGURE 2: PERCEPTIONS OF THE FUTURE: RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL CONDITIONS IN THEIR CITY WILL BE WORSE

Health of Downtown



Crime and Violence

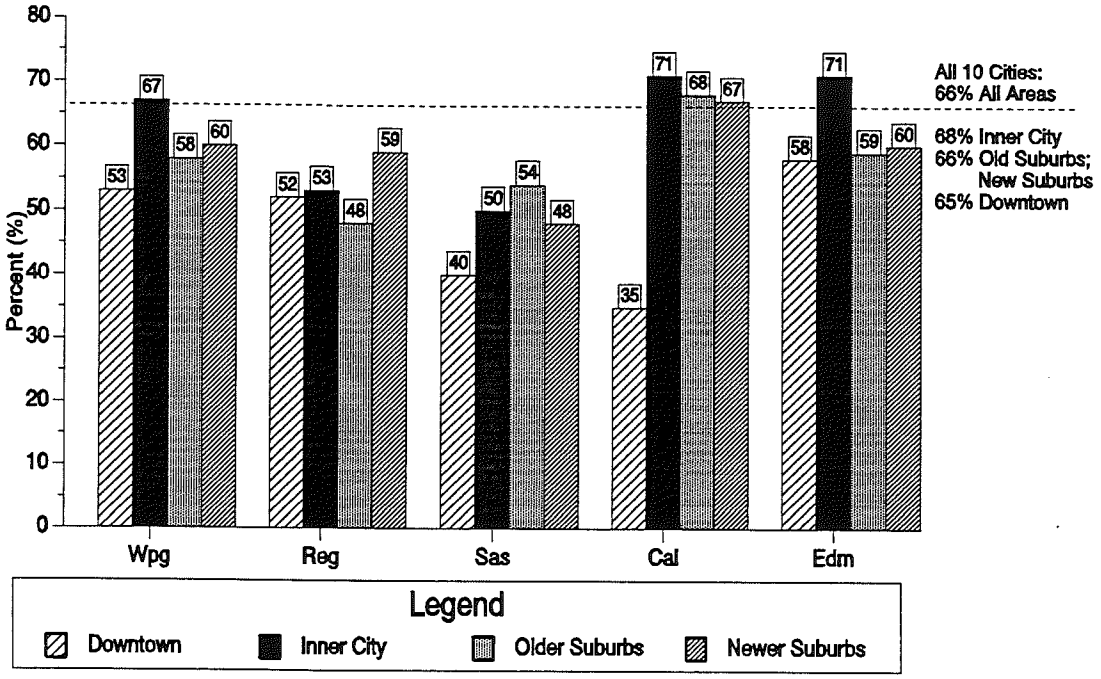
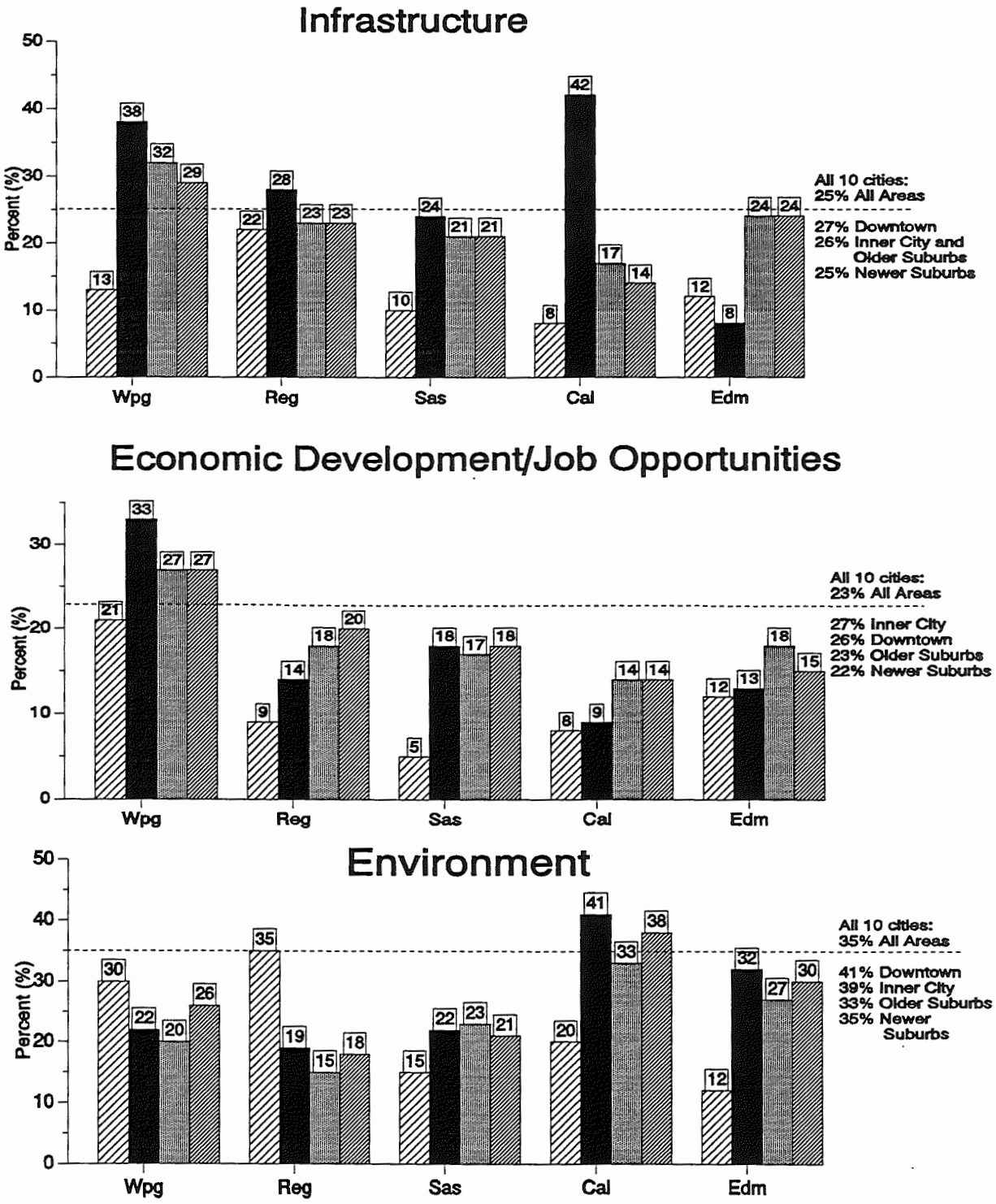


Figure 2: Continued



Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 17: FEATURES TO ENCOURAGE RESIDENTS TO GO DOWNTOWN MORE OFTEN: REGINA, 1990

FEATURE	RESIDENTS MENTIONING FEATURE (%)
Less expensive parking	39
Location of parking	38
Improved safety	20
More stores/services	19
Longer store hours	11
More entertainment	9
Improved public transit	8

Source: Program Management Services and Associates. *Planning Issues in Regina: Findings of a Public Opinion Survey.* Prepared for the Urban Planning Department City of Regina. September 1990, p. 34.

TABLE 18: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS', PERCEPTIONS OF THE FUTURE—BETTER (B), THE SAME (S) OR WORSE (W) BY RESPONDENTS AREA OF RESIDENCE

AREA OF RESIDENCE	HEALTH OF DOWNTOWN			ENVIRONMENT			INFRASTRUCTURE			TRAVEL WITHIN CITY			CRIME/VIOLENCE			ETHNIC RELATIONS			ECONOMIC DEV./ JOB OPPORT.		
DOWNTOWN	B	S	W	B	S	W	B	S	W	B	S	W	B	S	W	B	S	W	B	S	W
Winnipeg	47	20	33	50	19	30	48	36	13	31	52	11	17	21	53	52	27	13	40	33	21
Regina	52	30	13	35	26	35	35	39	22	30	43	26	9	39	52	35	35	30	39	52	9
Saskatoon	50	25	10	35	45	15	55	25	10	35	45	10	20	35	40	45	20	15	55	30	5
Calgary	31	57	12	52	28	20	71	20	8	36	44	20	20	45	35	84	16	0	80	12	8
Edmonton	35	48	17	59	29	12	35	52	12	55	34	11	11	31	58	50	37	13	36	51	12
All 5 Prairie Cities	**44**	**34**	**22**	**50**	**26**	**24**	**47**	**38**	**14**	**39**	**44**	**15**	**14**	**32**	**51**	**53**	**30**	**15**	**48**	**36**	**14**
Vancouver	26	38	35	28	19	53	31	31	38	49	15	32	3	13	81	27	22	51	34	37	29
Toronto	21	30	42	32	15	49	41	27	28	25	3	55	7	20	74	25	34	37	20	42	29
Ottawa	33	34	31	39	23	39	43	31	24	42	41	14	6	29	59	32	52	12	48	35	12
Montreal	12	42	46	39	12	44	19	39	42	32	27	33	13	29	51	23	36	33	41	17	43
Halifax	41	42	14	46	24	30	42	50	8	42	40	19	27	22	51	45	37	11	39	38	24
All 5 Non-Prairie Cities	**24**	**35**	**37**	**35**	**17**	**46**	**36**	**32**	**30**	**36**	**19**	**37**	**8**	**22**	**67**	**28**	**35**	**33**	**33**	**36**	**28**
All 10 Cities	**29**	**34**	**34**	**38**	**19**	**41**	**39**	**33**	**27**	**36**	**24**	**33**	**10**	**23**	**65**	**34**	**33**	**30**	**37**	**35**	**26**
INNER CITY																					
Winnipeg	36	25	39	42	37	22	31	35	32	29	46	25	7	23	67	34	32	30	37	26	33
Regina	36	42	17	37	41	19	24	50	23	32	53	14	15	29	53	37	33	26	49	33	14
Saskatoon	38	38	19	39	38	22	26	50	21	24	57	17	19	28	50	39	44	15	44	36	18
Calgary	25	44	21	34	25	41	35	47	17	25	40	34	11	17	71	30	41	26	59	22	9
Edmonton	45	26	20	38	27	32	38	27	24	46	31	23	14	14	71	33	31	34	38	41	13
All 5 Prairie Cities	**36**	**35**	**25**	**37**	**33**	**29**	**31**	**41**	**25**	**31**	**43**	**25**	**12**	**21**	**66**	**33**	**36**	**29**	**45**	**32**	**19**
Vancouver	24	37	35	38	17	44	30	30	33	34	13	51	8	21	69	36	24	35	51	20	26
Toronto	18	37	38	28	21	49	30	42	27	31	24	44	9	15	77	31	28	38	30	39	31
Ottawa	21	45	32	32	30	39	31	46	23	31	32	36	7	25	66	35	31	31	31	38	28
Montreal	23	40	34	40	26	33	28	45	23	29	39	28	9	32	57	38	25	35	38	31	28
Halifax	37	46	14	38	28	31	44	40	15	21	47	29	15	23	59	51	26	21	36	38	23
All 5 Non-Prairie Cities	**21**	**39**	**35**	**34**	**23**	**42**	**30**	**42**	**26**	**30**	**29**	**39**	**9**	**22**	**68**	**35**	**27**	**35**	**36**	**34**	**29**
All 10 Cities	**24**	**39**	**32**	**34**	**26**	**39**	**30**	**42**	**26**	30	**32**	**36**	**9**	**22**	**68**	**34**	**29**	**34**	**38**	**33**	27

TABLE 18: CONTINUED

AREA OF RESIDENCE	HEALTH OF DOWNTOWN			ENVIRONMENT			INFRASTRUCTURE			TRAVEL WITHIN CITY			CRIME/VIOLENCE			ETHNIC RELATIONS			ECONOMIC DEV./ JOB OPPORT.		
OLDER SUBURBS	B	S	W	B	S	W	B	S	W	B	S	W	B	S	W	B	S	W	B	S	W
Winnipeg	23	35	40	44	33	20	31	39	29	25	53	21	13	28	58	39	37	21	27	43	27
Regina	34	44	20	41	42	15	40	36	23	25	59	17	13	34	48	35	31	30	45	35	18
Saskatoon	39	41	16	36	39	23	28	45	21	24	55	18	11	32	54	34	41	19	52	27	17
Calgary	26	41	29	33	34	33	36	47	14	29	33	36	9	23	68	29	39	30	47	39	14
Edmonton	39	33	26	47	25	27	40	34	24	49	30	20	17	23	59	44	31	21	44	33	18
All 5 Prairie Cities	**32**	**39**	**28**	**41**	**33**	**25**	**36**	**40**	**23**	**32**	**43**	**25**	**13**	**27**	**60**	**37**	**36**	**25**	**42**	**37**	**19**
Vancouver	23	40	33	28	32	39	29	38	30	26	22	51	6	19	46	29	33	36	46	36	15
Toronto	26	35	36	37	24	38	32	39	27	28	21	49	10	12	75	30	23	44	35	31	32
Ottawa	29	37	28	41	30	27	34	41	21	38	36	24	11	29	59	33	36	26	34	43	20
Montreal	30	34	33	42	24	30	34	35	27	32	43	23	13	30	55	34	23	37	40	31	22
Halifax	33	40	22	48	22	26	44	41	13	28	43	29	15	26	59	50	35	16	42	34	22
All 5 Non-Prairie Cities	**27**	**36**	**33**	**37**	**26**	**35**	**33**	**38**	**27**	**30**	**29**	**39**	**10**	**20**	**67**	**32**	**27**	**38**	**39**	**33**	**24**
All 10 Cities	**28**	**37**	**32**	**38**	**28**	**33**	**33**	**38**	**26**	**30**	**32**	**36**	**11**	**22**	**66**	**33**	**29**	**35**	**40**	**34**	**23**
NEWER SUBURBS																					
Winnipeg	27	35	36	42	32	26	38	35	25	30	49	18	12	27	60	42	38	17	31	39	27
Regina	36	42	21	39	41	18	29	38	31	27	57	15	12	27	59	27	39	32	44	35	20
Saskatoon	34	45	16	39	38	21	36	40	23	27	54	18	17	32	48	35	44	17	46	33	18
Calgary	26	42	28	32	28	38	37	49	12	31	37	31	8	23	67	35	31	30	55	29	14
Edmonton	48	30	18	43	26	30	41	36	22	50	31	18	12	26	60	38	39	21	44	39	15
All 5 Prairie Cities	**35**	**38**	**25**	**39**	**31**	**29**	**37**	**40**	**22**	**35**	**42**	**22**	**12**	**27**	**60**	**37**	**38**	**24**	**44**	**36**	**18**
Vancouver	20	35	42	35	23	42	37	34	28	39	15	45	12	17	70	30	25	41	50	36	12
Toronto	20	28	46	41	15	44	34	40	24	31	19	50	10	15	74	33	40	24	41	33	21
Ottawa	38	34	26	42	26	31	41	39	19	36	35	28	11	22	64	36	26	32	39	31	28
Montreal	28	33	37	36	29	34	38	34	27	29	42	29	9	24	66	26	27	45	32	28	36
Halifax	38	37	19	48	24	27	45	42	13	29	49	23	16	26	57	55	28	12	43	32	23
All 5 Non-Prairie Cities	**25**	**33**	**39**	**38**	**23**	**38**	**37**	**36**	**25**	**33**	**29**	**38**	**11**	**20**	**69**	**32**	**30**	**36**	**40**	**32**	**24**
All 10 Cities	**29**	**34**	**34**	**38**	**27**	**35**	**37**	**38**	**25**	**33**	**34**	**32**	**11**	**22**	**66**	**33**	**32**	**32**	**41**	**34**	**22**

Source: Angus Reid. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computation by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 19: HOW OFTEN RESIDENTS GO DOWNTOWN 1991/1992
(NUMBERS INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

PURPOSE	PRAIRIE CITIES					FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES				
	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL
Entertainment										
Once/week	13	-	-	15	11	21	27	28	22	26
A few times/month	34	-	-	29	27	33	30	34	33	29
Every few months	23	-	-	21	22	22	16	17	17	12
Once or twice/year	17	-	-	18	17	15	15	9	12	11
Less often	5	-	-	6	6	3	5	2	3	6
Never	8	-	-	11	17	6	7	9	12	16
Shopping										
Once/week	23	-	-	16	15	19	27	35	18	31
A few times/month	23	-	-	26	19	27	27	28	31	28
Every few months	21	-	-	18	20	18	15	16	17	12
Once or twice/year	17	-	-	23	19	18	17	10	16	9
Less often	4	-	-	6	8	4	3	2	5	3
Never	12	-	-	11	19	14	10	9	14	15
Professional Services										
Once/week	18	-	-	18	15	15	24	27	15	34
A few times/month	20	-	-	14	14	14	15	21	15	25
Every few months	16	-	-	9	16	9	9	9	10	10
Once or twice/year	18	-	-	12	17	15	13	10	18	6
Less often	6	-	-	7	8	8	4	3	7	3
Never	22	-	-	40	30	39	34	30	34	21

Note: A dash (-) indicates no comparable data were collected.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

2.3.3 Changes in Use

For residents of all ten cities, a small proportion (from 14% in Vancouver and Saskatoon to 19% in Montreal) are now using the downtown for shopping/entertainment "more" than a few years ago, but the large majority (from 42% in Saskatoon to 54% in Vancouver) are frequenting their downtowns "less"; in effect, the proportion of residents shopping "less" outweighs the proportion shopping "more" anywhere from 2.4 times in Calgary to 3.9 times in Vancouver (Table 20).

An examination of changed shopping/entertainment patterns according to where residents reside, however, reveals an important feature of Prairie cities (Table 21). The only areas among all ten cities where the proportion of residents who are patronizing the downtown "more" exceeds the proportion accessing it "less" include: the downtowns of all five Prairie cities, the downtowns of Toronto, Ottawa and Halifax, and the inner city of Halifax. While it appears that increased use of the downtown by those who live there is a national phenomenon (the downtowns of Montreal and Vancouver were the only cities where this did not happen), it is encouraging for the Prairie cities that the greatest growth of shopping by downtowners has occurred in their cities despite their mostly bottom-place ratings. As the survey did not ask which areas of the city residents had lived in previously, it cannot be deduced if the residents who are patronizing their downtown more are incumbents, or if they are new residents to the downtown.

What are the characteristics of residents who are now using their downtown for shopping and entertainment purposes more than they did a few years ago? For residents of the Prairie cities combined, those who patronize the downtown "more" tend to be in the 18 to 34 age group, middle or low income, and female (Table 22). Roughly half are not employed at all (the unemployed, retired, students) or are not employed outside the home (homemakers). Of those who are employed, about two thirds work in the downtown. Characteristics of residents of the other five cities who have increased their resort to downtown for shopping/entertainment purposes are quite similar to those described above, except that they tend to be of higher income levels and may be more likely to be male and/or without children. Although increased users are often employed in the downtown, it is important to point out that a significant proportion (over 40% in the downtown and inner city, and at least 28% in the suburbs) in both the Prairie and non-Prairie cities are not employed.

In comparison to those who use their downtown "more," Prairie and non-Prairie residents who go downtown "less" are more likely to be older (35-64) and work in a location other than the downtown. Attitudes toward downtown parking, as discussed previously, explain in part why residents who neither live nor work downtown are using their downtowns less for shopping and entertainment. Factors other than parking, however, obviously have contributed to decreased use

TABLE 20: RESIDENTS USE OF DOWNTOWN FOR SHOPPING AND ENTERTAINMENT "NOW" AS COMPARED WITH "A FEW YEARS AGO" (NUMBERS INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

ALL AREAS	MORE OFTEN	LESS OFTEN	THE SAME AS BEFORE	RATIO Less Often / More Often
Winnipeg	16	53	30	3.3
Regina	15	47	36	3.1
Saskatoon	14	42	38	3.0
Calgary	18	43	37	2.4
Edmonton	17	52	27	3.1
Vancouver	14	54	29	3.9
Toronto	17	49	33	2.9
Ottawa	16	48	33	3.0
Montreal	19	47	33	2.5
Halifax	17	44	36	2.6

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 21: RESIDENTS' USE OF DOWNTOWN FOR SHOPPING AND ENTERTAINMENT "NOW" AS COMPARED WITH "A FEW YEARS AGO" (NUMBERS INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

Residents' Current Place of Residence	More Often %	Less Often %	The Same as Before %	Ratio: Less Often / More Often
Downtown Calgary	48	0	44	0
Downtown Edmonton	47	11	42	0.2
Downtown Saskatoon	45	10	40	0.2
Downtown Winnipeg	46	21	33	0.5
Downtown Toronto	28	16	56	0.6
Downtown Regina	30	17	48	0.6
Inner-City Halifax	24	16	60	0.7
Downtown Halifax	18	16	60	0.9
Downtown Ottawa	27	25	57	0.9
Inner-City Montreal	20	25	57	1.3
Downtown Montreal	18	25	57	1.4
Inner-City Edmonton	28	44	22	1.6
Inner-City Saskatoon	22	38	38	1.7
Newer Suburban Montreal	22	48	30	2.2
Older Suburban Regina	19	43	37	2.3
Newer Suburban Toronto	20	46	33	2.3
Downtown Vancouver	18	41	41	2.3
Newer Suburban Calgary	17	42	37	2.5
Older Suburban Calgary	19	47	32	2.5
Inner-City Winnipeg	20	49	32	2.5
Newer Suburban Halifax	18	47	32	2.6
Inner-City Ottawa	19	52	28	2.7
Older Suburban Montreal	17	46	36	2.7
Older Suburban Saskatoon	13	39	45	3.0
Newer Suburban Winnipeg	19	57	22	3.0
Inner-City Regina	14	44	35	3.1
Inner-City Calgary	11	36	51	3.3
Newer Suburban Edmonton	15	49	32	3.3
Older Suburban Toronto	16	53	29	3.3
Newer Suburban Ottawa	15	51	31	3.4
Newer Suburban Vancouver	16	54	28	3.4
Older Suburban Ottawa	13	48	35	3.7
Older Suburban Vancouver	15	56	28	3.7
Older Suburban Edmonton	15	62	21	4.1
Older Suburban Halifax	12	49	36	4.1
Inner-City Toronto	13	54	33	4.1
Newer Suburban Saskatoon	11	51	36	4.6
Inner-City Vancouver	10	49	35	4.9
Newer Suburban Regina	10	54	35	5.4
Older Suburban Winnipeg	8	57	35	7.1

Note: Prairie data highlighted.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 22: PROFILE OF RESIDENTS WHO USE DOWNTOWN FOR SHOPPING & ENTERTAINMENT "MORE OFTEN" AND "LESS OFTEN" THAN A FEW YEARS AGO

(NUMBERS INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

	PRAIRIE CITIES		FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES	
DOWNTOWN (d.t.)	**MORE OFTEN**	**LESS OFTEN**	**MORE OFTEN**	**LESS OFTEN**
Age: 18-34	51	31	56	37
35-64	33	45	44	42
65+	17	25	0	21
Income: <20,000	40	29	9	18
20,000-49,999	38	16	34	44
50,000+	19	24	48	30
Sex: Female	68	57	39	50
Male	33	44	61	51
Presence of Children: Yes	10	38	18	45
No	90	62	82	55
Employment Status: Employed (do not work d.t.)	20	24	22	23
Employed (work d.t.)	32	27	46	44
Not Employed	48	49	33	33
INNER CITY	**MORE OFTEN**	**LESS OFTEN**	**MORE OFTEN**	**LESS OFTEN**
Age: 18-34	72	41	51	41
35-64	22	43	41	45
65+	7	13	8	14
Income: <20,000	29	16	20	12
20,000-49,999	35	56	33	41
50,000+	31	22	42	37
Sex: Female	52	49	59	52
Male	48	51	41	48
Presence of Children: Yes	35	33	34	41
No	65	67	66	59
Employment Status: Employed (do not work d.t.)	34	46	33	46
Employed (work d.t.)	23	21	31	32
Not Employed	43	33	36	22
OLDER SUBURBS	**MORE OFTEN**	**LESS OFTEN**	**MORE OFTEN**	**LESS OFTEN**
Age: 18-34	55	35	56	30
35-64	42	47	38	53
65+	4	18	6	18
Income: <20,000	18	17	11	12
20,000-49,999	50	52	40	40
50,000+	24	21	37	36
Sex: Female	60	57	55	57
Male	40	43	46	43
Presence of Children: Yes	42	45	38	39
No	58	56	62	61
Employment Status: Employed (do not work d.t.)	38	49	32	42
Employed (work d.t.)	33	12	31	20
Not Employed	29	39	37	38
NEWER AREAS	**MORE OFTEN**	**LESS OFTEN**	**MORE OFTEN**	**LESS OFTEN**
Age: 18-34	56	37	61	32
35-64	39	54	36	59
65+	3	9	4	9
Income: <20,000	10	8	11	9
20,000-49,999	38	41	43	37
50,000+	45	43	35	45
Sex: Female	53	57	48	55
Male	47	43	52	45
Presence of Children: Yes	48	58	34	54
No	52	42	66	46
Employment Status: Employed (do not work d.t.)	41	50	39	61
Employed (work d.t.)	31	20	21	16
Not Employed	28	29	40	23
ALL AREAS	**MORE OFTEN**	**LESS OFTEN**	**MORE OFTEN**	**LESS OFTEN**
Age: 18-34	58	36	57	33
35-64	37	50	38	53
65+	5	14	5	14
Income: <20,000	19	13	13	11
20,000-49,999	42	47	39	40
50,000+	33	31	38	39
Sex: Female	57	56	52	55
Male	43	44	48	45
Presence of Children Yes	42	50	35	45
No	58	50	65	56
Employment Status: Employed (do not work d.t.)	37	49	33	48
Employed (work d.t.)	31	17	29	22
Not Employed	33	34	38	30

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS; Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

among residents; in the Prairie cities, for example, of those inner city and newer suburban residents using downtown less for shopping and entertainment purposes, 21 percent work *downtown*. Other factors are likely to include perceptions related to other downtown matters (Table 13) and to the presence of an economic recession causing many residents to shop less, period.

Among residents who *live* downtown, the proportion using downtown less is very small, as previously discussed, especially in relation to those who use it more (Table 21). Nevertheless, one is still left to ponder the explanation of decreased use among this small proportion of downtown residents—especially considering that only a quarter of this group is taken beyond the downtown to work and the remainder either work in the downtown (27%) or are not employed (49%). As for residents of other areas of the city, decreased use among downtowners is likely related to perceptions regarding a variety of downtown features and to the economic recession, even though the downtown/inner-city sample was skewed in favour of those with higher incomes (Table 2). The need to go beyond the downtown for grocery needs is also another possible explanation. Limited grocery shopping opportunities have, in some cases, been further depleted. Within the last few years, for example, a major grocery store closed in downtown Regina. A definitive answer explaining decreased use, however, is not likely to be found as the survey question was somewhat ambiguous; the aspects of shopping and entertainment were combined, and "more" was not defined to be "number" of times or "value spent." In addition, the geographic boundaries of the downtown were not delineated for respondents. Residents may perceive that they are frequenting their downtowns less in favour of other places (such as The Forks in Winnipeg) which, to residents may not be perceived to be "downtown" but, to those involved in planning for downtowns, would be perceived as such. Further analysis, however, of residents' use and change in use of their downtowns would be useful in planning for the viability of downtowns.

2.3.4 Transportation Modes of Those Who Work in the Downtown

Improved parking (and traffic flow), as cited earlier, were perceived by Prairie city residents as two important issues to be addressed in improving the downtowns of their cities. In determining ways to improve upon such problems it is useful to examine the proportion of residents who are working in the downtown and using as the car as their means of transportation to the downtown.

The influence of working downtown and living downtown is illustrated in Figure 3. Patterson (1994), however, concluded that "there continues to be close relationship between place of residence and place of work, the data also show that this relationship is weaker in smaller centres and that it is especially weak in Prairie cities" (p. 100).

FIGURE 3: PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED RESIDENTS WHO WORK DOWNTOWN BY RESIDENTS' PLACE OF RESIDENCE

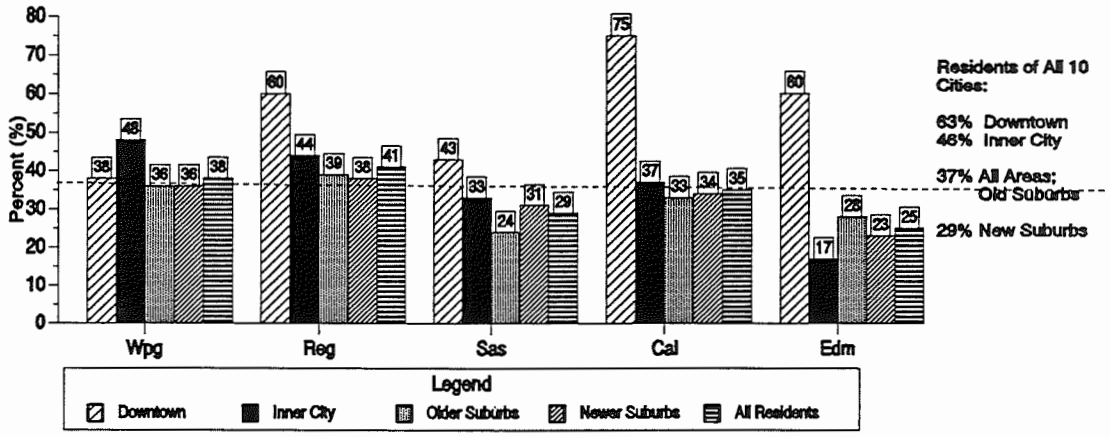
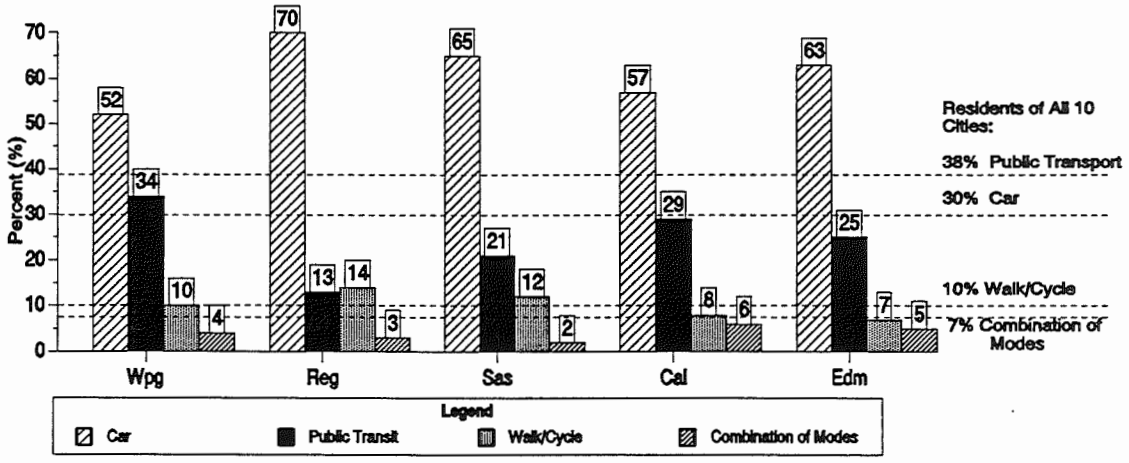


FIGURE 4: MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION USED BY THOSE WHO WORK DOWNTOWN



Source: Angus Reid Group, "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

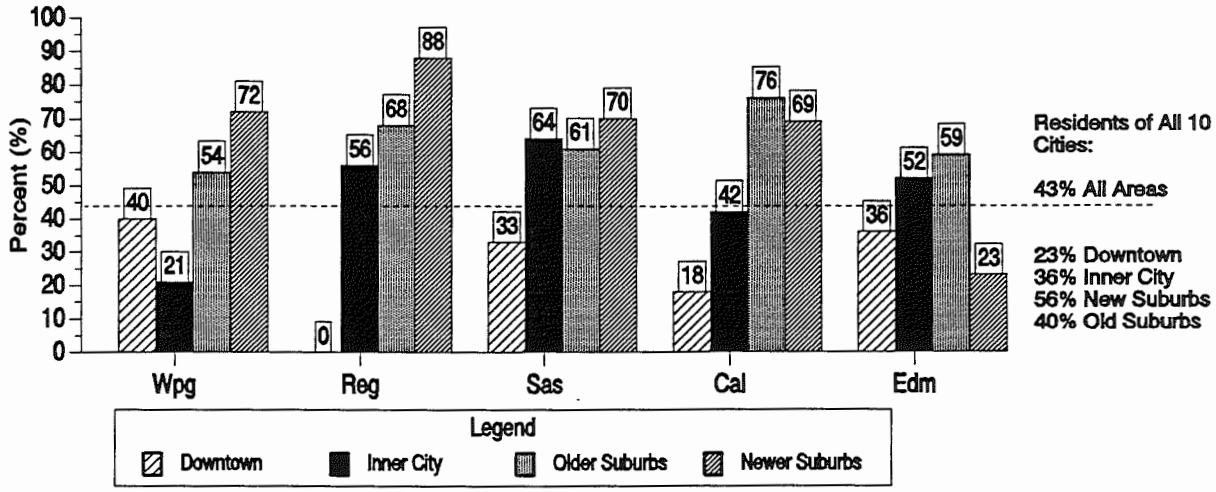
An examination of the means of transportation of those who work downtown shows that Prairie residents are the biggest users of cars to downtown workplaces (Figure 4). An examination of the use of car to downtown workplaces according to residents' places of residence shows that, with the exception of Edmonton, the proportion of residents of newer suburbs in Prairie cities who go to work by car is much higher than the national average, especially in Regina (Figure 5). The case of Regina and Winnipeg is especially interesting as these cities also show a higher than average proportion of residents of the suburbs which work in the downtown (Figure 3). For residents of all parts of Winnipeg and Regina, appearance and cleanliness of the downtown rated lowest among all ten cities. One wonders if perceptions of uncleanliness and pollution could be alleviated by restricting the car in downtowns. This may be particularly applicable to Winnipeg where the proportion of downtown residents who worry about pollution (40%) is second highest, next to first placed Toronto.

2.4 THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

As noted previously, Winnipeg, Regina and Edmonton did not rate well in this dimension in the Quality of Life Index. Downtowners and inner-city dwellers of these cities do not perceive their cities to be appealing in terms of scenery and natural surroundings; climate is considered an even greater drawback (Table 23).

Ratings of the physical environment, however, generally are not as uniform among the four parts of the city as compared with ratings of the dimensions in Quality of Life Index discussed thus far. In Regina, for example, older suburban residents rated the physical environment of their city much higher than residents of the other three areas. In Edmonton, inner-city dwellers gave their city's physical environment a last place ranking while residents from the other three areas gave it average ratings. The reverse was evident in Calgary, where this aspect was rated average by those residing in the newer suburbs and rated in the top two by those residing in the other three areas of the city. Saskatoon, like Montreal, is unique among all ten cities in that both its downtown and inner city rated ahead of the suburbs with respect to the physical environment. Residents of Winnipeg provided the most uniform ratings among all ten cities; in Winnipeg, this aspect received an eighth placed rating by inner-city residents and a ninth place rating by all other residents. Although the differences in attitude do not vary in a consistent fashion according to current place of residence, the variations suggest that residents' experiences will be quite different depending upon where in the city they reside.

FIGURE 5: TRANSPORTATION BY CAR TO DOWNTOWN WORKPLACES BY WORKERS' PLACE OF RESIDENCE



Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 23: HIGH RATING OF PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT FACTORS
(NUMBERS INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

	PRAIRIE CITIES					FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES				
DOWNTOWN	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL
Appealing scenery/natural surroundings	46	48	90	90	59	96	46	92	47	78
Climate not a drawback	21	35	25	50	41	69	32	33	53	61
Not worried about pollution	21	30	55	40	24	23	21	35	40	22
Environment will improve	50	36	37	50	65	27	32	39	40	47
Average	35	37	52	58	47	54	33	50	45	52
Index Score	-11	-9	6	11	1	8	-13	3	-1	6
Ranking	9	8	4	1	6	2	10	5	7	3
INNER CITY										
Appealing scenery/natural surroundings	55	41	82	84	42	94	48	88	50	80
Climate not a drawback	25	31	51	56	18	61	44	40	4	51
Not worried about pollution	23	40	34	36	18	18	13	37	16	33
Environment will improve	39	38	39	33	36	39	28	32	39	39
Average	36	38	52	52	29	53	33	49	38	50
Index Score	-7	-5	9	9	-14	10	-10	6	-5	7
Ranking	8	7	3	2	10	1	9	5	6	4
OLDER SUBURBS										
Appealing scenery/natural surroundings	53	86	46	86	65	97	56	91	49	82
Climate not a drawback	32	45	39	57	30	56	48	38	38	57
Not worried about pollution	30	40	41	36	35	15	20	30	12	27
Environment will improve	44	37	42	34	48	29	37	41	42	48
Average	40	52	42	53	44	49	40	50	35	53
Index Score	-6	6	-4	8	-2	3	-6	4	-11	8
Ranking	9	3	7	1.5	6	5	8	4	10	1.5
NEWER SUBURBS										
Appealing scenery/natural surroundings	44	38	82	85	66	93	54	89	44	83
Climate not a drawback	28	36	41	55	30	65	42	39	34	50
Not worried about pollution	30	34	37	31	23	16	18	38	11	23
Environment will improve	42	40	40	32	43	34	40	42	36	49
Average	36	37	50	50	40	52	38	52	31	51
Index Score	-8	-7	6	7	-3	8	-6	8	-13	8
Ranking	9	8	5	4	6	2	7	1	10	3

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

2.4.1 Environmental Concerns

Though this issue is covered in depth in the *Green City Views* report (Patterson, 1994), it is noteworthy to mention here that "MSUA Study" showed that "pollution was clearly the most important of the strictly physical aspects of the local environment" (Atkinson, p. 33) and that, fourteen years later, environmental concerns continue to be a top priority among urban Canadians (Patterson, 1991). Overall, residents of Prairie cities tend to be more optimistic that the environment will improve (Table 18) than the residents of other cities. Nevertheless, substantial proportions of all urban Canadians feel pollution will be worse ten years hence (Figure 2). Among Prairie cities, this is particularly true in Calgary's inner city and suburbs and in Winnipeg's and Regina's downtown.

2.5 MUNICIPAL SERVICES AND TRANSPORTATION

2.5.1 Municipal Services

The municipal services and infrastructure dimension of the Quality of Life Index was rated relatively low in Winnipeg, Regina and Edmonton, often receiving a rating only ahead of last-place Montreal (Table 4). Saskatoon and Calgary fared much better in this area, generally receiving middle or top-third ratings, respectively. Ratings were generally uniform regardless of where residents resided. Residents of downtown Edmonton and inner-city Edmonton, however, had opposing views regarding services—the former ranking them first among all downtowns and the latter ranking them last. Although downtown Calgarians rated their city second overall, they only gave a seventh place rating to their city's services and infrastructure (Table 4B).

When asked the question of how satisfied they are with services and infrastructure in general, residents in Prairie cities, like the non-Prairies, indicated they are largely satisfied. From 59 percent (Winnipeg) to 100 percent (Calgary) of downtowners, and from 68 percent (Winnipeg) to 91 percent (Saskatoon and Calgary) of inner-city residents, indicated some degree of satisfaction.

Percentages of respondents dissatisfied with municipal services and infrastructure (Table 24) show that Winnipeg's downtown and inner city and Edmonton's inner city display the most dissatisfaction among residents of all ten cities. Contrastingly, the downtowns of Saskatoon, Regina and Calgary display the most satisfaction. When downtown and inner-city data are highlighted for all ten cities, it can be seen that those most dissatisfied are residents residing in downtown and inner-city areas.

Better insight into attitudes towards services is obtained when the responses to individual services are considered (Figure 6). Residents of all ten cities are most satisfied with fire protection, public libraries and garbage collection, regardless of which area of the city they inhabit. They are most dissatisfied with snow removal, streets and boulevards and social services; this is particularly true

among Prairie residents (Figure 7). Dissatisfaction with maintenance and repairs of streets and boulevards is, in all Prairie cities except Calgary, above the average level for all ten cities combined. Even in Regina's downtown, which indicated no level of dissatisfaction with services "overall," over half of respondents (52%) said they were dissatisfied with streets and boulevards. Similarly, the level of dissatisfaction with snow removal is greater than the national average in three of the five Prairie cities—not a surprising finding, considering the weather conditions in these cities, and the relatively high proportions of seniors residing in the downtown. Dissatisfaction with welfare and social services for the needy is highest, and over the national average, among downtown or inner-city residents of each Prairie city. In Edmonton, dissatisfaction with these services was more consistent among the residents' of the four areas of the city, but generally downtown and inner-city residents will be less satisfied with services. While dissatisfaction with streets and snow removal is most likely reflecting residents desire to have "better" streets and "higher levels" of snow removal, it is not as easy to deduce why residents are dissatisfied with social services. Do residents want more services, better services, increased access to existing services, more appropriate service providers, *etc.?* It is likely that all of the aforementioned would apply (see, for example, Institute of Urban Studies, 1990). Perhaps residents would like to see fewer services; this, however, is not as likely as residents did not highly support the policy "finding ways to reduce municipal spending and property taxes, even if it means cutting some services" (see Table 40) and they are highly attuned to the growing concerns of poverty and homelessness (see Table 34).

A low level of satisfaction with infrastructure in the Prairie cities is accompanied by a high level of pessimism that infrastructure will be worse ten years hence (Figure 2). Prairie downtowners, however, do not follow the pattern; they are much more optimistic about the future of this aspect than residents from other areas within their cities as well as residents from non-Prairie downtowns (Table 17). While the high degree of optimism among Prairie downtowners may be a reflection of revitalization/new development initiatives undertaken in these cities, it should be considered with caution. The proportion of downtown Calgarians (71%) which is optimistic about the future of this aspect is twice as high as the proportion of Edmontonians and Reginans (35% each). When individual cities are considered, the Prairie downtowns do not tend to be consistently more optimistic.

2.5.2 Transportation

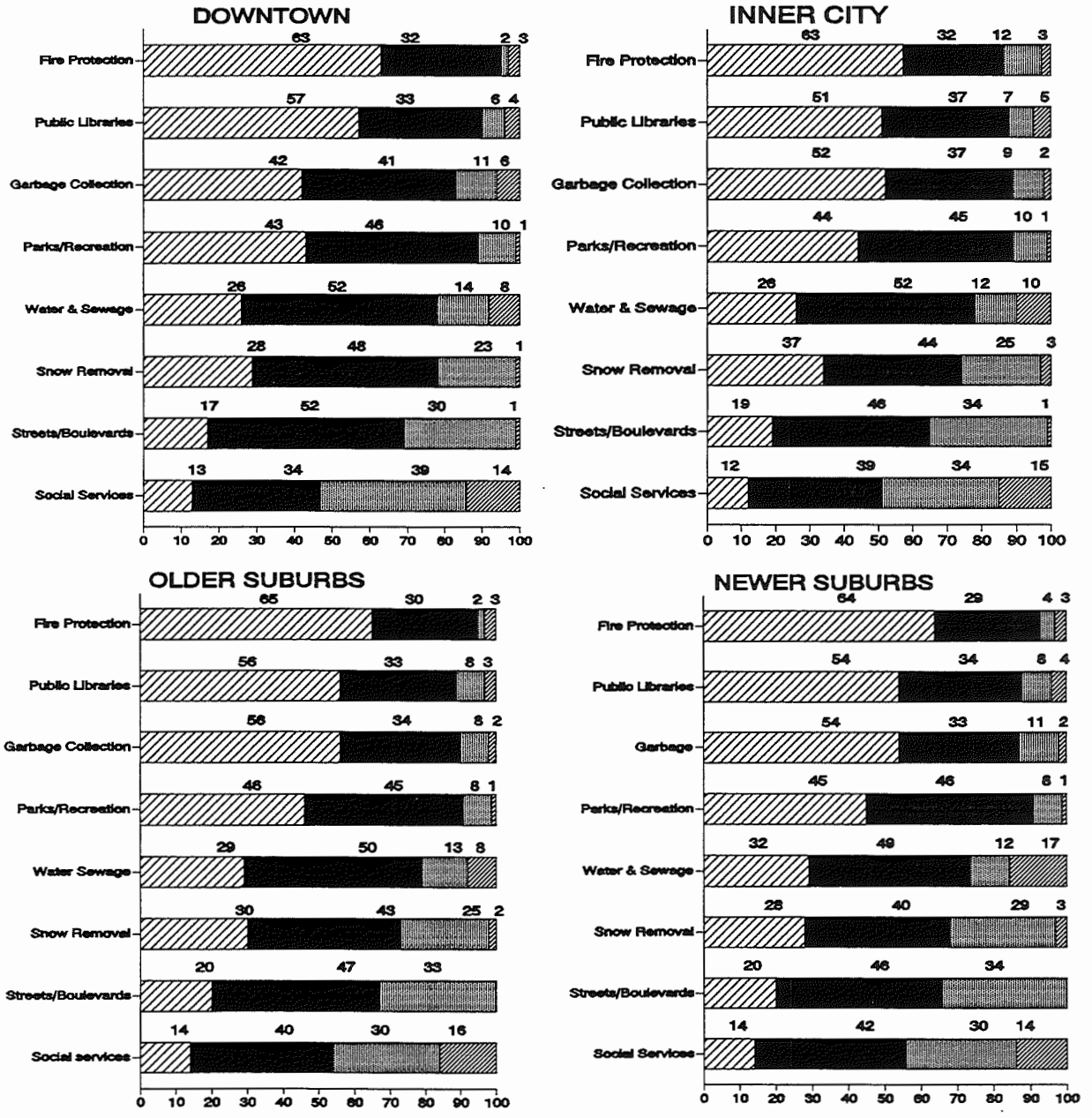
As indicated in the Quality of Life Index (Table 4B), the transportation dimension (based on two factors—satisfaction with the service offered by the transit company and ease of travelling around the city) received relatively better ratings among Prairie cities than did other dimensions included in the

TABLE 24: RESPONDENTS WHO ARE DISSATISFIED OVERALL WITH MUNICIPAL SERVICES AND INFRASTRUCTURE

PRAIRIE CITY DATA HIGHLIGHTED		DOWNTOWN/INNER-CITY DATA HIGHLIGHTED	
Residents of:	%	Residents of:	%
Winnipeg's downtown	37	Winnipeg's downtown	37
Winnipeg's inner city	31	Winnipeg's inner city	31
Edmonton's inner city	24	Edmonton's inner city	24
Montreal's downtown	24	Montreal's downtown	24
Vancouver's inner city	22	Vancouver's inner city	22
Winnipeg's older suburbs	20	Winnipeg's older suburbs	20
Regina's newer suburbs	17	Regina's newer suburbs	17
Edmonton's older suburb	17	Edmonton's older suburb	17
Edmonton's downtown	16	Edmonton's downtown	16
Montreal's inner city	16	Montreal's inner city	16
Montreal's newer suburbs	16	Montreal's newer suburbs	16
Halifax's newer suburbs	16	Halifax's newer suburbs	16
Halifax's inner city	15	Halifax's inner city	15
Toronto's downtown	14	Toronto's downtown	14
Halifax's older suburbs	14	Halifax's older suburbs	14
Winnipeg's newer suburbs	14	Winnipeg's newer suburbs	14
Edmonton's newer suburbs	14	Edmonton's newer suburbs	14
Halifax's downtown	13	Halifax's downtown	13
Regina's older suburbs	13	Regina's older suburbs	13
Regina's inner city	12	Regina's inner city	12
Ottawa's downtown	12	Ottawa's downtown	12
Vancouver's newer suburbs	12	Vancouver's newer suburbs	12
Toronto's newer suburbs	12	Toronto's newer suburbs	12
Toronto's inner city	11	Toronto's inner city	11
Ottawa's inner city	11	Ottawa's inner city	11
Vancouver's older suburbs	11	Vancouver's older suburbs	11
Saskatoon's inner city	10	Saskatoon's inner city	10
Saskatoon's older suburbs	9	Saskatoon's older suburbs	9
Ottawa's older suburbs	9	Ottawa's older suburbs	9
Saskatoon's newer suburbs	9	Saskatoon's newer suburbs	9
Calgary's older suburbs	8	Calgary's older suburbs	8
Montreal's older suburbs	8	Montreal's older suburbs	8
Calgary's inner city	7	Calgary's inner city	7
Toronto's older suburbs	7	Toronto's older suburbs	7
Calgary's newer suburbs	7	Calgary's newer suburbs	7
Ottawa's newer suburbs	7	Ottawa's newer suburbs	7
Vancouver's downtown	6	Vancouver's downtown	6
Saskatoon's downtown	5	Saskatoon's downtown	5
Regina's downtown	0	Regina's downtown	0
Calgary's downtown	0	Calgary's downtown	0

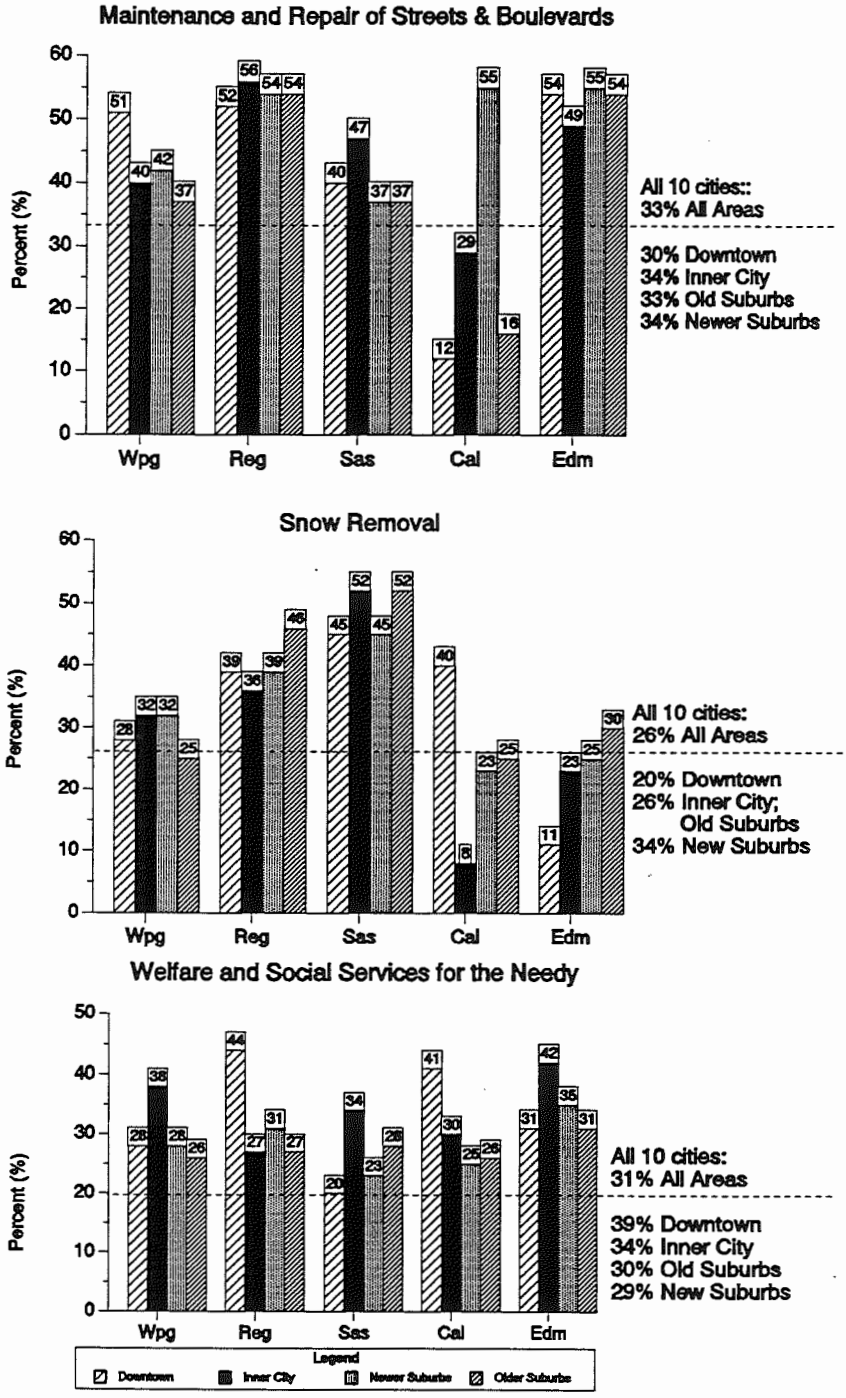
Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

FIGURE 6: LEVELS OF SATISFACTION WITH SERVICE: ALL 10 CITIES (%)



Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

FIGURE 7: DISSATISFACTION WITH SERVICES



Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

Index. A review of satisfaction with public transit service (Figure 8) reveals that in Winnipeg, Calgary and Saskatoon, few residents are dissatisfied with their city's transit service. Nearly twice as many were dissatisfied in Regina and Edmonton. While it might have been thought that suburban residents might have been more dissatisfied, this did not turn out to be the case. Variation in transit satisfaction by area of residence was found to be insignificant relative to variation by city. Uses and mode of transportation are discussed in detail in the report parallel to this one (Patterson, 1994 forthcoming).

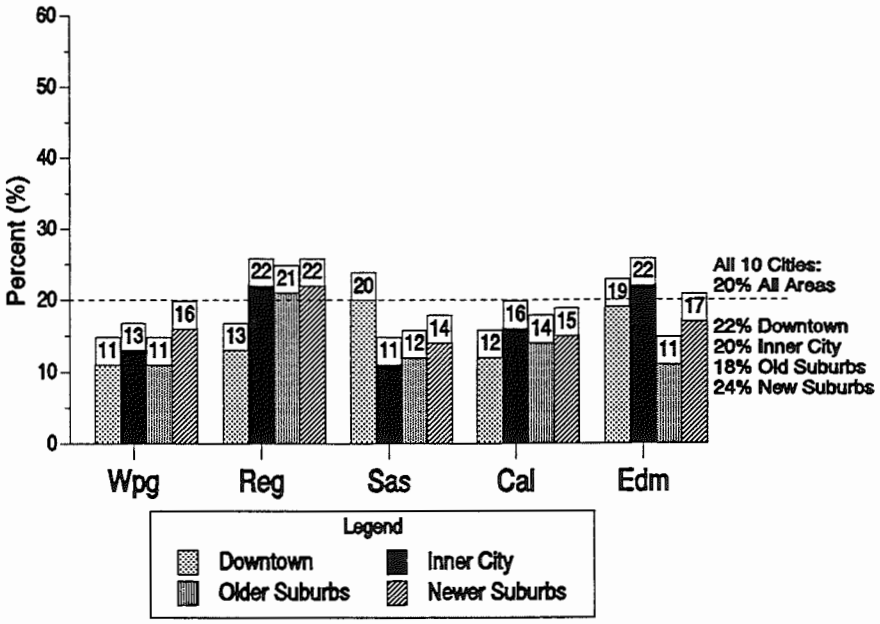
2.6 CRIME AND SAFETY

The rankings of the crime and safety dimension of the Quality of Life Index varied significantly from one Prairie city to another (Table 4B). Among all ten cities, Winnipeg overall rated ninth while Saskatoon overall rated first. Among all downtowns, Regina tied for last place with Toronto while Calgary's downtown was rated the highest with respect to this dimension. Some intra-city variations occurred, with the greatest variation of opinions found in Regina, where downtown residents rated their city far more unsafe than other residents of the city.

The various factors included in the crime and safety dimension of the Index are outlined in Table 25. The striking differences between fear by downtown and inner-city residents compared with that of suburban residents is illustrated in Figure 9. When all ten cities are combined, the percentage of residents who fear walking in their neighbourhoods after dark decreases from 36 percent in the downtown to 22 percent in the newer suburbs. Edmonton's downtown is somewhat of an exception, with levels of fear similar to those held by residents of the older suburbs. Levels of fear are particularly high in Winnipeg and Regina's downtown and inner city, where levels for these two areas were far above the national averages.

The clear differences in perceived safety between Winnipeg's core area and the suburbs reflects findings of an earlier survey undertaken in 1977 which found that only "64% of the occupants of the core believed their area to be safe while 87% of the residents of the suburbs saw little danger in their neighbourhood" (Johnston, 1976). The proportion of Winnipeggers who feel their city is safe has decreased; in the present survey only 58 percent of downtown/inner-city residents and 79 percent of older/newer suburban residents feel safe walking alone in their neighbourhood after dark. Additionally, the 1977 survey showed that "12% of residents had actually been a victim of crime over the past year (Johnston, p.24)"; the present survey found that 46 percent of downtown/inner-city residents and twenty-five percent of older/newer suburban residents had been a victim of crime in the past two years.

FIGURE 8: RESPONDENTS WHO ARE DISSATISFIED WITH THE TRANSIT SERVICE IN THEIR CITY



Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS. Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992.

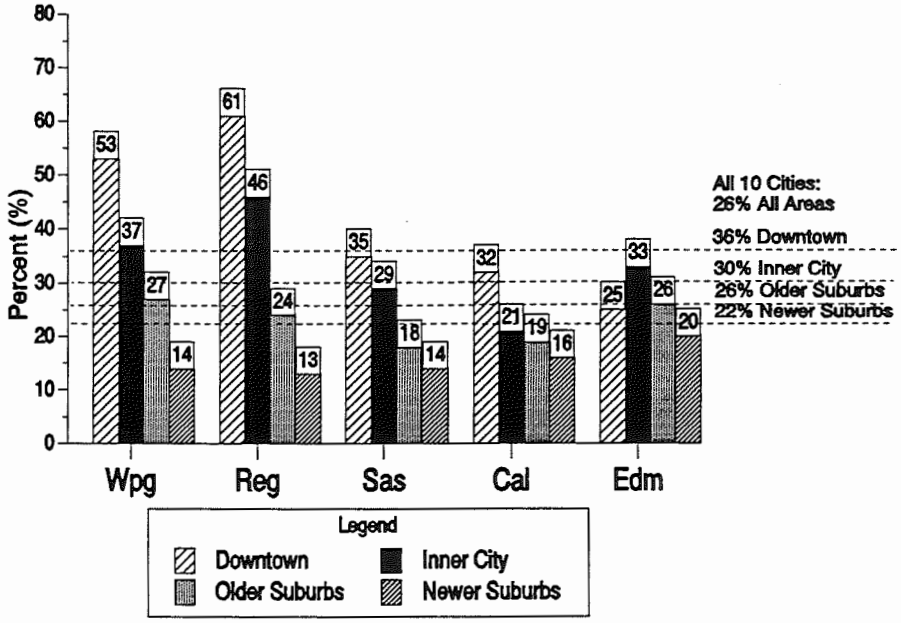
TABLE 25: HIGH RATING OF CRIME AND SAFETY FACTORS
(NUMBERS ARE INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

	PRAIRIE CITIES					FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES				
DOWNTOWN	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL
Would walk alone at night	18	9	35	40	35	35	32	33	27	22
Don't avoid certain areas	21	9	11	50	18	12	14	29	27	25
Crime has not been increasing	7	27	39	0	18	8	0	29	40	14
Crime situation will get better	14	9	21	20	12	4	7	6	13	25
Average	15	13	26	28	21	14	13	24	27	22
Index Score	-5	-7	6	7	0	-6	-7	4	6	1
Ranking	7	9.5	3	1	6	8	9.5	4	2	5
INNER CITY										
Would walk alone at night	33	31	32	58	38	29	27	32	24	30
Don't avoid certain areas	13	22	27	36	16	16	10	35	31	22
Crime has not been increasing	13	20	27	20	18	8	6	21	18	18
Crime situation will get better	8	16	20	11	12	8	8	7	7	16
Average	16	22	27	31	21	15	13	24	20	21
Index Score	-5	1	5	10	0	-6	-8	3	-1	0
Ranking	8	4	2	1	6	9	10	3	7	5
OLDER SUBURBS										
Would walk alone at night	39	39	50	45	41	46	34	40	35	39
Don't avoid certain areas	17	10	22	28	15	26	16	28	21	26
Crime has not been increasing	16	24	21	14	14	10	7	18	19	12
Crime situation will get better	12	14	11	9	17	6	10	11	13	15
Average	21	22	26	24	22	22	17	24	22	23
Index Score	-1	0	4	2	-1	-1	-6	2	0	1
Ranking	9	6	1	3	8	7	10	2	5	4
NEWER SUBURBS										
Would walk alone at night	47	52	54	53	50	47	34	44	34	46
Don't avoid certain areas	16	13	19	31	13	22	15	27	23	25
Crime has not been increasing	15	21	24	15	18	11	5	20	17	14
Crime situation will get better	11	12	18	8	12	12	10	11	9	16
Average	22	25	29	27	24	23	16	25	21	25
Index Score	-1	1	5	3	0	-1	-8	2	-3	2
Ranking	8	5	1	2	6	7	10	3	9	4

Note: Index scores reflect differences between the average score for each city and the average for that dimension for all ten cities.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

FIGURE 9: RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL UNSAFE WALKING ALONE IN THEIR NEIGHBOURHOOD AFTER DARK



Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

Fourteen years earlier the "MSUA Study" had found that crime was a major concern among all 23 cities surveyed, particularly in Edmonton, Regina and to a lesser extent, Calgary. Fear was also particularly high among "inner-city zones" where Regina and Edmonton were the "runaway leaders" (Atkinson, p. 89), followed by Winnipeg and three other non-Prairie cities—Montreal, St. John and Vancouver. A comparison of the Fear and Crime Index of this earlier survey with the Safety and Crime Index of the present survey suggests that perceptions of crime and safety have improved significantly in Calgary, now ranked second, and at least somewhat in Regina and Edmonton, now ranked fifth and sixth, respectively. While both Indices showed that fear of crime in "inner-city zones" is higher than in other "zones," Edmonton's "inner-city zone" is no longer the "runaway leader;" both the downtown and inner city received an average ranking relative to the other nine cities. Perceived safety by inner city Reginans has improved to an above average rating (fourth) in the "Urban Canada Study" Index, but the same was not true in the downtown, where residents' rating of safety was tied with downtown Toronto for last place. In both the earlier and present Index, Winnipeg's downtown and inner city received ratings very near the bottom.

In addition to fear of crime generally, the "MSUA Study" measured responses to fear of crimes against persons and those against property. Concern about crimes against persons was found to decrease as the distance residents lived from the "inner-city zone" increased, while fear of property crimes showed no association with "zone" (pp. 91, 92). The "Urban Canada Study" did not distinguish between these two types of crime when it asked residents how concerned they were with "crime," and therefore this earlier finding cannot be compared with the new; it is important to recognize, nevertheless, that the differences in perceived safety among geographic areas of the city is likely to be associated with certain types of crime.

2.6.1 Perceived Increases in Crime

The large majority of urban Canadians (85%) feel that crime has increased over the "past few years." For all ten cities combined, this proportion remains consistent among the four areas of residence with non-Prairie residents more likely to perceive that increases have been "great" as opposed to "moderate." There is no consistent correlation between perceived increases in crime to distance one lives from the downtown. Only in Winnipeg does the proportion perceiving "great increases" diminish as residents move further away from the downtown. In Calgary and in a number of non-Prairie cities, however, suburban residents are more likely to have perceived a "great" increase in crime.

The "Urban Canada Study" asked residents to give up to three reasons why they felt there had been increases in crime. In each of the eight cities surveyed, the poor economy and attendant high unemployment were cited most frequently as the reason crime has increased (Table 26A). The importance of these and other factors, however, varied considerably from city to city. Winnipeggers were more likely than residents in any other city to cite economic problems as the reason for increased crime. Poverty/high cost of living and drugs/alcohol constituted the next largest proportion of responses. Edmontonians and Calgarians also cited a poor economy and unemployment but also provided a more varied list of factors than Winnipeggers. Rapid population growth, for example, constituted roughly a third of responses in these two Prairie cities. Also in Edmonton and Calgary, unlike only one other city (Montreal) of much larger size, lack of youth activities/juvenile delinquency comprised over a tenth of the responses given. Calgary also cited gangs—a factor which comprised less than ten percent of responses in all other cities except Vancouver.

While the residents from the older and newer suburbs tend to provide fairly uniform explanations for increased crime, those residing in the downtown and inner city often tended to provide explanations inconsistent with each other (Table 26B). Among residents of the four areas of Winnipeg, for example, downtowners were substantially less likely to view crime to be a result of poor economic conditions and poverty but were somewhat more likely to cite drugs/alcohol as a factor. Alternately, inner-city residents were far less likely to cite drugs/alcohol than any other Winnipeg residents. Among residents of the four areas of Calgary, downtowners were less likely to cite rapid population growth, but were far more likely to cite juvenile delinquency and family breakdown than any other residents from Calgary. Inner-city Calgarians viewed factors more simply, citing mainly poor economic conditions and rapid population growth; they were also less likely to cite gangs than any other Calgarians. Among residents of the four areas of Edmonton, downtowners were more inclined to view increased crime as a result of drugs/alcohol, transients attracted to the city, and lack of confidence in the police force; they did not place the same emphasis on poor economic conditions as did other Edmontonians. In direct contrast to downtowners, inner-city Edmontonians are the most likely to cite poverty/high cost of living and are the least likely to cite drugs/alcohol. While intra-city differences of opinion exist, mainly with respect to variations within the downtown and inner city, the nature of the variations do not tend to be consistent among the three Prairie cities for which there are data.

The importance of reconciling subjective and objective indicators has previously been mentioned in this report. In the report parallel to this one (Patterson, 1994 forthcoming), an attempt was made to derive quantitative measures of the urban system indicators for four domains of the Quality of Life Index (the economy, housing affordability, pollution/environment, and crime and safety)

and to compare these to subjective assessments by the study sample. It is useful here to note the results of this comparison, as the disparity between objective and subjective indicators for safety was the highest among the four domains explored. Especially notable was the divergence in Winnipeg between "statistically" recorded crime rates and the lack of safety recorded by respondents (ibid., p. 47). While one could easily provide a number of reasons for the divergence such as the incompatibility of subjective and objective indicators (the survey, for example, measured how often respondents had been victims of crime, whereas the objective indicators are a measure of "reported" crime), the analysis demonstrates the divergence that can and does exist between the two types of measures and the importance of using both indicators. In the case of crime, for example, increases in efforts to control crime could be guided by public perception, especially in cases where quantitative indicators suggest levels of effectiveness which are not perceived by the public.

2.6.2 Priority Areas for Police

Residents' explanations for increased crime could provide some guidance for police efforts, as could their responses to the more direct question of "what specific type of crime should your city's police department be spending more of its attention and resources on." On a whole-city basis, the suggested police priorities and the proportion of total responses given were as follows: in Winnipeg—break and enters/property crimes (36% the level of which was not equalled in any other of the seven cities), physical assault/mugging (17%), drug related (16%), and sexual assault/rape (12%); in Calgary—gang-related violence and juvenile crime (20% and 13% respectively, both of which represented a smaller proportion of responses in the other Canadian cities), break and enter/property crimes (17%), and drug-related crimes (17%); in Edmonton—break and enters/property crimes (29%), drug-related (17%), impaired driving and other traffic violations (15%) and physical assault/mugging (15%). Prairie residents were the least likely to deem drug-related crimes as a priority for their city's police departments.

The Prairie perceptions regarding police priorities according to which area of the city residents reside are reminiscent of the explanations provided for increased crime; suburbanites tend to feel quite similarly, while downtowners and inner-city residents often have divergent viewpoints (Table 27). Suburban residents would like to see more police resources spent on break and enter and related property crimes; downtowners and inner-city residents agree but are more likely to feel that other issues are more important. These findings generally provide some support for the "MSUA Study" finding that fear of property crime is not localized in particular areas of the city but, in many cases, is substantially more prevalent in the suburbs. In Winnipeg, however, inner-city residents feel as strongly

TABLE 26A: FACTORS PERCEIVED TO BE CONTRIBUTING TO INCREASED CRIME: EIGHT CANADIAN CITIES (NUMBERS ARE INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

ALL AREAS	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	8 CITIES COMBINED
Poor economy/unemployment	66			45	62	34	50	52	57	57	51
Drugs/alcohol	20			12	30	27	37	33	45	45	33
Poverty /high cost of living	20				12		11	15	23	23	14
Rapid population growth				32	29	22	14	12			15
Gangs				17		31					10
Immigration				10		26	22		18	18	16
Lack, of youth activities/ juvenile delinquency				13	11				10	10	
Racial problems/discrimination							14		12		
Lenient justice system/ease of obtaining weapons							11			12	

TABLE 26B: FACTORS PERCEIVED TO BE CONTRIBUTING TO INCREASED CRIME: PRAIRIE CITIES ACCORDING TO AREA OF RESIDENCE (NUMBERS ARE INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

FACTOR	WINNIPEG				CALGARY				EDMONTON			
	D.T.	Inner City	Older Suburbs	Newer Suburbs	D.T.	Inner City	Older Suburbs	Newer Suburbs	D.T.	Inner City	Older Suburbs	Newer Suburbs
Poor economy/unemployment	39	63	68	70	51	53	45	43	47	64	65	60
Drugs/alcohol	27	11	23	18			14	11	53	21	31	29
Poverty /high cost of living	10	25	20	19		10				20	13	11
Rapid population growth					23	32	36	28	37	25	27	33
Gangs					13			17				
Lack of youth activities/ juvenile delinquency					27			14		14		
Family problems/breakdown					13							
City attracts transients									17		10	
Lack of confidence in police force									15			
Immigration								10				

Notes: 1. D.T. represents "Downtown."
2. Figures represent "Total Mentioned." Up to three responses were accepted from each respondent; figures, therefore, may total more than 100%. Only those factors which comprised 10% or more of the total number of responses provided are shown here.
3. This question included in the "Urban Canada Study" was not among those replicated in Regina and Saskatoon and data therefore, are unavailable for these two cities.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991.

TABLE 27: TYPES OF CRIME TO WHICH RESIDENTS FEEL THEIR POLICE DEPARTMENT SHOULD DEVOTE MORE ATTENTION AND RESOURCES: PRAIRIE CITIES ACCORDING TO THE AREA OF RESIDENCE

(NUMBERS ARE INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

TYPE OF CRIME	WINNIPEG				CALGARY				EDMONTON			
	D.T.	Inner City	Older Suburbs	Newer Suburbs	D.T.	Inner City	Older Suburbs	Newer Suburbs	D.T.	Inner City	Older Suburbs	Newer Suburbs
Break and enter/property crimes	21	39	35	38	12	19	19	16	16	14	32	31
Physical assault/mugging	21	17	16	18	12				17	21	15	12
Drug related	19	12	15	19		27	14	17	30	17	19	15
Sexual assault/rape	13	14	11	13	17				17		14	10
Murder		23							10			
Violent crimes general				11		16						
Robbery-general	13	11				10			13		11	14
Patrolling streets	10								15			
Domestic abuse/violence		11					11			16		
Juvenile crime					24		13	17	12			11
Gang related violence						20	18	22				
Alcohol/drug abuse					12							
Impaired driving/traffic violations						10				13	13	19
Thefts										13		
Auto theft/vandalism												10

Notes: 1. D.T. represents "Downtown."

2. Figures represent "Total Mentioned." Up to three responses were accepted from each respondent; figures, therefore, may total more than 100%. Only those factors which comprised 10% or more of the total number of responses are shown here.

3. This question included in the "Urban Canada Study" was not among those replicated in Regina and Saskatoon and data therefore, is unavailable for these cities.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991.

as suburban residents about the need to spend increased police resources on break and enters and related property crimes. In all areas of Calgary, the need to spend for increased resources on property crimes is at least equalled if not de-emphasized in favour of other priorities such as juvenile and gang related activity. Patrolling streets received much less emphasis than one might have expected and comprised less than ten percent of all responses except for in Winnipeg and Edmonton's downtown where it still comprised a small proportion of responses.

Police resource areas to which downtown and inner-city residents of the individual Prairie cities attached high importance are, in descending order of importance, as follows: downtown Winnipeggers—break and enters/property crimes, physical assault/mugging and drug-related crimes; inner-city Winnipeggers—break and enters/property crimes, murder and physical assault/mugging; downtown Calgarians—juvenile crime and sexual assault/rape; inner-city Calgarians—drug-related, gang-related, and break and enters/property crimes; downtown Edmontonians—drug related, and of lesser but similar importance, physical assault/mugging, sexual assault/rape, break and enters/property crime and street patrols; inner-city Edmontonians—physical assault/mugging, drug-related and domestic abuse/violence.

2.7 HOUSING

A cursory review of housing according to the Quality of Life Index (Table 4B) suggests that, overall, this dimension rated fairly well among Canadian Prairie downtowns and inner cities, where it generally received no less than a fifth-place rating. In the inner cities of Regina, Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Calgary, for example, housing rated first, second, third and fourth respectively among all ten inner cities.

Within cities, however, the Index lacks uniformity. Winnipeg's downtown and Edmonton's inner city, for example, rated lower than other parts of their respective cities. Winnipeg's downtown ranked relatively low due to residents' unhappiness with their present home, expected poor rate of return on housing investments, and perceptions of lack of ability to buy a home (Table 28A and 28B). Edmonton's inner city ranked low due to the relatively low rankings of every housing factor except affordability and expected rate-of-return on housing investment. The expected rate-of-return on investments also received low ratings at the total city level in Regina and Saskatoon, despite the first and second place rating of housing in these cities overall. In downtown Calgary and Edmonton, despite overall healthy housing ratings, government subsidized housing for special needs groups received a low relative rating.

The need, however, to look at both the relative and absolute ratings of factors examined in the "Urban Canada Study" and its "Supplement" is particularly true concerning housing. Saskatoon's inner city, for example, had the highest "overall high rating of housing" (Table 28A) yet only slightly over a third (36%) are "very satisfied" with their overall housing situation. In fact, large proportions of all Canadians do not have high levels of satisfaction with most of the housing aspects examined in the survey.

2.7.1 The Importance of Place and Tenure

Perhaps one of the most important issues to look at in the examination of the housing data is the distinct differences in levels of satisfaction between owners and renters. The proportion of urban Canadian owners happy with their homes was slightly over 60 percent in both the downtown and inner city and 70 percent in the older and newer suburbs (Figure 10). Among urban Canadian renters, however, considerably lower levels of home happiness were evident (downtown, 41%; inner city, 37%; older suburbs, 39%; and newer suburbs, 43%). Among owners, home happiness increased as the distance from centre increased; among renters this pattern was not as clear due to the high levels of happiness registered by renters. This finding was similar for the Prairie and the non-Prairie city groupings. Tenure was also found to be more important than type of dwelling as a determinant of housing satisfaction (Patterson, 1992) reflecting the findings of the "MSUA Study" (Atkinson, p. 17).

A review of the percentage of residents who are happy with their home according not only to tenure but also present place of residence illustrates the wide variations that occur within some cities (Table 29). When residents of Regina and Saskatoon are considered on a city-wide basis, they appear to be the most satisfied among all urban Canadians. Housing satisfaction among downtown and inner-city owners in Regina, however, rates second *last* relative to the downtowns and inner cities of the other *nine* cities. Meanwhile, in Saskatoon, home happiness is considerably lower for inner-city owners and (older) suburban renters than for residents as a whole. Large variations also occur in Winnipeg where 59 percent of residents as a whole are happy with their home but only half as many renters in the downtown and inner city are happy. In Edmonton, however, a somewhat reverse finding occurs; downtown owners and renters have much higher levels of home happiness than renters and/or owners in other parts of the city. This finding reflects the one noted earlier that downtown Edmontonians like living in their downtown—almost all of those currently living there prefer the downtown to any other area in their city. Calgary has more consistent (middle to high) rankings, with the exception of the owners of newer suburbs who, in relative terms, tend to be less happy with their housing than owners from other areas.

TABLE 28A: HIGH RATING OF HOUSING FACTORS: DOWNTOWN AND INNER-CITY RESIDENTS OF ALL TEN CITIES
(NUMBERS ARE INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

	PRAIRIE CITIES					FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES				
DOWNTOWN	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL
Happy with home	36	52	60	50	65	46	32	55	47	44
Affordability of housing	36	41	50	20	29	19	7	10	33	6
Could afford to buy	14	41	33	29	27	13	11	16	15	15
Availability of units to buy	68	52	65	66	59	39	36	22	40	39
Availability of units to rent	50	46	61	40	35	27	21	18	53	42
Adequate supply of government subsidized housing	14	39	21	0	6	12	4	14	27	17
Return on housing investment	0	0	0	67	60	50	25	50	100	56
Overall high rating of housing	25	27	40	20	35	8	4	6	27	11
Average	30	37	41	36	40	27	17	24	43	29
Index Score	-2	5	9	3	7	-6	-15	-8	10	-4
Ranking	6	4	2	5	3	8	10	9	1	7
INNER CITY	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL
Happy with home	45	59	54	58	44	44	44	62	44	52
Affordability of housing	45	51	45	15	20	5	2	9	24	10
Could afford to buy	26	46	23	31	23	9	15	20	16	17
Availability of units to buy	61	67	57	55	32	29	34	36	41	41
Availability of units to rent	61	40	58	33	20	16	19	13	42	30
Adequate supply of government subsidized housing	14	22	21	20	10	0	10	10	15	12
Return on housing investment	15	16	22	46	47	41	21	44	19	63
Overall high rating of housing	30	31	36	24	10	13	11	13	21	15
Average	37	41	40	35	26	20	20	26	28	30
Index Score	7	11	9	5	-4	-11	-11	-4	-3	0
Ranking	3	1	2	4	8	9.5	9.5	7	6	5

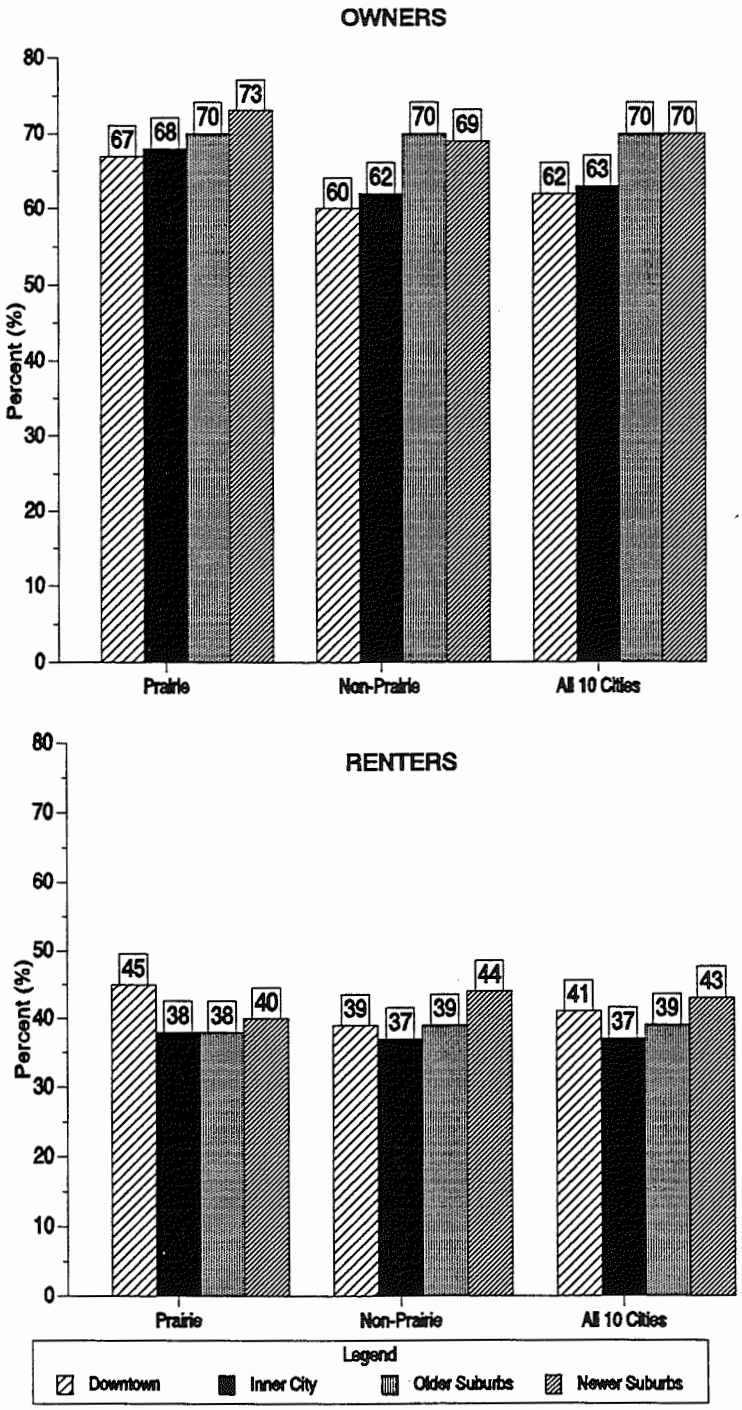
TABLE 28B: RANKING OF HOUSING FACTORS: DOWNTOWN AND INNER-CITY RESIDENTS OF ALL TEN CITIES
(NUMBERS ARE INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

DOWNTOWN	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL
Happy with home	9	4	2	5	1	7	10	3	6	8
Affordability of housing	3	2	1	6	5	7	9	8	4	10
Could afford to buy	8	1	2	3	4	9	10	5	6.5	6.5
Availability of units to buy	1	5	2	3	4	7.5	9	10	6	7.5
Availability of units to rent	3	4	1	6	7	8	9	10	2	5
Adequate supply of government subsidized housing	5.5	1	3	10	8	7	9	5.5	2	4
Return on housing investment	9	9	9	2	3	5.5	7	5.5	1	4
Overall high rating of housing	5	3.5	1	6	2	8	10	9	3.5	7
INNER CITY	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL
Happy with home	6	2	4	3	8.5	8.5	8.5	1	8.5	5
Affordability of housing	2.5	1	2.5	6	5	9	10	8	4	7
Could afford to buy	3	1	4.5	2	4.5	10	9	6	8	7
Availability of units to buy	2	1	3	4	9	10	8	7	5.5	5.5
Availability of units to rent	1	4	2	5	7	9	8	10	3	6
Adequate supply of government subsidized housing	5	1	2	3	9	10	9	9	4	6
Return on housing investment	10	9	6	3	2	5	7	4	8	1
Overall high rating of housing	3	2	1	4	10	7.5	9	7.5	5	6

Note: Index scores reflect differences between the average score for each city and the average for that dimension for all ten cities.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

FIGURE 10: RESIDENTS WHO ARE HAPPY WITH THEIR HOME AND DO NOT FEEL THEY NEED A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE: ALL 10 CITIES



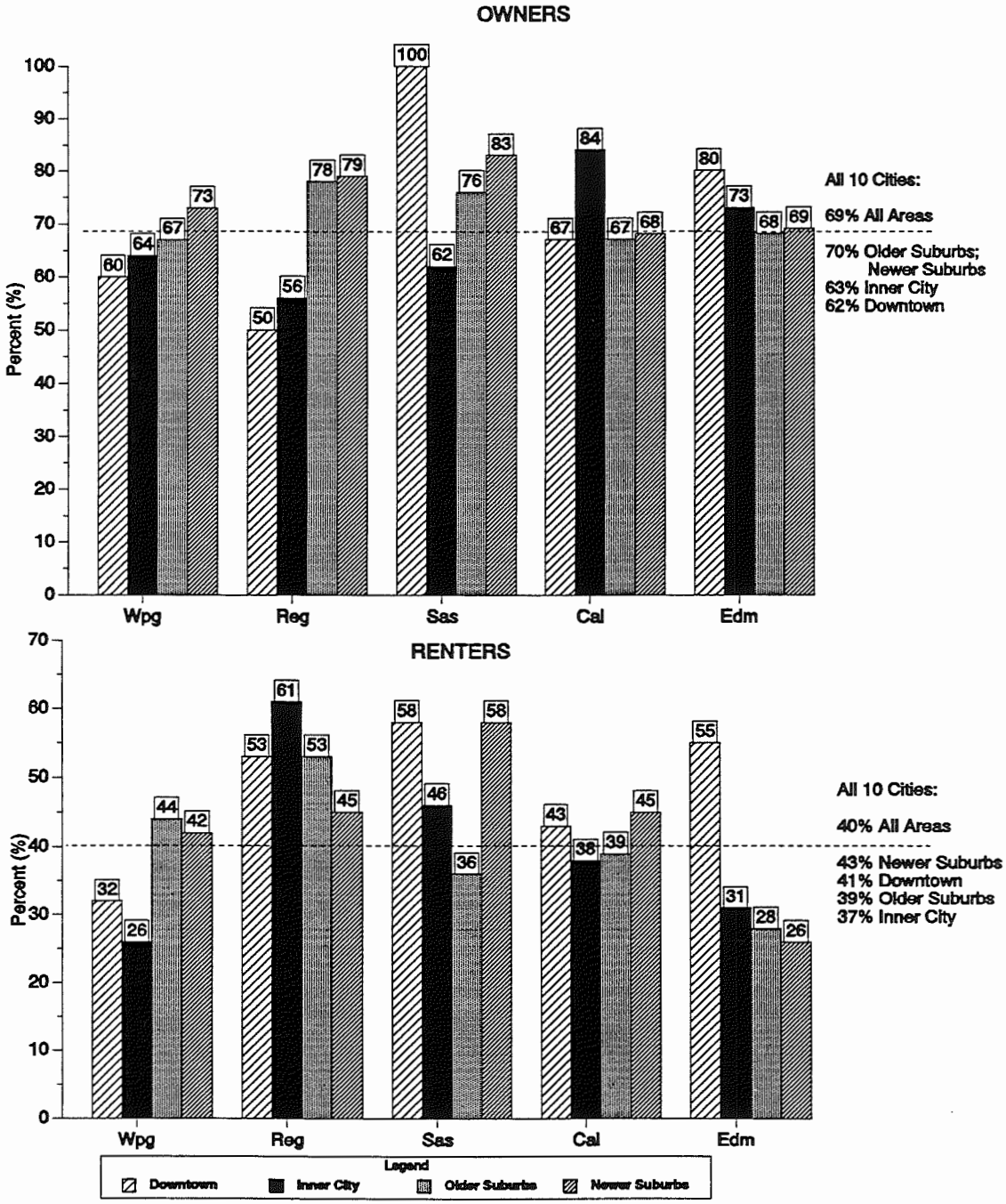
Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS. Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992.

TABLE 29: PERCENTAGE OF RESIDENTS WHO ARE HAPPY WITH THEIR HOME

	Downtown	Inner City	Older Suburbs	New Suburbs	All Areas
Renters	1	2	3	4	5
	58 Saskatoon	**61 Regina**	**53 Regina**	**58 Saskatoon**	**52 Regina**
	55 Edmonton	55 Ottawa	48 Ottawa	49 Halifax	49 Ottawa
	53 Regina	**46 Saskatoon**	**44 Winnipeg**	46 Vancouver	**48 Saskatoon**
	51 Ottawa	38 Montreal	44 Montreal	46 Ottawa	45 Montreal
	45 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES	**38 Calgary**	41 Vancouver	45 Montreal	41 Vancouver
	43 Calgary	38 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES	39 ALL CITIES	**45 Calgary**	**41 Calgary**
	42 Vancouver	37 ALL CITIES	39 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES	**45 Regina**	40 Halifax
	41 ALL CITIES	37 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES	**39 Calgary**	44 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES	40 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES
	40 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES	36 Halifax	38 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES	43 ALL CITIES	40 ALL CITIES
	39 Montreal	34 Vancouver	37 Halifax	**42 Winnipeg**	**39 Winnipeg**
	33 Halifax	32 Toronto	**36 Saskatoon**	40 Toronto	39 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES
	32 Winnipeg	**31 Edmonton**	33 Toronto	40 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES	34 Toronto
	32 Toronto	**26 Winnipeg**	**28 Edmonton**	**26 Edmonton**	**29 Edmonton**
Owners	6	7	8	9	10
	100 Saskatoon	**84 Calgary**	79 Ottawa	84 Ottawa	**78 Saskatoon**
	100 Vancouver	80 Halifax	**78 Regina**	**83 Saskatoon**	78 Ottawa
	100 Montreal	**73 Edmonton**	**76 Saskatoon**	**79 Regina**	**75 Regina**
	83 Ottawa	71 Vancouver	74 Halifax	75 Toronto	74 Halifax
	80 Edmonton	69 Ottawa	72 Vancouver	73 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES	71 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES
	78 Halifax	68 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES	70 ALL CITIES	**73 Winnipeg**	70 Vancouver
	67 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES	**64 Winnipeg**	70 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES	72 Halifax	**69 Winnipeg**
	67 Calgary	63 ALL CITIES	70 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES	**69 Edmonton**	69 ALL CITIES
	62 ALL CITIES	62 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES	68 Montreal	69 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES	69 Edmonton
	60 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES	**62 Saskatoon**	68 Toronto	70 ALL CITIES	69 Calgary
	60 Winnipeg	59 Toronto	**68 Edmonton**	68 Vancouver	68 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES
	50 Regina	57 Regina	**67 Calgary**	**68 Calgary**	67 Toronto
	38 Toronto	56 Montreal	**67 Winnipeg**	63 Montreal	65 Montreal
All Residents	11	12	13	14	15
	62 Edmonton	62 Ottawa	**71 Regina**	**77 Saskatoon**	**68 Regina**
	60 Saskatoon	**59 Regina**	64 Ottawa	69 Regina	**68 Saskatoon**
	55 Ottawa	**59 Calgary**	**62 Saskatoon**	**66 Winnipeg**	63 Ottawa
	52 Regina	**54 Saskatoon**	**60 Winnipeg**	65 Halifax	60 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES
	50 Calgary	52 Halifax	59 Halifax	65 Ottawa	**60 Calgary**
	49 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES	52 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES	59 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES	64 ALL PRAIRIE CITIES	**59 Winnipeg**
	47 Montreal	48 ALL CITIES	59 Vancouver	**63 Calgary**	59 Halifax
	46 Vancouver	47 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES	57 Montreal	61 ALL CITIES	57 Vancouver
	45 ALL CITIES	**45 Winnipeg**	**57 Calgary**	60 Vancouver	56 ALL CITIES
	44 Halifax	**45 Edmonton**	57 ALL CITIES	59 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES	55 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES
	43 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES	44 Montreal	56 ALL FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES	58 Montreal	54 Montreal
	36 Winnipeg	44 Toronto	52 Toronto	57 Toronto	**54 Edmonton**
	32 Toronto	44 Vancouver	**52 Edmonton**	**57 Edmonton**	51 Toronto

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

FIGURE 11: RESIDENTS WHO ARE HAPPY WITH THEIR HOME AND DO NOT FEEL THEY NEED A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE: PRAIRIE CITIES



Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplements," 1992. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 30: CORRELATION (R) OF HOME HAPPINESS WITH OTHER FACTORS

FACTOR	FIVE PRAIRIE CITIES					FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES					ALL AREAS ALL 8 CITIES
	DOWNTOWN & INNER CITY	DOWN-TOWN	INNER-CITY	OLD SUBURBS	NEW SUBURBS	DOWNTOWN & INNER CITY	DOWN-TOWN	INNER-CITY	OLD SUBURBS	NEW SUBURBS	
Volunteer community/charitable organization	-.303**		.323**								
Easy to make friends in city	.291**		.318**	.230**		.228**		.255**			
Age	.288**		.289*	.342**	.221**	.283**	.205*	.304**	.301**		.255**
Where want to live	-.276**	-.632**						.256**			
Likelihood of moving to another Cdn. city	.244*		.256*	.215**	.251**	.226**		.249**	.251**		.230**
Quality of Life in city	.242*	.441*									
Always something new and exiting to do	.229*		.265*			.256**	.298**	.242**			
Tenure	-.215*		.385**				-.238**				
Employment status	.214*							.229**	.205**		
Stress in city	-.209*		-.233*					.186**			
City appealing in terms of scenery/surroundings	.208*		.257*			.297**		.340**			.202**
A variety of things to do		.437*					.238*				
Safety from violence/crime			.234*								
Shopping/entertainment facilities			.249*								
Size of city council should be reduced			-.232*								
Cost of living is affordable				.243**	.209**	.247**		.265**	.217**	.197**	.217**
Worry about pollution											.201**
City is good to raise family				.215**		.244**		.319**	.248**		-.210**
Housing is affordable						.237**		.281**	.209**		
Appeal of moving to a small/rural community						.233**		.214**			

TABLE 30: CONTINUED
- 2 -

FACTOR	FIVE PRAIRIE CITIES					FIVE NON-PRAIRIE CITIES					ALL AREAS ALL 8 CITIES
	DOWNTOWN & INNER CITY	DOWN-TOWN	INNER-CITY	OLD SUBURBS	NEW SUBURBS	DOWNTOWN & INNER CITY	DOWN-TOWN	INNER-CITY	OLD SUBURBS	NEW SUBURBS	
Rate of return on housing investment								.255**			
Likelihood ofmoving to a small/rural community				.225**	.212**	.231**		.291**	.226**		
Civic pride					-.249**	-.217**		.291**			
Crime prevention programs in neighbourhood									-.245**		
Difficulty of pursuing lifestyle					-.228**		-.204**				
Nice home important to quality of life							.226*				
Bicycle paths in city							.228*				
Transit use good for the environment							.210*				
Recreational facilities							.275*				
Art galleries/museums							.197*				
Restaurants\nightclubs							.246**				
Provincial political allegiance							-.295**				
Downtown parks						.208**	.263**				
State of the environment							-.198**				
Satisfaction with housing situation							-.224**				
Local police service									.212**		
Parks									.196**		

Note:
1. Shown only are those factors where R>.20 when rounded to two decimal places.
2. The correlation was run for the eight city data base which included a larger number of variables than the ten city data base. In this table, therefore, "Prairie cities" include Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton only.
3. The combined downtown/inner city correlation was conducted for comparison with the separate correlations for these two areas.
4. ** - significant to .001; * - significant to .01.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "The Urban Canada Study," 1991. Calculations by IUS.

Levels of home happiness among the Prairie cities by form of ownership is outlined in Figure 11. Prairie residents who have conspicuously low levels of home happiness compared to national levels (which are almost identical to non-Prairie levels), and Prairie levels are: owners in Regina's downtown; renters in Winnipeg's downtown and inner city; and renters in Edmonton's inner city, older suburbs and newer suburbs.

2.7.2 Determinants of Home Happiness

The survey data also showed that home happiness and satisfaction varied considerably across a number of other demographic and socio-economic factors in addition to tenure. Dissatisfaction, for example, varied inversely and significantly with age and income, and increased with single and widowed/divorced marital status and the presence of children (Patterson, 1992).

For this report, the variable "home happiness" was correlated with all other variables which were contained in this survey. The correlation suggested that urban Canadians tend to be more happy with their homes if they: are older; are less likely to move to another city; perceive their city to be affordable, a good place to raise a family, and appealing in terms of scenery and surroundings; and if they are not worried about pollution (Table 30). In the Prairie cities, however, perception regarding the suitability of the city for raising a family had a lower level of correlation to home happiness than it did in the non-Prairie cities. Also in the Prairies, the positive correlation with home happiness and perceived affordability existed only among suburbanites. Home happiness in the Prairies tends to be related to a smaller number of factors than in the other five cities (excepting non-Prairie new suburban areas where home happiness correlated highly with only one variable—cost of living in city).

Determinants vary considerably between the Prairie and non-Prairie groupings and among the various areas of the city. Determinants of home happiness in Prairie downtowns, for example, are much fewer in number relative to any other areas of either Prairie or non-Prairie cities. As well, only in Prairie downtowns is home happiness related to the factor "quality of life in city." Determinants of home happiness also included "perceived variety of things to do" (increasing as perception of things to do also increases) and "where one wants to live" (home happiness decreasing as the distance of the desired place of residence increases from the city centre). Alternately, downtowners in the other five cities associate numerous amenities such as restaurants, nightclubs and recreational facilities with their home happiness.

For Prairie inner-city residents, home happiness correlated most strongly with tenure. (Surprisingly, however, tenure had weak correlations with home happiness among all other residents of all ten cities except those residing in non-Prairie downtowns). Another important factor related to

home happiness among Prairie inner-city dwellers was involvement in community-oriented or volunteer organizations—those that were involved regularly were more likely to be unhappy (that those who are less satisfied are more likely to participate in such organizations may explain the negative relationship). Also of importance to these residents was the social aspect of feeling it was easy to make friends in their respective cities.

Although of lesser significance, three other important factors of home happiness in Prairie inner cities were: perceived safety from crime/violence; rating of shopping/entertainment facilities; and attitudes towards a reduced city council—all three of which bore little relationship to home happiness in other areas within the Prairie cities as well as in all areas within the non-Prairie cities. In accordance with the literature, which suggests the importance of safety related factors as a determinant of home happiness (e.g., Weideman *et al.,* 1982), it was expected that safety factors would more consistently correlate highly with home happiness. Only in one other area (non-Prairie older suburbs) did other safety related factors show a strong correlation with home happiness ("perceived presence of neighbourhood crime prevention programs" and "satisfaction with local police services"). Also in accordance with the literature (for e.g., Sanoff and Sawhney, 1972) it was expected that shopping and entertainment facilities and other community services and conveniences would more consistently correlate highly with home happiness. Finally, a satisfactory explanation cannot be offered as to why there exists a significant relation between home happiness and size of city council (i.e., "home happiness" *increased* as disagreement with the notion that "the size of city council should be reduced" *also increased*—those that are happy with their home are more likely not to want city council reduced in size). While one might ponder not only the direction of the relation and why there is a connection at all, particularly considering no other municipal government related factor showed a high correlation; the result may simply be a matter of coincidence.

2.7.3 Housing Issues and Concerns

Among the downtowns and inner cities of all ten cities, the housing factors included in the housing dimension of the Quality of Life Index which tended to receive the lowest ratings were: inability to afford to purchase a home; housing affordability; and inadequate supply of government-subsidized housing. Of lesser concern was availability of units either to rent or to buy. Among other parts of the city, the order of concerns, but not necessarily the magnitude, was similar. Most often the housing factors examined were of more concern to renters than to owners although downtown or inner-city *owners* often registered the greatest concern. In the cities of Winnipeg, Regina and Edmonton, for example, perceptions that "subsidies for special needs groups is poor" was highest

among downtown or inner-city owners (Figure 12). In non-Prairie cities as a whole, the largest proportion (49%) of residents who feel this aspect is poor are also downtown owners.

Large proportions of all Canadian renters do not feel they could afford to purchase a home. For the ten city and non-Prairie city grouping, the proportions of renters who felt they were unable to purchase tended to decrease as distance from downtown increased; this pattern, however, did not emerge among the Prairie cities, where suburbanites often felt they were even more unlikely to attain home ownership (Figure 13). Winnipeg was an exception among Prairie cities; in this city, the proportion of renters which feel homeownership is unattainable is not only highest in the downtown but is also above the national level.

Concern for rate-of-return on home investment among owners of many areas within Prairie cities (e.g., Winnipeg and Regina—all areas; Saskatoon—the inner city and suburbs; Edmonton—downtown) far exceeds the proportion of owners in the same areas within the other ten cities who are concerned with this aspect of housing (Figure 14).

Residents in Prairie cities who were most concerned with housing affordability were renters in Calgary's downtown and older suburbs. Those most concerned with availability of units to rent were renters from Edmonton's inner city and newer suburbs.

While the discussion of housing is somewhat limited in the "Urban Canada Study," downtown and inner-city housing issues and concerns have been identified in numerous surveys within individual Prairie cities. Concerns have included: affordability; lack of housing for special user groups (e.g., single parents, abused women, seniors); lack of housing offered in conjunction with services and supports (e.g., health counselling in seniors blocks); poor landlord/tenant relations; and discrimination (IUS, 1989a); poor maintenance (Calgary, 1985; Regina, 1990) particularly among absentee landlords (Saskatoon, 1991; Edmonton, 1985); parking and traffic intrusion (Edmonton, 1985); and lack of knowledge of housing programs (IUS, 1989b). Lack of knowledge specifically of housing repair-assistance programs has been documented in an older survey of Winnipeg core residents (Johnston, 1979) indicating that repair programs are "largely unheard of" (p. 27) as well as in a more recent survey of two inner-city neighbourhoods (IUS, 1989b) which suggests that awareness may have improved, although less than half of the respondents had heard of "RRAP" (Residential Repair Assistance Program).

One particular housing issue explored in a number of public opinion surveys has been housing mix and/or zoning. The "1990 Public Opinion Survey on Planning Issues in Regina" showed that "as in 1985, Regina residents do not favour the encouragement of high density housing" (p. 27). A large

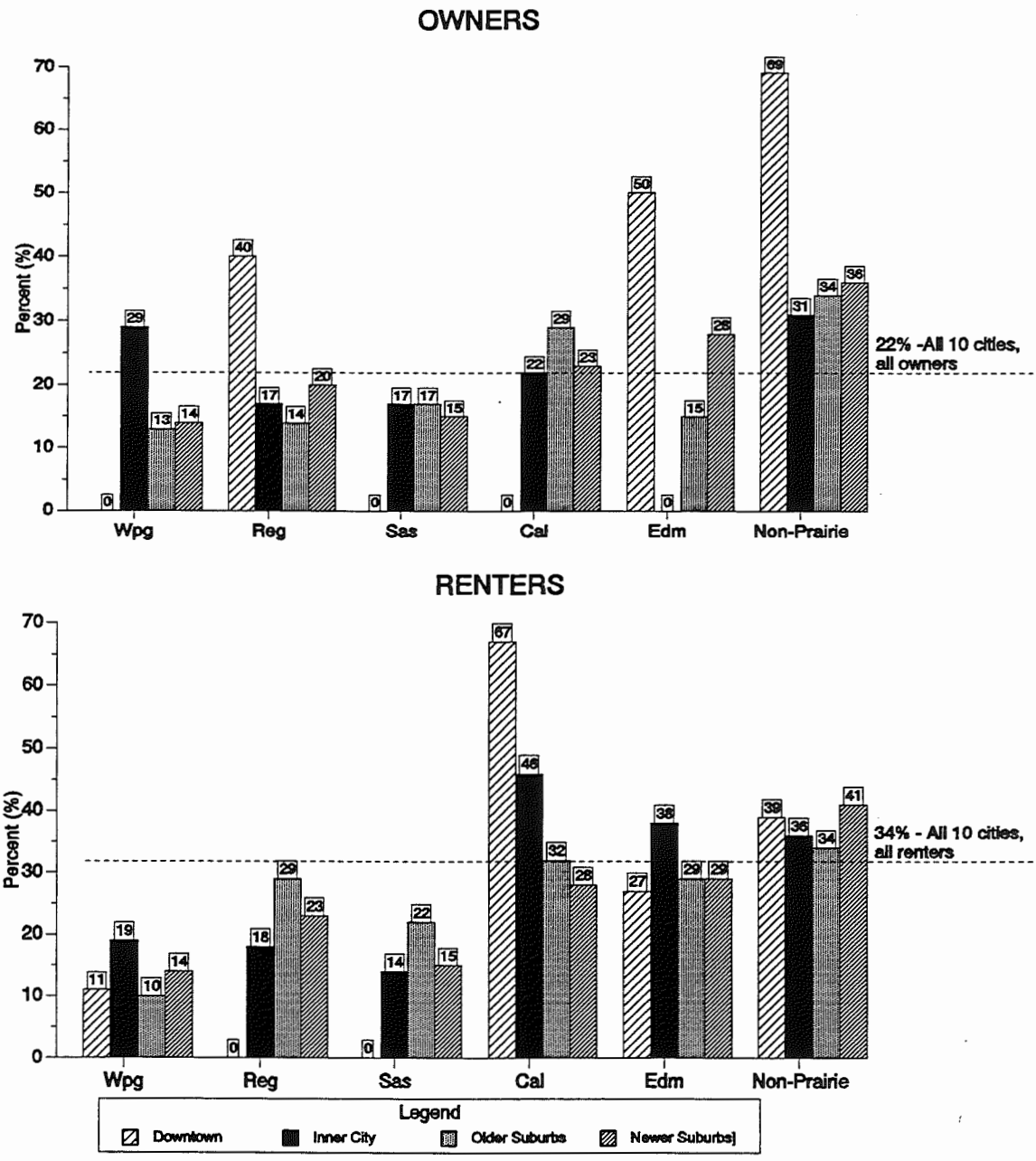
and increasing proportion of residents feel that the high-density housing should be located throughout the entire city although this opinion is somewhat stronger among inner-city residents (Table 31).

Similarly, the "Central District Survey of Residents, Edmonton" (1985) showed that, for the central area as a whole, lower density redevelopment (duplexes) was preferred to middle-density (three/four-plexes; walk-up apartments) or high-density housing (row/townhouses; high-rise apartments). The Edmonton "Survey" examined preferences according to various districts within the central area "to more precisely reflect residents' opinions given the location and diversity of different housing types in the [Central] District" (p. 22). Considerable variations in opinion were found. In the downtown core, one housing type did not emerge as a more favoured type; in the remaining neighbourhood clusters, the duplex tended to be the favoured type. Central district residents beyond the downtown core, however, consistently supported other housing types over high-rise development (Table 32).

Edmonton's "Central District Survey" also explored resident satisfaction with a number of physical attributes of the neighbourhood including housing mix and public housing location (Table 33). Although perceptions did again vary from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, residents were, at the time of the survey, satisfied with housing mix. A large proportion in each central district neighbourhood, however, was neither satisfied or dissatisfied with the location of public housing currently in their neighbourhood. This response should not be interpreted as inner-city residents' acceptance of *new* public housing in their neighbourhoods—proposals for such development have been met with strong community opposition in some of the more affluent inner-city neighbourhoods such as Rossdale.

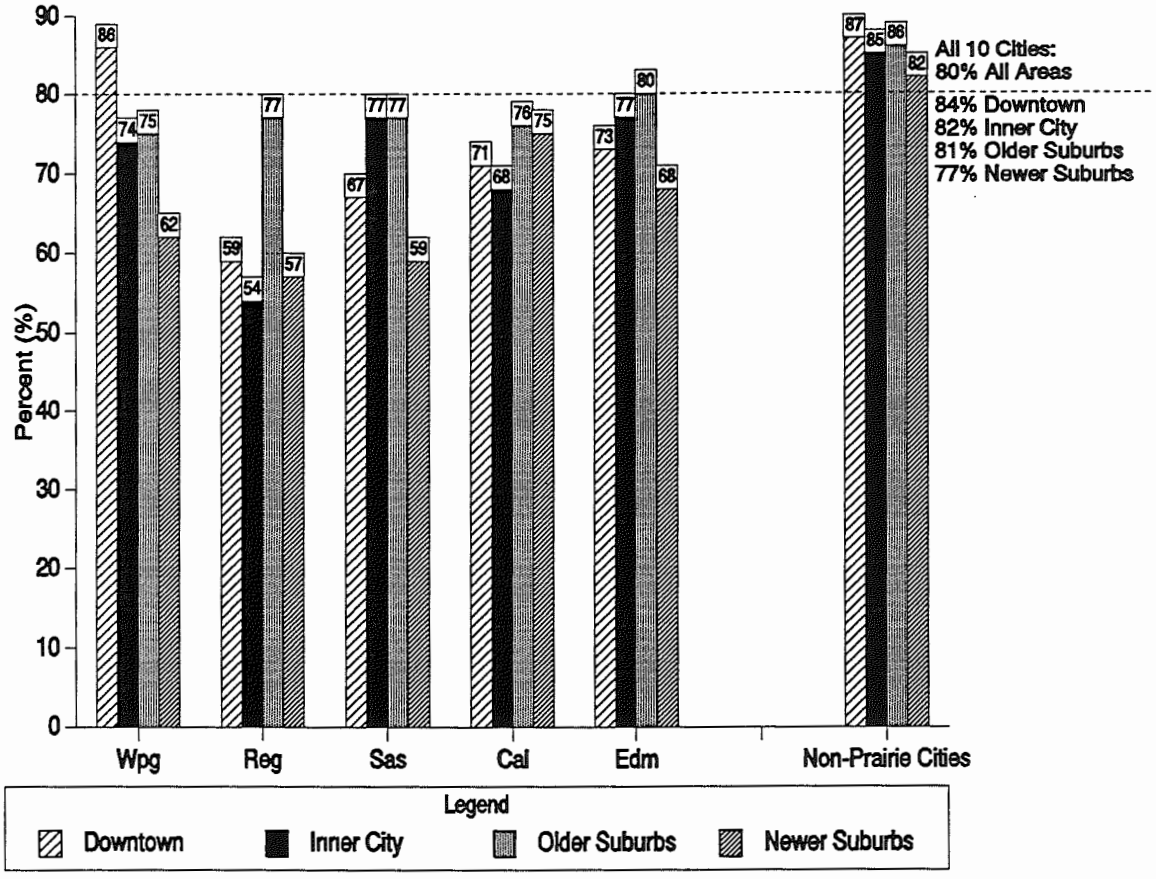
In Saskatoon, inner-city attitudes towards neighbourhood zoning and apartment development have also been gathered (Planning Department of Saskatoon, 1978). Problems which inner-city residents associated with recent apartment development included: parking (64%); increased traffic (47%); and proximity to adjacent houses, appearances, building heights, locations and sizes of buildings (each mentioned by 30% to 39% of respondents). Based on the results of the majority of questions, however, the City of Saskatoon concluded that "there is no real plurality of opinion on the apartment zoning and redevelopment question" (pp. 3-33) and that responses did not vary significantly among the seven inner-city neighbourhoods. The survey, for example, indicated that roughly half of both owners and renters agreed that older houses should be allowed to convert to create additional suites; the same proportion of both owners and renters disagreed. With respect to the preferred location of new apartments, the survey found that slightly less than half of all residents (45%) felt that they should be located anywhere throughout the city while approximately one quarter felt they should be located only in the suburbs and a similar proportion felt they should be located in the downtown

FIGURE 12: RESIDENTS WHO FEEL GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIZED HOUSING FOR SPECIAL NEEDS GROUPS IS POOR



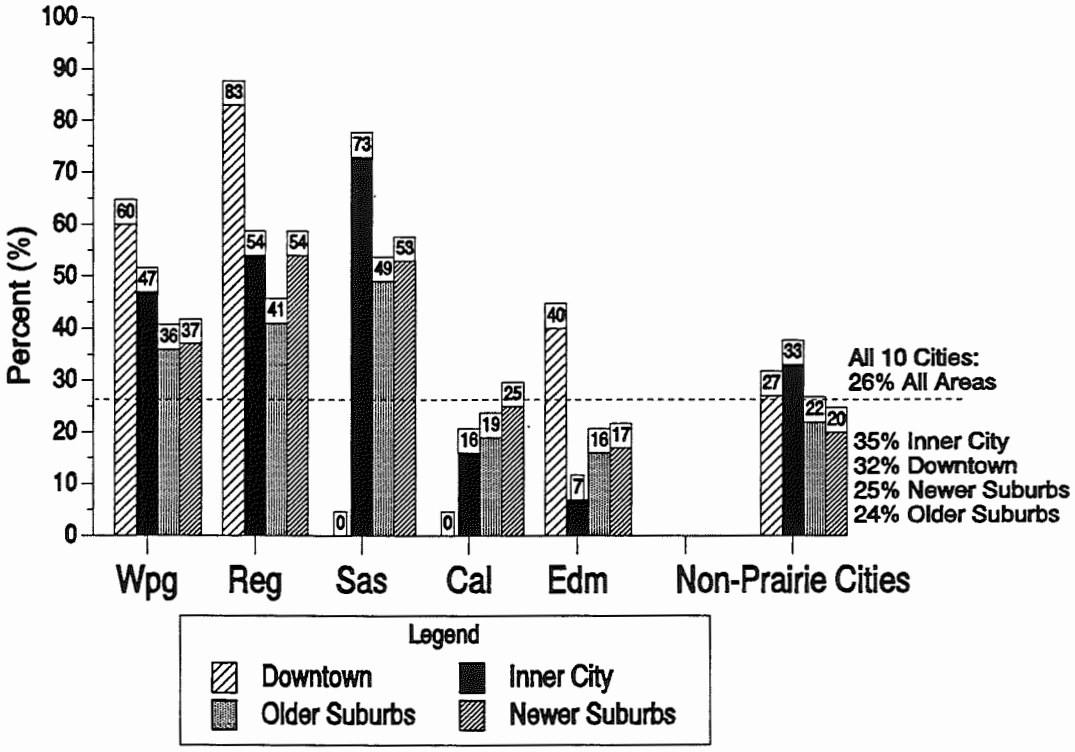
Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

FIGURE 13: RENTERS WHO DO NOT FEEL THEY COULD AFFORD TO PURCHASE A HOME



Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computation by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations

FIGURE 14: OWNERS WHO FEEL THEIR RETURN ON THEIR HOUSING INVESTMENT WOULD BE POOR



Note: "Poor" includes the following survey responses: "minimal," "break even" and "sell at a loss".

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 31: SUPPORT FOR HIGH DENSITY HOUSING: RESIDENTS OF REGINA, 1990
(NUMBERS ARE INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

PLACE OF RESIDENCE	The City Should Encourage				High Density Should Be Spread Throughout all Neighbourhoods	
	High Density		Low Density			
	1985	1990	1985	1990	1985	1990
Inner City					45	60
Older Suburbs					37	
North						46
South						54
New Suburbs					43	
North						22
South						45
Total City	14	16	71	69	40	49

Source: Program Management Services and Associates. *Planning Issues in Regina: Findings of a Public Opinion Survey*. Prepared for the Urban Planning Department, City of Regina, 1990.

TABLE 32: SUPPORT FOR VARIOUS TYPES OF RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL AREAS: RESIDENTS OF CENTRAL DISTRICT OF EDMONTON, 1985
(NUMBERS ARE INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

Type of Redevelopment	All Central District Areas		Neighbourhood Clusters within Central District									
			Downtown Core		Central River Valley		Downtown Periphery		Central West		Central East	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
High Rise Apartments	30	64	56	35	0	90	24	71	12	82	19	76
Walk-Up Apartments	46	50	57	37	11	89	50	41	31	64	43	56
Duplexes	69	28	57	40	89	11	71	27	73	21	78	21
Three/Four Plexes	46	49	51	47	78	22	53	42	42	50	35	62
Row/Town Houses	42	55	52	47	56	44	44	48	38	59	15	73

Source: City of Edmonton. *Central District Survey of Residents*, 1985.

TABLE 33: LEVEL OF SATISFACTION WITH PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD RESIDENTS OF CENTRAL DISTRICT OF EDMONTON: 1985 (NUMBERS ARE INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

Neighbourhood Aspect	All Central District Areas			Neighbourhood Clusters within Central District																	
				Downtown Core			Central River Valley			Downtown Periphery			Central West			Central East					
	Sat	N.O.	Dis	Sat	N.O.	Dis	Sat	N.O.	Dis	Sat	N.O.	Dis	Sat	N.O.	Dis	Sat	N.O.	Dis			
Tree Planting, Boulevards	86	4	10	86	6	9	89	0	11	86	7	7	91	2	7	83	5	13			
Back Lane Paving/ Lighting	72	0	24	78	7	15	36	0	44	52	7	41	79	2	19	74	0	15			
Location of Schools/ Parks/Public Facilities	85	6	9	86	10	4	28	0	11	89	9	4	87	11	2	87	5	8			
Roadway Design	74	5	21	68	8	24	89	11	0	75	9	17	83	3	14	75	0	26			
Housing Mix	69	11	20	64	15	21	100	0	0	61	19	20	76	7	17	80	2	17			
Location of Public Housing	47	44	9	28	61	10	66	33	0	48	41	12	50	41	9	61	32	8			

Note: Sat = Satisfied, N.O. = No Opinion, Dis = Dissatisfied.

Source: City of Edmonton. *Central District Survey of Residents,* 1985.

and inner city. That the findings indicated lack of plurality was, however, challenged by one inner-city community association which noted that in their separate, but related questionnaire, plurality of opinion *was* evident—60 percent of the residents, for example, were opposed to any form of redevelopment and the vast majority of those favouring redevelopment preferred to have rebuilt or new single-family housing types (Saskatoon, 1979).

2.7.4 Housing as a Priority

The importance of housing in relation to *other* priorities for the city cannot be determined from the "Urban Canada Study" and its "Supplement," because housing was not included in the list of policies and priorities which respondents were asked to rate (Table 40). A small measure can be gained, however, by examining respondents' responses to a broad range issues related to quality of life of which "concern with poverty and homelessness" was included (Table 34). Although the proportion of residents concerned with the issue varied significantly among the eight cities, it was either the top concern or among the top two concerns of urban Canadians, regardless of where in the city they lived or in which city they lived. The issue of personal safety tended to be the second-highest concern, while the third-highest concern was not uniform among cities.

Other public opinion surveys that have been conducted within individual Prairie cities have indicated that housing is perceived as a priority. Residents of Winnipeg, for example, have in a previous survey rated housing as a middle priority (Table 43) for the city as a whole, but rated housing affordability as a first or third place priority when talking specifically about strategies for inner-city renewal (Table 49). The importance of housing to inner-city renewal has been further illustrated in Winnipeg through focus group discussions with inner-city target groups (IUS, 1990), during which two thirds of the adult focus groups identified housing as the top priority (Table 44), and through the "Community Inquiry into Inner City Revitalization," in which "nearly one-quarter of inquiry participants came forward with specific ideas on how to improve accessibility to adequate, affordable shelter in the inner city. Particular emphasis was placed on measures to upgrade the stock . . . and to encourage transfer of control over property to those who are committed to inner-city neighbourhoods" (Inter-Agency Group of Winnipeg, 1990, p. 20). That residents identify addressing the housing needs in older neighbourhoods as an important priority for city redevelopment has also been documented in Regina (Program Management Services and Associates, 1990, p. 46) and in Calgary (Calgary, 1985, p. 14).

2.8 CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL AMENITIES

Regardless of where they lived, Saskatonians gave their city middle-place rankings for the cultural and recreational dimension of the Quality of Life Index while Winnipeggers and Reginans rated this dimension of their city ninth and tenth, respectively (Table 4B). In contrast, downtown Edmontonians and downtown Calgarians gave their city the highest ratings among all downtown residents of all ten cities. The rating remained high in Edmonton's suburban areas, but dropped to below average in the inner city; such a pattern has been evident regarding a number of other dimensions, i.e., inner-city Edmontonians find their city relatively less desirable than residents of the other three areas. The high rating of Calgary's cultural and recreational dimension appeared to be restricted to the downtown, as residents of other areas tended to give this dimension a more average rating.

Due to the shortened version of the "Urban Canada Study" which was administered in Regina and Saskatoon, the cultural and recreational dimension of the Quality of Life Index for the ten cities was comprised of a significantly reduced number of factors (4) in comparison with the number of factors (14) which comprised this dimension for the Index for the original eight cities. In the original Index, three of the fourteen factors were strong positive correlates of the cultural and recreational dimension of the Index—public libraries, stores and malls for shopping, and facilities for professional sports. None of these factors were included in the surveys of Saskatoon and Regina. In asking how the culture and recreation dimension could be improved in Prairie inner cities, it is useful then to examine residents' ratings of these three factors even though data are available for only three of the five Prairie cities (Table 35).

Downtown Edmontonians and downtown Calgarians gave high ratings to the three amenities which had strong positive associations to the cultural and recreational dimension of the Index; inner-city residents of these two cities, however, also gave high ratings to public libraries and shopping facilities but considerably lower ratings to professional sports facilities. Gaining a clearer understanding of how the location of professional sports facilities determines how well such facilities are evaluated would be a worthwhile pursuit, considering that such large developments are often used as an "instrument" to rejuvenate ailing downtowns and inner cities. (Calgary's arena and stadium, for example, are located in or near the downtown). Winnipeggers, on the other hand, rated their shopping amenities considerably lower than did their Prairie counterparts; they also rated their city's library and sports facilities lower than the non-Prairie residents rated theirs. The ratings varied little according to Winnipeggers' area of residence, with the exception of downtowners, who rated libraries somewhat better than residents of other areas. The strong likelihood of a new arena in Winnipeg coupled with

recent city council induced reductions in neighbourhood library services leaves one to ponder if Winnipeggers will, in the future, consider the cultural and recreational dimension of other cities to be improved or worsened, and furthermore, if the choice of location (downtown *vs.* non-downtown) will have an impact on future public perception regarding cultural and recreational amenities.

Overall, the "Urban Canada Study" and the "Urban Canada Study Supplement" provide little direction for cultural and recreational priorities and policies. The "Study" did not examine the importance, for example, of recreation amenities relative to other aspects. Other surveys have, however, identified the high value attached to such amenities. In Winnipeg, for example, recreation rated second among a number of priorities outlined of a variety of downtown/inner-city target groups (IUS, 1990). Similarly, central district Edmontonians have indicated that, after road maintenance and snow removal, they would like to see increases to the provisions of parks (City of Edmonton, 1985). Suggested recreational related improvements by downtown/inner-city residents of Winnipeg and Edmonton in these earlier surveys include: additional green spaces and improved maintenance of such spaces; increased flexibility in the hours of operation of facilities to accommodate residents who have irregular work hours; increased support for immigrants attempting to access recreational opportunities; and the offering of "culturally appropriate" forms of recreation.

2.8.1 Parks and Open Space

The "MSUA Study" showed that parks were a significant determinant of neighbourhood satisfaction (Atkinson, p. 34) and that large cities were more favourably evaluated than the smaller ones in all zones common to both (p. 39). In fact, the "Study" showed that, for all 23 cities, the priority to protect parks and open space in the city rated eighth out of 26 priorities relevant to urban areas. It is conceivable then that the vastly improved Quality of Life ratings received by Saskatoon and Calgary in the "Urban Canada Study" as compared with those received fourteen years earlier may be attributed in part to residents' perceptions that parks and recreation have also vastly improved. In the "MSUA Survey," perceived need for improved parks and recreation were highest among residents of Saskatoon and Calgary. Now, however, 69 percent of Calgary's residents rated parks highly (i.e., 6 or 7 on a 7 point scale where 1 was poor and 7 was excellent). While a comparable rating of parks by Saskatonians is not available (this question was not replicated in this city), Saskatonians had given their downtown park amenities highest rating among residents of the ten cities—a rating which may be indicative of how these residents feel about their park amenities for the city in general.

TABLE 34: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS CONCERNED WITH ISSUES AFFECTING QUALITY OF LIFE

DOWNTOWN	WPG	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	N-PRAIRIE	ALL 8
Poverty and homelessness is a growing problem	57	28	34	45	74	59	57	90	41	66	62
Avoid areas because of personal safety	54	32	52	50	55	53	25	58	41	48	49
Worry about pollution affecting my health	40	20	18	29	35	56	18	35	18	39	37
Racial and ethnic tolerance is a serious problem	34	8	26	27	30	24	10	56	47	29	29
The cost of living is not affordable	19	0	4	11	44	36	8	5	11	31	27
Long term prospects for the city are not good	34	16	18	26	13	28	22	36	16	24	24
It is a major hassle to get around this city	21	0	22	18	22	28	23	17	30	24	23
City does not have strong economic base,job opportunity	36	20	0	21	18	11	27	47	32	23	22
Day-to-day living here can be quite stressful	15	0	10	11	21	28	6	47	8	24	22
This is not a good city in which to raise a family	0	0	7	2	12	39	4	41	11	25	21
The climate is a major drawback	37	20	27	31	10	24	26	5	6	17	20
People do not like to get involved in the community	20	0	0	10	24	18	13	23	13	19	17
Difficult to pursue lifestyle	14	0	18	13	14	25	6	16	10	18	17
Not happy with home	17	12	9	13	18	15	17	13	22	16	15
Not easy to make new friends in this city	3	0	0	1	6	29	10	17	11	17	14
Downtown is not one of the best things about this city	35	12	4	21	14	13	13	8	3	12	13
There is not always something exciting to do	28	0	7	16	11	7	21	14	15	12	13
City is not appealing in terms of natural scenery	11	8	7	9	0	17	0	19	0	9	9
City does not have high quality post-sec. education	8	12	6	8	0	11	6	6	3	6	7
City does not offer a variety of culture, entertainment	12	0	6	8	11	3	6	6	8	6	7
Quality of life is not better than others think	10	0	0	5	5	3	11	14	3	7	6

INNER CITY	WPG	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	N-PRAIRIE	ALL 8
Poverty and homelessness is a growing problem	53	33	37	41	65	74	54	63	54	66	62
Avoid areas because of personal safety	53	40	40	45	50	61	34	34	39	48	47
Worry about pollution affecting my health	23	24	24	24	40	47	24	41	21	41	38
Racial and ethnic tolerance is a serious problem	35	23	26	28	36	30	12	42	52	33	32
The cost of living is not affordable	4	10	8	7	39	43	22	25	14	33	29
Day-to-day living here can be quite stressful	8	15	12	12	13	40	10	30	19	29	26
Long term prospects for the city are not good	24	8	17	16	19	22	16	39	14	25	24
It is a major hassle to get around this city	22	11	25	19	34	30	22	13	14	24	23
City does not have strong economic base,job opportunity	38	12	16	22	17	17	19	29	32	21	22
Downtown is not one of the best things about this city	35	26	34	31	19	12	25	18	15	16	19
The climate is a major drawback	39	16	37	31	13	16	27	14	9	16	18
People do not like to get involved in the community	12	7	4	8	17	16	18	27	8	19	17
Not happy with home	13	12	10	12	12	20	10	21	20	18	17
Not easy to make new friends in this city	9	9	8	8	14	19	19	22	9	19	17
Difficult to pursue lifestyle	13	11	16	13	15	14	12	12	15	13	13
This is not a good city in which to raise a family	4	2	7	4	9	14	2	18	5	12	11
City is not appealing in terms of natural scenery	9	2	4	5	2	11	4	9	3	8	7
There is not always something exciting to do	13	12	2	9	2	4	17	6	19	7	7
Quality of life is not better than many others think	5	8	6	6	7	6	8	5	5	6	6
City does not have high quality post-sec. education	6	6	4	5	8	2	7	2	10	4	4
City does not offer a variety of culture, entertainment	4	7	4	5	4	2	9	2	12	3	4

OLDER SUBURBS	WPG	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	N-PRAIRIE	ALL 8
Poverty and homelessness is a growing problem	44	39	47	40	57	65	50	74	49	63	59
Avoid areas because of personal safety	54	30	52	45	48	59	34	45	48	50	49
Worry about pollution affecting my health	18	19	19	19	42	47	22	48	32	43	38
Racial and ethnic tolerance is a serious problem	23	22	17	21	34	37	17	41	39	35	32
Long term prospects for the city are not good	35	13	14	20	10	33	17	48	23	30	28
The cost of living is not affordable	11	11	10	11	26	48	18	19	16	32	27
It is a major hassle to get around this city	19	12	14	19	41	33	26	21	27	30	27
Day-to-day living here can be quite stressful	11	7	10	8	18	35	13	23	8	25	22
City does not have strong economic base,job opportunity	35	13	12	18	9	19	20	31	31	21	20
The climate is a major drawback	34	10	24	24	31	14	27	18	14	16	18
Downtown is not one of the best things about this city	36	22	26	29	20	12	19	12	25	14	17
Not easy to make new friends in this city	3	5	10	9	14	20	14	14	7	16	14
People do not like to get involved in the community	6	7	9	7	12	20	9	15	11	17	14
Not happy with home	9	15	10	11	12	18	9	8	11	13	13
Difficult to pursue lifestyle	10	8	7	9	5	15	10	16	10	13	12
This is not a good city in which to raise a family	5	2	4	3	9	20	2	14	3	14	11
There is not always something exciting to do	11	7	8	9	5	4	13	5	10	5	6
City does not have high quality post-sec. education	7	6	3	5	7	6	5	2	8	5	5
Quality of life is not better than many others think	2	1	3	3	7	7	10	4	3	6	5
City is not appealing in terms of natural scenery	8	2	3	4	0	8	1	5	2	5	5
City does not offer a variety of culture, entertainment	1	2	2	2	3	4	2	2	12	3	3

NEWER SUBURBS	WPG	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	N-PRAIRIE	ALL 8
Poverty and homelessness is a growing problem	37	37	46	40	58	58	43	78	51	63	56
Avoid areas because of personal safety	52	38	52	47	45	59	36	47	37	48	48
Worry about pollution affecting my health	26	23	28	26	37	39	30	44	31	39	35
Racial and ethnic tolerance is a serious problem	27	25	19	23	28	33	19	46	38	35	32
It is a major hassle to get around this city	16	16	23	19	43	32	28	27	24	33	29
The cost of living is not affordable	10	13	7	10	27	41	22	24	15	28	23
Day-to-day living here can be quite stressful	7	8	10	8	16	32	15	42	11	28	22
Long term prospects for the city are not good	33	10	13	17	11	20	19	39	20	24	22
Downtown is not one of the best things about this city	30	26	31	29	22	15	23	10	26	17	21
City does not have strong economic base,job opportunity	35	13	11	18	11	18	17	31	31	21	20
The climate is a major drawback	35	12	26	24	8	17	20	22	10	16	18
Not easy to make new friends in this city	8	8	11	9	9	16	20	26	8	17	15
People do not like to get involved in the community	10	3	7	6	13	23	7	20	8	17	14
This is not a good city in which to raise a family	2	4	2	3	7	20	4	26	6	17	12
Difficult to pursue lifestyle	9	7	11	9	6	11	11	23	10	14	12
Not happy with home	8	11	12	10	9	12	7	9	10	9	10
There is not always something exciting to do	14	6	9	10	1	4	7	4	10	4	5
City does not have high quality post-sec. education	7	6	3	5	7	3	3	5	12	5	5
Quality of life is not better than many others think	3	4	3	3	6	4	7	5	2	5	5
City is not appealing in terms of natural scenery	9	1	3	4	0	4	2	8	1	4	4
City does not offer a variety of culture, entertainment	1	3	3	2	1	1	5	2	7	2	2

Note: "Prairie" represents total for the three Prairie cities shown. "N-Prairie" represents total for all five non-Prairie cities. "All 8" represents the total for all 8 cities shown.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 35: RATINGS OF FACTORS WITH HIGH CORRELATIONS TO CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL AMENITIES DIMENSION OF THE QUALITY OF LIFE INDEX

(NUMBERS ARE INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

	FACTOR								
	Public Libraries			Stores and Malls for Shopping			Facilities for Professional Sports		
	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High
Winnipeg									
Downtown	6	31	63	0	20	80	12	59	29
Inner City	3	49	43	1	23	76	3	61	36
Older Suburbs	3	50	47	1	22	78	9	57	34
Newer Suburbs	4	44	53	1	23	76	7	63	30
Calgary									
Downtown	9	26	65	0	12	88	0	0	100
Inner City	2	25	73	2	16	82	0	25	75
Older Suburbs	2	32	66	1	17	82	1	30	69
Newer Suburbs	0	36	64	1	23	76	2	24	74
Edmonton									
Downtown	4	20	76	7	6	88	0	5	96
Inner City	0	33	67	0	12	88	0	47	53
Older Suburbs	1	33	66	0	15	85	0	37	63
Newer Suburbs	1	34	66	1	13	86	2	33	65
All 8 Cities									
Downtown	3	34	63	4	25	72	6	45	48
Inner City	1	33	66	1	23	76	4	43	53
Older Suburbs	2	31	67	1	19	80	4	41	56
Newer Suburbs	2	36	62	1	18	82	4	40	57

Notes: Respondents were asked to rate the amenities on a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 was "very poor" and 7 was "excellent." A low rating represents responses of 1 and 2; middle rating - 3, 4 and 5 and high rating - 6 and 7.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.

2.8.2 Health Concerns

Many social welfare and policy issues have a direct linkage to health issues. Health care issues are particularly important to the improvement of downtowns and inner cities, given that there are higher concentrations of low-income groups residing in these areas and the definite links between low income and poor health. The Native population, which tends to be concentrated in the inner city and which is found in the largest concentrations in Western, and particularly Prairie, cities (Wherrett and Brown, 1992, p. 17) is extremely vulnerable (see, for example, Waldram and Layman, 1989). In addition, the inner city tends to have over-concentrations of elderly persons with a variety of health care needs. While health care is a broad national concern, municipalities have traditionally delivered basic public health care services to their citizens.

Some objective health indicators, such as birth weights and percentage low-income, are available by intra-city geographic areas from which downtown or inner-city data may be determined or at least estimated. Health remains a prominent issue in media reports on National and Provincial health reform—much of which affects the target groups which tend to be concentrated in the inner city—and through media reports specifically pertaining to the inner city (see, e.g., media reports of: discharges of mental-health patients into inner-city neighbourhoods [Martin, 1993]; and the increase in diagnosed cases of tuberculosis in Winnipeg's "Mainstreet" area [Maloney, 1993]). There are, however, considerable fewer *subjective* data available. Neither the "Urban Canada Study" nor the "MSUA Study" explored perceptions of health-related matters.

Some indication of residents' perceived health can be extracted, however, from the Winnipeg and Edmonton "Area Studies" which have, in previous surveys, asked respondents to rate their level of satisfaction with their health and physical condition (Table 36). The responses show that in both cities there is a small percentage of residents who are dissatisfied with their health. By and large, however, the majority of residents were satisfied, and in 1984, satisfaction was marginally higher in the inner city than in the non-inner city. In Winnipeg between 1984 and 1989, however, the percentage of those who were very satisfied with their health decreased in both the inner city and non-inner city, but at a higher rate in the former.

Focus group sessions with target groups in inner-city Winnipeg (IUS, 1989a) raised four main areas of concern regarding health care: (1) care of mental-health patients who are in high concentrations in the inner city and whose health is further at risk due to high levels of unemployment, poverty, restricted access to existing programs, shortages of available patient beds/walk-in crisis services, inappropriate staff and ineffective discharge planning; (2) shortages of culturally and linguistically appropriate health care professionals who are trained to deal with the special needs of

such groups as seniors, immigrants, Natives and social welfare recipients; (3) impeded access to the health care system due to inappropriate hours of operation for those working irregular hours and lack of supports and services to introduce target groups into the system; and (4) lack of preventative health care counselling services which advocate health promotion in conjunction with health treatment programs.

2.9 CIVIC GOVERNMENT

Questions relating to civic government contained within the "Urban Canada Study" were not among those replicated in Saskatoon and Regina. The data from these questions are, nevertheless, useful in considering the public's perception of ways in which municipal government systems might be improved and in determining the public's support for two civic spending measures—contracting out and user fees—which have long been a source of civic debate; the data will, therefore, be presented despite the absence of data for Saskatoon and Regina.

2.9.1 Assessment of Civic Government

Councillor Assessment

Generally speaking, the "Urban Canada Study" illustrates "widespread cynicism among urban Canadians concerning their city governments, evidenced by the prevalent perception that there is a need for more direct citizen input to correct for what are often perceived to be incompetent municipal administrations" (Angus Reid Group, p. 137).

Among most of the eight cities, disapproval of city council's performance as a municipal government tended to increase as distance to centre also increased. In all cities, except Calgary and Halifax, downtowners were by far the most disapproving of city council (Figure 15).

In comparison to the level of disapproval of council's performance for all eight cities combined (24%), Winnipeg's level of disapproval was much higher (54%), Edmonton's was somewhat higher (34%), and Calgary's was well below (13%)—results which, for Winnipeg and Calgary, remained consistent when disapproval rates for each of the four areas within these two cities were compared with rates for the same areas in each of the other cities. Within Edmonton, however, levels of disapproval in the downtown and inner city were similar to those for the same areas when all eight cities were combined; suburban levels of disapproval, however, were substantially higher than the level for all eight cities combined.

Among all eight cities, Winnipeggers, regardless of where they lived, were the most likely to perceive council to be "always squabbling and dealing with petty issues" (56-64%) and to be poor at

"communicating to the public what it is doing and why " (40-49%). Alternately, Calgarians were generally the least likely (or among the least likely) to have agreed with these two negative sentiments—even so, at least 25 percent in all areas but the downtown still thought council was "always squabbling" (Table 37). Despite Calgary's mostly positive councillor assessment, more downtowners than other Calgarians agreed that council did a poor job of "communicating to the public what it is doing and why." Similarly in Edmonton, concern for lack of communication was greater among downtowners than other residents. Furthermore, in each of the non-Prairie cities, this concern also tended to be higher among residents of the downtown or inner city as compared with residents of the suburbs. Only in Winnipeg did roughly the same proportion of residents among each area of the city (41-49%) agree that lack of communication was a concern.

With respect to downsizing council, Winnipeg was the only city evidencing intra-city differences; downsizing was supported by roughly a third of downtown residents and twice as many residents from the other three areas. (In Winnipeg, the large proportion of residents from each area which agreed to council reduction may be related to residents' exposure to this issue due to a provincially-led ward boundary review to examine reducing the number of wards, the public hearings of which were being conducted at the same time as the "Urban Canada Study"). In accordance with literature which cautions that ward reduction must be carefully implemented so not to disenfranchise certain groups, particularly those in the inner city (see, e.g., Mathur, 1991 and Koehl, 1991), and being influenced by the "classic" inner-city *vs.* suburban ward debates that have occurred in Winnipeg, it was expected that a resulting pattern would emerge wherein downtown and inner-city residents would be more likely than suburban residents to oppose downsizing of council. This was not borne out by the survey results. For six of the eight cities, similar proportions of residents regardless of areas of residence agreed that council was too large and should be reduced (Table 36). Furthermore downtowners in Montreal, were *more* inclined than other residents to think city council is too *large*, although such a belief was held by only a third of downtowners.

Government Structure and Process

Consistent with their assessment of poor performance by council, Winnipeggers as a whole were more likely than other urban Canadians to think that municipal government is "badly flawed and needs to be changed," that it is "managed and administered poorer than the provincial government" and that it does not "pay attention to the needs and concerns of its residents;" each of the four areas also had the poorest assessments in comparison to like areas in the other seven cities, although downtown Montrealers slightly edged out downtown Winnipeggers as the most likely to think municipal

government is "badly flawed" (Table 36). In contrast, Calgarians from each of the four areas generally disagreed that these three features were characteristic of their municipal government. Meanwhile, in Edmonton, about a quarter of residents from each area felt that civic government was "badly flawed," but few agreed with the other two negative statements. While the survey results suggest that there is widespread belief that the public perceives their municipal government to be flawed, they do not give a lot of meaning to the perception "badly flawed."

Respondents were asked their level of agreement to three suggestions regarding municipal government structure and process (Table 38). Generally speaking, residents of all eight cities had some plurality of opinion regarding the suggestion that "municipal referendums allowing residents to vote and decide specific municipal issues should be held at every civic election;" regardless of place of residence, roughly two thirds of residents in each city supported this suggestion. With respect to the two other suggestions, however, plurality of opinion did not exist. The suggestion that "formal political parties, such as those at the provincial and federal levels, should not be allowed in municipal politics" was, by and large, supported by less than half of the residents surveyed. The third suggestion that "municipal governments in general should be given specific constitutional powers so that they can have broader responsibility on matters of local concern" garnered large proportions of neutral responses. Perhaps these latter two results reflect residents' self-described low levels of knowledge of civic government relative to the other two levels (see, e.g., Luining, 1993). Inter- or intra-city differences were not noteworthy.

2.9.2 Municipal Services and Taxation

Roughly a quarter of residents from each of the eight cities (28%) feel that the value of services they receive from their municipal government is "poor" or "very poor" in relation to the municipal property taxes they pay (Figure 16). The proportion of residents feeling this varies within the four residential areas in both Prairie and non-Prairie cities but not consistently according to area of residence.

Among downtown and inner-city residents of all eight cities, Winnipeggers were among the most dissatisfied with their perceived value of service. Meanwhile, suburban Winnipeggers were not only the most dissatisfied among all suburban residents, but were the second-most dissatisfied among all urban Canadians. Edmonton's downtown, inner city and older suburbs displayed levels of dissatisfaction with value of services received by municipal government which were roughly consistent with the national level for each of these three areas; the newer suburbs, however, were the second most dissatisfied residents of all newer suburbs. One third of Calgary's downtowners registered

TABLE 36: SATISFACTION WITH HEALTH AND PHYSICAL CONDITION WINNIPEG (1984, 1989) AND EDMONTON (1984)
(NUMBERS ARE INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

CITY	SCORE[1]		
	LOW	MIDDLE	TOP
Winnipeg, 1984			
Inner City	5	30	65
Non-Inner City	3	34	63
Total City	3	33	64
Winnipeg, 1989			
Inner City	9	32	58
Non-Inner City	5	35	60
Total City	6	34	60
Edmonton, 1984			
Inner City	7	35	58
Non-Inner City	5	43	52
Total City	6	42	53

Note: Respondents were asked to rate how satisfied they were with their personal health and physical condition on a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 was "very dissatisfied" and 7 was "very satisfied." Low scores represent responses of 1 and 2; middle scores - 3, 4 and 5; top scores - 6 and 7.

Source: "Winnipeg Area Study," 1984 and 1989. Computations by IUS.
"Edmonton Area Study," 1984. Computations by IUS.

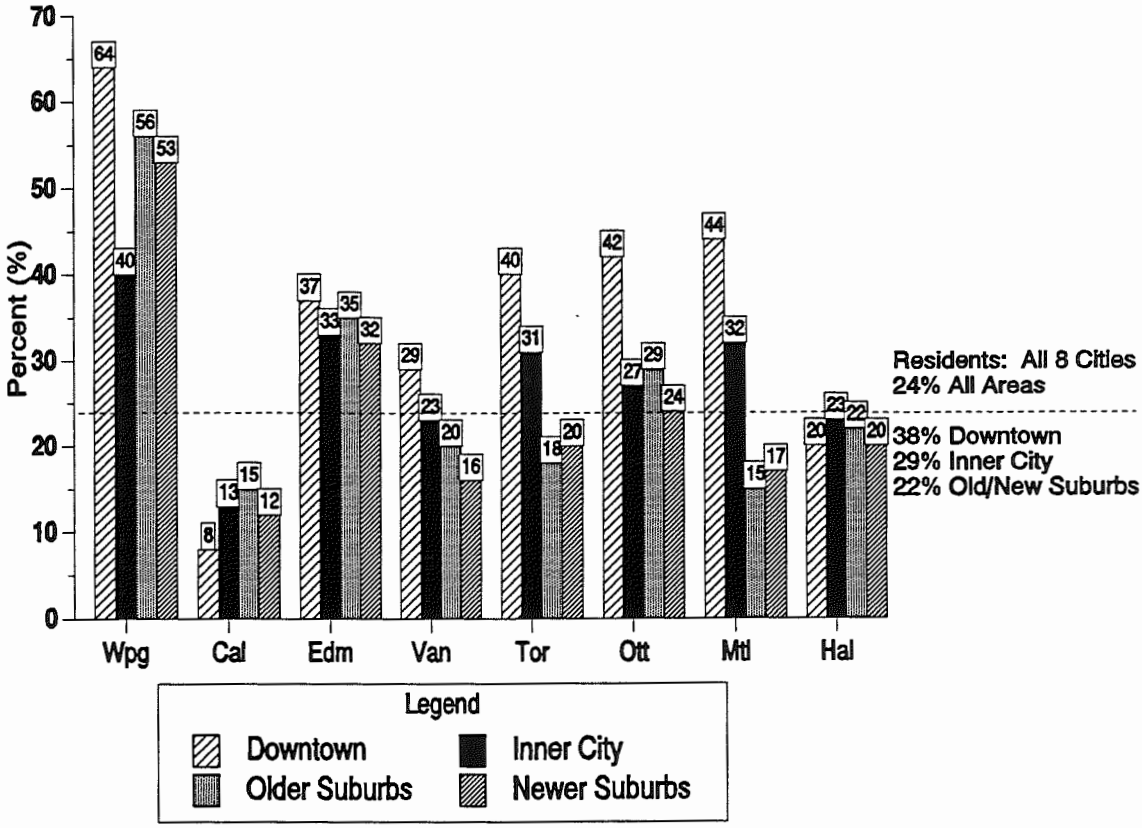
TABLE 37: PERCENTAGE OF RESIDENTS AGREEING WITH MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT CONCERNS

DOWNTOWN	WPG	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	N-PRAIRIE	ALL 8
The Municipal Government:											
is badly flawed and needs to be changed	47	0	23	31	25	32	26	52	22	32	32
is managed/administered poorer than the provincial government	18	0	17	15	17	11	22	0	6	12	13
does not pay attention to the needs and concerns of its residents	28	0	7	16	12	11	14	16	13	13	13
City Council:											
is always squabbling/dealing with petty issues	60	0	23	38	37	37	49	12	33	35	35
does a poor job of communicating to the public	44	20	35	37	25	31	30	29	39	30	31
is too large and should be reduced	37	12	23	29	15	10	24	33	8	17	20
INNER CITY	**WPG**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**PRAIRIE**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**	**N-PRAIRIE**	**ALL 8**
The Municipal Government:											
is badly flawed and needs to be changed	52	10	21	28	29	20	23	19	22	22	23
is managed/administered poorer than the provincial government	30	6	10	15	8	15	21	19	8	15	15
does not pay attention to the needs and concerns of its residents	25	4	9	12	12	7	9	8	13	9	9
City Council:											
is always squabbling/dealing with petty issues	64	27	39	43	30	30	35	29	29	31	33
does a poor job of communicating to the public	41	9	20	23	27	35	29	20	35	29	28
is too large and should be reduced	59	13	16	30	12	26	20	15	11	19	21
OLDER SUBURBS	**WPG**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**PRAIRIE**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**	**N-PRAIRIE**	**ALL 8**
The Municipal Government:											
is badly flawed and needs to be changed	54	10	18	27	13	17	25	13	24	16	18
is managed/administered poorer than the provincial government	28	7	15	16	8	13	14	9	13	11	12
does not pay attention to the needs and concerns of its residents	25	7	10	14	10	11	9	6	13	9	10
City Council:											
is always squabbling/dealing with petty issues	56	29	45	43	19	22	44	13	33	21	26
does a poor job of communicating to the public	49	15	27	30	18	24	28	8	33	19	22
is too large and should be reduced	65	13	16	30	9	20	21	12	19	16	19
NEWER SUBURBS	**WPG**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**PRAIRIE**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**	**N-PRAIRIE**	**ALL 8**
The Municipal Government:											
is badly flawed and needs to be changed	41	10	22	24	7	23	16	18	23	17	19
is managed/administered poorer than the provincial government	32	5	10	15	11	8	14	18	13	13	14
does not pay attention to the needs and concerns of its residents	20	4	11	11	6	11	13	8	10	9	9
City Council:											
is always squabbling/dealing with petty issues	54	22	43	39	21	27	29	27	34	26	30
does a poor job of communicating to the public	44	12	26	26	13	15	29	15	33	17	20
is too large and should be reduced	57	11	14	25	11	19	19	13	21	15	18

Note: This question in the "Urban Canada Study" was not among those replicated in Regina and Saskatoon. "Prairie," therefore, represents total for the three Prairie cities shown. "N-Prairie" represents the total for all five non-Prairie cities. "All 8" represents the total for all 8 cities shown.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.

FIGURE 15: RESPONDENTS WHO DISAPPROVE OF THE PERFORMANCE OF THEIR CITY COUNCIL AS THEIR CIVIC GOVERNMENT



Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

TABLE 38: AGREEMENT WITH SUGGESTIONS REGARDING MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

(NUMBERS ARE INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

1. Municipal Referendums, allowing residents to vote and decide specific municipal issues, should be held at every civic election.

	WPG		CAL		EDM		PRAIRIE TOTAL		VAN		TOR		OTT		MTL		HAL		NON-PRAIRIE TOTAL		ALL 8 CITIES	
	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS
Downtown	64	9	60	0	61	15	62	9	43	8	69	0	51	12	54	8	71	5	58	6	59	6
Inner City	59	8	65	9	66	6	63	8	69	5	63	6	58	10	54	6	58	8	60	6	61	6
Older Suburbs	66	4	56	6	62	4	61	5	62	7	63	8	56	9	59	9	57	9	61	8	61	7
Newer Suburbs	59	6	62	8	61	10	61	8	65	8	60	8	63	8	71	7	68	8	66	8	64	8

2. Formal political parties, such as those at the provincial and federal levels, should not be allowed in municipal politics

	WPG		CAL		EDM		PRAIRIE TOTAL		VAN		TOR		OTT		MTL		HAL		NON-PRAIRIE TOTAL		ALL 8 CITIES	
	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS
Downtown	33	6	52	8	61	6	45	6	48	25	32	19	43	16	49	18	38	18	40	20	41	17
Inner City	46	17	38	14	43	10	42	14	45	30	35	19	44	19	35	20	40	24	38	21	38	20
Older Suburbs	46	12	49	12	46	13	47	12	41	17	43	17	45	15	43	18	48	19	43	17	44	16
Newer Suburbs	40	14	49	11	50	10	47	12	46	15	37	21	48	13	42	16	52	10	43	17	44	15

3. Municipal governments in general should be given specific constitutional powers so that they can have broader responsibility on matters of local concern.

	WPG		CAL		EDM		PRAIRIE TOTAL		VAN		TOR		OTT		MTL		HAL		NON-PRAIRIE TOTAL		ALL 8 CITIES	
	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS	AG	DIS
Downtown	21	23	20	20	31	18	24	21	35	24	35	19	35	18	42	14	40	26	36	20	34	20
Inner City	34	16	44	14	31	11	36	14	31	31	27	15	20	19	44	15	28	13	32	18	33	17
Older Suburbs	30	15	37	13	27	13	32	14	41	13	34	17	27	20	36	10	35	14	35	15	34	15
Newer Suburbs	30	14	36	12	37	14	34	13	31	14	40	11	30	21	35	17	40	12	35	15	35	14

Notes: Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the statements provided on a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 was equal to "completely disagree" and 7 was equal to "totally agree." "AG" (agree) represents responses of 6 and 7; "DIS" (disagree) represents responses of 1 and 2. Not shown here are responses 3 to 5.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.

FIGURE 16: RESIDENTS WHO FEEL THE VALUE OF SERVICES PROVIDED BY THEIR MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IS POOR IN RELATION TO MUNICIPAL PROPERTY TAXES

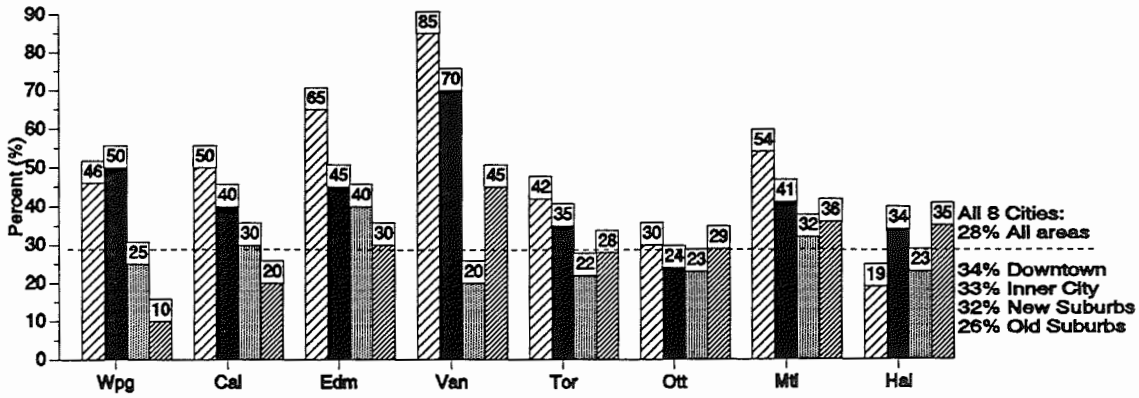


FIGURE 17: RESIDENT SUPPORT FOR CONTRACTING OUT TO PRIVATE COMPANIES TO PROVIDE CERTAIN MUNICIPAL SERVICES

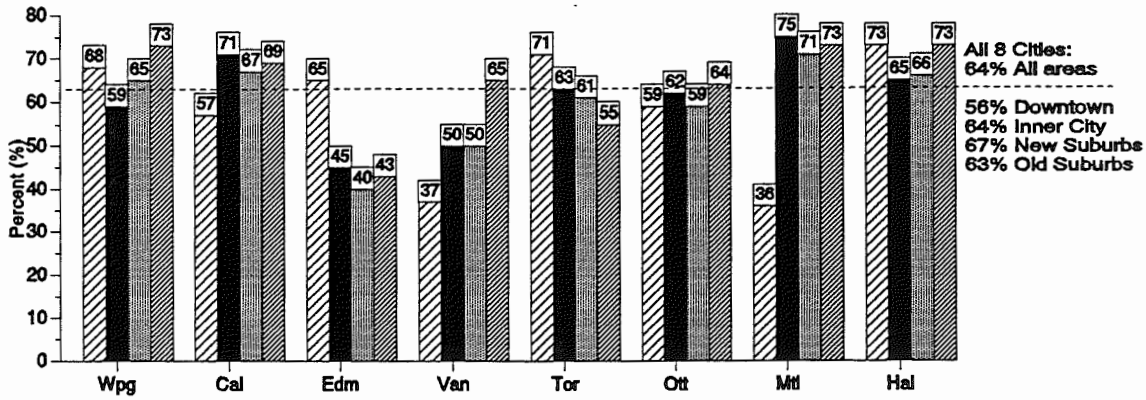
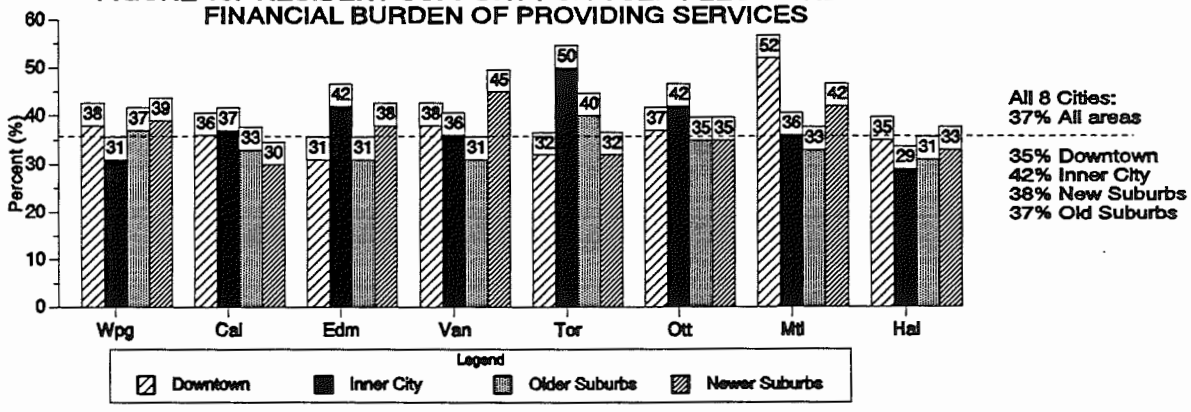


FIGURE 18: RESIDENT SUPPORT FOR USER FEES TO RELIEVE FINANCIAL BURDEN OF PROVIDING SERVICES



Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

dissatisfaction and, although this is a somewhat average proportion, it is still much higher than the dissatisfaction registered by residents of other areas. The variations that occur within some cities do not consistently appear to be related to area of residence.

Contracting out to private companies as a municipal government measure to help relieve the financial burden of providing services was in most cases supported by the majority of residents (Figure 17). The strength of the support, however, was, in most cases, "moderate" rather than "strong" (Table 39). There was some intra-city variation but it did not vary consistently according to area of residence. The least amount of support for contracting out was found among downtowners of Montreal (36%), Vancouver (37%), Edmonton (47%) and Calgary (57%). In Vancouver, however, the weak support was also found in inner-city and older suburban areas.

The results of resident support for user fees to relieve the financial burden of providing services (Figure 18) is almost a mirror image of the results for contracting out, i.e., support for user fees lies in the 30 to 40 percent range throughout most areas of most cities. As in the case of contracting out, however, "moderate" support outweighs "strong" support. Among the four areas of Prairie cities, moderate plus strong *opposition* to user fees is from 58 to 70 percent. The greatest opposition, i.e., the largest proportion of those "strongly" opposed, was found in Winnipeg's inner city (50%), Calgary's inner city (46%) and Edmonton's downtown (46%). Meanwhile, in non-Prairie cities, the strongest opposition did not consistently tend to be among downtown or inner-city areas; the strongest opposition in Halifax, for example, occurred in the older suburbs while in Toronto it occurred in the newer suburbs.

2.10 CITY PRIORITIES

Policy formulation involves making decisions and taking actions among several problem areas or goals. Public opinion on the priority of an action relative to other actions is, therefore, a particularly valuable form of input into the decision making process. Public opinion on the relative importance of actions was gathered in the "Urban Canada Study;" residents were asked to rate a list of 15 issues according to how high a priority they were for the residents' respective cities (Table 38). While the following caution applies to the interpretation of all survey responses thus far discussed, it is particularly noteworthy here to mention that respondents often rate issues in terms of their "perceptions of the seriousness of the problem rather than the importance of an issue" (Atkinson, p. 70)—the responses regarding priorities do not, therefore, necessarily imply residents' value or goal orientations.

Perceptions regarding the relative importance of a number of actions as gathered in a few other select surveys will be cited in this section of the report and in some instances compared with the "Urban Canada Study." In addition to the caution noted above regarding the translation of priorities to value orientations, it is worthwhile to mention again the caution that should be exercised when comparing the results of other studies to the "Urban Canada Study." The "MSUA Study," for example, used a much more vigorous interviewing technique to determine the relative importance of each action area and the magnitude of difference between them. The survey of Regina residents (Program Management Services and Associates, 1990) and Edmonton's "Central District Survey of Residents" asked residents to rate the importance of action areas according to tax dollar expenditures; while it seems reasonable, it cannot be determined for certain that rankings of "tax dollar expenditures" are the same as "priorities," and then further if "tax expenditures" represent value or goal orientations, perceived seriousness of the problem, or perhaps both.

2.10.1 Priorities Among Urban Canadians

Respondents were provided a list of fifteen policies and priorities and were asked to rate how much of a priority each item was for their city. For residents of the ten cities studied, the most important action areas and the percentage which listed the action as high priority were as follows: reducing crime/violence (76%); developing programs for waste disposal/recycling (71%); encouraging economic development (67%); establishing more police foot patrols and community-based policing (61%); promoting greater tolerance between ethnic and racial groups (59%); and preventing the demolition of historic buildings (51%). For the remaining actions, less than a majority of residents felt they were high priorities: developing a downtown development plan (44%); controlling suburban development (40%); implementing more restrictive height/density bylaw for downtown (36%); improving municipal infrastructure (38%); providing more/better social services (35%); improving public transit (33%); reducing municipal spending/taxes even if it means cutting some services (31%); encouraging residential development in the downtown (28%); and providing better municipal services (23%). Not surprisingly, however, the proportion of the public which felt that policy areas were important varied markedly across the cities examined (Table 40A and 40B).

Given urban Canadians' "keen sense of awareness of the urban physical environment and its quality" (Patterson, 1994, p. 25) and the present popularity of "sustainable development" as a guiding principle in decision-making, it is perhaps no surprise that an environmental action, i.e., developing programs for better disposal and recycling of solid waste, was ranked among one of the top priorities across all areas of residence. Also, given that crime was cited most often as one of Canada's worst

aspects (ibid, p. 27), it is also not surprising that the two action areas relating to this (i.e., community-based policing; reducing crime and violence) were perceived to be a top priority.

It is interesting to compare the public support for reducing crime/violence to public support for community-based policing. Except in the downtowns of Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Edmonton, the proportion which considers that reducing crime and violence a high priority is less (and often substantially less) than the proportion which supports community based policing. Except in the three downtowns mentioned, community-based policing does not appear to be viewed as an action related to controlling crime and violence.

Few residents attach value to finding ways to reduce municipal spending and property taxes, even if it means cutting some services—a result which was echoed in the tenth "Winnipeg Area Study" (conducted in 1992) which found that 67 percent of residents said they would pay higher taxes to maintain services (Santin, 1993). That residents are prepared to pay increased taxes to maintain services also was born out of the "Central District Survey of Residents" in Edmonton: "the overall message was hold the line on taxes, but if not, limit taxes to maintain current service levels. The recent budgetary actions of Council in allowing for a minor tax increase in 1985 of 1.5 percent and 5 percent for 1985, reflects the opinion of most Central area residents" (City of Edmonton, 1985, p. 4).

Although the report of the "MSUA Study" did not indicate priorities by "city zone," some sense of how priorities at the total city level have changed over time can be deduced by comparing the ranking of the seven actions which were roughly equivalent in the "MSUA Study" and the "Urban Canada Study" (Table 41). Based on rankings only (the *magnitude* of the perceived difference in the rank order of actions in the "MSUA Study" was unavailable) and on the results of the ten cities common to both "Studies," the changes in perceived importance of the seven actions common to both studies as are follows: remaining either the top priority, or at least among the top three priorities is reducing crime; increasing somewhat in perceived importance were attracting new industry/economic development, improving the downtown or a downtown plan (except in Regina) and stopping city growth/controlling suburban development (except in Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton); decreasing somewhat in perceived importance were improving/reducing property tax spending and improving public transit. Although developing a detailed plan for future development in the downtown was at the total city level never rated higher than seventh place among the fifteen actions outlined in the "Urban Canada Study," it appears to have gained a small amount of recognition as an important action considering that in the "MSUA Study," it was not even discussed because it was a very low priority in the minds of most urban Canadians. As mentioned, however, Reginans appear to have less regard

TABLE 39: SUPPORT FOR MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT MEASURES TO HELP RELIEVE THE FINANCIAL BURDEN OF PROVIDING SERVICES

(NUMBERS ARE INDICATED AS PERCENTAGES)

MEASURE A: CONTRACTING OUT THE PROVISION OF CERTAIN MUNICIPAL SERVICES TO PRIVATE COMPANIES

DOWNTOWN	WPG	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	NON-PRAIRIE	ALL 8
Strongly Support	30	40	33	32	25	41	26	30	17	31	31
Moderately Support	38	17	14	27	12	30	33	6	56	25	25
Moderately Oppose	14	8	15	13	12	14	8	31	6	14	14
Strongly Oppose	18	24	34	24	48	15	24	17	17	24	24
INNER CITY	**WPG**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**PRAIRIE**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**	**NON-PRAIRIE**	**ALL 8**
Strongly Support	27	23	22	24	23	25	20	36	21	27	26
Moderately Support	32	48	41	40	27	38	42	39	44	37	38
Moderately Oppose	10	13	9	11	10	11	19	7	12	11	11
Strongly Oppose	26	15	18	20	33	16	12	14	12	17	17
OLDER SUBURBS	**WPG**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**PRAIRIE**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**	**NON-PRAIRIE**	**ALL 8**
Strongly Support	27	26	28	27	22	25	27	34	31	27	27
Moderately Support	38	41	42	40	28	36	32	37	37	34	36
Moderately Oppose	16	15	14	15	18	15	17	11	8	15	15
Strongly Oppose	15	14	12	14	24	18	15	11	15	17	16
NEWER SUBURBS	**WPG**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**PRAIRIE**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**	**NON-PRAIRIE**	**ALL 8**
Strongly Support	34	30	28	30	25	25	23	40	30	30	30
Moderately Support	39	39	42	40	40	30	41	33	43	35	37
Moderately Oppose	14	16	11	13	13	16	11	13	5	13	13
Strongly Oppose	12	12	13	12	230	23	15	10	14	17	15

MEASURE B: INTRODUCING USER FEES FOR CERTAIN SERVICES SUCH AS GARBAGE COLLECTION AND BOULEVARD TREE PRUNING

DOWNTOWN	WPG	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	NON-PRAIRIE	ALL 8
Strongly Support	6	12	8	7	11	15	11	17	19	14	13
Moderately Support	32	24	23	28	17	17	26	35	16	21	22
Moderately Oppose	20	40	16	22	17	17	23	14	18	17	18
Strongly Oppose	38	25	46	39	56	43	39	30	38	43	42
INNER CITY	**WPG**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**PRAIRIE**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**	**NON-PRAIRIE**	**ALL 8**
Strongly Support	11	14	16	13	11	18	9	12	7	14	14
Moderately Support	21	23	28	24	25	32	35	24	22	29	28
Moderately Oppose	15	18	16	16	11	16	14	11	23	14	14
Strongly Oppose	50	46	38	45	48	31	39	45	43	39	40
OLDER SUBURBS	**WPG**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**PRAIRIE**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**	**NON-PRAIRIE**	**ALL 8**
Strongly Support	10	5	10	8	12	12	10	7	13	11	10
Moderately Support	27	27	21	25	29	28	25	26	18	27	27
Moderately Oppose	23	27	26	25	25	20	17	26	18	22	23
Strongly Oppose	37	39	44	40	33	38	43	38	50	38	38
NEWER SUBURBS	**WPG**	**CAL**	**EDM**	**PRAIRIE**	**VAN**	**TOR**	**OTT**	**MTL**	**HAL**	**NON-PRAIRIE**	**ALL 8**
Strongly Support	9	7	10	9	16	12	11	14	11	14	12
Moderately Support	30	23	28	27	29	20	24	28	22	25	26
Moderately Oppose	19	33	20	24	25	17	18	21	17	20	21
Strongly Oppose	39	36	40	38	29	50	42	35	46	39	39

Note: This question from the "Urban Canada Study" was not replicated in Regina and Saskatoon. Therefore, "Prairie" represents the total for the three Prairie cities shown. "Non-Prairie" represents the total for all five non-Prairie cities shown. "All 8" represents the total for all 8 cities combined.

Source: Angus Reid Grou

TABLE 40A: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS RATING ISSUE AS A "HIGH PRIORITY" FOR THE CITY

DOWNTOWN	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE TOTAL	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	NON-PRAIRIE TOTAL	ALL 10 CITIES COMBINED
Establish Community Based Policing	82	61	60	60	82	73	58	75	53	73	53	66	67
Reduce Crime & Violence	72	83	45	80	77	72	65	82	69	87	78	74	73
Waste Disposal & Recycling Programs	81	65	53	70	88	68	77	88	67	73	88	79	76
Encourage Economic Development	61	74	68	70	70	67	73	57	67	87	75	68	68
Promote Ethnic Tolerance	57	70	60	80	77	67	77	61	53	60	83	64	65
Prevent Demolition of Historic Buildings	50	36	60	80	71	58	62	54	55	60	50	58	57
Plan for Future Downtown Development	39	52	45	40	53	45	58	71	55	47	72	62	58
Improve Municipal Infrastructure	46	30	26	10	47	37	50	46	45	53	50	48	46
Encourage Res. Development in Downtown	32	26	20	40	53	36	62	47	37	40	38	46	44
More/Better Social Services	36	30	45	20	41	35	42	32	41	33	39	37	36
Control Suburban Development	38	14	13	50	35	32	62	50	35	47	39	48	45
Improve Public Transit	18	17	30	20	53	28	35	25	45	33	36	33	32
Provide Better Municipal Services	39	13	16	20	24	26	39	18	20	27	36	25	26
Regulate Height, Density in Downtown	25	22	21	30	24	24	70	61	41	47	53	56	49
Reduce Mun. Spending & Property Taxes	25	13	0	20	35	22	15	36	31	33	36	30	28

INNER CITY	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE TOTAL	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	NON-PRAIRIE TOTAL	ALL 10 CITIES COMBINED
Waste Disposal & Recycling Programs	80	61	59	66	80	71	86	79	70	48	83	71	71
Encourage Economic Development	75	67	63	69	74	70	71	68	66	68	60	60	62
Reduce Crime & Violence	67	74	59	66	78	69	86	82	62	49	71	71	70
Promote Ethnic Tolerance	69	57	56	55	58	60	76	57	64	50	74	68	68
Establish Community Based Policing	70	48	59	44	60	57	69	70	58	34	57	58	58
Prevent Demolition of Historic Buildings	59	42	49	56	52	53	68	64	40	51	63	58	57
More/Better Social Services	38	43	43	38	38	39	48	32	39	27	45	35	36
Plan for Future Downtown Development	48	36	25	42	28	37	58	48	39	28	39	43	42
Improve Municipal Infrastructure	38	45	30	26	44	36	50	35	29	33	46	37	37
Control Suburban Development	50	21	23	44	28	36	48	55	30	24	37	42	41
Reduce Mun. Spending & Property Taxes	31	33	26	31	40	33	27	35	37	18	27	29	30
Encourage Res. Development in Downtown	41	26	17	40	34	33	44	45	35	21	25	36	35
Improve Public Transit	33	15	16	31	36	28	55	36	32	27	19	35	34
Regulate Height, Density in Downtown	25	21	20	16	30	23	53	54	35	32	51	45	41
Provide Better Municipal Services	23	23	16	9	22	19	31	24	20	22	21	24	23

OLDER SUBURBS	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE TOTAL	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	NON PRAIRIE TOTAL	ALL 10 CITIES COMBINED
Reduce Crime & Violence	72	70	73	76	83	76	84	87	72	61	77	78	78
Encourage Economic Development	73	60	65	74	71	70	69	69	67	61	77	67	67
Waste Disposal & Recycling Programs	70	46	64	66	71	66	79	79	73	58	73	73	71
Establish Community Based Policing	67	52	53	54	67	60	63	76	53	50	60	64	63
Promote Ethnic Tolerance	60	52	58	57	50	55	66	67	54	50	64	61	60
Prevent Demolition of Historic Buildings	47	23	42	50	55	47	64	64	31	46	55	52	50
Improve Municipal Infrastructure	38	41	35	33	48	39	36	36	29	38	40	36	37
Reduce Mun. Spending & Property Taxes	44	32	30	33	30	34	22	33	34	24	31	28	30
Plan for Future Downtown Development	46	26	32	33	28	34	58	48	37	46	40	48	44
More/Better Social Services	27	28	42	35	30	32	44	33	29	32	39	35	34
Control Suburban Development	43	21	19	34	29	32	49	50	37	32	37	43	40
Encourage Res. Development in Downtown	30	20	13	23	31	25	33	28	28	22	23	27	27
Regulate Height, Density in Downtown	32	21	18	24	25	25	44	46	41	33	47	42	37
Improve Public Transit	21	9	16	28	26	22	50	39	25	26	19	36	32
Provide Better Municipal Services	18	15	17	17	21	18	25	22	15	28	20	23	22

NEWER SUBURBS	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE TOTAL	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	NON-PRAIRIE TOTAL	ALL 10 CITIES COMBINED
Reduce Crime & Violence	72	76	74	72	75	74	80	87	75	63	76	78	75
Encourage Economic Development	78	66	73	67	74	72	67	60	68	64	73	65	67
Waste Disposal & Recycling Programs	69	51	61	69	72	67	80	82	72	58	78	72	70
Establish Community Based Policing	58	49	53	48	60	54	65	65	54	56	63	61	58
Promote Ethnic Tolerance	55	58	56	62	52	53	67	59	60	59	65	62	59
Prevent Demolition of Historic Buildings	41	23	45	53	52	45	54	47	34	44	57	47	47
Reduce Mun. Spending & Property Taxes	44	41	34	41	31	38	30	35	37	24	39	30	33
Improve Municipal Infrastructure	30	42	33	27	49	37	42	32	29	43	42	39	38
Plan for Future Downtown Development	46	25	31	26	34	33	50	48	36	46	46	46	42
More/Better Social Services	26	29	38	33	32	32	43	32	41	38	38	38	36
Control Suburban Development	38	22	19	31	32	30	54	44	31	35	40	42	38
Improve Public Transit	20	16	15	22	32	23	59	42	31	31	28	41	35
Encourage Res. Development in Downtown	25	14	12	19	26	21	26	25	22	25	18	24	23
Regulate Height, Density in Downtown	26	13	18	19	21	20	40	40	39	34	40	38	31
Provide Better Municipal Services	17	14	24	15	23	19	28	20	23	29	21	26	23

Note: "High Priority" is equivalent to a ranking of 6 or 7 on a 7 point scale.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computation by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computation by IUS.

TABLE 40B: RANKING OF PRIORITIES FOR THE CITY

DOWNTOWN	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE TOTAL	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	NON-PRAIRIE TOTAL	ALL 10 CITIES COMBINED
Establish Community Based Policing	1	5	3	6	2	1	9.5	3	6.5	2.5	6.5	4	4
Reduce Crime & Violence	2	1	7	2	3.5	2	5	2	1	4	3	2	2
Waste Disposal & Recycling Programs	3.5	4	5	4.5	1	3	1.5	1	2.5	2.5	1	1	1
Encourage Economic Development	3.5	2	1	4.5	6	4	3	7	2.5	1	4	3	3
Promote Ethnic Tolerance	5	3	3	2	3.5	5	1.5	5.5	6.5	5.5	2	5	5
Prevent Demolition of Historic Buildings	6	7	3	2	5	6	7	8	4.5	5.5	15	7	7
Plan for Future Downtown Development	8.5	6	7	8.5	8	7	9.5	4	4.5	9	5	6	6
Improve Municipal Infrastructure	7	8.5	10	15	10	8	11	11	8.5	7	8	10	9
Encourage Res. Development in Downtown	12	10	12	8.5	8	9	7	10	12	11	12.5	11	11
More/Better Social Services	11	8.5	7	12.5	11	10	12	13	10.5	13	9.5	12	12
Control Suburban Development	10	13	14	7	12.5	11	7	9	13	9	9.5	9	10
Improve Public Transit	15	12	9	12.5	8	12	14	14	8.5	13	12.5	13	13
Provide Better Municipal Services	8.5	14.5	13	12.5	14.5	13	13	15	15	15	12.5	15	15
Regulate Height, Density in Downtown	13.5	11	11	10	14.5	14	4	5.5	10.5	9	6.5	8	8
Reduce Mun. Spending & Property Taxes	13.5	14.5	15	12.5	12.5	15	15	12	14	13	12.5	14	14

INNER CITY	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE TOTAL	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	NON-PRAIRIE TOTAL	ALL 10 CITIES COMBINED
Waste Disposal & Recycling Programs	1	3	4	2.5	1	1	1.5	2	1	5	1	2	1
Encourage Economic Development	2	2	1	1	3	2	4	5	4	1	5	3	3
Reduce Crime & Violence	5	1	3	2.5	2	3	1.5	1	2	4	3	1	2
Promote Ethnic Tolerance	4	4	5	5	5	4	3	6	5	3	2	6	4
Establish Community Based Policing	3	5	2	6.5	4	5	5	3	3	6	6	4	5
Prevent Demolition of Historic Buildings	6	8	6	4	6	6	6	4	6	2	4	5	6
More/Better Social Services	10.5	7	7	10	9	7	11.5	14	7.5	10.5	9	13	11
Plan for Future Downtown Development	8	9	10	8	13.5	8	7	9	7.5	9	10	8	7
Improve Municipal Infrastructure	10.5	6	8	13	7.	9	10	12.5	14	7	8	10	10
Control Suburban Development	7	14	11	6.5	13.5	10	11.5	7	13	12	11	9	9
Reduce Mun. Spending & Property Taxes	13	10	9	11.5	8	12	15	12.5	9	15	12	15	14
Encourage Res. Development in Downtown	9	11	13	9	11	11	13	10	10.5	14	13	11	12
Improve Public Transit	12	15	14	11.5	10	13	8	11	12	10.5	15	12	13
Regulate Height, Density in Downtown	14	13	12	14	12	14	9	8	10.5	8	7	7	8
Provide Better Municipal Services	15	12	15	15	15	15	14	15	15	13	14	14	15

OLDER SUBURBS	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE TOTAL	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	NON PRAIRIE TOTAL	ALL 10 CITIES COMBINED
Reduce Crime & Violence	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.5	1	1	1
Encourage Economic Development	1	2	2	2	2.5	2	3	4	3	1.5	2	3	3
Waste Disposal & Recycling Programs	3	5	3	3	2.5	3	2	2	1	3	3	2	2
Establish Community Based Policing	4	4	5	5	4	4	6	3	5	4	5	4	4
Promote Ethnic Tolerance	5	3	4	4	6	5	4	5	4	5	4	5	5
Prevent Demolition of Historic Buildings	6	10	7	6	5	6	5	6	10	6.5	6	6	6
Improve Municipal Infrastructure	10	6	8	10.5	7	7	12	11	12	8	8.5	10	10
Reduce Mun. Spending & Property Taxes	8	7	10	10.5	10	8	15	12	9	14	12	13	12
Plan for Future Downtown Development	7	9	9	9	12	9	7	8	7	6.5	8.5	7	7
More/Better Social Services	13	8	6	7	9	10	11	15	11	10	10	12	13
Control Suburban Development	9	11	11	8	11	11	9	7	8	11	11	8	8
Encourage Res. Development in Downtown	12	13	15	14	8	12	13	13	13	15	13	14	14
Regulate Height, Density in Downtown	11	12	13.5	13	14	13	10	9	6	9	7	9	9
Improve Public Transit	14	15	13.5	12	13	14	8	10	14	13	15	11	11
Provide Better Municipal Services	15	14	12	15	15	15	14	14	15	12	14	15	15

NEWER SUBURBS	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	PRAIRIE TOTAL	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	NON-PRAIRIE TOTAL	ALL 10 CITIES COMBINED
Reduce Crime & Violence	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
Encourage Economic Development	1	2	2	3	2	2	3.5	4	3	1	3	3	3
Waste Disposal & Recycling Programs	3	4	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	4	1	2	2
Establish Community Based Policing	4	5	5	6	4	4	5	3	5	5	5	5	5
Promote Ethnic Tolerance	5	3	4	5	5.5	5	3.5	5	4	3	4	4	4
Prevent Demolition of Historic Buildings	8	10	6	4	5.5	6	8	7	10	7	6	6	6
Reduce Mun. Spending & Property Taxes	7	7	8	7	12	7	13	11	8	15	11	13	11
Improve Municipal Infrastructure	10	6	9	10	7	8	11	12.5	13	9	9	10	8
Plan for Future Downtown Development	6	9	10	11	8	9	9	6	9	6	7	7	7
More/Better Social Services	11	8	7	8	9	10	10	12.5	6	9	12	11	10
Control Suburban Development	9	11	12	9	10.5	11	7	8	11.5	10	9.5	8	9
Improve Public Transit	14	12	14	12	10.5	12	6	9	11.5	12	13	9	12
Encourage Res. Development in Downtown	13	13	15	13.5	13	13	15	14	15	14	15	15	14.5
Regulate Height, Density in Downtown	12	15	13	13.5	15	14	12	10	7	11	9.5	12	13
Provide Better Municipal Services	15	14	11	15	14	15	14	15	14	13	14	14	14.5

Note: "High Priority" is equivalent to a ranking of 6 or 7 on a 7 point scale.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computation by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computation by IUS.

TABLE 41: RANKING OF URBAN PRIORITIES BY 23 CITIES: "MSUA STUDY," 1978

PRIORITY	ONLY THOSE CITIES EXAMINED IN THE "URBAN CANADA STUDY" AND ITS "SUPPLEMENT"										ALL 23 CITIES
	WPG	REG	SAS	CAL	EDM	VAN	TOR	OTT	MTL	HAL	
Reduce inflation	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1
Reduce unemployment	2	3	3	4	3	2	2	2	1	3	2
Reduce crime	3 (2)	1 (1)	2 (1)	2 (1)	1 (1)	3 (1)	3 (1)	3 (2)	3 (2)	1 (2)	3 (1)
Improve the income of the poor	6	8	8	8	5	6	7	6	5	5	4
Attract new industry	5 (1)	11 (3)	4 (2)	20 (2)	14 (2)	15 (3)	14 (4)	13 (3)	14 (1)	7 (3)	5 (3)
Protect agricultural land	12	15	12	11	10	4	5	4	7	12	6
Improve property tax spending	4 (9)	5 (7)	11 (10)	6 (7)	8 (9.5)	9 (15)	4 (12)	11 (10)	16 (15)	6 (12)	7 (13)
Protect parks	9	4	5	5	8	5	11	5	8	9	8
Involve the public in government decisions	7	6	10	9	11	8	10	10	10	11	9
Improve senior citizen facilities	13	6	7	12	9	11	9	7	4	14	10
Improve educational system	10	16	13	7	7	7	13	8	6	13	11
Reduce energy consumption	11	9	6	15	13	13	6	9	12	4	12
Reduce traffic congestion	8	10	9	3	4	10	12	14	15	11	13
Reduce air pollution	21	23	24	10	12	14	8	16	9	20	14
Improve medical care	15	19	15	16	19	16	15	12	11	18	15
Improve public transit	22 (14)	22 (15)	22 (14)	13 (12)	15 (11)	12 (8)	17 (10)	17 (13)	13 (12)	16 (13)	16 (12)
Improve streets/sidewalks	19 (11)	14 (2)	21 (8)	14 (11)	23 (7)	23 (12)	23 (11)	20 (12)	20 (8)	17 (9)	17(9)
Reduce national income differentials	17	16	17	25	17	17	22	18	18	17	18
Improve recreation facilities	20	13	14	19	21	20	24	19	19	15	19
Improve downtown	18 (7)	12 (9)	23 (9)	24 (10)	26 (9.5)	22 (7)	16 (8)	21 (7)	24 (7)	21 (8)	20 (7)
Improve buildings/homes	14	17	18	22	24	24	20	24	25	19	21
Improve entertainment/cultural facilities	23	21	16	21	26	21	25	22	23	23	22
Improve day care facilities	16	25	20	26	22	19	19	15	17	22	23
Reduce traffic noise	24	20	26	23	16	18	21	23	21	24	24
Stop city growth	26 (9)	26 (11)	19 (12)	17 (9)	20 (12)	25 (9)	18 (7)	25 (11)	22 (11)	25 (10)	25 (8)
Build more freeways	25	24	25	18	18	26	26	26	26	26	26

Note: Of the 26 priorities examined in the "MSUA" Study, 7 were *similar* to the 15 priorities examined in the "Urban Canada Study" as indicated by highlight. The ranks which these 7 priority areas received (out of a total of 15) in the "The Urban Canada Study" are indicated in parentheses. See Table 40B, for a complete listing of priority areas examined in "The Urban Canada Study."

Source: Atkinson, T. *A Study of Urban Concerns,* 1979. pp. 75-80.

now than they did previously for actions relating to their downtown; a perception that will be important to resolve in attempts aimed at improving the downtown which, in the "Urban Canada Study," was rated ninth out of the downtowns of ten cities by its residents. Also to be resolved are attitudes regarding the control of suburban development. Excepting Winnipeg, Prairie support for this action is below the national level for all ten cities except in Winnipeg; furthermore, in Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton it appears that that value attached to this measure has declined since the "MSUA Study" was conducted. Meanwhile, low densities continue to characterize Prairie cities relative to the rest of Canada. In 1991, for example, the average density of the cities of Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton was ten persons/ha *vs.* 37 persons/ha for the urban cores of Canada's three largest cities (Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver) and 22 persons/ha for the three Eastern cities of similar size to the three Prairie cities (Ottawa, Quebec and Hamilton) (Patterson, 1993b).

2.10.2 Priorities Among Prairie Cities

Top-Five Priorities

In all four areas of Winnipeg and Regina, the "top-five" issue areas were the same as those for all ten cities, i.e., reducing crime/violence, encouraging economic development, developing better recycling/waste disposal programs; establishing community based policing. In the other three Prairie cities, historic building preservation became part of a "top-five" list. In Saskatoon's downtown, for example, reducing crime and violence was bumped from the "top five" in favour of historic preservation (60%). In all parts of Calgary except the older suburbs, historic preservation edged out community-based policing as a "top-five" priority—this was particularly true in the downtown, where it was ranked as a third-place priority (76%) after the first—and—second place rankings of, respectively, promoting ethnic tolerance (84%) and reducing crime and violence (80%). In downtown Edmonton, historic preservation became one of the "top-five" by tying with economic development for fifth place; and in older suburban Edmonton, preservation edged out promoting ethnic tolerance to become a "top-five."

High, Medium and Low Priorities

For discussion purposes, action areas could be ordered into three groups according to the percentage of respondents which rated the action a "high priority" (i.e., actions given a 6 or 7 on a 7-point scale where 1 equalled "not a priority at all" and 7 equalled "an extremely high priority"). Action areas receiving a "high" rating by 50 percent-plus of respondents could be thought of as "high priorities;" those actions receiving a "high" rating by 33 to less than 50 percent of respondents could

be thought of as "medium priorities," and those actions receiving a "high" rating by less than 33 percent of respondents could be though of as "low priorities." Based on this grouping, the "top-five" priorities among Prairie residents becomes readily distinguishable, as do the variations of the magnitude of support for priorities among the Prairie cities and within the four areas of residence within each city (Table 42).

Winnipeg

In Winnipeg, the four areas of residence are mostly in agreement regarding which actions are high priorities. The inner city, however, perceived that preventing the demolition of historic buildings, even if it means not allowing some new development, to be a high priority, while the remaining three areas perceive it to be a middle priority. In Winnipeg, there is generally agreement on what are "middle priorities," although inner-city residents also include the following actions in this group: encouraging residential development in the downtown area so that more people live downtown; improving and expanding the public transit system, even if it means higher taxes; and finding ways to reduce municipal spending and property taxes even if it means cutting some services. Implementing stricter land-use policies to control suburban development was considered a middle priority in every area except older suburban areas, where it was considered among the very lowest of priorities. Perceptions of what are "low priority" actions were somewhat uniform among the four areas of residence, although, as mentioned, inner-city residents perceive fewer action areas to be of low priority.

The priority of policies and/or actions in developing Winnipeg were explored in a survey conducted by undergraduate students in an "Urban Workshop Survey," (Institute of Urban Studies, 1992) which examined responses according to where residents resided—"inner city" (including the downtown) or suburbs (Table 43). Although the sample base was small, a brief mention of the results offers a comparison to the results gathered here with those gathered in the "Urban Canada Study" and shows the ranking of issues which were not included in the "Urban Canada Study." Of the 14 priorities/actions listed in the "Urban Workshop Survey," the most important for "inner-city" residents was improving the physical and social condition of Main Street. A number of actions tied for second place: cleaning up the river/pollution in general; more/better/increased funding to social services; and support of small business. Improved police services had a middle-range rating (fifth), and among the last priorities were controlling or restricting suburban development and building an arena in one of the downtown areas proposed. Among suburban residents, cleaning up the river/pollution in general was a top priority, as was improving and maintaining streets; while they ranked support to small business similarly to "inner-city" residents, suburbanites also rated attracting tourists to Winnipeg as the third-

most important priority. (This issue was not included among the list of priorities included in the "Urban Canada Study;" we are reminded that public opinion polls are a product of questions asked). Unlike "inner-city" residents, however, improving Main Street and improved social services were given more middle-place ratings. A comparison of the five action areas which were included in both the "Urban Canada Study" and then in the following year in the "Urban Workshop Survey" suggests that among "inner-city" residents, controlling suburban development became less important and improving social services became more important. Among suburban residents, controlling suburban development was also deemed somewhat less important in the later survey, while improvement of municipal infrastructure seemed to become more important. Although it was slight, there was an increase in perceived priority among suburban residents, who are less likely to be economically deprived, for the need for better/increased funding to social services. The "Urban Workshop Survey," perhaps more than the "Urban Canada Study," illustrates the differing sense of priorities that exist between "inner-city" and suburban residents; that the former study asked residents to rate actions which were more specific to Winnipeg than the more generalized actions which were included in the "Urban Canada Study" may explain this.

While "focus group" methods are quite different from "survey research" methods, the results of a series of focus group sessions conducted with inner-city target groups (children, youth, immigrants, single parents, Natives, seniors, *etc.*) by IUS in 1989 are a relevant source of public opinion in the discussion of priorities. Although participants did not respond to a prescribed set of action areas, they identified, discussed and then ranked a set of specific needs and issues important to them (Table 42). In participating in this exercise, target groups were reluctant to rate the relative importance of the issues they raised. They felt that their needs were highly interdependent and to undertake a priorization process would present an oversimplified view of these needs. Nevertheless, when they did undertake a ranking process, roughly a third of the groups gave top priority to "general needs" including housing, employment, education/training and recreation. The majority of these groups, however, tended to mix "general needs" with specific issues such as counselling/social services/life skills or access to information (Institute of Urban Studies, 1990, p. 37).

That employment was among one of the top priorities raised by many target groups echoes the high priority rating which downtown and inner-city Winnipeggers in the "Urban Canada Study" gave to economic development. Housing and recreation did not surface in the "Urban Canada Study" among top priorities because these items were not included in the list of priorities which residents were asked to rate. Noticeable is the relative low status which focus group participants gave to the issue of safety; this should not be interpreted as a non-issue but rather an issue of less importance than the

others raised by target groups. Certainly, priorities do change over time. Reference to these target groups, the "Urban Workshop Survey" and public opinion surveys dating back twenty years however, serve to remind us of the long standing perceived value of addressing housing issues and encouraging community economic development in revitalization the inner city.

In addition to focus group sessions with the target groups, the community based needs assessment conducted by IUS in 1989 also included focus group sessions with service providers (i.e., social workers, health workers, program/service deliverers, *etc.*). Service providers also had difficulty in ranking issues because they too indicated that the needs of the target groups are highly interdependent. Nevertheless, when service providers were asked to undertake this process, they tended to focus upon: types of programs that they felt were needed (e.g., life skills, abuse treatment]; broad issues that were applicable to all of the target groups (e.g., emphasis on preventative *vs.* treatment programs; the need to involve inner-city population in design/delivery of programs); and general considerations for funders (e.g., support long-term as opposed to short-term funding; improve communication with service providers) (ibid., p. 38). Comparing the way in which the target groups (i.e., inner-city residents) and service providers perceived priorities serves to remind us of the differences in perception held by various stakeholders in the community.

Regina

In Regina, action areas deemed "high priority" in the "Urban Canada Study" included many of those included in Winnipeg. Among residents of the inner city and suburbs, however, establishing more police foot patrols and community-based storefront police offices dropped to a "middle" place priority. Furthermore, this action was supported by substantially fewer downtown and older suburban residents (61% and 51%, respectively) than in Winnipeg. Unlike the residents of the other four Prairie cities, historic preservation had considerable less importance attached to it by Reginans; this action was a "middle" priority among inner-city residents and was a "low" priority among residents of the remaining three areas. Although supported by a small majority (52%), downtown Reginans (along with downtown Edmontonians), were the only Prairie residents to think that developing a more detailed plan for future development in the downtown area was a "high" priority—a reflection of the ninth place rating downtown Reginans gave their downtown. Downtown and suburban Reginans tend to view few actions as "middle" priorities. Reginans of newer suburbs, along with inner-city Edmontonians and newer-suburban Calgarians, were the only Prairie dwellers who perceived reducing municipal spending to be a "middle" priority—all other Prairie residents perceived this to be a "low" priority.

TABLE 42: HIGH, MIDDLE AND LOW PRIORITIES FOR THE PRAIRIE CITIES

	WINNIPEG				REGINA				SASKATOON				CALGARY				EDMONTON			
HIGH PRIORITIES (>50%)	d/t	i/c	o/s	n/s	d/t	i/c	o/s	n/s	d/t	i/c	o/s	n/s	d/t	i/c	o/s	n/s	d/t	i/c	o/s	n/s
Establish community based policy	82	72	69	58	61		51		60	59	51	52	60		54		80	62	67	60
Reduce crime and violence	73	71	73	74	82	74	70	75		56	72	73	80	68	76	73	74	79	82	75
Waste disposal & recycling programs	61	78	70	69	65	61		51	50	57	62	60	68	66	65	70	90	80	71	73
Encourage economic development	60	75	75	77	74	67	59	65	65	61	64	72	68	68	73	66	69	74	70	74
Promote ethnic tolerance	59	68	59	55	70	56	51	58	60	56	57	54	84	64	55	52	80	61		52
Prevent demolition of historic buildings		57							60				76	58	50	53	69	52	56	51
Encourage residential development in d/t																	52			
Plan for future downtown development					52												51			
Improve public transit																	51			
Improve municipal infrastructure																				
More/better social services																				
Control suburban development																				
Provide better municipal services																				
Regulate height, density downtown																				
Reduce mun. spending & property taxes																				
MIDDLE PRIORITIES (33-50%)																				
Prevent demolition of historic buildings	47		41	41	34	41				48	41	43								
Improve municipal infrastructure	43	36	34	49		45	40	42			34						47	46	49	49
Encourage residential development in d/t		40											39	41				35		
More/better social services	36	36	41			40			45	41	41	37		37	34	35	45			
Control suburban development	38	49		32									48	44	34		34			
Provide better municipal services	34													43		47				
Establish community based policing						47		48												
Improve public transit		34																38		
Reduce mun. spending & property taxes		33						40				34						40		
Plan for future d/t development	37	47		35		35			45				37	42	33					35
Waste disposal & recycling programs							45													
Reduce crime and violence									45											
Promote ethnic tolerance																			49	
Encourage economic development																				
Regulate height, density in downtown																				
LOW PRIORITIES (<33%)																				
Plan for future d/t development			32				26	24		24	32	31				26		28	30	
Provide better municipal services		23	17	23	13	23	15	13	15	16	17	23	23	10	17	15	21	23	21	23
Encourage residential development d/t	27		13	27	26	26	20	14	20	17	13	11			22	19			31	27
Improve public transit	14		15	32	17	15	9	16	30	16	15	14	20	30	28	22			26	32
Control suburban development			17		13	19	20	20	10	19	17	17				32		29	29	32
More/better social services				32	30		28	28					20					38	30	32
Regulate height, density in d/t	25	25	15	22	21	21	20	12	20	19	15	17	28	17	23	19	21	31	26	22
Reduce mun. spending & property taxes	28		19	30	13	32	32			26	29		16	31	31	38	32		30	30
Prevent demolition of historic buildings							23	24												
Improve municipal infrastructure					30				25	29		32	12	27	32	27				
Establish community based policy																				
Reduce crime & violence																				
Waste disposal & recycling programs																				
Encourage economic development																				
Promote ethnic tolerance																				

Note: 1. The four residential areas are abbreviated as follows: d/t-downtown; i/c-inner city; o/s-old suburbs; n/s-new suburbs.

2. The priority areas are grouped according to the percentage of respondents which gave the action a high rating (i.e., a six or seven on a seven point scale where 1 equalled "an extremely high priority"). Action areas receiving a "high" rating by: 50%-plus of residents - "high priorities;" 33 to <50% - "medium priorities;" <33% - low priorities.

Source: Angus Reid Group. "Urban Canada Study," 1991. Computations by IUS; Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Study Supplement," 1992. Computation by IUS.

TABLE 43: RANK ORDER OF PRIORITIES FOR THE CITY: WINNIPEG 1991 AND 1992						
ACTION AREA	DOWNTOWN/ INNER CITY		SUBURBS		TOTAL CITY	
	1991 (x/15)	1992 (x/14)	1991 (x/15)	1992 (x/14)	1991 (x/15)	1992 (x/14)
Establish community based policy	4		4		4	
Improve police services		5		5		6.5
Reduce crime and violence	2		1		1	
Waste disposal and recycling programs	1		2		2	
Encouraging economic development	3		3		3	
Support small business		3		4		3
Promote ethnic tolerance	5		5		5	
Prevent demolition of/preserve historic buildings	6	9.5	6	8.5	6	9
Plan for future downtown development	7		7		7	
Improve municipal infrastructure/streets	10	6.5	9	1	9	2
Encourage residential development downtown	11		14		14	
More, better/increased funding to social services	12	3	10	8.5	11	6.5
Control/restrict Suburban development	9	13.5	8	14	8	14
Improve public transit	13	9.5	12	11.5	12	10.5
Provide better municipal services	14		15		15	
Reduce municipal spending and property taxes	15		13		13	
Regulate height, density in downtown	8		11		10	
Clean up the river and pollution in general		3		2		1
Improve physical, social condition of Main Street		1		6.5		4.5
Increase the number of parks		12		13		12.5
Attract tourists to Winnipeg		8		3		4.5
Fund professional sports to promote the city		11		10		10.5
Build an arena in one of downtown areas proposed		13.5		11.5		12.5
Improve housing		6.5		6.5		8

Note: The downtown and inner-city data of the "Urban Canada Study" were combined to represent the "inner city" as defined in the "Urban Workshop Telephone Survey."

Source: Angus Reid Group. "The Urban Canada Study," 1991. Calculation by IUS.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Studies Workshop Telephone Survey," unpublished data, 1992. (Based on a small sample size).

TABLE 44: SELF-RATED PRIORITIES AMONG INNER-CITY TARGET GROUPS: WINNIPEG, 1989

	Youth (non-Nat.)	Youth (Nat.)	S. Parent (non.Nat.)	S. Parent (Nat.)	Native	Mental Health Disadvantaged	South Asian	S.E. Asian Indo-Chinese	L, C & S American	African	Seniors
BROAD ISSUE AREAS:											
Employment		4		1	1	3		3	2	1	
Education/Training			4	2		3				1	6
Housing				1	1	2	1	1			1
Health				5	2	1					4
Recreation	2	5		4	2	4		2		2	
SPECIFIC ISSUES:											
Counselling/Social Services/Life skills	1	3	3	3							2
Access to information	4						2				
Co-ordination of services							2				
Social assistance			2								
Day Care Services			1	2							
Prejudice/Discrimination	3	2									
Safety								4			3
Drugs/Alcohol		1									
Transportation											5
Open space											7
Widespread community development									1		

Note: Some issues were considered to be equal in importance and therefore received the same rank order number.

Source: Reprinted from: Institute of Urban Studies. *A Community Based Needs Consultation of the Inner City: Summary Report*, 1989, p.44.

Residents' perception of priorities in terms of tax-dollar expenditures were examined in a survey of Reginans in 1985 and 1990 by a private consultant for the City of Regina. In 1990, the top six priorities at the city wide level were: maintenance of streets; promotion of the recycling of wastes; economic expansion; increased protection of groundwater aquifers; reduced air pollution; and the promotion of energy conservation. In comparison to the 1985 survey, "there was a significant increased importance attached to the provision of more facilities and services for natives and for more public housing, although both of these issues ranked much lower in importance [than other actions]" (Program Management Services and Associates, 1990, p. ii). The Regina survey suggested there were some small differences in opinion between "inner-city" residents (downtown and inner-city residents combined) and residents of other neighbourhoods. Of somewhat more importance to inner-city residents was promotion of recycling/waste, improved housing in older neighbourhoods and historic preservation. Of somewhat less importance to "inner-city residents" was expanding the city's economy and lowering property taxes (Table 45). The magnitude of the difference in opinions cannot be determined from the data contained in the report on the survey results.

There were only five action areas which were common to the "Urban Canada Study" and the Regina surveys—promotion of recycling and waste, expanding the city's economy, historic preservation, lowering property taxes and improved bus services. The 1990 survey of Regina found that the importance of recycling and historic preservation was somewhat higher among downtowners and inner-city residents than among suburbanites—a finding which was perpetuated in the "Urban Canada Study." The "Urban Canada Study," however, did not indicate that economic development was somewhat less important to the inner city—in fact, this action appeared somewhat more important in the inner city. Whereas the 1990 survey of Reginans indicated that suburban residents were more concerned than "inner-city" residents with the lowering of municipal property taxes, a comparison of these results to the "Urban Canada Study," conducted a year later, suggests that residents from these two areas of residence now not only attach less importance to this action, they also feel similarly as to its relative importance.

Saskatoon

Saskatonians' are similar to their Prairie and other Canadian counterparts in their perception of the actions of high priority for their city. Considerably fewer Saskatonians, however, perceive that such actions are of importance—most likely a reflection of the highest overall Quality of Life rating which Saskatonians accorded their city. Saskatonians were also more like Winnipeggers than Reginans in their perception of historic preservation; downtowners perceived it to be a "high priority," while

TABLE 45: RANKING OF IMPORTANCE OF TAX DOLLAR EXPENDITURES: REGINA, 1990 AND 1992

AREA OF EXPENDITURE	INNER CITY		OLDER NORTH	OLDER SOUTH	NEWER NORTH	NEWER SOUTH	TOTAL CITY	
	1990 (x/20)	1992 (x/15)	1990 (x/20)	1990 (x/20)	1990 (x/20)	1990 (x/20)	1990 (x/20)	1992 (x/15)
Better maintenance of streets	2		1	1	1	1	1	
Promote recycling of waste	1	3	3	2	3	3	2	1
Expand the city's economy	4	2	4	3	2	2	3	2
Increase protection of groundwater aquifers	3		2	4	4	4	4	
Reduce air pollution	5		5	5	6	5	5	
Promote energy conservation	8		6	6	8	7	6	
Lower property taxes	11	10	9	7	5	6	7	19
Improve housing in older neighbourhoods	6		7	11	9	9	8	
Enforce property maintenance	10		8	9	7	11	9	
Redevelop the Inner City	7		11	8	12	8	10	
More parking downtown	12		10	10	10	12	11	
Restore old buildings\heritage preservation	9	7	12	12	13	14	12	6
Recreation facilities	14		18	13	11	10	13	
More parks of green space	13		14	15	14	13	14	
Improve downtown shopping & commercial services	17		13	18	16	15	15	
More services and facilities for Natives	15		15	14	18	17	16	
Improve art and cultural facilities	16		16	16	15	18	17	
More public housing	18		17	17	17	16	18	
Improve bus service	19	15	19	19	20	20	19	14
More suburban shopping areas	20		20	20	19	19	20	

Note: The downtown and inner-city data from the 1992 "Urban Canada Supplement" were combined to approximate the "inner city" as defined by the 1990 survey in Regina.

Source: Program Management Services and Associates. *Planning Issues in Regina: Findings of a Public Opinion Survey.* Prepared for the Urban Planning Department, City of Regina. September 1990, p. 24.
Institute of Urban Studies. "Urban Canada Supplement," 1992. Computations by IUS.

residents from the other three areas perceived it to be a "middle" priority. Although social services were in all areas perceived to be a "middle" priority, Saskatonians were like Reginans in that they perceive few other action areas to be "middle" priorities. Perhaps the strongest sentiments regarding actions were held by suburbanites; roughly three quarters of old and new suburbanites felt that reducing crime/violence was a priority, and roughly the same proportion of residents of newer suburbs felt that encouraging economic development was a priority.

Calgary

Calgarians are somewhat like Saskatonians in that many of the "high priorities" are not supported by large majorities of respondents—as in Saskatoon, this may be accounted for by the high (second) Quality of Life rating which Calgarians gave their city. Downtown Calgarians, however, feel quite strongly about a number of actions in comparison to both other Calgarians and other Prairie residents. Eighty percent, for example, feel that promoting of ethnic tolerance and reducing crime and violence is a high priority and three quarters feel that historic preservation is a high priority. Although supported by smaller proportions, all other Calgarians are also more likely than residents of corresponding areas of the other Prairie cities to perceive historic preservation as a "high" priority. Like Winnipeggers, Calgarians tend to be more inclined to value the control of suburban development, although this is generally viewed as a "middle" priority. Both downtown and inner-city residents attach value to encouraging residential development in the downtown—the only other Prairie residents to do so are inner-city Winnipeggers and Edmontonians. Among suburban Calgarians, however, this action is perceived to be among the very lowest of priorities.

Edmonton

In contrast to other Prairie residents, downtown Edmontonians are the only Prairie residents which consider residential development in the downtown and improved public transit to be a "high" priority. Downtown Edmontonians alongside downtown Reginans are, as mentioned, the only Prairie residents to think that developing a more detailed plan for future development in the downtown area was a "high" priority—a reflection of the poor ratings which these residents gave their downtowns. As in Calgary, Edmontonians regardless of place of residence, view historic preservation to be a "high" priority. Among downtown and inner-city Edmontonians, few issue areas are considered "low" priority. Regardless of where they reside, however, Edmontonians are more likely than other Prairie residents to perceive improving the municipal infrastructure such as streets and sewers as a "middle" priority.

Conducted in 1985 by the City of Edmonton, the "Central District Survey of Residents" asked central area residents to determine changes in spending on city services (Table 46). Although an entirely accurate comparison of perceptions regarding "increased spending" cannot of course be made with perceived "priorities" as examined in the "Urban Canada Study," a comparison tends to confirm that police protection is high among needs of "central district" Edmontonians; 40 percent, for example, desired to see increased spending in this area. The Edmonton "Survey" also identified the value attached to increased tax spending on "provision of parks" (tied for third place with police protection)—an item not included in the list of priorities contained within the "Urban Canada Study." The Edmonton "Survey" also illustrates the variety of opinions held regarding changes there should be in spending on different municipal services; close to half (49%) would like to see increased tax spending on snow removal and substantially fewer would like to see increased spending on fire protection (27%) and garbage collection (13%). In the "Urban Canada Study," respondents were not asked to rate separately the importance of various services, rather, they rated the importance of the action "providing better municipal services such as garbage collection and fire protection." In response to this item, less than a quarter of downtown and inner-city residents responded that this was a high priority; had services been itemized separately, however, it is highly likely that some services were of much higher priority than others. Residents now appear to attach a higher value to social services and transit than they did in 1985.

Priorities Among Prairie Cities: Summary

The most important action areas tended to be perceived similarly by residents among and within all ten cities. These actions included: reducing crime and violence in the city; encouraging economic development in the city; developing programs for better disposal and recycling of solid waste; establishing more police foot patrols and community-based "storefront" policing; and promoting greater tolerance and understanding between the city's ethnic and racial groups.

The proportion of the public which felt that policy areas were important, however, varied markedly across the Prairie cities. Community-based policing, for example, was deemed to be a high priority by over 80 percent of residents in downtown Winnipeg and Edmonton and by considerably smaller percentages of residents residing within other areas of these two cities and within all areas of the other Prairie cities. Similarly, recycling and waste disposal programs were deemed a high priority among all Prairie residents, although the percentage of Edmontonians feeling this way far exceeds the proportions found within the other four cities. This was particularly true in Edmonton's downtown and inner city where 90 and 80 percent, respectively, considered these programs to be a high priority as

compared with 50 to 68 percent in the remaining downtowns and 57 to 78 percent in the remaining inner cities. Although Winnipeg's inner city and Saskatoon's downtown attached value to historic preservation as a priority, this action was deemed an important action mainly in Calgary and Edmonton.

Large intra-city differences regarding the magnitude of a problem were also evident. In Edmonton, the promotion of ethnic tolerance is ascertained to be a high-priority among 84 percent of downtowners but only a little over half (52 - 55%) of residents of the other three areas.

The magnitude of support for priorities is perhaps a better indicator of perceived priorities than rank. Among inner-city Saskatonians, for example, the percentage range among the top five high priorities was only six percent (i.e., from 55%, suggesting that reducing crime and violence is a high priority, to 61%, suggesting economic development is a high priority). Among downtown Winnipeggers, on the other hand, there was a 22 percent range among the top five priorities (i.e., from 59% suggesting that promoting ethnic tolerance is a priority to 82% suggesting community-based policing is a priority). Fewer Saskatonians and Calgarians than other Prairie residents felt strongly about the importance of actions—a reflection of their first and second place ratings, respectively, for Overall Quality of Life which they gave their cities.

Consistently rated as low priorities within almost all areas of residence within each Prairie city were: implementing more restrictive by-laws regulating the height and density of buildings downtown; improving public transit; encouraging residential development downtown; providing better municipal services such as garbage collection and fire protection, even if it means higher taxes; and finding ways to reduce municipal spending and property taxes, even if it means cutting some services.

Other public opinion surveys have found results consistent to those of the "Urban Canada Study"—that reduced tax spending, for example, is a relatively low priority—while others have identified the high importance of priorities not examined in the "Urban Canada Study"—such as housing and recreation. The review of other surveys illustrates the caution that should be used in the interpretation of the responses to some of the "generalized" action areas contained within the "Urban Canada Study." In the latter survey, for example, "better municipal services" have little value attached to them, while other surveys have shown the high value that is attached to *specific* services. Finally, it has been shown that at least some inner-city residents perceive that their important needs are intertwined and cannot, therefore, be "rank ordered."

2.10.3 Priorities for Downtown Improvement

Most public opinion surveys ask respondents to rank actions/policies while thinking generally about the entire metropolitan area or, in a few instances, their neighbourhood. Some, however, have

asked respondents to rate priorities, actions or policies specifically aimed at improving the downtown, and the "Urban Canada Study" is one such survey. Residents were asked in an open-ended question to say what they felt "was the most important improvement that could be made to downtown." This open-ended question was not among those replicated, however, in Regina and Saskatoon.

Among residents of all four areas of Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton, the two suggestions made most often for improving their respective downtowns included taking measures to improve parking and to clean up/beautify/"green" the downtown (Table 47). Downtown and inner-city residents were more likely than suburban residents to rate beautification ahead of parking. Other than these two suggestions, there did not appear to be a lot of resident consensus regarding suggestions for improving the downtown. Downtown Winnipeggers, for instance, viewed the measure of controlling loitering/vagrants/panhandling as the third-most important suggestion after parking and beautification. This measure was mentioned by relatively few other residents of the remaining Prairie cities. Consistently a third- or fourth-most mentioned suggestion among Winnipeggers, regardless of place of residence, was redeveloping/improving rundown areas; the number of mentions this suggestion received in Winnipeg was the highest among the original eight cities surveyed.

Downtown Calgarians had the highest proportions which stated they were "unsure" of what were the important improvements to downtown—a result which most likely is a reflection of their high rating of the downtown. Alternately, however, downtown Calgarians, like their counterparts in Edmonton, cited that the maintenance of older buildings was the third-most important priority for improving the downtown. As well, downtown Calgarians were the most likely to cite social services and dealing with drug/alcohol abuse as an important approach to improving their downtown. Among the other three areas of Calgary, the rank order of suggestions was approximately the same—the top three including parking, beautification and safety.

Downtown Edmontonians were the most likely among Prairie residents to cite that the maintenance of older buildings was the most important priority for improving the downtown. In fact, maintenance of older buildings was mentioned more often than parking. More nightlife was also mentioned by downtown Edmontonians but by virtually none of the other Prairie residents. Inner-city and suburban Edmontonians, on the other hand, felt that, following parking and beautification, safety/security issues and improved streets were the most important improvements to be made.

Although safety/security issues were generally among the third- or fourth-most mentioned improvements by Prairie residents, these issues certainly did not receive the prominence that might have been expected, given that residents had in most cases rated the safety of their downtown lower than parking or parks/public spaces (see Table 13), and given the high value attached to this priority

for the city generally (Table 40). Perhaps this result implies that residents perceive their downtowns to be unsafe because they perceive their *cities* to be unsafe. Therefore, in improving downtowns, increased safety is of course important, just as it is in improving cities generally; the pivotal strategy, however, is improving the cleanliness/uniqueness/beauty aspect of the downtown. Also of major importance to improving downtowns will be addressing the perception that, currently, parking is a major obstacle in gaining access to downtowns.

This notion is supported by Edmonton's "Central District Survey of Residents" (1985), which provided residents with a list of features and asked whether such features needed to be increased, maintained or decreased in order to improve the downtown (Table 48). Special attractions (73%) and parking at a reasonable cost (70%) were considered higher in importance than improved sidewalk/pedestrian environments (62%); security and public safety (55%); new housing (49%); number and variety of retail stores (47%); and public transportation (46%). Furthermore, the notion that a successful downtown is one which is clean, beautiful and has something "different" to offer from its competitors is embodied in a vision statement by the business partnership responsible for promoting and improving the downtown of the city rated as having the best downtown among the ten cities surveyed (Saskatoon): "Downtown will be a prosperous, vibrant, and safe place that is clean, fun, and attractive . . . Downtown will feature interesting things to see and do both during and after traditional business hours" (The Partnership, p. 1).

The value attached to shopping and entertainment facilities is considerably less than what may have been assumed. The Angus Reid report on the "Urban Canada Study" suggested that shopping and entertainment comprise a relatively large proportion of responses in the three Prairie cities (16% in Winnipeg; 19% in Edmonton; and 15% in Calgary) (pp. 45-46). This result involved combining resident suggestions for better stores/shopping, more cultural/entertainment facilities, new arena/stadium, more/better restaurants/bars/pubs, more nightlife. When the responses are examined as separate items, however, the unimportance of these items in both absolute and relative terms becomes obvious.

Also low is the value attached to improving public transportation as a means of improving the downtown. Although it is often touted as the strategy which will revive downtown by eliminating or reducing perceived and/or real parking problems and by making it easier for suburbanites to gain access to the downtown, this view is not shared by the general public.

As mentioned, this open-ended question gathering suggestions for downtown improvements was not among those replicated in Regina and Saskatoon. However, considering that better/improved/cheaper parking was among the two top suggestions at the city-wide level for each

TABLE 46: SPENDING ON CITY SERVICES: CENTRAL DISTRICTS OF EDMONTON, 1985

Service	Increase (%)	Maintain (%)	Decrease (%)	No Opinion (%)
Road Maintenance	51	44	4	1
Snow Removal	49	47	3	1
Police Protection	40	56	1	1
Provision of Parks	40	53	4	3
Social Services	36	43	3	17
Transit	28	60	7	5
Fire Protection	27	65	2	6
Bylaw Enforcement	21	56	16	6
Library Services	17	72	3	8
Road Construction	13	57	22	7
Garbage Collection	13	80	3	3

Source: City of Edmonton. *Central District Survey of Residents.* 1985, p.3.

TABLE 47: IMPORTANT IMPROVEMENTS THAT COULD BE MADE TO DOWNTOWN BY AREA OF RESIDENCE

	WINNIPEG				CALGARY				EDMONTON			
	Down-town	Inner City	Old Suburb	New Suburb	Down-town	Inner City	Old Suburb	New Suburb	Down-town	Inner City	Old Suburb	New Suburb
More/less expensive parking	20	18	26	33	25	27	34	25	16	29	41	44
Clean/beautify/green space	28	14	32	30	28	14	17	13	31	32	17	17
Redevelop/improve rundown areas	13	17	15	13		6	1	6	11	4	6	3
Safety/security/police patrols	11	7	11	14		14	15	13	11	14	12	15
Control/loitering, vagrants, panhandlers	16	6	6	6		11	5	2				
Improve streets	10	11	7	10		10	12	9	8	14	10	12
More businesses	9	8	4	1					6	2	1	1
Better stores/shopping	6	9	8	8		5	6	4	6	8	7	5
Skywalks		6	3	2								
Remove suburban shopping malls	3	6	3	1								
Better planning in general		6	2	2	12		2					
Unsure		6	8	11	24	14	14	16	8	7	7	6
More cultural/entertainment facilities						9	6	6	8	6	4	5
Social services; drug alcohol abuse					12	4	4	3	7	6	2	2
Maintenance of older buildings					16	2	2	2	19	6	3	3
Improve housing						6	2	2				
Improve public transit							3	7	6		4	7
Nothing						4	1	8	7	3	6	4
More nightlife									14		4	2
Improve hotels									6	6	1	1

Note: 1. Figures represent percentage of respondents which mentioned improvement. Numerous other suggestions were provided but by very small percentages of the respondents. Improvements which were mentioned list less than 6% of respondents in each of the four areas of residence are not shown here.
2. These questions which produced the results presented in this table was not among those replicated in Regina and Saskatoon.

Source: Angus Reid Group. The "Urban Canada Study." Cross-tabulations Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton by Area of Residence, Nov. 1991.

of the original eight cities surveyed and that this feature received a poor rating in both Saskatoon and Regina, it is likely that parking improvements would also have been among the most common suggestions in these two Prairie cities. It is also likely that improving the cleanliness/beauty/"green" factor would have been among the top suggestions in at least Regina; one wonders, however, what emphasis would have been placed on this factor in Saskatoon, as the parks and public places in the downtown of this city, had, as discussed previously, received the highest rating among all ten cities.

2.10.4 Priorities for Inner-city Improvement

While it is most likely that residents' ranking of priorities for the city as a whole will be influenced by which area of the city they inhabit, some sense of perceived priorities for that particular area of the city can be drawn from these responses. Few surveys, however, including the "Urban Canada Study," have asked residents specifically to identify priorities/policies/actions for *inner-city* regeneration. Such questions, however, have been asked in some surveys in Winnipeg where the inner city has been defined according to the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative boundaries, i.e., including both the downtown and older inner-city neighbourhoods (see for example, Results Group, 1985, 1989; CanWest Survey Research Corp., 1983). Highlights of these surveys will briefly be described below.

In 1985, improved housing affordability, repairs/renovations/increased attractiveness and business/employment opportunities were perceived to be the top three issues in redeveloping the inner city (Table 49). Important, but to a lesser degree, were: traffic congestion elimination; improved recreational facilities/opportunities; and better restaurants/entertainment facilities. Inner-city and suburban residents tended to rate the priorities quite similarly, although improved parking was rated somewhat higher by suburban residents. In 1989, inner-city and suburban residents appeared to be more divergent in their opinions than in the previous survey. Although both groups of residents rated improved safety/reduced crime first and also agreed on the high importance of employment opportunities, the inner-city residents rated improved housing quality and affirmative action programs much higher than suburban residents. In 1992, inner-city and suburban residents again rated improved safety/reduced crime as the number one priority, and suburban residents again did not attach the same importance to housing issues as inner-city residents. It is difficult to compare changes in attitudes over time because of lack of compatibility among questions of the various surveys. What is interesting, however, is that, just as in the "Urban Canada Study," residents rated the improvement to the crime/safety aspect as a number one priority when they were provided with a prescribed set of priorities; the issue, however, did not surface when residents offered suggestions in an open-ended question regarding improvements.

It is of interest to cite the results of a seemingly irrelevant survey of community attitudes to redevelopment in Kitsilano (a central city neighbourhood in Vancouver) in 1974. Among the strategies for neighbourhood improvement, tenants identified the checking of redevelopment (notably high-rise construction), additional recreational facilities, the provision of affordable housing, and the opening of neighbourhood pubs. Owners placed improved maintenance first, followed by the arresting of high-rise development and the supply of additional recreational options for recreation (Ley, 1981, p. 137). Although the concern with development trends and apartment construction which was raised in Kitsilano did not surface in Winnipeg (perhaps because development pressure is significantly less in Winnipeg and because this item was not among the list of items which residents were asked to rate), the importance of affordable housing, recreation and improved maintenance persist as perceived directions for the improvement of inner-city neighbourhoods.

TABLE 48: SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENT FOR DOWNTOWN EDMONTON: CENTRAL DISTRICT RESIDENTS, 1985

FEATURE	INCREASE (%)	MAINTAIN (%)	DECREASE (%)
Special attractions, i.e., covered pedestrian malls, new Farmer's Market, Concert Hall	73	20	5
Parking at a reasonable cost	70	22	3
Improved sidewalks, i.e., tree planting, special brick sidewalks, overhead/ underground walkways	62	28	9
Security and public safety, i.e., police foot patrols, better street/parking, lot lighting	55	38	3
New housing in and adjacent to the Downtown	49	34	15
Number and variety of retail stores	47	46	4
Public transportation, i.e., downtown shuttle bus, subsidized bus or LRT	46	41	7

Source: City of Edmonton. *Central District Survey of Residents*, 1985.

TABLE 49: FOCI OF INNER CITY REDEVELOPMENT IN WINNIPEG: 1985, 1989 AND 1992

ISSUE	INNER CITY			SUBURBS			TOTAL CITY		
	1985 (x/10)	1989 (x/13)	1992 (x/17)	1985 (x/10)	1989 (x/13)	1992 (x/17)	1985 (x/10)	1989 (x/13)	1992 (x/17)
Improve personal safety, reduce crime		1	1		1	1		1	1
Improve housing affordability	1 (1/6)		2 (4/6)	1 (1/6)		5 (2/6)	1 (1/6)		3(1/6)
Improve social, ethnic tolerances			3			2			2
Improve general appearance, clean it up	6 (3/6)	6	4 (2/6)	5 (3/6)	9	3 (1/6)	4 (2/6)	7.5	4(2/6)
Improve grocery shopping			5			12			7
Improve housing quality		2.5	6		6	9		5.5	7
Repair, renovate, make more attractive	2			2			2		
Attract business and create employment	3			3			3		
Attract business		9			9			9	
Create employment		4			2			2	
Small business assistance		7.5			7			7.5	
Strengthen community boards/organizations		12.5	7		13	9		13	7
Improve accessibility to public transit			8			14			10
Improve street lighting			9			5			5
Increase family programs			10			5			9
Improve recreational facilities/ opportunities	9 (6/6)		11 (3/6)	9 (6/6)		9 (3/6)	9 (6/6)		11.5 (3.5/6)
Eliminate traffic congestion	8 (5/6)		12 (4/6)	8 (5/6)		7 (4/6)	8 (5/6)		11.5 (3.5/6)
Relax parking regulations, improve parking	7 (4/6)	7.5	13 (5/6)	4 (2/6)	5	12 (5.5/6)	5 (3/6)	5.5	13 (5/6)
More parks, better upkeep, trees, scenery	5 (2/6)		14 (6/6)	7 (4/6)		12 (5.5/6)	7 (4/6)		14 (6/6)
Increase services (e.g. post-office, laundromat)			15			15.5			15
Control suburban development			16			15.5			16
Increase nightclubs			17			17			17
Improve shopping	4			6			6		
Better restaurants, more entertainment/arts	10			10			10		
Fix-up Main Street		5			3			3	
Affirmative action programs		2.5			4			4	
Improve south side of Portage Avenue		12.5			9			10	
Riverbank development		10			11			11	
Develop CN East Yards		11			12			12	

Notes:
1. The inner city was delineated for respondents in 1985 and 1989 according to the Winnipeg Core Initiative boundaries which include the downtown and older residential neighbourhoods surrounding the downtown. The suburbs included all those areas beyond the inner city.
2. Few of the same issues were examined in the three surveys. Six common issues, however,were contained in the 1985 and 1992 surveys; the relative ranking of these six issues is shown in the parenthesis.
3. The relative rankings do not necessarily indicate that the issue of low absolute importance. For example, in the 1989 Survey, the 2nd to 4th place issues were considered "very important" by almost the same proportion of residents (63-60%).
4. The 1985 responses were gathered through an open-ended question where respondents were asked "in general; what do you think should be done to redevelop the core area?" In 1989 respondents were asked to rate, on a scale of one to ten, the importance of thirteen urban issues as they relate to the core area. In 1992, respondents were asked to rate on a scale of one to ten the importance of seventeen items "in making the inner-city a better place to live."

Sources:
Results Groups, *Public Attitudes and Perceptions Concerning Core Area Redevelopment,* 1985, p. 25.
Results Group, *Quantitative and Qualitative Study of Opinions and Attitudes Regarding Core Area Initiative: A Summary,* 1989, Table 18.
Institute of Urban Studies, "Urban Studies Workshop Telephone Survey," unpublished data, 1992. (Based on a small sample size).

3.0 DISCUSSION

3.1 Using Public Opinion Surveys in the development of public programs and policies

The importance of public opinion

Understanding residents' perceptions of their city and neighbourhood is crucial in the development of successful public policy: "To state that people act on what they believe to be true and important to their lives sounds trivially obvious, but many policy-makers and planners overlook this fact and attempt to implement programs at odds with the residents' perceptions and sense of priorities" (Johnston, 1979, p. 13). Often public policy formulation is based on an "incentives and regulations" model as opposed to direct actions due to the mandates and financial restraints of public bodies. Consequently, if public actions are to be effective, then spending bodies must anticipate how the public will interpret and utilize available programs and services. Furthermore, the attitudes of residents towards their home and immediate environment can be instrumental in effecting neighbourhood change. Residents' perceptions of the police force, for example, have been shown to influence the overall effectiveness of the police force (Epstein, 1978, p. 13).

Using public opinion as a guide in the development of public programs and policies is especially relevant for downtowns and inner cities, the residents of which "are tired of being left out of the decision making processes that affect their neighbourhoods" (Coghill, 1993). They have repeatedly stated their desire for initiatives which "foster community and individual empowerment" and allow for "the community to have a greater planning and decision-making role" (see for example, Inter-Agency, 1990).

Although the "Urban Canada Study" and the "Urban Canada Study Supplement" are not without their limitations, they comprise the most exhaustive public opinion survey of large-city Canadians on a variety of topics undertaken in recent years. They have made possible the simultaneous comparative analysis of ten of Canada's largest cities—including Saskatoon and Regina, which are often omitted from such studies—which is hardly ever possible. The public opinion gathered in these and other surveys presented in this report offers guidance of high relevance to public policy aimed at downtown and inner-city renewal.

How to use the material contained within this report

Although outlined in more detail in the introductory chapter of this report (see Section 1.2), it is useful here to review briefly some of the limitations of the data when considering how to use the material contained within this report.

First, when viewing the findings of the various public opinion surveys cited, the reader must not only consider the limitations of public opinion research but also the period during which the survey was conducted (external conditions such as the present economic climate, for example, are likely to play heavily into many of residents' perceptions) and the organization which conducted the survey (as we have seen, survey findings have, in some instances, received quite different interpretations depending upon which stakeholder in the community was doing the analyzing).

Second, when examining resident responses, it is important to examine both relative and absolute ratings. A factor receiving a high relative ranking may, nevertheless, be viewed as problematic (in Saskatoon, for instance, housing was rated relatively highly, yet many were unhappy with their housing). Alternately, low relative rankings do not necessarily mean an item is perceived to be a priority (concern for safety in the downtowns of cities was extremely high, but when respondents were asked to offer suggestions on how their downtowns might be improved, safety-related action areas were seldom mentioned).

Third, behaviour cannot of course be deduced from perceptions; although residents have made the clear case, for example, that lack of easily accessible, low cost parking is a major deterrent to their going downtown, there is no assurance that improving downtown parking would *actually* result in residents frequenting their downtowns more often.

Finally, the subjective data presented in this report would best be used in conjunction with objective measures in the making of public policy.

Additional research on this data base

In addition to the analysis conducted in this report, the data collected in the "Urban Canada Study" and its "Supplement" could undergo other relevant additional analyses pertaining to downtowns and inner cities. Further analysis, for example, of attitudes towards crime/safety or towards priorities according to respondents' demographic and socio-economic characteristics would be useful in adding depth to the understanding of attitudes regarding these matters. In only a few instances were questions not replicated in Regina and Saskatoon analyzed in this report; additional analysis of some

.of the other questions administered in the other three Prairie cities only, such as those relating to crime prevention programs and transportation, would provide useful information in determining how downtowns and inner cities could be improved.

Other suggestions regarding further clarification of issues raised in this report and/or future research are identified in the discussion to follow.

3.2 Implications for Downtown and Inner-City Regeneration

3.2.1 Quality of Life Rankings

Unlike some of the other survey results gathered in the "Urban Canada Study" and "Urban Canada Supplement," the ratings which residents gave their city according to The Quality of Life Index provide few easy answers for policy formulation. The Index for the ten-city data base, for example, is comprised of eleven dimensions consisting of numerous factors; one may or may not agree with the substance of the Index or even if one does, the question remains "of what use is it to know how ten of Canada's cities ranked relative to one another." While the rankings could be interpreted to provide some very general statements (such as, residents of larger cities are more likely to view their city positively in terms of culture and recreation while residents of smaller cities are more likely to view their city more favourably in terms of low stress and attachment to city), they more importantly provide a number of important other messages.

First, cities should be treated individually rather than examples of a class—large *vs.* small cities, for example. Results based on Prairie *vs.* non-Prairie groupings, therefore, should not be considered in the absence of the results for individual cities.

Second, intra-city differences most definitely do exist and policies should be sensitive to area-specific attitudes and needs. Initiatives related to improving safety and security, municipal services and housing, as well as marketing for increased patronage of the downtown should be especially sensitive to intra-city differences of opinion. Downtowns and inner-cities should be treated more autonomously.

Third, the way in which the perceived Quality of Life has changed in Prairie downtowns and inner cities relative to the city overall is quite different among the Prairie cities. In 1978, the "MSUA Study" concluded that each of the Prairie "inner-city zones" (i.e., the downtown and inner city combined) scored lower than the city as a whole. Now, however, the "inner-city zone" of both Saskatoon and Calgary scores much higher than the city as a whole; this is true of both the downtown

and adjacent inner city. In Winnipeg and Regina, however, the "inner-city zone" continues to be rated lower than the city overall, but there is a deep chasm between scores for the downtown and the inner city—the former receiving a significantly lower score than the city overall and the latter scoring just slightly behind the city overall. In Edmonton, a third scenario emerges; while the "inner-city zone" continues to score behind the city overall, an examination of the separate scores for the downtown and inner city shows that the downtown rates significantly ahead of the overall ranking while the inner city rates significantly behind.

While these results support the notion of treating cities individually and recognizing the autonomy of downtowns and inner cities, they also beg the question of what will be the impact of changed public perception on re-urbanization trends in the downtowns and inner cities. The recent increases in the downtown populations of Saskatoon, Calgary and Edmonton which have reversed a thirty year period of decline (Ram *et al.*, 1989) may be attributed to improved public perception now held by residents residing in these downtowns. Despite seemingly little change in perception by downtowners in Winnipeg and Regina towards their quality of life relative to the city overall, however, the populations of these downtowns have also increased in recent years. The role that public perception plays in affecting repopulation of downtowns and inner cities in relation with other factors and developmental processes (such as deliberate actions by local state, economic restructuring, labour market reorganization and housing provision) requires clarification.

Fourth, while the design and administration of not only city specific but inter-city specific policy programming seems as though it would best be undertaken by the municipal level of government, this solution is not feasible given the poor governmental relations that presently exist between the municipal and other levels of government and the poor assessments which this level of government received from the electorate.

Quality of Life Indices can be useful for policy formulation; they should not, however, be taken alone as a guide for policy formulation. Policy implications based on the survey results beyond the Quality of Life Index are presented in below in the closing section of this report.

3.2.2 Policy Areas

When presented with a *prescribed list of fifteen actions*, urban Canadians as a whole (all ten cities) and in each of the four residential areas of the city identified the following top five priorities: developing programs for better disposal and recycling of solid waste; encouraging economic

development; establishing more foot patrols and community-based "storefront" police offices; and promoting greater tolerance and understanding between a city's ethnic and racial groups. Downtown residents tended to attach somewhat more value to these priorities than residents in other areas, with the exception of the issue "reducing crime and violence in the city," where the reverse was true.

Comparing these findings to those of the "MSUA Study" conducted in the late '70s adds some perspective to these results. Some things have not changed; residents of urban areas continue to be concerned with economic related issues (inflation, unemployment, new industry), crime and pollution. Residents now, however, appear to be less concerned with land-use development issues, reducing municipal property taxes and transportation, and are more concerned about the need for social programs.

Rather than a *prescribed list of actions*, however, a better guide for public policy is derived from the analyses and discussions of the various other questions examined in the public opinion surveys presented in this report. These analyses indicate the strong relationship between housing and inner-city regeneration. They also offer insight into two urban and national issues—the provision of social services and urban sustainable development—both of which impact heavily on the health of downtown and inner cities. The discussion closes with a few comments specific to the downtown.

Housing

The issue of housing provision has been central to neighbourhood planning in downtowns and inner cities and, given the public opinion towards this issue, the provision of affordable and adequate housing should remain a prominent initiative in policies aimed at improving inner cities—particularly in the Prairie cities of Regina, Edmonton and Winnipeg, which have conspicuously low levels of home happiness compared with national levels.

Great chasms in home happiness exist between renters and owners and between central-area and suburban residents. Although home happiness is strongly related to tenure for Prairie inner-city residents, it surprisingly was not for the remaining Prairie and non-Prairie residents. Preference for living in the suburbs was higher among Prairie residents than non-Prairie residents. Despite the many negatives residents identified with living in central areas, Prairie residents did emphasize the inner city's sense of community. Homeownership has long been considered a means of stabilizing the inner city and, certainly the aforementioned three findings suggest that home ownership programs targeted towards central areas would go a long way to stabilize Prairie downtowns and inner cities in particular.

Homeownership increases people's attachment to their home and has "shown itself a major factor in urban politics," and furthermore, "owner-occupiers, in comparison with tenants, tend to get involved in local politics" (Harris and Pratt, p. 295). "Some of the most promising urban initiatives start with inner-city residents defining for the first time their neighbourhood priorities, then working with city officials to shape public programs to fit their goals" (Peterson *et al.*, p. 3). Homeowners, it is argued, are more likely to come forward to identify and confront their neighbourhood problems.

A variety of housing types should be offered through homeownership programs. In both the present survey as well as the "MSUA" study conducted fourteen years earlier, it was found that tenure was more important than type of dwelling as a determinant of housing satisfaction.

Public support for housing programs is likely to be high. Canadians, regardless of where they reside, were sensitive to the growing problems of poverty and homelessness, and, regarding some issues (for example, subsidies for special needs groups), owners registered more concern than renters. The public clearly perceives that government has a role, and perhaps an increased role, to play in assuring adequate supply of affordable housing. The Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, for example, has been criticized by residents for placing too little emphasis on housing and social programs. Housing initiatives will require a strong resident-oriented programming approach to be successful.

Various levels of government currently deliver programs based on an approach expressed by writers such as Goldberg who have argued that "there is no general housing crisis, only a series of specific problems. This implies the need for specific programs, possibly income supplements, targeted to particular groups, not a major intervention in the housing market" (Harris and Pratt, p. 296). While the survey results cannot address the value of an approached which is not based on a major intervention in the housing market, they do serve to remind us that whatever approach government adopts it must reflect the realism of the centrality of housing in inner-city regeneration.

In terms of rental housing, the low levels of housing satisfaction among tenants suggest that rental housing should continue to be a public policy priority in Canada. As mentioned, urban Canadians exhibit overwhelming desires to reside in the suburbs and this is particularly true among renters. Realization of those desires will contribute to the erosion of the downtown and inner-city population base and expanded suburban growth.

Public policy is a strong force in enabling or constraining housing options available to Canadians and, therefore, in affecting inner-city repopulation. Bourne (1992), for example, has examined the influence by the demand side of housing (change in population composition and consumer preference)

versus the supply side of housing (public policy, capital investment and landlord behaviour) on inner-city population turnaround. In the case study of Toronto, he concluded that the principal source of growth has been the supply side (redevelopment of grey-field industrial, railway and harbour lands) rather than the demand side (residential intensification and gentrification).

Inner-city population turnaround that has occurred in other Canadian centres, however, has not been clearly explained. The inner city of Winnipeg, like many other Canadian inner cities, for example, experienced a population gain between 1981 and 1986 after a thirty year period of decline—a phenomenon which is explained by some as the public's renewed interest in inner cities as places of residence. This report illustrated the overwhelming desire to reside in the suburbs among almost all Canadian cities and for at least Winnipeg, this desire has increased compared to fourteen years ago. On the other hand, however, it has been mentioned that many inner cities have improved in terms of their ranking relative to the remainder of their cities. While it is likely that the supply of housing has been instrumental in the repopulation process, the degree to which it has remains largely unknown. There remains a lack of understanding about the reasons and motivation behind revival of interest in some central areas as living places. More research into this area is needed to guide public policies geared towards using housing as a catalyst for inner-city repopulation.

What can be said with certainty, however, is that the provision of housing in the absence of the associated community amenities and social ties is not likely to assist downtown and inner-city regeneration. Though tenure was a correlate of home happiness, so were a number of other factors including perceptions of how good a city is in terms of a place to raise a family, the scenery and surroundings, and the level of city pollution.

In addition to homeownership and inner-city repopulation, issues which public housing policies and programs currently address and which they should continue to address include: lack of housing for special user groups, the conjoint delivery of housing and other services, landlord/tenant relations, discrimination in securing housing, parking and traffic intrusion, housing mix and zoning issues.

Controlling suburban development, particularly residential development, has long been discussed as a means of maintaining the stability of older established neighbourhoods. Like a number of other initiatives explored in this survey which were related to sustainable development objectives, there is generally only medium support for the "implementation of stricter land-use policies to control suburban development" and "encouraging residential development in the downtown area so that more people live downtown." Support for the latter initiative was somewhat higher among downtown and

inner-city residents, and though the initiative may be of low priority *relative to others concerned with improving the city overall*, it certainly rates much higher when specifically considering ways to improve the downtown. (In the Central District Survey of Edmontonians, for example, 50% of central area residents suggested that an important downtown improvement would be increases in new housing in and adjacent to downtown). This should not be interpreted to mean, however, that the public does not and/or will not support these actions, but only that it currently does not associate constriction of suburban growth with the health of older existing neighbourhoods.

Given the variety of opinions held by residents of the various Prairie cities, downtown and inner-city housing initiatives will be need to be city-specific to be successful.

Social Services and Programs

While the "problems of urban poverty and decline are remote to many Americans, a majority of whom live outside the central city" (The Urban Institute, 1993, p. 32), residents polled in this survey seem to be at the very least somewhat sympathetic towards these needs. As mentioned previously, residents are highly attuned to the growing concerns of poverty and homelessness. They have complained that, in addressing the needs of the downtown and inner city, they want to see less spent on capital projects and more on social programs.

Support for social services among the public appears to have increased since the "MSUA Study" was undertaken. This has also been confirmed in some of the other city-specific surveys cited here; in, Regina, for example, support for Natives and other special needs groups has increased in recent years.

Despite its ready recognition of social problems, the public appears not to be as ready to provide the tax dollars to provide such services; the action "providing more and better social services to those who need them, even if it means higher taxes for others" was supported by only a third of residents—generally a similar proportion among the various areas of the city. Social programming, then, may receive stronger public support if it is delivered in less direct way, possibly through housing and recreational outlets which *are* widely supported.

The reluctance to provide increased tax dollars for improved social services, however, may have little to do with the nature of the services but rather with the public's strong dislike for increased taxes for any purposes. It needs to be remembered that the policy "finding ways to reduce municipal spending and property taxes even if it means cutting some services" was generally considered to be

a low priority. This finding was replicated in the 1992 Winnipeg Area Study wherein Winnipeggers were asked to rate whether the City should spend "a lot less" to "a lot more" on each of the eight city service categories. Winnipeggers advocated spending either the same (libraries, culture and arts, garbage collection, parks and recreation, and welfare and social services) or somewhat more money (pollution control, maintaining and repairing roads, police protection and public transportation). The 1992 Winnipeg Area Study also measured support for options available to government to finance services; the majority of residents (66%) preferred increasing taxes only as necessary to provide existing services, while only one in ten citizens (13%) favoured keeping taxes the same and cutting services, and roughly the same proportion (12%) preferred an increase in property taxes accompanied by an increase in services. While these results certainly cannot be extrapolated to other cities, nor can we assume that similar attitudes would be held towards actions that should be taken by other levels of government, they offer some understanding of public attitudes to the support of services. While citizens surely do not aspire to pay increased taxes, nor in many cases user fees, to continue service provision at non-reduced levels, they would prefer to do this rather than see services cut. What the public has been stressing in a clear way, however, is that they support means of financing services other than the taxpayer and, as indicated by the support for the "new politics" promoted by various political parties, but perhaps most strongly by the Reform Party, a desire to see governments and agencies clean house, reduce waste and excess, and provide services more cost effectively.

Social services address a wide variety of needs. Those specifically directed at improving employment conditions will be widely supported. Downtown and inner-city residents have indicated that their housing, employment and education/training needs are of utmost priority, needs which are difficult to separate, as they are so intertwined. In cases where public opinion has been gathered on the topic of inner-city redevelopment foci, residents in and beyond the core areas have identified employment creation, business development and employment equity programs among top issues. All urban Canadians perceive that the main factor contributing to increased crime is poor economic conditions and unemployment. Among a prescribed list of fifteen actions, the priority "encouraging increased economic opportunities" was among the top three, generally rating after "developing programs for better disposal and recycling solid waste" and "reducing crime and violence."

Similarly, improved recreational programs, opportunities and facilities are considered top priority by downtown and inner-city residents and will receive strong support by non-central-area residents as well; suburban residents in Calgary and Edmonton, for example, perceive that youth programs would

be an effective means of addressing crime in their cities. Residents have identified that increased recreational opportunities could be gained by reducing the cost to gain access to present offerings and by making changes in current programming such as increased flexibility of hours of operation.

Comprehensive recreation and park strategies have recently been undertaken in a number of Prairie cities. Those which are sensitive to inter-city differences (such as Edmonton's study on inequities in park space and Saskatoon's study on downtown employees' leisure needs assessment) will be more effective than strategies implementing uniform policies which are applied to the city generally.

The "MSUA Study" of the late '70s indicated that there may be some size-related concerns regarding recreation; smaller cities, for example, were found to lack cultural and recreational facilities, while medium and small cities were considered to be in short supply of parks and recreational facilities. These findings were not borne out of the present survey results, where intra-city variations were of more significance than inter-city variations. In all areas, however, public libraries, shopping opportunities and facilities for professional sports were strong correlates of the cultural and recreational dimension of the Quality of Life Index; art museums and other cultural facilities were not.

Urban Sustainable Development

Whether or not urban Canadians support urban sustainable development *per se* cannot necessarily deduced from the survey results. What definitely can be stated, however, is that the public does not live by nor aspire to the principles of sustainability, and often fails to associate connections between lifestyle choices and other factors and their affect on the environment. Achieving sustainable development objectives involves the willingness of the public to live in closer proximity to one another, to increase dependency on walking, cycling and public transit and decrease dependency on the private automobile. The survey results, however, showed that residents overwhelmingly prefer the suburbs (or in many cases the exurbs), that they are using transit less, and that they are shopping in the downtown less. Many of these factors tend to be more true in Prairie cities where the relationship between place of residence and place of work is also much smaller than in other cities.

Certainly there are counter trends and indicators. Recall that the "MSUA Study," conducted in 1978, found that no downtown/inner-city area rated ahead of the overall city rating whereas, in the "Urban Canada Study," the downtown/inner city areas of five cities (Vancouver, Calgary, Saskatoon, Montreal and Halifax) were given higher overall Quality of Life scores than did the city as a whole. It

might be argued that this change in perception has and will continue to impact re-urbanization of downtowns and inner cities. As discussed previously, however, population turnaround in the inner cities of all Canadian cities has been documented between 1981 and 1986 including Winnipeg where the downtown/inner city lost ground relative to the overall city. Again one is left to ponder the influence of changing public opinion relative to other factors such as housing supply and government policy intervention.

It has also been suggested that reurbanization of some centres, such as Vancouver, may be due to "a loathing of difficult commuting or long commuting times" and that "simply not accommodating the demand for travel with major road-building programmes may be a factor ultimately influencing the desire of residents to reconcentrate near the centre of the metropolis" (Patterson, 1994 forthcoming). While this may in fact be applicable to large urban centres, limited programs for new road-building are unlikely to affect residential choices in smaller cities where one can virtually reach the city centre from anywhere in the city in less than 20 minutes. For the Prairie cities of Winnipeg, Regina and Edmonton this is a particularly worrisome proposition. These three cities had the lowest Quality of Life ratings, particularly in the downtown and/or inner city and contain the greatest aspirations for suburban residency. Edmonton and Winnipeg, furthermore, have the lowest densities among all Canadian cities. In these cities more than any others, is it crucial that plans, policies and programs for the downtown and inner cities not be offered in isolation from similar plans, policies and programs for the city as a whole.

One thing that cannot be disputed, however, is urban Canadians' continuing concern about environmental factors in their city and the importance of actions for disposal and recycling of solid waste. Also not to be disputed is that inner-city regeneration and repopulation will contribute to a more compact and efficient use of existing land and infrastructure and a potentially decreased dependence on the private automobile. How one achieves inner-city repopulation, however, is highly debatable and, as yet, not clearly understood. Public policy, programs and plans must be based on a clear or clearer understanding of influences on inner-city repopulation.

For a thorough analysis of the implications of the survey results as they relate to sustainable development objectives, refer to the parallel report *Green City Views: Public Opinion and Urban Environments in Ten Canadian Cities* (Patterson, 1994 forthcoming).

Downtowns

Although comparable data are unavailable for the other Prairie cities, it is interesting to note a survey undertaken in Regina in 1990 (Program Management Services and Associates), in which residents were asked if they agreed or disagreed that "the downtown core should be the centre of commercial activity for the City." Although the majority agreed with the statement (68%), it was not an overwhelming majority, and one wonders why the other two thirds of the respondents disagreed! The survey data do not indicate whether these respondents feel the commercial centre should be somewhere other than the core, or if there should perhaps not be a core.

For those interested in re-establishing the downtown as an important place (or in some cases *the* place) to shop, live and work, this attitude is worrisome. The downtown/inner city is not likely to become the "essential city" as it is in European cities where "even sub-urban dwellers are willing to pay for the upkeep and beautification of the central city, because its attributes are viewed as precious assets" (The Urban Institute, 1993, p. 32.). Compared to 1978, however, downtown issues have at least moved into the consciousness of urban Canadians as something to be dealt with in ensuring the viability of cities.

While many strategies aimed at improving the downtown include a strong component for increasing the appeal of downtown shopping opportunities, the survey results indicate that a pivotal strategy is improving the cleanliness/uniqueness/beauty/"green" aspect of the downtown. In addition to wanting their downtowns to offer them something that cannot be provided elsewhere in the city—rationale for averting the suburbanization approach to downtown planning—residents also want their downtowns to offer better and cheaper parking. Resident demand for better/cheaper parking, however, may subside if residents can be encouraged by some other means to frequent the downtown; it has been shown that as residents frequent their downtown more often, the less they perceive parking to be a problem (Downtown Business Improvement District, p. 9).

Addressing residents desire for something unique and their desire for easy access will most effectively be approached, therefore, hand in hand. Increasing *auto* access, however, directly opposes sustainable development strategies which have become a foremost concern among planners and policy makers. Given urban Canadians' preference for continued auto dependence, public transportation as a means of gaining access to the downtown is not likely to be accepted without large public education efforts and/or disincentives to auto use.

While it may be hard to convince suburbanites that they could become strong supporters of the downtown, those who currently live downtown exhibit strong support for the downtown; downtowners, particularly in the Prairies, are the only urban Canadians who, overall, are patronizing the downtown more now than before. Given the recent repopulation of downtowns, it is likely that many of these residents are newcomers as opposed to incumbents. Encouraging residential development in the downtown is a positive step towards increasing this base of support for the downtown. The general public, however, does not perceive residential development strategies to be important relative to other strategies for improving their city overall; this strategy might best be undertaken quietly in favour of publicly promoting the more common suggestions for improvement which, other than parking and "beautification," were quite varied according to each Prairie city.

The potential force of inner-city residents for the viability of downtown should not be underestimated either. Although these residents frequent the downtown for shopping, entertainment and professional services less often than downtown residents, they frequent it twice as much as residents of the old or new suburbs. In fact, in Calgary, inner-city dwellers frequent their downtown for shopping and entertainment almost as often as downtowners. Additional downtown marketing strategies could be aimed towards inner-city dwellers.

Downtown plans for future development are, as discussed earlier, not given terribly high regard by residents relative to other priorities for their city. Given that the downtowns of Edmonton, Regina and Winnipeg were rated the lowest (eighth, ninth and tenth, respectively) among downtowns of all ten cities in The Quality of Life Index, it might have been expected that downtown plans would have been rated more important among Prairie city residents. This result may be implying that a plan for future development in the downtown area is not as important to the health of downtown as addressing some of the other problems such as parking, general appearance, safety and security. The lack of support for downtown plans may also be a reflection of the way in which the item was worded in the survey—residents were not asked to rate the importance of a comprehensive plan for the downtown, but rather a plan for *future development* in the downtown.

Given the variety of inter- and intra-city variation of opinion that exists, however, detailed action plans for downtown and inner-city regeneration will best be established based upon additional public consultation undertaken within each of the individual cities.

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APPENDIX

Proofed: _____ Precoded: _____ Checked: _____

Start Time: _____ Stop Time: _____ Total Time: _____

THE URBAN CANADA STUDY
(1-971-02)

Vancouver.....1
Calgary.....2
Edmonton.....3
Winnipeg.....4
Toronto.....5
Ottawa.....6
Montreal.....7
Halifax.....8

Hello, this is _____ calling from the Angus Reid Group, a professional public opinion research company. Today we're talking to a random sample of **(CITY)** residents about a number of important issues concerning this city.

Are you 18 years of age or older?

Yes - **(CONTINUE)**
No - May I speak with someone who is? **(REPEAT INTRODUCTION)**

SEX: DO NOT ASK: WATCH QUOTAS

Male.....1
Female....2

For this survey, we'll be asking people what they think about this city. When I refer to **(CITY)**, please think generally about **(CITY)** as a whole not just your part of town, although I will have a few questions about your neighborhood too.

I. **BEST AND WORST ASPECTS**

1. To begin with, in your opinion, what is the best thing about living in **(CITY)**? **(PROBE)** Is there anything else that you particularly like about this city? **(PROBE FOR FULL DESCRIPTIVE RESPONSES)**

_____

_____

_____

2. And what, in your opinion, is the worst thing about living in **(CITY)**? **(PROBE)** Is there anything else that you particularly dislike about this city? **(PROBE FOR FULL DESCRIPTIVE RESPONSES)**

_____

_____

_____

II. QUALITY OF LIFE/EXPECTATIONS

1. I'm going to read you a number of statements about the quality of life here in (CITY) as a whole, and I'd like you to tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement. Please use a 7-point scale where "1" means you "completely disagree" with the statement and "7" means you "totally agree". The first one is (READ STATEMENT - ROTATE FROM X). To what extent do you agree or disagree with that statement?

	Completely Disagree						Totally Agree	(DK/ NS)
__ The cost of living here is affordable- I find it reasonably easy to make ends meet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ I worry about how the pollution in this city affects my health	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ (CITY) has a wide range of high quality, post-secondary educational institutions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ There are definitely areas of this city that I would avoid because of fear for my personal safety	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ There is always something new and exciting to do in (CITY)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ The long term prospects for (CITY's) economy are not very promising	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ This city is very appealing in terms of its scenery and natural surroundings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ I'm happy with the home I live in and do not feel I need a better place to live	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ Racial and ethnic tolerace is a serious problem in (CITY)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ People in this city like to get involved in their community and help one another	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ I find it difficult to pursue my lifestyle and special interests here	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ This city has a strong economic base with many job opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ One of the best things about (CITY) is its downtown	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ I find it easy to make new friends in this city	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ (CITY) offers a wide variety of cultural and entertainment activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ It's a major hassle to get around in this city	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

	Completely Disagree						Totally Agree	(DK/NS)
__ The climate in **(CITY)** is a major drawback of living here	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ This is a good city to raise a family in	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ Poverty and homelessness is a growing problem in this city	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ The overall quality of life in **(CITY)** is better than many other Canadians think it is	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ I find that day-to-day living in **(CITY)** can be quite stressful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

2. Which one of the following statements best describes your civic pride and commitment to **(CITY)**? **(READ LIST IN ORDER)**

I'm very happy with this city - I really wouldn't want to live anywhere else at this time.....1

OR

I'm generally content living in this city, but there are definitely things about it that I don't like.....2

OR

I really don't like living in this city and would prefer to live somewhere else.....3

(Don't Know/Not Stated).....9

3. I'm going to read you a list of different aspects or features of city life. I'd like you to tell me how important you consider each one to be in terms of contributing to a good quality of life. Let's use a scale of 1 to 7 where a "1" would mean that feature is "not at all important" to quality of life and a "7" would mean it is "extremely important". **(ROTATE ITEMS)**

	Not At All						Extremely	(DK/NS)
__a) Safe streets	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__b) A solid economy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__c) Easy to get around	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__d) A variety of things to do	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__e) A nice home to live in	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

4. Now I'd like you to tell me how you expect **(CITY)** as a whole to do in the future in a number of different areas. Let's begin with **(READ ITEM -ROTATE FROM X)**. Ten years from now, let's say in the year 2000, do you think this aspect of **(CITY)** will be better than it is today, about the same, or worse than it is today?

	Better	About the Same	Worse	(DK/NS)
__ a) Economic development and job opportunities	1	2	3	9
__ b) The state of the environment	1	2	3	9
__ c) Ease of travelling around the city	1	2	3	9
__ d) Ethnic and racial group relations	1	2	3	9
__ e) Municipal infrastructure such as streets, bridges and water & sewage systems	1	2	3	9
__ f) Crime and violence	1	2	3	9.
__ g) The health of the downtown area	1	2	3	9.

5. How likely is it that you will move to another city or town in Canada, let's say within the next five years? **(READ LIST)**

Very likely.....1
Somewhat likely.....2
Not very likely.....3
Not at all likely.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

III. "DOWNTOWN"

All major Canadian cities have a downtown area which is normally located at the centre of the city. The downtown usually contains the city's highest densities and provides for a range of office, retail, cultural and residential uses.

1. I would like you to rate various specific features of downtown **(CITY)**. Let's use a 7-point scale where "1" means that aspect of the downtown area is "very poor" and "7" means it is "excellent". How about **(READ ITEM - ROTATE FROM X)**?

		Very Poor						Excellent	(DK/NS)
__a)	Safety and security from crime and violence	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__b)	Shopping and entertainment facilities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__c)	Availability and cost of parking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__d)	Overall appearance and cleanliness of the downtown	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__e)	Parks, public spaces and access to the waterfront	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

2. How often, on average, would you say you go into downtown **(CITY)** for the following reasons? How about for **(READ ITEM - ROTATE FROM X)** - would that be once a week or so, a few times a month, every few months, once or twice a year or so, less often, or never?

		Once a Week	A Few Times a Month	Every Few Months	Once/ Twice a Year	Less Often	Never	(DK/ NS)
__a)	Shopping	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
__b)	Entertainment	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
__c)	Various professional services such as medical or banking	1	2	3	4	5	6	9

3. Compared to a few years ago, would you say you go downtown for shopping and entertainment more often now, less often, or about the same as you used to?

More often.....1
Less often.....2
About the same.....3
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

4. As far as you're concerned, what is the most important improvement that could be made to downtown **(CITY)**? **(PROBE)** Anything else?

_____

_____

_____

5. All things considered, how would you rate downtown (CITY) as a place to visit for shopping, entertainment and other activities? **(READ LIST)**

Very good.....1
Good.....2
Poor.....3
Very poor.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated).....9

IV. CRIME/SAFETY IN THE CITY

Now, I would like to ask your opinion about crime and personal safety.

1. On a day-to-day basis, how concerned are you personally that you or someone in your household will be a victim of a crime? Are you (CITY)? **(READ LIST)**

Very concerned.....1
Somewhat concerned.....2
Not very concerned.....3
Not at all concerned.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated).....9

2. Generally speaking, how safe would you feel walking alone in your own neighbourhood after dark? **(READ LIST)**

Very safe.....1
Somewhat safe.....2
Somewhat unsafe.....3
Very unsafe.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

3.a) In your opinion, over the last few years, has there been an increase or a decrease in the amount of crime in (CITY) as a whole or has there been no real change? (Would that be a great or moderate increase/decrease?)

Great increase.....1 -- **SKIP TO Q.3b**
Moderate increase.....2 -
Moderate decrease.....3 -- **SKIP TO Q. 4**
Great decrease.....4 -
No real change.....5 -
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9 -

IF INCREASE TO Q.3a:

b) And why do you think there has been an increase in crime in (CITY) over the past few years? **(PROBE)** What other factors do you think are contributing to increasing crime in (CITY)?

_____

_____

_____

ASK EVERYONE:

4.a) Have you, yourself, been a victim of a crime in (CITY) in the past two years?

Yes.....1 -- **(CONTINUE)**
No.....2 -- **(SKIP TO Q.5)**
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9 -

IF YES:

b) Was it a crime involving your personal property or did it involve personal injury or assault?

Property.....1
Injury/Assault.....2
(Both).....3
Other **(SPECIFY)**

_____

_____
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

4.c) Did you report the crime to the police?

Yes.....1
No.....2
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

ASK EVERYONE:

5. Some neighbourhoods have community crime prevention programs, such as Block Parents and Neighbourhood Watch, to encourage people to take steps to reduce or prevent crimes in their own neighbourhood.

a) Does your neighbourhood have any crime prevention programs in place?

Yes.....1 -- **(CONTINUE)**
No.....2 -- **(SKIP TO Q.5c)**
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9 -

IF YES:

b) Are you personally involved in any community crime prevention program?

Yes.....1
No.....2
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

ASK EVERYONE:

c) How effective do you think programs like this are in preventing crime - very effective, somewhat, not very, or not at all effective?

Very effective.....1
Somewhat effective.....2
Not very effective.....3
Not at all effective.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated).....9

6. As far as you're concerned, what specific type of crime should your city's police department be spending more of its attention and resources on? **(PROBE FOR SPECIFIC TYPE OF CRIME)** Any others?

1st:_____

Others:_____

7. Generally speaking, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the overall quality of your local police service? (Would that be very or somewhat satisfied/dissatisfied?)

Very satisfied.....1
Somewhat satisfied.....2
Somewhat dissatisfied.....3
Very dissatisfied.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

8. And do you think your local police do a good job, an average job, or a poor job in the following areas? **(ROTATE ITEMS)**

	Good	Average	Poor	(DK/NS)
__a) Enforcing the law	1	2	3	9
__b) Dealing with ethnic and racial minorities and other minority groups	1	2	3	9
__c) Providing the public with information on how to prevent crime	1	2	3	9

V. HOUSING

1.a) Which of the following best describes the area of (CITY) in which you now live? (READ LIST)

b) And if you had a choice, which general area of (CITY) would you prefer to live in? (READ LIST)

	Q.1a) Now Live	Q.1b) Prefer
The downtown centre	1	1
An older inner city area near downtown	2	2
An older suburb of the city not too far from downtown	3	3
A newer suburb located further out towards the city limits	4	4
(Don't Know/Not Stated)	9	9

2. Do you own or rent the dwelling in which you are presently living? (NOTE: IF RESPONDENT PAYS A MORTGAGE OR LIVES IN AN EQUITY CO-OP, RECORD AS OWN)

Own.....1 -- (CONTINUE)
Rent.....2 -- (SKIP TO Q.4)
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9 -

THOSE OWNING:

3. If you decided to sell your home tomorrow, how good of a return on your investment do you think you would get? (READ LIST)

A very good return.....1 --
A fairly good return.....2 - SKIP
A minimal return.....3 - TO
Would you expect to just break even.....4 - Q.6
Or do you think you would have to sell your home at a loss.....5 -
(Don't Know/Not Stated).....9 -

THOSE RENTING:

4. Do you think you could, at this time, afford to purchase a home of your own here in (CITY)?

Yes.....1
No.....2
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

5. How likely is it that you will purchase your own home in this city, let's say within the next two to three years? (READ LIST)

Very likely.....1
Somewhat likely.....2
Not very likely.....3
Not at all likely.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

ASK EVERYONE:

6. We'd like you to rate various aspects of housing accommodation in your city. Let's use a 7-point scale where a "1" means that aspect of (CITY) housing in general is "very poor" and a "7" means that aspect is "excellent". What about (READ ITEM - ROTATE FROM X) - how would you rate this aspect of housing in (CITY) as a whole?

	Very Poor						Excellent	(DK/ NS)
__a) Affordability	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__b) Availability of units for people to buy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__c) Availability of units for rental	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__d) Government-subsidized housing for lower income people, the elderly and other special needs groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

7. Generally speaking, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the overall housing situation here in **(CITY)**? (Would that be very or somewhat satisfied/dissatisfied?)

Very satisfied.....1
Somewhat satisfied.....2
Somewhat dissatisfied.....3
Very dissatisfied.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

8.a) In the past decade or *so*, many urban Canadians have decided to move out of the built-up area of their city into surrounding small communities or rural areas. Based on how you feel right now, how much appeal does this idea hold for you personally - a lot of appeal, some appeal, not much appeal, or no appeal at all?

A lot of appeal.....1
Some appeal.....2
Not much appeal.....3
No appeal at all.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

b) How likely is it that within the foreseeable future, let's say over the next five years, you will move to a small community or rural area outside of the built-up area of **(CITY)**?

Very likely.....1
Somewhat likely.....2
Not very likely.....3
Not at all likely.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

VI. EMPLOYMENT

Now for a couple of employment-related questions.

1. a) Which of the following best describes your current occupational status? Are you **(READ LIST)**?

Employed full-time.....1 -- **(CONTINUE)**
Employed part-time.....2 -
Self-employed.....3 -
Unemployed but looking for work....4 -
At home.....5 -- **(SKIP TO Q.2)**
A student.....6 -
Retired.....7 -
(Don't Know/Not Stated).....9

IF FULL-TIME, PART-TIME OR SELF-EMPLOYED, ASK:

b) Are you employed outside of your home or do you do your work at home?

Employed outside of home....1
Work at home.....2
(Don't Know/Not Stated).....9

c) Do you work in downtown **(CITY)**?

Yes.....1
No.....2
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

ASK EVERYONE:

2. Suppose you were working for an employer and arrangements could be made whereby you would be able to carry out your daily work inside of your own home rather than having to go to a place of employment. Would such an arrangement where you could work at home be appealing to you or would you prefer to work outside of your home? (Would that be very or somewhat appealing?)

At home - very appealing.....1
At home - somewhat appealing....2

VII. TRANSPORTATION

Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about your habits and views regarding urban transportation in the **(CITY)** area.

THOSE EMPLOYED OUTSIDE OF THE HOME (FROM Q.1B IN PREVIOUS "EMPLOYMENT" SECTION):

1. a) How do you most often travel to and from work? **(IF PRIVATE VEHICLE, ASK:** Do you go by car alone or as part of a car pool?) **(IF IT VARIES FROM DAY TO DAY, PROBE FOR MODE USED MOST OFTEN) (ONE ONLY)**

Private vehicle, alone.....1
Car pool.....2
Public transit (eg. bus, subway, LRT, train).....3
Bicycle.....4
Walk or jog.....5
Combination of modes (eg. Park & Ride).....6
Other **(SPECIFY)**

_____
(Don't Know/Not Stated).....9

b) On average, how long does it take you to get to work? **(PROBE FOR BEST GUESS OF AVERAGE MINUTES) (IF IT VARIES OR DEPENDS ON MODE, PROBE FOR AVERAGE)**

_____ Minutes

ASK EVERYONE:

2.a) Do you, yourself, own a vehicle which you use on a regular basis?

Yes.....1 -- **SKIP TO Q.3**
No.....2 -- **ASK Q.2b**
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

IF DO NOT OWN:

b) Do you have access to a vehicle that you can use on a regular basis?

Yes.....1
No.....2
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

ASK EVERYONE:

3. On average, how many round-trips would you say you make by car in a typical week within the **(CITY)** area, for reasons other than travelling to and from work? A round-trip consists of travelling to your destination and back home. **(PROBE FOR SPECIFIC NUMBER)**

_____ round-trips

4.a) On average, how many one-way trips by public transit do you make during a typical week? A one-way trip is one that starts at an origin and ends at a final destination, no matter how many times you transfer. **(PROBE FOR SPECIFIC NUMBER)**

_____ one-way trips

IF "0", ASK:

b) How many one-way trips by public transit do you make in a typical month? **(PROBE FOR BEST GUESS - OBTAIN SPECIFIC NUMBER)**

_____ one-way trips

IF "0" TO Q.4b, ASK:

4.c) Are there any reasons why you do not use public transit? **(PROBE FOR DETAILED RESPONSE)** Is there any other reason why you don't use public transit?

_____

_____

_____

ASK EVERYONE:

5. Now, based on your own experience or on your general impressions of **(CITY)** public transit, I'd like you to rate different aspects of the public transit service in this city. Please use a 7-point scale where "1" means "very poor" and "7" means "excellent". How would you rate **(NAME CITY TRANSIT COMPANY)** for **(READ ITEM - ROTATE FROM X)**?

	Very Poor						Excellent	(DK/ NS)
__ a) Speed of travel	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ b) Frequency of service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ c) Route coverage throughout the city	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ d) Directness of routes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ e) Reliability of service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ f) Ample room for passengers to get a seat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ g) Safety from personal injury or crime	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

*** ASK Q.6 IN VANCOUVER ONLY ***

6. I'm going to read you a list of various aspects of public transit service. I'd like you to tell me how much priority you personally feel B.C. Transit should give to each of these areas. Please use a 7-point scale where a "1" means you feel that service aspect should be "a low priority" and a "7" means you feel that aspect should be "a top priority". Let's begin with **(READ STATEMENT - ROTATE FROM X)**. How high a priority do you think this service aspect should be?

	Low Priority						Top Priority	(DK/ NS)
__ a) Speed of travel	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ b) Frequency of service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ c) Route coverage throughout the city	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ d) Directness of routes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ e) Reliability of service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ f) Ample room for passengers to get a seat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ g) Safety from personal injury or crime	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

**** ASK EVERYONE ****

7. I'm going to read you three different statements which broadly describe the level of public transit service that could be provided in the **(CITY)** area. I'd like you to choose the one which is closest to the kind of public transit system that you feel **(CITY)** should have. The three statements are - **(READ LIST IN ORDER)**. Which one best describes how you feel?

This city should have a basic public transit system which offers a minimum level of service and is mainly designed to serve people with no other means of transportation - it would be less costly to operate.....1

OR

This city should have a public transit system which offers reliable service to *most* parts of the city and tries to attract enough passengers to help relieve traffic congestion on the city's streets - it would cost more money to operate.....2

OR

This city should have a comprehensive public transit system which provides high frequency and speed, extensive coverage of the city and is considered as important as the street system for getting people around - it would be expensive to operate.....3

(Don't Know/Not Stated).....9

8. I'm going to read you some statements about transportation in general in cities, and I'd like to know how much you agree with each statement as it pertains to **(CITY)**. Please use a 7-point scale where "1" means you "completely disagree" and "7" means you "totally agree". The first one is **(READ STATEMENT - ROTATE FROM X)** - to what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement?

	Completely Disagree						Totally Agree	(DK/NS)
__ a) The major streets and thoroughfares in my city are always congested	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ b) This city has lots of bicycle paths	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ c) Special groups such as the physically disabled and senior citizens are well served by **(NAME CITY TRANSIT COMPANY)**	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ d) It is fairly easy to find your way around the city's street system, even for first-time visitors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ e) Because of the environment, we're going to have to encourage more people to use public transit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__ f) The major streets and thoroughfares in this city are in a poor state of repair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

9.a) Generally speaking, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the streets and thoroughfares in **(CITY)** as a whole? (Would that be very or somewhat satisfied/dissatisfied?)

Very satisfied.....1
Somewhat satisfied.....2
Somewhat dissatisfied.....3
Very dissatisfied.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

9.b) And, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the service provided by (NAME CITY TRANSIT COMPANY)? (Very or somewhat satisfied/dissatisfied?)

Very satisfied.....1
Somewhat satisfied.....2
Somewhat dissatisfied.....3
Very dissatisfied.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

VIII. LEISURE/RECREATION/CULTURE

1. We would like you to rate various aspects of the sports, recreational and cultural scene in (CITY). Let's use a 7-point scale where a "1" means "very poor" and a "7" means "excellent". If you don't do some of these activities and therefore don't really know about them, please tell me that, and we'll just go on to the next one. How would you rate the (READ ITEM - ROTATE FROM X) in (CITY)?

		Very Poor						Excel-lent	Don't Do	(DK/NS)
__a)	Parks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
__b)	The facilities for professional sports	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
__c)	Facilities for cultural activities such as theatre and ballet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
__d)	Recreational facilities for amateur sports and general public use	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
__e)	Major recreational areas outside the city	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
__f)	Public libraries	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
__g)	Art galleries and museums	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
__h)	Stores and malls for shopping	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
__i)	Restaurants and nightclubs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. In your opinion, what is the <u>one</u> major recreational or cultural facility or organization which the city currently does not have that you would most like to see developed or created in (CITY)? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC RESPONSE)

_____

_____

_____

3. Generally speaking, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the cultural and recreational activities and facilities here in (CITY)? (Would that be very or somewhat satisfied/dissatisifed?)

Very satisfied.....1
Somewhat satisfied.....2
Somewhat dissatisfied.....3
Very dissatisfied.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

IX. MUNICIPAL SERVICES, TAXATION AND STRUCTURE

1. We'd like to know what people think about the various services provided by their municipal government. What about **(READ ITEM - ROTATE FROM X)**? Are you personally satisfied or dissatisfied with the overall quality of that municipal service in your area?
(Very or somewhat satisfied/dissatisfied?)

		Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied	(DK/ NS)
__a)	Garbage collection	1	2	3	4	9
__b)	Fire protection	1	2	3	4	9
__c)	Maintenance and repair of streets and boulevards	1	2	3	4	9
__d)	Parks and recreational facilities	1	2	3	4	9
__e)	Snow removal	1	2	3	4	9
__f)	Welfare and social services for the needy	1	2	3	4	9
__g)	Maintenance and repair of water & sewage systems	1	2	3	4	9
__h)	Public libraries	1	2	3	4	9

2. Generally speaking, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the level overall quality of services provided by your municipal government? (Would that be very or somewhat satisfied/dissatisifed?)

Very satisfied.....1
Somewhat satisfied.....2
Somewhat dissatisfied.....3
Very dissatisfied.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

3. In terms of the services provided to you by your municipal government, what <u>value</u> do you feel you receive in relation to the amount of municipal property taxes that you pay? Do you think the value you're receiving as a municipal taxpayer is **(READ LIST)**?

Very good.....1
Good.....2
Poor.....3
Very poor.....4
(Don't pay municipal taxes)....5
(Don't Know/Not Stated).....9

4. I'm going to name a couple of measures that could be adopted by municipal governments to help relieve the financial burden of providing various services. How about **(READ ITEM - ROTATE FROM X)** - would you support or oppose such a move by your local government? (Would that be strongly or moderately support/oppose?)

		Strongly Support	Moderately Support	Moderately Oppose	Strongly Oppose	(DK/ NS)
__a)	Contracting out the provision of certain municipal services to private companies	1	2	3	4	9
__b)	Introducing user fees for certain municipal services such as garbage collection and boulevard tree pruning	1	2	3	4	9

5. I'm going to read you some statements about the municipal government system in Canada in general. I'd like you to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement using a 7-point scale where a "1" means you "completely disagree" and a "7" means you "totally agree". The first one is (READ STATEMENT - ROTATE FROM X). Using that scale of 1 to 7, to what extent do you agree or disagree with that statement?

		Completely Disagree						Totally Agree	(DK/ NS)
__a)	Formal political parties, such as those at the provincial and federal levels, should not be allowed in municipal politics.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__b)	Municipal referendums, which would allow residents to vote and decide specific municipal issues, should be held at every civic election.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__c)	Too many people in municipal politics are there just to further their own development interests.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__d)	Municipal governments in general should be given specific constitutional powers so that they can have broader responsibility on matters of local concern.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

*** Q.6 is VANCOUVER, EDMONTON, TORONTO, OTTAWA, MONTREAL AND HALIFAX ONLY ***

6. What particular city or municipality within the greater metropolitan area of (CITY) do you live in? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC MUNICIPALITY - i.e.: Burnaby, Scarborough, Kanata, Laval, Bedford) (IF RESPONDENT IS UNSURE - ASK Q.'S 7, 8 & 9 FOR THE MAJOR CITY INSTEAD OF THE MUNICIPALITY)

**** ASK EVERYONE ****

7. Now, I'm going to read you some statements specifically about the municipal government in (FOR CALGARY AND WINNIPEG, NAME THAT CITY. FOR VANCOUVER, EDMONTON, TORONTO, OTTAWA AND MONTREAL AND HALIFAX, NAME THE MUNICIPALITY FROM Q.6 ABOVE.) I'd like you to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement using a 7 point scale where a "1" means you "completely disagree" and a "7" means you "totally agree". The first one is (READ STATEMENT - ROTATE FROM X).

		Completely Disagree						Totally Agree	(DK/ NS)
__a)	The system of municipal government in (NAME CITY OR ANSWER TO Q.6) is badly flawed and needs to be changed.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__b)	The municipal government in (NAME CITY OR ANSWER TO Q.6) is managed and administered better than the provincial (PROVINCE) government.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__c)	The municipal government in (NAME CITY OR ANSWER TO Q.6) pays attention to the needs and concerns of its residents.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__d)	(NAME CITY OR ANSWER TO Q.6) city council is always squabbling and dealing with petty issues.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__e)	The municipal government in (NAME CITY OR ANSWER TO Q.6) does a very good job at communicating to the public what it is doing and why.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__f)	The size of city council in (NAME CITY OR ANSWER TO Q.6) is much too large and should be reduced.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

8. And, overall, do you approve or disapprove of the performance of the **(NAME CITY OR ANSWER TO Q.6)** city council as your municipal government? (Strongly or moderately approve/disapprove?)

Approve strongly.....1
Approve moderately.....2
Disapprove moderately.....3
Disapprove strongly.....4
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

9. If a municipal election were held tomorrow, would you be inclined to vote for your current mayor or for someone else?

Current mayor.....1
Someone else.....2
(Wouldn't vote).....3
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

IX. POLICIES/PRIORITIES

1. Thinking generally again of the entire metropolitan area of **(CITY)**, I'd like to know how high a priority you think different issues are for this city. How about **(ROTATE FROM X)**? As far as you're concerned, how high a priority is that issue for **(CITY)**? Let's use a scale of 1 to 7 again where a "1" means it is "not at all a priority" and a "7" means it is "an extremely high priority".

		Not At All Priority						Extremely High Priority	(DK/ NS)
__a)	Finding ways to reduce municipal spending and property taxes, even if it means cutting some services	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__b)	Developing programs for better disposal and recycling of solid waste	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__c)	Trying to reduce crime and violence in the city	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__d)	Developing a more detailed plan for future development in the downtown area	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__e)	Providing more and better social services to those who need them, even if it means higher taxes for others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__f)	Encouraging economic development in **(CITY)**	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__g)	Promoting greater tolerance and understanding between the city's ethnic and racial groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__h)	Improving and expanding the public transit system, even if it means higher taxes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__i)	Improving the municipal infrastructure such as streets and sewers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__j)	Implementing stricter land-use policies to control suburban development	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__k)	Preventing the demolition of historical buildings, even if it means not allowing some new developments	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__l)	Encouraging residential development in the downtown area so that more people live downtown	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__m)	Implementing more restrictive by-laws regulating the height and density of buildings downtown	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

	Not At All Priority						Extremely High Priority	(DK/ NS)
__n) Establishing more police foot patrols and community-based "storefront" police offices	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9
__o) Providing better municipal services such as garbage collection and fire protection, even if it means higher taxes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9

2. Out of all the areas of municipal concern which we've discussed, or any others that you can think of, which one do you feel should be the number one priority for **(CITY)** today? **(PROBE)** Are there any other issues or areas which you feel should be a top priority in **(CITY)**?

1st: _____

Others: _____

_____

X. **PROVINCIAL/FEDERAL POLITICS**

1. Turning for a moment to provincial **(PROVINCE)** politics, if a provincial election were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you yourself support? **(DO NOT READ LIST)**

PC.....1
Liberal.....2
NDP.....3
Social Credit.....4
Parti Quebecois.....5
Equality Party.....6
Other.....7
(Don't Know/Undecided).....8
(Refused/Not Stated).....9

2. And, thinking now of federal politics, which party's candidate would you support if a federal election were held tomorrow? (DO NOT READ LIST)

PC.....1
Liberal.....2
NDP.....3
Reform.....4
Bloc Quebecois.....5
Other.....6
(Don't Know/Undecided).....8
(Refused/Not Stated).....9

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Now, before I let you go, I just need to ask you a few questions for our statistical calculations.

1. And thinking back to the last provincial **(PROVINCE)** election held **(SEE BELOW)**, which party's candidate did you support in that election? **(DO NOT READ LIST)**

PC.....1
Liberal.....2
NDP.....3
Social Credit.....4
Parti Quebecois.....5
Equality Party.....6
Other.....7
(Did Not Vote).....8
(Refused/Not Stated).....9

Note: Vancouver - in October of 1986
Calgary & Edmonton - in the spring of 1988
Winnipeg - last fall
Toronto & Ottawa - last fall
Montreal - in September of 1989
Halifax - in the fall of 1988

2. And which party's candidate did you support in the last federal election held in November of 1988? **(DO NOT READ LIST)**

PC.....1
Liberal.....2
NDP.....3
Reform.....4
Other.....5
(Don't Know/Undecided).....6
(Refused/Not Stated).....7

3. Which of the following categories does your age fall into? **(READ LIST)**

18 to 24 years.....1
25 to 34 years.....2
35 to 44 years.....3
45 to 54 years.....4
55 to 64 years.....5
65 years or older.....6
(Refused/Not Stated)....9

4. What best describes your current marital status? **(READ LIST)**

Single.....1
Married/Co-habitating.....2
Divorced/Widowed/Separated.....3
(Refused/Not Stated).....9

5.a) How many people, including yourself, currently live in your household?

One/live alone.....1 -- **SKIP TO Q.6**
Two.....2 -
Three.....3 -
Four.....4 -- **ASK Q.5b**
Five.....5 -
Six or more.....6 -
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9 -

IF DON'T LIVE ALONE, ASK:

b) Do you have any children under 18 living with you?

Yes.....1
No.....2
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

ASK EVERYONE:

5.c) What is the highest level of formal education that you have completed? **(READ LIST)**

Grade school or some high school.....1
Complete high school.....2
Technical, post-secondary.....3
Some University.....4
Complete University Degree.....5
Post Graduate Degree.....6
(Don't Know/Not Stated).....9

6. In at least two words, please describe your current occupation? **(PROBE FOR A FULL RESPONSE - eg: full-time homemaker, shoe salesperson, rocket scientist.)**

_____

_____

7. Are you a regular volunteer or an active member of any community-oriented or charitable organizations?

Yes.....1
No.....2
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

8. How long have you lived in **(CITY)**?

Forever/Since childhood....1
Less than 2 years.....2
2 to 5 years.....3
6 to 10 years.....4
11 to 20 years.....5
21+ years.....6
(Don't Know/Not Stated)....9

9. What is the name of the area of the city you live in? **(PROBE FOR RESPONDENTS' NEIGHBORHOOD OR SUBURB - LARGER AREAS PREFERABLE TO A TINY NEIGHBORHOOD NAME.) (IF IT IS DIFFICULT TO PIN DOWN AREA, ASK FOR MAJOR INTERSECTION NEAR HOME.)**

_____

10. What is your postal code?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

11. We're all Canadians, but our ancestors come from all over the world. How would you describe your own ethnic background? **(PROBE FOR PRIMARY ETHNIC GROUP IF POSSIBLE - OR TWO GROUPS - ACCEPT UP TO THREE.)**

Primary: _____

Others: _____

12. And finally, which of the following categories best describes your family income? That is, the total income before taxes of all persons in your household combined?

Under $10,000.....01
$10,000 to $19,999.....02
$20,000 to $29,999.....03
$30,000 to $39,999.....04
$40,000 to $49,999.....05
$50,000 to $59,999.....06
$60,000 to $69,999.....07
$70,000 to $79,999.....08
$80,000 to $99,999.....09
$100,000 and over.....10
(Refused/Not Stated)....99

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

TYPE OF CALL:

Local.....1
Long Distance.....2

LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEW: English....1
French.....2

FIELD CENTRE: Halifax.....1
Montreal.....2
Ottawa.....3
Toronto.....4
London.....5
Winnipeg.....6
Calgary.....7
Edmonton.....8
Vancouver....9

DO NOT ASK: TELEPHONE NUMBER

(_ _ _) _ _ _ - _ _ _ _

INTERVIEWER'S NAME:

_____

FROM CALL RECORD SHEET: RESPONDENT LIVES IN A:

CITY.....1

CD#.....2

CIRCLE THE CITY NAME FROM THE TOP OF THE CALL RECORD SHEET.

Vancouver.....01
Victoria.....02
Calgary.....03
Edmonton.....04
Regina.....05
Saskatoon.....06
Brandon.....07
Winnipeg.....08
SaultSteMarie.....09
Oshawa.....10
Windsor.....11
Kingston.....12
Hamilton.....13
London.....14
St. Catherines.....15
Ottawa.....16
Sudbury.....17
Thunder Bay.....18

Toronto CMA
Toronto.....19
Caledon.....20
Brampton.....21
Mississauga.....22
Oakville.....23
Ajax.....24
King.....25
Markham.....26
Richmond Hill.....27
Vaughan.....28
Aurora.....29
EGuillimbury.....30
Kitchener.....31
Chicoutimi.....32
Hull.....33
Montreal CMA
MCD #73.....34
MCD #64.....35
MCD #63.....36
MCD #62.....37
MCD #57.....38
MCD #56.....39
MCD #52.....40
MCD #66.....41
MCD #69.....42
MCD #72.....43
Montreal.....44
Other #65.....45
Quebec CMA
Quebec.....46
Que-NW.....47
Que-NE.....48
Que-S.....49
Sherbrooke.....50
St.John.....51
Moncton.....52
Halifax.....53
St.John's.....54

OR WRITE IN THE CENSUS DIVISION NUMBER FROM THE TOP OF THE CALL RECORD SHEET

CD#_____

INTERVIEW EDITED BY: _____ DATE OF INTERVIEW:

CODED BY: _____ DAY: _____

CODING EDITED BY: _____ MONTH: _____ _____