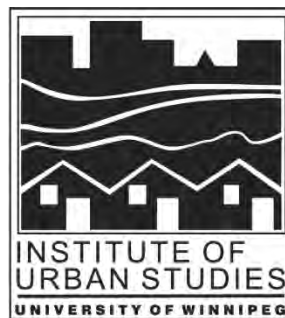


Urban Growth: Choices for Manitobans

by David C. Walker
1976

The Institute of Urban Studies





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URBAN GROWTH: CHOICES FOR MANITOBANS

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The Institute of Urban Studies is an independent research arm of the University of Winnipeg. Since 1969, the IUS has been both an academic and an applied research centre, committed to examining urban development issues in a broad, non-partisan manner. The Institute examines inner city, environmental, Aboriginal and community development issues. In addition to its ongoing involvement in research, IUS brings in visiting scholars, hosts workshops, seminars and conferences, and acts in partnership with other organizations in the community to effect positive change.

URBAN GROWTH:

CHOICES FOR MANITOBANS

A Seminar - Research Paper prepared by:

Professor David C. Walker, Department
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Institute of Urban Studies

January 1976

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Research assistants for the I.U.S. in 1974 prepared a series of papers on different aspects of urban growth in Manitoba. The paper is a distillation of their findings with the addition of the first section which serves as a summary of the more detailed research reports. The following people are responsible for the information provided here:

Urban Growth Trends in Manitoba	Maria Haroon Margaret Keith Selwyn Davis
with assistance provided by	
Characteristics and Adjustments of Rural - Urban Migrants	Maria Haroon Margaret Keith
Public Policies and Programs Relating to Urban Growth and Rural Adjustment in Manitoba	Edith Lynn Jacobson Margaret Keith
with assistance provided by	
The City as a Source of Increasing Opportunity	Edith Lynn Jacobson
A Review of the New Town Concept and Its Applicability to Man	Maria Haroon
Land Costs in the Peripheral Areas of Winnipeg	Terry Zdan
Summary of the Seminar on Urban Growth	Urban Studies Students Association

PREFACE

The collection of papers edited and prepared by Professor Walker are designed with two purposes in mind. One is to provide the basis for public discussion of urban growth issues in Manitoba. The material presented is in a form that can be readily understood by the layman. Thus, it is our hope that the papers will be helpful to a range of citizens in the community who want to gain information about issues of urban growth.

To aid this process along our institute in company with students from the University, sponsored a seminar on urban growth. To this seminar was invited a cross section of people, both those who are professionally or non-professionally involved.

Our second purpose, in addition to the stimulation of public discussion is ultimately to see a great deal more attention paid to the issue of urban growth on the Prairies. When one hears discussion of urban problems in Canada, the inevitable assumption is that one is referring to Montreal, Vancouver, Toronto, certainly not the Prairies.

Yet, if you add up those people living in urban areas on the Prairies, it comes close to two million. In addition, Prairie cities face distinctive kinds of issues occasioned by the particular culture of the region, the transportation system, the regional economy, and the characteristics of rural in-migration. Consequently, the issue of urbanization on the

Prairies requires special attention which it doesn't receive.

It is our hope that these papers, and the discussion they generate, may lead to a more comprehensive and insightful assessment of the particular question of urban growth in the Prairie Region.

Lloyd Axworthy
Director

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URBAN GROWTH

INTRODUCTION: THE CHALLENGE OF URBAN GROWTH IN MANITOBA

Because the past growth rate in Winnipeg has been moderate, its citizens have not had to face tough decisions about the future of their city. Yet, gradually, the problems have been multiplying to the extent that it is now imperative that we sit down and begin to think through the options available to ensure an inhabitable and pleasant settlement. The crisis is not that of an American city—we are not New York going bankrupt but nevertheless, valuable resources are being consumed with little thought given to consequences of these decisions. For instance, the proposed construction of the Centennial Gardens project on the old St. Paul's College Site represents the disappearance of one of the last undeveloped tracts of downtown land in urban Canada. Was that the proper decision? Another example is the East Yards. Are Winnipeggers aware of the vast size of this site? In what ways are they involved in deciding which development proposal is most suitable? The consequences of these and other important public policies are central to the development of an acceptable urban environment.

This paper is written to provide background material on the growth of urban communities and to present some of the public policy options that are available to respond to these problems. Since we are dealing with

population movements, public expenditures, private capital, communal resources and development corporations, the greatest difficulty in such a seminar is to synthesize our understanding of how these factors are related. Our intention in presenting these ideas is to stimulate others to think about urban growth in Manitoba. We hope that participants will be willing to look at the hard choices that have to be made and will be willing to argue through their perspectives. It is not sufficient to leave the problems expressed as vague generalities; the goal is to find ways of resolving conflicts in order to build a better habitat.

The second part of the paper has been included to introduce the reader to a few of the complexities of urban growth in Manitoba, although most of the research projects were designed to investigate the Winnipeg area. The research results are more detailed accounts of the argument developed in the introductory section. This argument is first of all, that the Winnipeg economy is one which generates its own growth within the metropolitan complex while, at the same time, it is dependent on economic activity throughout the province. Therefore, the city's growth is determined as much as anything by provincial and federal policies concerned with resource development and agricultural production. Within the city, the most obvious manifestation of increased economic activity is an escalation in the cost of land for all activity within the city requires space. Secondly, people move into Winnipeg because of depressed local living conditions

and the hope of a better life situation in the city. This in itself has dramatic implication for public policies and should be considered as an added dimension to the economic imperatives.

The paper was structured to summarize the findings of the I.U.S. researchers in 1974, to present a review of existing public strategies and to raise questions about policy options as a basis for group discussions during this session. The paper then formed the core of a brief presented at the public hearings for the U.N. Habitat Conference by the Urban Students' Association of the University of Winnipeg.

PART ONE: URBAN GROWTH: PROBLEMS AND OPTIONS

Winnipeg's population has been increasing at a rate of 10,000 people per year, according to Statistics Canada. This can be attributed to the sharp decline in out migration, a consequence of the increasing recognition by Manitobans of the economic opportunities afforded in the province.¹ It was not long ago that news about 'the growing community' was trotted out by government officials as a trustworthy measure of the vitality of the community and the performance of government in serving the public interest. To grow was to prosper was the old maxim. Nowadays, we are not so sure. Increasingly we are being shown that growth is a mixed blessing often causing as many difficulties as it presents opportunities. Although it would have been unheard of less than a decade ago, we now have a legitimate school of thought that espouses an absolute no-growth philosophy, suggesting that this is the only formula that will keep us from an ecological disaster. Such is our thinking on the problems of growth that we are willing to consider a whole range of policy strategies in anticipation of an unclear future. What are the repercussions of an accelerated growth rate? What does it mean in terms of demand for new housing, transportation and public services? What will be the impact of this growth rate on the social system of the City? Will it result in

1. Winnipeg Free Press. August 20, 1974.p.1 Recent population estimates are 1971 (540,000), 1972 (550,000), 1973 (560,000), and 1974 (570,000).

larger numbers of displaced rural migrants in downtown Winnipeg, a further spread of settlement into rural areas, and intensification in higher density living? In other words, if lessons are to be drawn from existing urban trends, serious thought must be given on how to manage the problems being created by our present approach to the city.

How do we go about controlling the growth of Winnipeg? Where do we turn for advice, for experience, for relevant ideas? It appears from most analyses of population trends that the move to urban areas will continue. Should this be allowed to happen in an unplanned or ill considered way? Is there a point at which the growth of a city becomes destructive? Urban growth is an issue in Manitoba and poses the question of what guidelines and policy tools are required to insure that the pace of growth is creative, productive, orderly, and not destructive to the quality of life.

There are other important considerations. One is that any decision on public policies related to urban growth must involve as wide a range of people and organizations in the province as possible. Who should be involved? Who should speak for the uninvolved? Is it sufficient to depend on politicians and planners? Can the planning process be expanded to include more citizens? Should the organized and articulate citizen be allowed to dominate? So often there is a tendency for policies to be conceived and implemented by public authorities with limited involvement of citizens. Yet it is decisions made by those in the private sector

that often determine whether government policies will work or not. For example - provincial and municipal housing and land policies are often complicated because of lack of agreement with the construction industry. If housebuilders who build the vast majority of the housing in the province are not in agreement with government objectives, it is much more difficult to achieve shelter goals. Similarly, when rural people, particularly native people, resettle in the city, they face a very difficult period of adjustment. To ease that adjustment, certain skilled services in the job training, social welfare and educational fields are required. Often it is not possible for organizations capable of giving these services to respond, due to lack of finance, commitment or even awareness of the depth of the problem. They, too, must be part of working out policies and programs to meet problems posed by urban growth.

Thus, it is imperative that the representative groups, citizen committees, voluntary associations become aware of the dimensions of our urban growth needs, possible policy options, and the relationship of their response to the actions of other groups. Public authorities must take leadership as public action is essential. But it must be done in concert with concerned groups in our community.

Another reason for opening serious discussion on urban growth to a wider audience is to avoid the error of relying on short term solutions. One of the most common transgressions that has occurred in the management of

cities has been the successive wave of one-shot policies that have been brought forward as the answer to urban ills. Financial aid for city government, regional planning, land assemble, new town, stay option - are too frequently used by governments in a competitive framework. Each of these ideas has some merit and can be utilized as part of a general strategy as a more sophisticated approach to avoid being caught in putting all the emphasis on one to two schemes.

The results of research projects at the I.U.S. and elsewhere lead one to conclude that the growth structure in Winnipeg is more directly related to local and provincial factors than is the case for most Canadian cities. For instance, immigrants to Winnipeg are presently more likely to come from rural Manitoba than the Maritimes, Europe, Asia, etc. The local economy is also directly related to Manitoba's growth. Few residents need to be reminded of the continuing importance of farming and mining to the economic strength of Winnipeg.

Urban - Rural Migration

Why do people come to Winnipeg? The answers are varied. Some are desparately out of work, some are forced off the farms, some want to retire in the city, some dislike the social-cultural environment of rural life, while some simply want a better education or a better job. The economic structure has been such that opportunities for self fulfillment are perceived to be in the city. The jobs are there, the housing is there, and of crucial

importance to public policy-makers, governmental services are more complete within Winnipeg.

We often misunderstand the rural-urban shift. Why do people come to the city? What happens to them during their adjustment to urban life? It is standard to decry this shift and to assume that those who make the move from rural area to city suffer serious problems. This is not the conclusion of the research paper prepared by Maria Haroon and Margaret Keith of the Institute of Urban Studies.² Through interviews with individuals who have moved from country points to the city over the past ten years, they found that generally the adjustment process was not overly difficult and that most of those who moved did so successfully. There were some complaints, however, particularly with aspects of the physical environment and with noise and traffic. But, the overall picture drawn from this report is that the re-settlement of the sample of rural people was not extremely trying and that many of those who had moved find the increased economic opportunity and variety of choice in jobs, friends, shopping and recreation to their liking.

-
2. The applicability of the findings is somewhat limited due to the shortcomings of its design. Because of the non-random nature of the sampling method, the sample cannot invariably draw inferences from the population. Another limitation of the present study is its failure to make observations across time. Accurate evaluation of the nature and direction of changes resulting from migration and the consequent process of adjustment would require repeated observations, and conceivably a longitudinal study might help to learn more about such social aspects. Also, the study does not involve Native people for whom the move is complicated by discrimination.

This suggests that people might keep moving to the city because there are positive reasons to relocate, and highlights a serious missing element in present federal and provincial policies - the need to recognize that the move continues and that special efforts must be made to insure that the increased demand in services and accommodation will be handled in an effective manner. Any effort to reduce the outflow from the rural areas requires innovative policy initiatives in the rural area (such as the 'stay option') and should be aided by complimentary public activity in the city.

The research findings show that most of the migrants in the sample originally came from rural municipalities. Many had no previous non-agricultural experience, since most of them were farm operators or farm labourers. Different factors motivated them to move into Winnipeg, but most came because of the employment opportunities offered in the city. Most did not find it difficult to get a job when they arrived in Winnipeg.

The respondents were almost equally divided among the old, middle-aged and young age categories. The majority were married and have families. The largest groups in the sample were of British and German origin, English was the most commonly spoken language at home. On the whole, these migrants were quite well-educated. The majority were gainfully employed. Some of the households still had incomes from the farms,

while others depended on their wives' work to supplement the family income. Most migrant families had average incomes.

Many had difficulties when they first arrived in Winnipeg adjusting to the urban environment. They mostly complained about the traffic congestion, noise and air pollution and crowds in the city. They showed favourable attitudes towards certain aspects of urban living, such as conveniences to shopping centers, availability of educational, cultural facilities, and certain special services. Their unfavourable impressions of the city included the confinement of urban accommodations and the lack of friends in the city. Some also complained of the high costs of living. What was missed most about the country was its open spaces and peaceful environment.

The adjustment scales designed to measure the respondents' general satisfaction and their attitudes toward living in an urban environment yielded some interesting findings. Most people preferred city life to rural life and were generally happy living in the city. They found it rather easy to get acquainted with people in the community and most of them felt a part of their neighbourhoods in Winnipeg. They also like the employment and educational facilities offered in the city. However, the majority did not think that urban residents were as sincere or concerned about other people as rural residents. Thus, while they were attracted and pleased by the urban level of services, they were not

equally content with the quality of their human experience.

In a few cases, the findings were supportive of empirical studies done elsewhere. Those rural migrants who had worked outside of agriculture, lived in towns or in the city previous to their recent move to Winnipeg, tended to adjust more readily than other migrants. The findings indicated that older migrants or those who had taken vocational training were more likely to make more positive adjustment than younger persons or those with no vocational training. On the other hand, this research also produced findings that were inconsistent with some earlier studies. For example, those migrants in the sample who had taken part in social activities before, visited the rural communities frequently, had children living at home, or had a high level of education, did not tend to adjust better than non-participants, those who did not visit the rural communities, those without children at home, and those with a low level of education.³

The federal government's much publicized Green Paper on Immigration is bound to have an effect in Winnipeg's growth. The position being taken by representatives of the three largest cities is that Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal are not longer willing to accept immigrants at the rate of the past decade. This leaves the federal government to choose between lowering the rate of immigration or finding some incentives or sanctions

3. Four other variables, namely, timing of movement of different family members, present occupation, wife's occupation, and financial situation of the household were correlated with adjustment scales. No significant relationships, however were found among these variables.

for placing newcomers in other centres. Manitoba has emerged as an attractive region because of the steady growth in its economy and because Winnipeg has the government services to act as a reception centre for more immigrants. Judging from the briefs presented to the joint House of Commons - Senate Committee hearings in Winnipeg, there is no consensus here as to the suitability of this prospect. Several speakers expressed the desire to maintain the present ethnic composition while others were anxious to bring in more workers. The Manitoba migration pattern which has recently been turned around from that of a net loss to a net gain, could be strengthened by federal policies. Is this possibility one that we should welcome? How can Winnipeg be developed in order to accommodate new migrants? What services are needed? What housing projects will be required? Should the government discourage intra-provincial migration especially to Winnipeg?

LAND COSTS

Continuous migration into Winnipeg will generate a demand for public and private services beyond the normal capacity of existing facilities. In some cases, the need can be answered by the extension of the facilities but at other times it will require a whole array of major organizational decisions. There are, indeed, critical moments in the development of a city where the deployment of private capital and public monies means that decisions will be made that in turn will affect the future growth of Winnipeg. For years many matters were resolved in an unassuming off-handed fashion. An example might be the gradual expansion of the suburbs

(a few more acres of single family dwellings). The cumulative impact brings us to 1975: everything is suddenly too expensive to ignore the implications of not thinking through what we are doing. Single family homes are dear, private financing of multiple unit housing difficult to arrange while public services such as roadways are major budgetary items causing other services to be cancelled or reduced. To return to the point in the above paragraphs, the migrants continue to arrive so we cannot pretend that the problems will magically uncomplicate themselves.

It has been estimated in one of the research reports that Winnipeg land prices have gone up from 30 to 40 percent in the period between 1969 and 1975. Residents who desire to have larger lots and lower taxes respond to escalating city land values by outward movement beyond the Additional Zone. This centrifugal movement has raised the land values in the periphery of Winnipeg due to pressure for more non-farm use of land. In the rural municipality of St. Andrew, for instance, the cost per average size of transaction increased for \$9,875 in 1969 to \$37,435 in 1972. Only the largest of developers find it profitable to assemble land for new development because of the cost, the time and the large parcels of land required. One possible alternative to private acquisitions is to buy land for future need extensive government purchases. The revised National Housing Act makes provision for such acquisitions by public authorities, arranged either by cost-sharing between the federal and provincial authorities or by loans to the province involved.

It has been suggested that many of Winnipeg's manufacturing plants are located in economically obsolete buildings in the inner city. It has also been found that those firms who have moved outside of the older Winnipeg warehousing area, the traditional centers of the industry, have all reported benefits and cost savings in handling, and in attracting skilled labour. This shift implies that the continuing relocation of manufacturing industries from the inner city is another option available to city and provincial officials. It would relieve the traffic congestion caused by industrial deliveries into the central city, and more significantly, the evacuated sites would be made available for rehabilitation or development for housing or recreational purposes. However, again the change is a dramatic one which involves knowing the impact that one decision (removal of industry) has on the overall character of life in central Winnipeg. Because of the city's running short of industrial land and the high cost of developing large industrial parks, it is possible that the location advantages of some of the communities in the periphery of Winnipeg might in the future exceed the location advantages of Winnipeg for industrial development. Any public program of decentralizing the manufacturing sector would be affected by the inability of firms to find adequate land at a reasonable cost for their plants in Winnipeg. Consequently, smaller centres would be able to overcome their isolation by offering cheaper land along with lower taxes.

Land costs are difficult to predict due to the numerous influences,

such as the mortgage market or the entry of large corporations, beyond the immediate control of Manitobans. However, there are no signs that costs are levelling off and the general prediction is for further escalation. Can the cost of land be effectively controlled? What techniques should be applied in Winnipeg? Can we continue to accept the concept of a privatized city where land is traded for profit? Should governments invest in the hope of eventually eliminating the speculators? The private development corporation?

GROWTH AND PUBLIC EXPENDITURES

Manitoba is not a wealthy province so that governments are forced to deal with the reality of limited resources. The uncontrolled growth of Winnipeg creates demands for services that strain the budget of local and provincial governments. It is a major effort to provide funds for urban redevelopment, housing, transportation systems, health and welfare, education, environmental protection and public utilities at a service level we have come to expect from governments. For example, it is estimated that housing for 1,000 migrating families is needed annually in the city. In addition to the units required for the fragmentation of existing families. While this number is not of crisis proportion, it signifies a steady increase in households and in the population that cannot be ignored. The last two years has been a period in which housing starts have been insufficient to satisfy minimum needs. The result as we are

finding out is the dramatic increase in rents as people have little choice in where they might live.

The answer is not to rush through subdivision agreements or to begin to build madly high rise apartment complexities. The answer is to find the proper mixture of public policies and land uses to develop the city in an organic fashion without disturbing what citizens value about their environment. One set of policies used by the province to mitigate the growth of Winnipeg has been the Stay Option which is intended in part to give the rural resident an attractive choice to coming to the city. As the program is new and the costs hard to determine, the present impact and future potential are hard to judge. However, the concept does depend on the viability of industries succeeding away from the urban complex, the natural habitat of successful corporate ventures. The Ontario government has a less adventurous policy of decentralizing the private sector while DREE is very much designed to establish new growth centres in Canada. The provision of incentives to make the small town industrial site attractive to the entrepreneur, or to build publicly owned corporations is an expensive proposition without an overwhelming success rate in other parts of Canada. The Stay Option is a public policy worth a serious analysis in the seminar. A more detailed review of some of the major federal, provincial and municipal policies is given in the next few pages.

1. FEDERAL POLICY AND PROGRAMS

a) AGRICULTURAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Since the early 1960's, at the initiative of the federal and provincial governments, several rural adjustment programs have been implemented, many of which are provided under the Federal Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act (ARDA). The major emphasis of the majority of ARDA programs was on proper land use, physical factors and the development of soil and water resources. The act provided for research, rural development staff and training services, rehabilitation of disadvantaged people, and programs in soil and water conservation.

The second ARDA agreement (1965 - renamed Agricultural and Rural Development Act), provided for Federal-Provincial cost-sharing in programs designed to meet the Federal labour market objective of permitting mobility to small-scale farm operators and then channelling land thus released to operators who could become viable. Federal programs were designed to encourage farm consolidation. Monies were made available for farm acquisitions, the provision of Manpower services and income supplements to retiring farmers and the reduction of land cost for prospective owners. As well, there were grants available for land improvements, loans and individual counselling services to improve the viability of the consolidated farm unit.⁴ The Programs also involved regional development

4. Report of the Federal Task Force on Agriculture, Canadian Agriculture in the Seventies, Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1969, p. 415.

projects in an attempt to promote industrial development and work opportunities accessible to the rural persons who were to be re-established in other areas, which in more recent policy initiatives have come to be known as growth centres.

Attempts have been made to create new jobs in economically depressed areas through financial incentives influencing the location of plants.

The federal agency has offered funds to secondary manufacturing firms which will settle in areas of chronic unemployment. Unfortunately, the population criteria determining such areas were altered from applying to places of up to 20,000 in population, such as Selkirk, to include the much larger Winnipeg. Thus the Act lost its usefulness to small places due to the fact that industries, once given the choice of locating in the rural areas or locating in Winnipeg, chose Winnipeg.

The Federal Department of Regional Economic Expansion, DREE, established in 1969, took over the jurisdiction of ARDA. The new industrial incentives program is strongly oriented towards locating industries in larger towns and cities which are to act as "growth centres" as DREE officials have decided to emphasize the development of larger regional cities. As Table 1 indicates, the cost of these regional investment programs by the Federal Government amounted to close to ten million dollars in the fiscal year 1972/73. Little is known about the impact such expenditures have had in promoting economic growth and stability in rural areas or in restraining migration trends. Federal money spent in Manitoba

has had an unclear influence on the province's growth but by using funds outside Winnipeg, officials have added another dimension to any development strategy. For this reason any discussion on Winnipeg must also include ideas on the hinterland.

TABLE 1. FEDERAL INVESTMENT IN RURAL REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT
PROGRAM 1972 - 1973. ⁵

Program	1972/1973
Gimli Industrial Park	364,000
Special Areas Agreements	1,373,000
A.R.D.A.	1,891,000
Agriculture Service Centers	617,000
F.R.E.D.	4,024,000
P.F.R.A.	1,502,000
Special Arda Agreement	169,000
Total	9,940,000

b) TRANSPORTATION

The transportation policy of the federal government has become one

5. "Inventory Federal-Provincial Programs and Activities", Privy Council Office, January 1974.

of the central political issues in the nineteen seventies. Most officials involved in this policy sphere are willing to concede the present system's shortcomings. The railroads are anxious to rid themselves of limited use lines although this would effectively isolate and perhaps eliminate the slim chances of economic expansion in the small prairie farming communities. The abandonment of rail lines means that large amounts of public monies will be used for an improved road system in order to ensure the continued efficient distribution of goods in and out of rural Manitoba. Even though roads are a provincial responsibility the federal government has been offering special grants to assist in the construction of a better road network. A related transportation policy is the regional airlines for the quick movement of people to areas outside of Winnipeg on routes which normally would not be profitable. Again these innovations are incurring high capital costs in order to make the smaller centres more attractive as places for economic activity and for personal enjoyment. Lastly, the communication system in the north has benefited from the expansion of the Manitoba Telephone System and the C.B.C. into remote areas. No one is yet sure of the impact of this intrusion of urban life into rural Manitoba but the experience in other areas leads one to believe that these are positive additions that will make rural life more attractive. Again the theme is to define who benefits from public expenditures. Is the transportation system integrated into a developmental framework? What changes are needed?

(c) THE NATIONAL HOUSING ACT

The Federal government added further stimulus to the creation of growth policies with the passing of the new National Housing Act. The Act proposes "to help accommodate urban growth other than by urban sprawl and to promote the development of regional growth centres".⁶ Special legislation is the New Communities Program, directed at the development of new communities. Any provincial government can establish new communities, either by way of cost-sharing with C.M.H.C. or by way of loans. In the case of a Federal-Provincial agreement, the amount of capital costs, profits and losses to be shared by the designated provincial agency would cover about 75 percent of the total capital costs, profits and losses of the project. On the other hand, a loan may be made to a province or its designated corporation in an amount of 90 percent of the cost for the acquisition of land. The terms of the loan will be 25 years and can be extended to 50 years if necessary. In addition, certain forgiveness elements to the provinces or the development corporations may apply for initial planning costs and for development of recreational and social facilities.

The New Communities legislation compliments the Land Assembly Program, which provides for financial assistance to provinces for the assembly of land or the establishment of land banks for future residential

6. "National Housing Act", (Ottawa, 1973). Sections 40 and 42.

developments. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation is authorized to make loans to a province, municipality, or public housing agency to assist them in achieving and servicing land for housing purposes or for purposes incidental to housing, under Sections 40 and 42 of the National Housing Act. Thus, the Federal government has financial assistance available for the planned acquisition of land for housing and services in new communities. How these Federal objectives are useful ones to Manitoba is still an open question, since these programs were designed to accommodate cities of Eastern Canada and British Columbia that have much greater population density than Winnipeg and much less room for expansion within the city boundaries. Public officials have not yet decided how to spend funds in Manitoba, although the federal government was willing to commit itself to the ill fated land banking schemes of the City of Winnipeg. How can these federal programs be used in Manitoba?

2. PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT POLICIES

The Stay Option is perhaps the most important innovation in the province's growth strategy. The province is committed to a number of programs directly related to the development of Manitoba. In some cases, such as the support for small farmers and major industrial initiatives, the relationship to the province's growth is obvious and needs not be laboured upon. In other instances the relationship is less obvious. Welfare assistance, education facilities, housing are services which influence where people choose to live and what they choose to do. In order to

provide a more comprehensive method of planning, these activities ought to be reviewed regularly to determine the lesser understood side effects on the movement of people. For instance, it may be found the decentralization of the provincial government might make it easier for citizens to solve their problems locally and obtain a fuller range of services outside of Winnipeg. Or, it may be that a much larger public investment in rural housing will make it more convenient for the elderly to remain at home. The province has used the notion of public investment in the rural and northern areas to stabilize regional economies through improving public services and developing stronger local industries. The provincial land banking program adds yet another option for controlling growth. The state, by buying up the available space, manages to decrease the opportunities of private developers to build at random. Finally, the provincial government has committed itself to a new district development scheme to deal with the administrative and planning problem of growth. Again, it carries the political strategy of limiting economic development to those areas where ventures are most likely to succeed, and to support this with an improved service infrastructure. Although the bill has just been proclaimed, as it stands now, it represents a major governmental tool for creating a more planned environment and makes the provincial government central to any major developmental proposals. The province's plan rests on its ability to (a) convince people to stay behind in the rural - small town areas, (b) develop

towns into economic centres with their own growth components and (c) to organize governmental services on the district level so that services are provided as extensively as required in the growing centres. The new governmental bodies, it is expected, will also be capable of restricting activity in areas where it is neither advisable nor efficient to develop. As the area incorporated in this general plan includes all except the City of Winnipeg, the provincial government has a framework large enough to produce alternative growth objectives. With this planning legislation available, it is quite possible to use the provincial government and the district councils comprehensive development scheme. In this respect the provincial government has a central role in any discussion on urban growth. How should the province exercise this authority: to maintain green space around Winnipeg? to decentralize the growth industries? to create new towns? to build regional centres? to stop Winnipeg from expanding?

3. The City of Winnipeg

The major legislation concerned with urban growth in the City of Winnipeg and the Additional Zone, the area immediately outside the City boundaries, is contained in "The Metropolitan Development Plan." Initiated in 1968, the plan was originally adopted by the old Metro Winnipeg government and by the Province. The plan designates the location of the development and redevelopment of present and future living and working areas and it prescribes the location and densities for all types of residential accommodation in detailed area plans and land-use control by-laws, in order to provide a better distribution of multiple unit accommodation. It also provides for a by-law to establish

adequate city standards for the subdivision of land including standards for the provision of open space. Another provision of the Plan is the promotion of the concept of Town Centres, which refers to an arrangement of suburban growth whereby communities will grow around their own local centres.

The legislation covering development in the zone surrounding the City of Winnipeg is relevant in a discussion of rural-urban migration trends since the growing urban population, resulting from migration and natural increase, pressures the City to expand. "The Metropolitan Development Plan", adopted as the City of Winnipeg Development Plan, has identified certain areas just inside the boundaries of the City and all of the Additional Zone, with the exception of existing village areas, as "Areas of no urban expansion". This particular section of the by-law proposes to further the principle of a compact, economically-serviced urban area and to prevent semi-urban fringe development. Thus, policies have been defined which call for the preparation of detailed area plans for the village communities within the boundaries of the City of Winnipeg and the Additional Zone. However, the new provincial **district** planning act will change the structure of the Additional Zone by reducing the role of the city in the hope that the surrounding municipalities will be capable of handling planning problems on their own initiative.

The Committee on Environment has also set some guidelines for developing open lands within the City of Winnipeg. The Committee suggested that the objectives of the Metropolitan Development Plan, especially with respect

to land use policy, should continue to be the basis of development in the city until amended by the City of Winnipeg. To date the City of Winnipeg has not amended these plans. The Committee recommended that comprehensive development considerations should prevail in the improvement of lands for a ten-year period ending in 1982. The projection of an increase in population of 150,000 over this 10 year period reflects an optimistic view of the slow growth rate of the City. This increase suggests a need for 500 to 700 acres of industrial park development and 6,000 acres of residential development. Furthermore, it was suggested that any developer who negotiates with the City of Winnipeg for the development of raw land in any area of the City should agree to pay and/or finance all costs which the City may incur in this development. However, it is very much an open question as how these lands should be serviced and developed, and who should be doing it.

The City of Winnipeg has extensive plans for the redevelopment of the central business district as contained in the "Downtown Development Plan". Such plans were based on two premises: firstly, that certain key areas exist which, if appropriately developed, will determine the functions and character of the downtown; and secondly, that if those key areas are so developed, whatever occurs in the rest of the downtown need not be planned. These assumptions imply that a high degree of planning involving a strong measure of land-use control, will be necessary, and that the public must make a strong commitment to invest large sums

of money in the area. The key areas lie South of Portage Avenue (bounded by St. Mary's Avenue, Main Street, Broadway Avenue and Edmonton Street) and North of Portage Avenue (bounded by Cumberland Avenue, Carlton Street, Ellice Avenue and Colony Street). The City of Winnipeg has made amendments to the plan, particularly in regards to the parking area. It is also apparent that private developers are able to negotiate agreements not entirely within the original plan. Such changes raise the crucial question: is the city capable of executing its own development plans? Should it have more extensive powers? Should the province increase its supervision? Is the Downtown Development Plan the most appropriate model of the future?

4. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

Recently the City of Winnipeg received the Provincial approval and cooperation necessary in order to implement its plans for neighbourhood improvements in two low income areas on the City.

This Federal/Provincial/Municipal cost sharing program will be administered by the City as provided for in the federal government Neighbourhood Improvement Act. The arrival of tri-level study committees and financial support is not always appreciated as government officials have tended to operate in secret. These committees make decisions affecting urban policies and are designing experiments in such crucial areas as housing and transportation. While there has been no immediate or dramatic as a result of their work, it should be recognized that these projects add another dimension to answering the problems of growth in Winnipeg.

WHAT TO DO?

The purpose of this seminar is not only to appreciate the complexities of what is happening but also to move beyond these thoughts to see if we cannot add some original ideas to the problem in Manitoba. If there has been a theme up to this point, it is that we rarely understand the ways in which public and private decisions are related. We can quickly think of a number of superficially unrelated events which, in fact, are related. A decline in mining in Thompson could cause an increase in demand for working class accommodation in Winnipeg as families leave the north. Increasing the attractiveness of the inner city for middle class families often reduces the housing available for low income families and pensioners. If we are to accomplish anything, we must, first of all, appreciate the consequences of our actions. Thus, the growth question needs to be approached in the most complete sense that is possible.

The second task is to make concrete suggestions as to which policy options should be pursued. One problem is to decide what land should be used by whom. The traditional role of the state, to provide services and loosely regulate land uses, has given way to more intensive government activity. The city and the province can now be active participants in the land acquisition and housing market place. Hence, a first order question is to find out what role the government should play. Should the government landbank? build houses? apartments? for whom?

The municipal and provincial governments are able to regulate land use through several policy tools already in existence. The city's strategy has

been to use a general development plan as a guideline for more specific zoning regulations while the province uses the new Planning Act, the Manitoba Municipal Board, the City of Winnipeg Act and its fairly comprehensive supervisory authority to set boundaries for urban growth. How effective are these methods of facilitating proper development?

This problem can be looked at in more precise detail if we think of the city as having five distinct zones: the central core, the transition zone, the suburbs, the fringe and the hinterland. Within each of these areas we can make decisions along three guidelines. We can let the marketplace determine land use; we can control the competing uses; or, we can restrict (or eliminate) whatever uses we find incompatible. For instance, in the transition zone, the North American experience has been single family dwellings are taken over as rooming houses, commercial shops then gradually as high rise buildings. Should we allow this marketplace to function or should governments intervene to restrict or control uses? Should the downtown be dominated by one regional park as the mayor suggests, or should it be subjected to more intensive uses as recommended by the East Yards Study Group? ~~The policy options are whether the land is to be low density,~~ medium density or high density use. Once we clarify our preferences then public officials can begin to act. A whole set of propositions can be built from this framework. If we want to save existing farmland, we need to either a) designate growth centers and/or b) build more intensively within the city. If we follow a) we will need to increase substantially the public investment in services, particularly transportation.

If we follow (b) it will disturb existing neighbourhoods.

Because each "answer" raises endless questions, the idea of a new city has become more attractive to policy makers. Perhaps it offers an easy escape from the tough choices suggested above. In any case, it is worthwhile considering this option within Manitoba because of the ongoing expansion of the City.

A new community in the periphery of Winnipeg could act as an intercepting point for migrants from the rural areas on their way to the city and would thereby give the city less pressure and social cost to absorb all the migrants. A new community would serve as a place where rural migrants might experience less adjustment problems in a smaller urban setting. It would also be a residential place for people from more outlying areas of the agricultural region who, while attracted by the conveniences of the urban center, can still remain part of the rural non-farm population. At the same time, the town could also fulfill a dormitory function for people who wish to live where they could commute to Winnipeg to work and to get their services, but prefer to live outside the city.

The rural-to-urban population movement is complicated by a movement from the city proper to the fringe areas.⁷ The move to the rural-urban fringe or exurbia is increasing at an accelerating rate.⁸

Recent publications⁹ examining rural residential living in the Winnipeg Region (defined by a 30 mile zone immediately around Winnipeg) has found that the majority of the fringe residents are families with young children. Main reasons behind their migration include less crowdedness in the periphery, more attractive landscape, more visual privacy around home, larger lot sizes and lower taxes. Most of the exurbanites still depend on Winnipeg for services and employment. This outward movement is caused by the extensive use of automobiles and all-weather roads, electric water pumps, septic tanks and telephone lines. Studies also indicate that escalating land prices in the city might push more people out to the fringe areas in future.

The exurbanites might find personal satisfaction by establishing homes in the fringe areas. But they create problems both for the receiving

7. Canada census data shows that the rural non-farm population increased from 15,929 in 1966 to 18,939 in 1971, within a 30 mile radius from the center of Winnipeg.

Quoted from The Nature of Demand for Exurbia Living, prepared by the Department of City Planning, University of Manitoba, for the Winnipeg Region Study Committee, Province of Manitoba, 1974.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 42

9. *Ibid.* See also the Springfield planning study prepared by the planning section of the provincial Department of Municipal Affairs, 1975.

communities and the municipal authority. Since fringe growth is by its very nature unimpeded by strict planning regulations, in many cases it disrupts rural communities by over-running farms and breaking up neighbourhoods. It can be also extremely costly to provide public services such as health and sanitation, fire protection, police, education, and transportation to the scattered developments. The problem is more than simply providing the technical services which make life less difficult. It is also one of providing those social and recreational activities which are central to the 'good life'. Schools must be provided for the children. Churches, political organizations, community associations, recreational facilities, citizen groups are also necessary and require adequate support so that the residents can achieve a sense of belonging and so that the traditional community has the capacity to incorporate newcomers into its central institutions.

Analysis to date indicates that there has been consistent growth in the rural non-farm communities in the Winnipeg region.¹⁰ Unfortunately this pattern of development will not be satisfactory in the long run. There are several communities, now gradually falling into the dull dormitory role, which could be re-thought as a satellite settlement. Selkirk, located 18 miles north of Winnipeg, appears to have such a potential.

10. Municipal Planning Branch, Winnipeg Region Study, Interim Report, p. 10.

In 1971, its population was 9,331, which represented a 47.3% increase since 1951. It has a diversified industrial base while the municipality has built up various social and recreational facilities. If the town should be developed into a satellite community, it could provide many of the natural amenities and physical attributes that attract exurbanites. Lot sizes are larger, there is better proximity to open space and improved visual environment. For those people who live and work in the satellite town, there is a shorter home-to work trip. Furthermore, a planned community could help preserve agricultural land. The provision of public services, especially transportation, would be made easier and less costly by concentrating services in one specified area. It is also anticipated that the new community would not only be a working place for thousands of people in the interlake region, but also a living place. This in turn creates a new market place of sufficient size attractive to large scale commercial developers.

The provincial government could facilitate this with a new town development in Selkirk or another more suitable locality by decentralizing industries into the town, improving the quality of technical and social services, providing more housing, and building a transportation network. Easy access between the new community and metropolitan Winnipeg can be achieved by means of mass transportation facilities. Could the development of a planned community in the Winnipeg region be the answer to preventing peripheral sprawl?

It is also important to examine the other side of the coin because there might be related factors which make it difficult to apply the new towns strategy as a rational policy for the province. First of all, Winnipeg is only a medium size city and has experienced relatively slow urban growth. It is doubtful, therefore, that new town development is totally relevant to the city in its present form. Secondly the cost involved in the development of a new town is tremendous. The principal financial problem is cash flow, i.e., large sums of money must be invested before there is a return. The most readily available sources to the provincial government in this respect is from CMHC. In addition to the physical plan for new town building, a balanced transportation system, i.e., the provision for both private and public transportation, must be attained. (The New Communities Program provides for the acquisition of lands for transportation corridors between the new community and the "parent" existing major urban center; however, it makes no provision for transportation facilities.)

It is, moreover, questionable if new towns are the answer to some of the existing urban problems in Winnipeg. For example, Native People have great difficulty in adjusting to the city. And yet they are continuously forced to migrate because of extremely difficult economic conditions on the reserves. Would a satellite town outside Winnipeg be better able to answer this problem? Unless very careful planning is made to provide for adequate housing as well as employment opportunities for the Native People in the new satellite community, it is likely that it would develop

into another middle class new town, as have most of the new towns in the United States.

Another major urban problem in the City of Winnipeg is the physical and social deterioration of the city core. Conceivably a new town contributes towards the relief of inner area congestion by the outward movement of population and the dispersal of industrial opportunities. Nevertheless, when industrial plants have been encouraged to move out from congested neighbourhoods, this does not guarantee that the vacated industrial space will be utilized to reduce congestion and the premises may be taken over by other manufacturing firms. Thus, as it has been suggested, there should be "a clear coordination of efforts and a high degree of anticipatory planning regarding the ways in which new towns can help existing neighbourhoods and their residents".¹¹ In other words, a new town development program should be linked with an in-town development program so that they can be complementary, at least in the physical sense. It has also been pointed out, however, that it is unlikely that both programs necessarily be funded concurrently.¹² In short, a new communities program should be a component of in-town development, built so that it would help revitalize the inner city.*

11. D. Epstein, "Toward Neighbourhood Improvement: Policy Development and Program Recommendations", in Housing Innovation and Neighbourhood Improvement: Change in Winnipeg's Inner City, p.367.

12. Ibid., p. 362.

* Since the original writing of this paper, the province has announced its intention of building a residential settlement in East Selkirk, using the Leaf Rapids Development Corp. legislation as a vehicle for development.

A third question to consider is the rural residents' attitudes towards living in a new town, which might prove unfavourable to some. At the same time, a new town needs a population of a minimum size in order to support a rich urban infrastructure culturally, socially, politically and economically. Also, based on the present population growth rate in the province, it would be decades before the new community would involve enough people to affect significantly urban development in metropolitan Winnipeg.

Finally, the patterns of Canadian federalism might make it difficult to realize the full possibility of a new community development. An extraordinary degree of policy and administrative integration, which is required in such a project, is often thwarted by fragmentation of authority at the different levels of government. It has been difficult enough to see our way through the numerous provincial-municipal negotiations without beginning anew with the federal government.

SUMMARY

The question of what to do cannot be answered with a few glib remarks. No one project is going to solve the ills of poorly planned growth. The one scheme - a new town development, might be useful to minimize helter-skelter growth in the fringe area but will not help policy makers decide what to do with vacant land within the city or with the downtown area or with the internal transportation system. Each area requires the government to decide who should develop or re-develop land for whom. It also requires the passing of laws to ensure that development proceeds as intended. Are the sanctions available to prevent the violation of regulations?

The seminar sessions will be useful only if the participants are willing to discuss with precision what should be done in Manitoba. The complaint is always that we are doing nothing - not enough housing, not enough public services, not enough re-development, etc. Perhaps by using the ideas and research in this paper, we can make a few suggestions that will help turn this around.

PART TWO: RESEARCH PAPERSINTRODUCTION

The following information is the result of research projects in the Institute of Urban Studies. The purpose in including this material is to provide the reader with some background details about growth in Winnipeg and to indicate what data was used to support the policy ideas in this paper. Two problems are analyzed here: (1) the growth components of the metropolitan complex and (2) the impact of this growth on the social and economic character of the city. The second section details a survey on migrants to Winnipeg. The final part is included so that the participants might become more familiar with the new town concept and some of the more successful experiments in the U.S., Canada and the U.K.

1. (a) THE CHANGING ECONOMY OF THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA

Agriculture has traditionally been Manitoba's most important industry and has contributed considerably to its economy. However, the structure of the Manitoba economy has undergone a fundamental transformation during the past thirty years. Table 1 displays the distribution of the Manitoba labour force by industry classification.

These figures clearly show the increasing significance of the service

Table 1. Estimates of Employees by Industry, Manitoba - 1961, 1971.¹

Sector and Industry	1961 (thousands)	1971
<u>Primary</u>	57.3	57.5
Agriculture	51.7	48.9 ^a
Forestry	1.0	0.8
Mines, quarries, and oil wells	4.6	7.8
<u>Secondary</u>	96.8	105.3
Manufacturing	39.5	47.5
Construction	12.5	12.8
Transportation, Communication, and other utilities	44.8	45.0
<u>Tertiary</u>	70.7	176.0
Trade	41.1	56.1
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	10.0	13.1
Community, Business, and Personal Services	19.6	86.9
Public Administration and Defense	---- ^b	19.9
Total	224.8	338.0

1. Statistics Canada. Estimates of Employees by Province and Industry, 1971, Bulletin 72-008, Vol.2, No. 4 and Vol. 7, No.2. Ottawa: Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin 94-526.

a. Estimate for 1970 made by Province of Manitoba in Guidelines for the Seventies, Vol. 1, 1973, Table 2-15.

b. Not available.

sector in Manitoba. While agriculture once made the most significant employment contribution to Manitoba's economy, the roles of services, industries, mining and manufacturing are now accepted as being more important growth factors. The role of agriculture in the economy of Manitoba is more readily understood by employing the concept the "value added" to the economy by each industry's production. This concept takes into consideration the incomes generated by production at each stage, such that the sum of these values added equals the total market value of the goods produced. Using this procedure, manufacturing made the most significant contribution to the economy while construction and agriculture contributed almost equally to the Manitoba economy in 1968.²

The decline in agricultural labour force runs parallel to the decline in farm population, From 1951 to 1971, as shown in Table 2 both the farm population and employment in agriculture dropped substantially.

2. Manitoba. Yearbook of Manitoba Agriculture (Winnipeg, 1968), p. 40

Table 2. Changes in Rural Population and Agricultural Employment, Manitoba³

Characteristic				1961-1971
	(thousands)	(thousands)	(thousands)	(% change)
Rural population	337.0	332.9	301.8	-9.3
Rural farm population	214.4	171.5	130.4	-24.0
Agricultural employment	----- ^a	51.7	48.9 ^b	-5.4

This decline in farm population is due to agricultural and non-agricultural developments. There has been a substantial increase in output per agricultural worker associated with mechanization, an increase in farm size, and increase in capital per worker, and an increase in the use of purchased inputs (fertilizers, weed and pest control products, and prepared feeds). As a result, agricultural manpower needs have declined. At the same time, a rapidly expanding non-farm economy has increased employment opportunities in non-agricultural enterprises. The agricultural industry is no longer based on relatively small, mixed-farming enterprises. In order to adjust to external market conditions and the changing requirements of the market,

3. Statistics Canada. Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin 92-536.

a. Not available.

b. Estimate for 1970 made by the Province of Manitoba, in Guidelines for the Seventies, Vol. 1973, Table 2-15.

Manitoba's agricultural industry has consolidated farm units and specialized in crops or livestock production. Specialization along with the adoption of new farming technology and mechanization have developed into a trend of large-scale farming operations. In many instances, these farmers are forced to abandon their farms and to seek employment elsewhere. Consequently, migration from the rural areas of Manitoba has reached a rate of 1,000 families per year.⁴

The distribution of income among farmers is quite unequal for those who continue farming. Of the 4,000 farm families interviewed by the Department of Agriculture in 1971, 48 percent received a net farm income of less than \$1,000 while 9 percent received a net farm income of over \$9,000.⁵ The changing production pattern in economy has far-reaching effects on Manitoba's rural areas. The continuing depopulation of rural areas leads to a substantial loss of attractiveness of the numerous small communities serving the rural population. Those remaining are forced to contend with loss of labour, need for new technology, new investment, and new management skills. The employment in the rural service sector decreases with decreasing customers and small businesses decline. As the remaining persons attempt to support the existing services of hospitals, schools, recreational facilities, roads, water, electricity, and communication systems, their tax

4. Manitoba. Guidelines for the Seventies, Vol. 1, 1973, p. 47.

5. Manitoba, Department of Agriculture. "Survey of 19 Municipalities", 1971. This probably has changed because of the exceptional prices for field crops. However, it is not at all certain that this represents a long range turnaround in the economic security of the farmer.

burden increases. Gradually the quality of services declines as revenue from taxes decreases. Thus, further industrial or service developments are deferred. The loss of population together with the changing requirements of the farm economy render it difficult for many small towns to survive and so far, policy makers are not sure of the best way to intervene in order to rebuild these dying settlements.

Another factor leading to the decline of small towns is the attraction of larger centers for shopping and more specialized services. The upgrading of intercity transportation network, all-weather roads, increase in automobile ownership, and improvements in the automobile itself have given Manitoban rural residents increasing accessibility to higher-order service centers. Consequently, there is a growing tendency on the part of rural dwellers to commute to Winnipeg for services and to conduct their shopping in larger urban centers, thus by-passing the smaller service centers across the prairies. The new Uni-City shopping complex is sure to have a negative effect on smaller commercial centres to the west of Winnipeg as more consumer dollars will be spent in the city. Another example, is the importance of locational advantage with reference to highway travel.⁶ As the production pattern changed, and highway network facilitated

6. See for example the map illustrating the growth of Winnipeg in W.J. Crlyle, "Growth, Ethnic Groups and Socio-Economic Areas of Winnipeg", in Tony J. Kuz, Winnipeg 1874 - 1974, p. 36.

travelling to the larger urban centers, the human settlement pattern has been changed and developed in accordance to the new economic structure.

Within the next decade, the acceleration of these trends is expected to cause the abandonment of more branch rail lines and the reduction in the number of grain elevator points, processes which are underway in many parts of Western Canada.⁷ It has become apparent that as grain elevator and railway companies impliment their new strategy of reorganization of elevator points, this will mean the abandonment of uneconomical branch lines in order to maintain a low-cost grain handling and transportation system. The most severe impact that can be anticipated would be the direct loss of jobs and the termination of all additional economic activities. In other words, the combined effect of these factors is likely to cause the demise of a number of small, rural, service communities. However, it should be pointed out that the findings from a study of twenty-one small communities which had lost rail lines and/or elevators between 1961 and 1971 did not indicate that the loss was particularly detrimental.⁸

7. Underwood, McLellan and Assoc. Ltd., Economic Effect of Rationalization of the Grain Handling and Transportation System on Prairie Communities prepared for Growers Group, (Saskatoon, 1972, p. 6.

8. Ibid., Chapter 5. Most of the communities under study were generally very small and performed a very limited service center role. The study concluded that the removal of rail and/or elevator services could not have an adverse effect on any but the very small service centers which, in normal course of events, would most likely have ceased to exist given the general decline in Canadian small settlements.

Another study conducted in Saskatchewan analyzed factors affecting community performance in population growth and grain shipment of trade centers.⁹ It was discovered that the presence of certain structural features, such as a hospital, a high school, or good highways, adequately explained variations in population growth. Furthermore, the grain shipment function showed little association with community structure or population growth or increases in retail outlets. The study concluded that "there is no definite indication...that a cessation of the grain shipment function would adversely affect community structure in Saskatchewan centers."¹⁰ The two Saskatchewan studies indicate that other factors besides grain shipment might be essential in order to sustain community structure. Perhaps we should be just as concerned with psychological and personal factors as with the economic costs.

While the declining agricultural sector has significant impact on the province's migration and economic patterns, the economic growth in northern Manitoba has a somewhat different implications for Winnipeg. Towns like Thompson, with their sometimes insatiable need for labour, accelerate the economic expansion of the city itself. There is an increased need for transportation facilities, secondary manufacturing, public services and

9. Gerald Hodge, "Branch Line Abandonment: Death Knell for Prairie Towns?" *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 16 (February, 1968), pp. 54-70.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

private financial resources. The continuous migration to the north (for high paying jobs) and to the south (for education opportunities, white collar work, etc.) also creates a small transitory population about which little is known.

(b) ECONOMIC GROWTH IN METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

It has been reported that the province of Manitoba has shared in a period of continuous growth in Canada's economy since the sixties.¹¹ Increases in manufacturing, mining sectors and growth in population, employment and incomes within the province stimulated transportation, trade and services. With the decline in importance of agriculture and the growth of service industries, metropolitan Winnipeg has to dominate the economic life of the province. For instance, it provides 2/3 of all the jobs in the province.

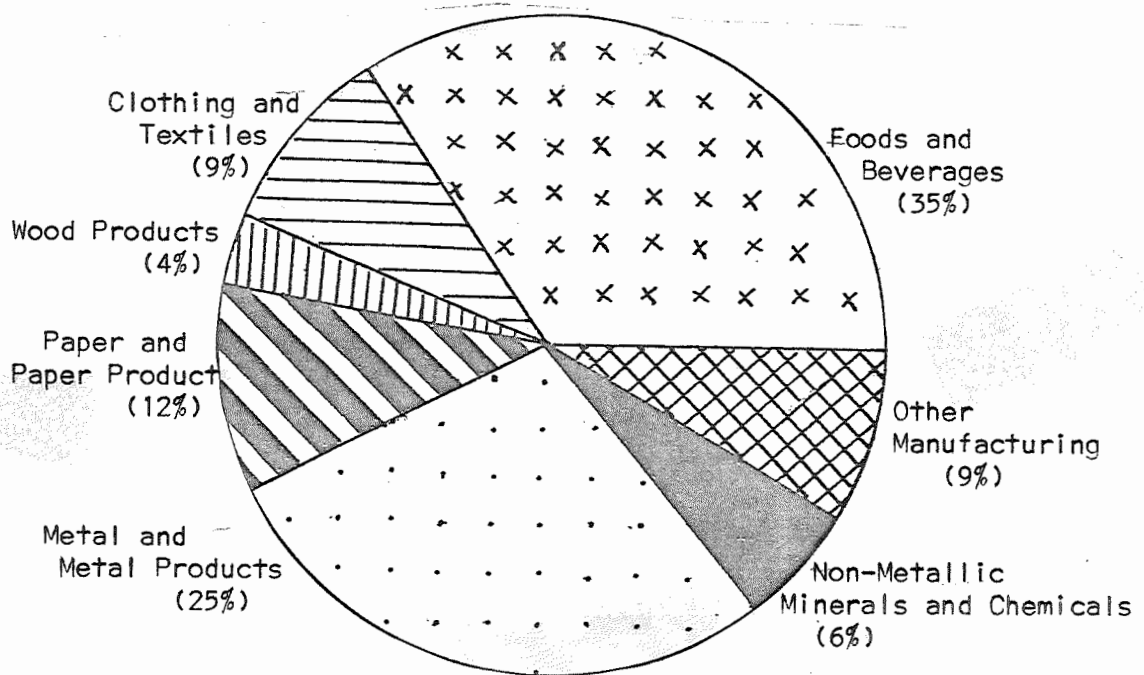
There has been expansion in the service industries in both employment and production. Some of the rapidly growing industries, in terms of employment, since 1961, have been public administration and defence (increasing 40%); community, businesses and personal services (increasing 30%) and trade (increasing 20%).¹²

11. Manitoba to 1980. op. cit. p. 15.

12. Ibid., p. 465.

An accurate measure of manufacturing production is the value of shipment of manufactured goods. For Manufacturing production in Winnipeg has risen from \$607.0 million in 1961 to 896.5 million in 1967. This represented an average rate of increase to 8 percent each year.¹³ For the year of 1972, there has been an increase in manufacturing production of approximately 10 percent to \$1.15 billion.¹⁴ The following diagram illustrates the value of factory shipments for Winnipeg for the year 1972.

VALUE OF FACTORY SHIPMENTS FOR WINNIPEG, 1972



13. The Place of Greater Winnipeg. op. cit. pp. 45-46.

14. Statistics Canada, 1972 Annual Report, op. cit.

Manufacturing is also a major contributor to employment and income in Manitoba. In 1969, there were over 1,500 manufacturing establishments employing some 47,000 people.¹⁵ The present position of manufacturing in the province's economy reflects the previously noted shift from the province's role as a producer of agricultural raw material toward a producer of commodities. Recently, there has been some growth of industrial products in the areas outside of metropolitan Winnipeg. The largest part of the manufacturing industry, however is located in metropolitan Winnipeg. Since 1964 employment in manufacturing has increased by 22 percent.¹⁶

Table 3 illustrates the growth trends that have shaped Winnipeg's role in the economy's manufacturing sector. Here the trend has been a decrease in the total number of manufacturing establishments from 1,017 in 1965 to 957 in 1970. The other factors of production listed in the table such as total payroll, total number of employees, value of factory shipments, and manufacturing activity value added, have trend upwards.

Table 3. MANUFACTURING IN WINNIPEG - TOTAL ALL INDUSTRIES, 1965-1970¹⁷

YEAR	No. of Establishments	Total No. of Employees	Total Payroll \$(000's)	Value of Factory Shipment (\$)	Manufacturing Activity Value Added (\$)
1965	1,017	37,335	158,172	765,265	299,552
1966	1,027	38,939	174,236	847,538	331,539
1967	1,022	39,635	191,222	896,528	352,108
1968	989	38,804	200,360	926,995	365,258
1969	972	39,977	221,205	1,014,950	397,346
1970	957	39,305	234,023	1,029,794	409,361

15. Manitoba to 1980, op. cit. p. 131

16. Ibid., p. 465.

17. Winnipeg Economic Development Board, Statistical Supplement 1974.

In general, industrial growth in Winnipeg has depended on the expansions of existing firms. New industries such as Burrough Machines Inc., nevertheless, are also emerging. More important perhaps are new public investments. The new Royal Canadian Mint, the expanded air base facilities, the decentralization of National Revenue, provincial public works, will be important additions.¹⁸ For instance, not only does the Mint provide employment for 150 to 200 people, it should also attract allied industries.¹⁹

Personal income, a key indicator of the economic situation as well as the living standard of the people, has increased by 98 percent between 1957 and 1967.²⁰ This increase was considerably greater in the city than in rural Manitoba. This income from Winnipeg also represented 68 percent of the total provincial income in 1967.

18. Industrial Development Board of Greater Winnipeg, The 1972 Annual Report, p. 2

19. Ibid., p. 1. Other important indications of Winnipeg's expanding economic stance are the increasing value of building permits previous record of \$156 million in 1969). In the same year, the estimated retail trade volume was \$900 million, which was the highest ever recorded in the city.

20. The Place of Greater Winnipeg. Op. cit. p. 41.

2. LAND COSTS IN THE PERIPHERAL AREAS OF WINNIPEG: 1969 - 1972

When we talk of the increased economic activity in and around Winnipeg, we should be conscious of the cumulative cost that this usually involves. One such cost that aptly illustrates this point is the constantly increasing cost of land. The industrial process, the public service, the worker all need to be housed and accommodated within a limited space. The increased competition leads to a price escalation that seems to be unrelenting. This particular piece of research was designed to document the extent to which land costs have changed in Winnipeg area. Although the figures are close to three years old, the situation has not changed. The evidence brings to mind yet another problem of the growing city.

Land cost trends will be determined for two areas within the fringe area of the City of Winnipeg and for one area within each of the Rural Municipalities of Richot and St. Andrews, bordering the Winnipeg region. These case studies will be compared to each other. Secondly, escalating trends of land costs for major urban areas across Canada will also be established and compared to that of Winnipeg. Thirdly, an assessment based on a land conversion process model will be made to identify regional factor accounting for escalating land costs in the Winnipeg Region.

Description of Data

The land cost trends have been extracted from records of vacant lot-land sales in Wards I and II of St. Andrews, in Wards I, II, III and IV of Richot and in plan areas within Transcona and Fort Garry. All statistics represent vacant lots qualified for residential zoning purposes for single family detached housing in 1969 - 1972. The statistics were obtained through cooperation of the Provincial Municipal Assessment Branch and the City of Winnipeg Assessment Department. CMHC statistics are employed to derive costs across Canada.

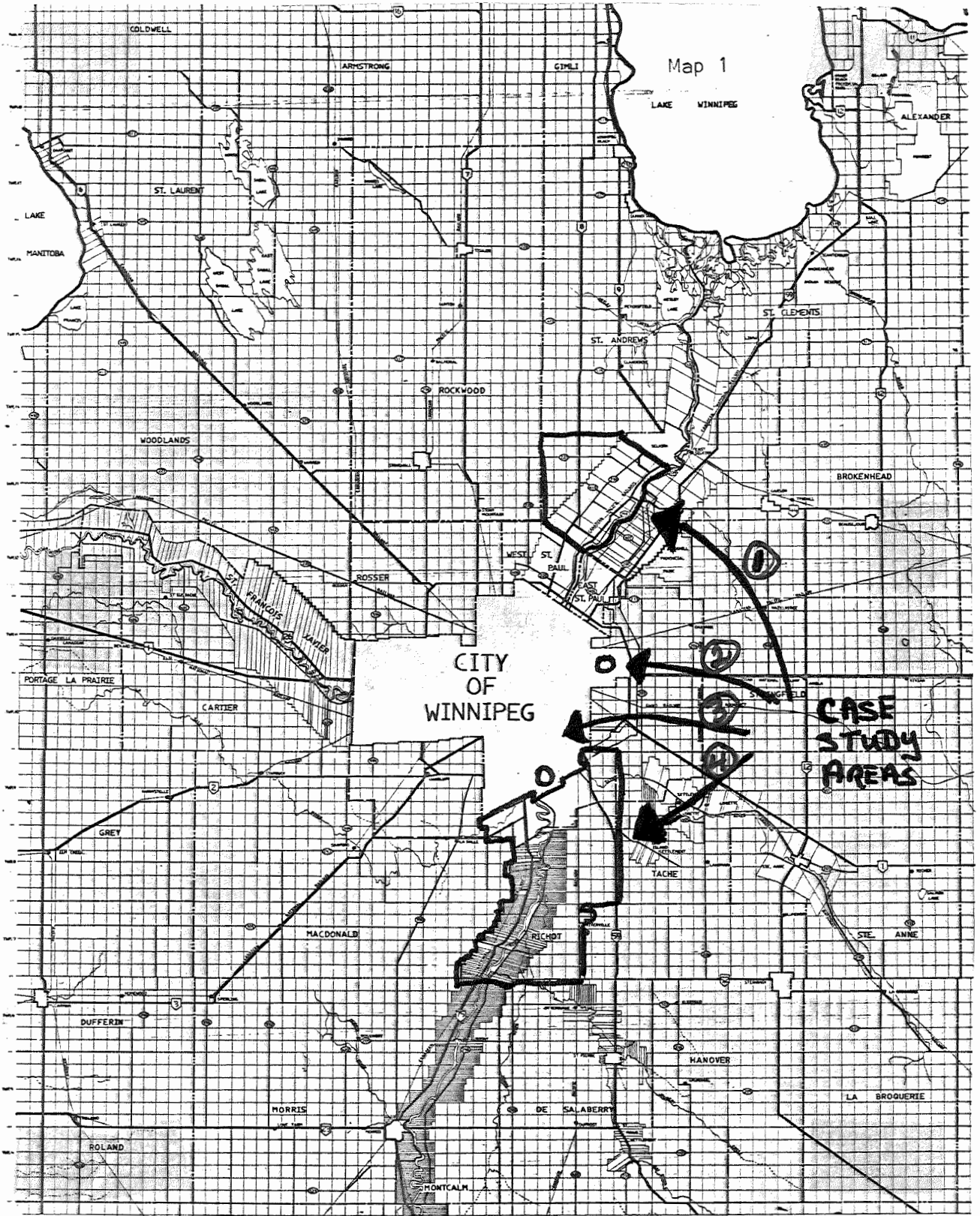
Rural Fringe Area Trends

The rural areas in the immediate vicinity of Winnipeg are experiencing a trend of increasing land costs for housing. Land cost in Wards I and II of the R. M. of St. Andrews increase in the cost per average size of transaction increasing from 5.18 acres to 8.12 acres. In the same area the average cost per acre increased from \$470. to \$506. (This figure does not show, of course, the range of actual cost per acre which varies according to location.)

Table 4, summarizes the land cost sales data for Wards I and II of St. Andrews, 1969 to 1972.

Table 4: Rural Municipality of St. Andrews: Wards I and II Vacant
Land - Lot Size Maximum 20 Acres 1969 - 1972 Sales Data

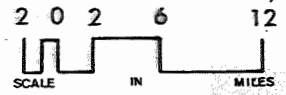
	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
Number of Transactions	21	62	52	74
Number of Acres Sold	108.68	729.67	393.50	600.77
Average Size of Transactions	5.18	11.76	7.57	8.12
Total Cost of all Sales	51,150	107,246	139,488	303,987
Cost/No. of Transactions	2,435	3,345	3,720	4,110
Average Cost per Acre	470	284	491	506
Cost/Average Size of Transaction	9,875	17,625	25,560	37,435



Regional Setting of Case Study Areas

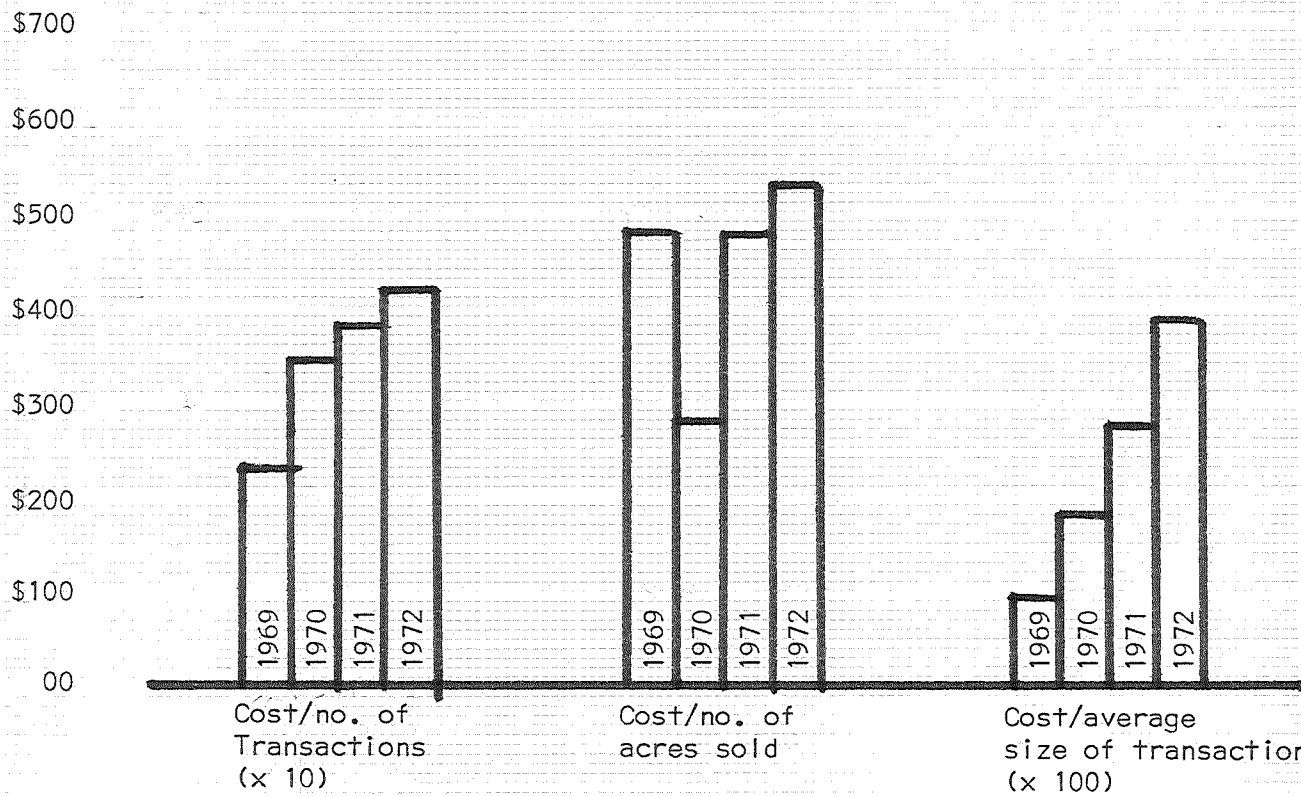
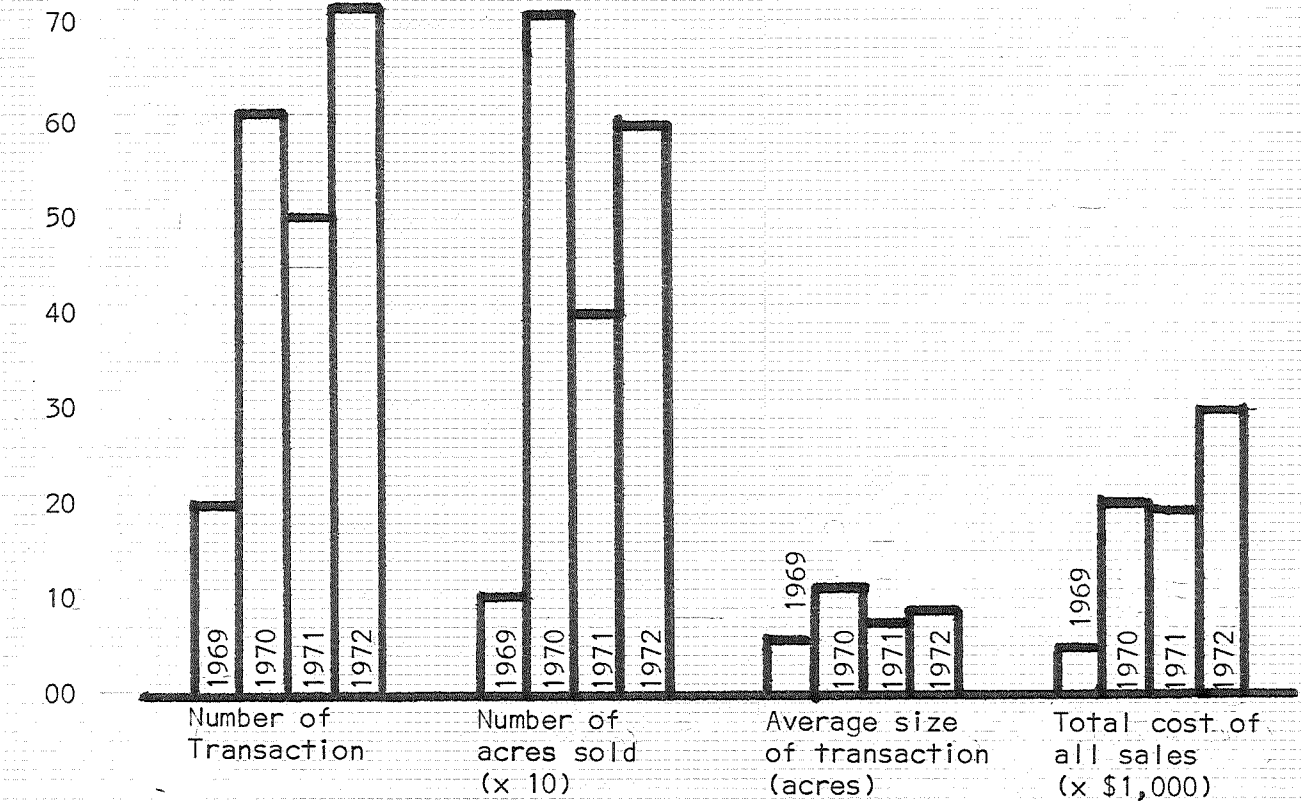
RURAL MUNICIPALITY OF

1. St. Andrews
2. Transcona
3. Fort Garry
4. Richot

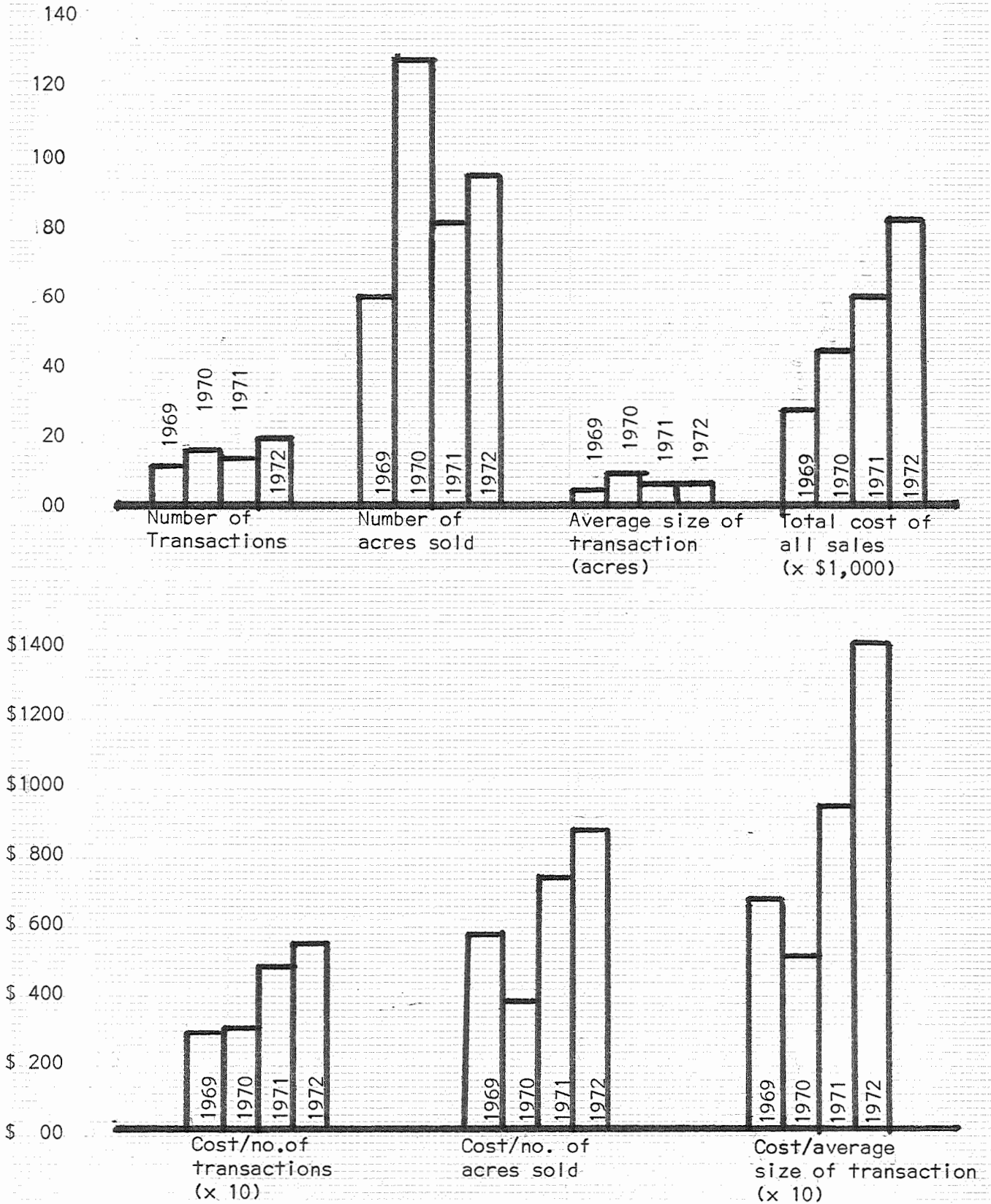


MUNICIPAL PLANNING BRANCH
 DEPARTMENT OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT
 AND MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS
 - PROVINCE OF MANITOBA -

Rural Municipality of St. Andrews: Wards I, II.
 Vacant Land -- Lot size maximum 20 acres
 1969-72 Sales Data



Rural Municipality of Richot: Wards I, II, III, IV
 Vacant Land - Lot Size Maximum 20 acres.
 1969-1972 Sales Data



The cost of land has increased within the four wards of the R. M. of Richot. The trend of increase is illustrated by the statistics indicating this cost per average transaction increased from \$6,750 in 1967 to \$14,020 in 1972. Table 3 and Figure 2 present a summary of sales data for Wards I, II, III and IV of the R.M. of Richot, 1969 - 1972.

Table 5 indicates the land cost statistics for the R.M. of Richot. A similar trend of increasing land costs is self evident.

Table 6 present the trend of increase expressed in percentages for the two areas. This table presents 1972 statistics compared to 1969 statistics. Both areas have marked increases, albeit to different extents, in the number of transactions, the number of acres sold, the average size of transactions, the annual total selling (cost) price of all sales, and cost measured in terms of averages per number of transactions, acres sold, and size of transaction.

Table 5. Rural Municipality of Richot: Wards I, II, III, IV
Vacant Land - Lot Size Maximum 20 Acres
1969 - 1972 Sales Data

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
Number of Transactions	12	15	13	16
Number of Acres Sold	59.39	128	80.87	93.61
Average Size of Transaction	4.95	8.53	6.22	5.85
Total Cost of All Sales	32,511	43,397	59,300	82,011
Cost/No. of Transactions	2,710	2,890	4,650	5,125
Cost/Acre	547	339	732	876
Cost/Average Size of Transaction	6,750	5,090	9,535	14,020

Table 6. Increases Expressed in Percentage
Land Cost Sales Data
Richot and St. Andrews 1969 - 1972

	<u>Richot</u>	<u>St. Andrews</u>
Number of Transactions	33%	250%
Number of Acres Sold	58%	450%
Average Size of Transaction	18%	57%
Total Cost of All Sales	260%	490%
Cost/Number of Transactions	90%	70%
Cost/Acre	60%	8%
Cost/Average Size of Transactions	110%	280%

City Fringe Area Trends

The trend of increasing land costs for residential lots is also on the rise within the City of Winnipeg. The annual sales total for vacant lots in Fort Garry and Transcona averaged over the total area of lots sold provides evidence of this trend. Table 7 presents this comparison:

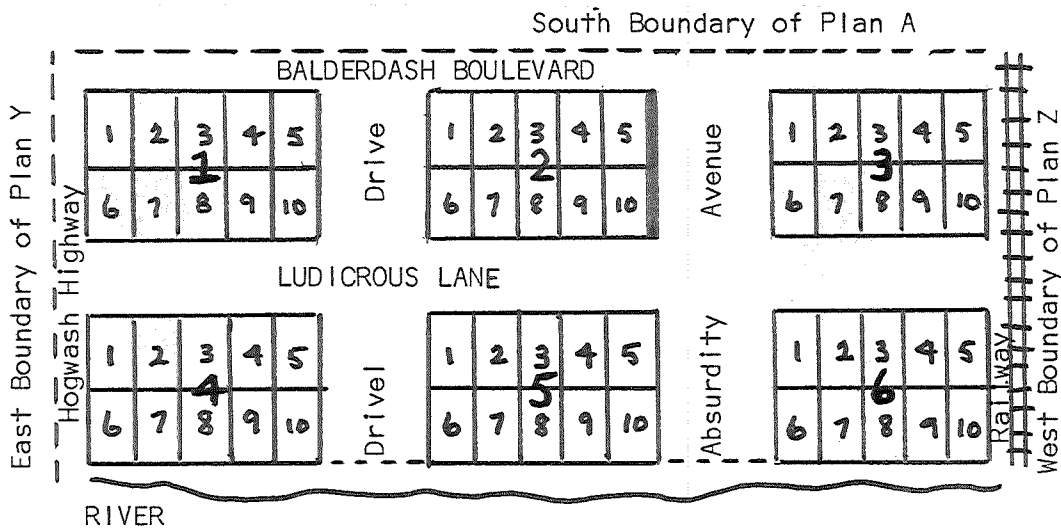
Table 7. Average Cost of Land/Sq. Ft.
Transcona - Fort Garry 1969 - 1972

	<u>Transcona</u>	<u>Fort Garry</u>
1969	.43/sq. ft.	.40/sq. ft.
1970	.67/sq. ft.	.75/sq. ft.
1971	.73/sq. ft.	.65/sq. ft.
1972	.81/sq. ft.	.60/sq. ft.

The general trend of increase in land costs from the above data indicates average increases of 80% in Transcona and 50% in Fort Garry over this four year period.

Figure 3 is a diagram of a hypothetical plan analogous to those in common use by the City of Winnipeg. Land cost trends can be compared by observing activity of vacant land sales in one or a few of these smaller areas.

Figure 3. Hypothetical Map of Plan X



Statistics of vacant land sales within plans #2076 and #10105 in Transcona, and in #1798 and #9020 in Fort Garry are used to provide this other illustration of increasing land costs.

Within Plan 10105 in Transcona, the common lot size is 31'x100' for an area of 3100 sq. ft. In 1969 and 1970 there were seven lots sold in this plan each year. There were no lots sold in this plan for the years 1971 and 1972. In one year land sales in this plan increased nearly 10%. The price of lots increased from \$2,139 in 1969 to \$2,294 in 1972.

Table 8 represents the sales data for Plan #10105 in Transcona for the two years 1969 - 1970.

Table 8. Transcona Plan #10105

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Sales</u>	<u>Average Cost/Sq.Ft.</u>
1969	7	.67/sq. ft.
1970	7	.73/sq. ft.

The standard lot size in Plan #2076 in Transcona is 50' x 100', or 5,000 sq. ft. In 1969, for three of these lots, the average selling price was approximately \$2,200. In 1972 the cost of the same size lot in two examples was \$3,150. Table 9 represents all the sales data for Plan #2076.

Table 9. Transcona Plan #2076

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Sales</u>	<u>Average Cost/Sq.Ft.</u>
1969	3	.45/sq. ft.
1970	10	.48/sq. ft.
1971	8	.54/sq. ft.
1972	4	.63/sq. ft.

Within the four-year span, the average cost of land per square foot increased 40% within Plan #2076.

In Plan #9020, in Fort Garry, a standard lot averages around 6,800 sq. ft. Approximate prices increased from \$5,208 in 1970 to a high of \$6,460 in 1972. Table 10 illustrates the increase in this plan.

Table 10. Fort Garry Plan #9020

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Sales</u>	<u>Average Cost/Sq.Ft.</u>
1970	3	.74/sq. ft.
1971	3	.79/sq. ft.
1972	6	.88/sq. ft.

Table 11 represents the data depicting the land cost trend in Plan #1798, where the lot area averages at 7,565 sq. ft. and increased from \$3,700 to \$5,200 from 1969 to 1972.

Table 11. Fort Garry Plan #1798

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Sales</u>	<u>Average Cost/Sq.Ft.</u>
1969	9	.40/sq. ft.
1970	5	.47/sq. ft.
1971	4	.49/sq. ft.
1972	4	.73/sq. ft.

Within Plan #9020 there was a 20% increase in the cost of a vacant lot from 1969 to 1972. In Plan #1798, from 1969 to 1972, there was an 80% increase in the cost of land.

The documented areas are very small when compared to the entire City of Winnipeg; however, assuming that if this exercise were repeated for each plan or documenting the sales record of each individual lot, the tendency of increasing land costs would be quite similar, the point of this research is merely to indicate in a more precise way what we all know; the price of serviced vacant land began escalating in the late sixties and still continues to escalate through the

seventies current research re-affirms this earlier documentation.

National Comparison

Evidence of land cost trends in Winnipeg compared to other urban areas in Canada, provides a perspective of comparative urban land cost trends. While Winnipeg is not as expensive a place to live as the larger urban centres (particularly southern Ontario), the costs here are steadily becoming prohibitive. To find some of these comparative costs, we have looked at CMHC statistics for vacant land, approved by CMHC for new single family detached housing financing. Figure 2 depicts the Land Cost Trend in 1969 - 1972 for selected areas. Figure 3 presents a breakdown of CMHC data for cost trends in Winnipeg with respect to total cost, land cost and construction cost/sq. ft. increases. Figure 4 presents a summary of land costs to total construction costs in the selected urban areas from 1969 to 1972.

~~These data reflect that land costs in major urban areas have increased dramatically in the last decade. Winnipeg is no exception. What is also significant to this region, is that land in the periphery of the city is increasing as quickly as land within the urban limits.~~

Population in the urban fringe areas ~~examined has~~ increased. Although census statistics are not available for the years of study, the census statistics for the years 1966 and 1971 may be compared. Taken from the 1969 and 1972 reports of the Province of Manitoba Department of Urban Development and Municipal Affairs, population statistics for the two rural municipalities are tabulated in Table 12.²¹

21. Manitoba. Statistical Information Respecting the Municipalities of the Province of Manitoba, Department of Urban Affairs, 1969 and 1972.

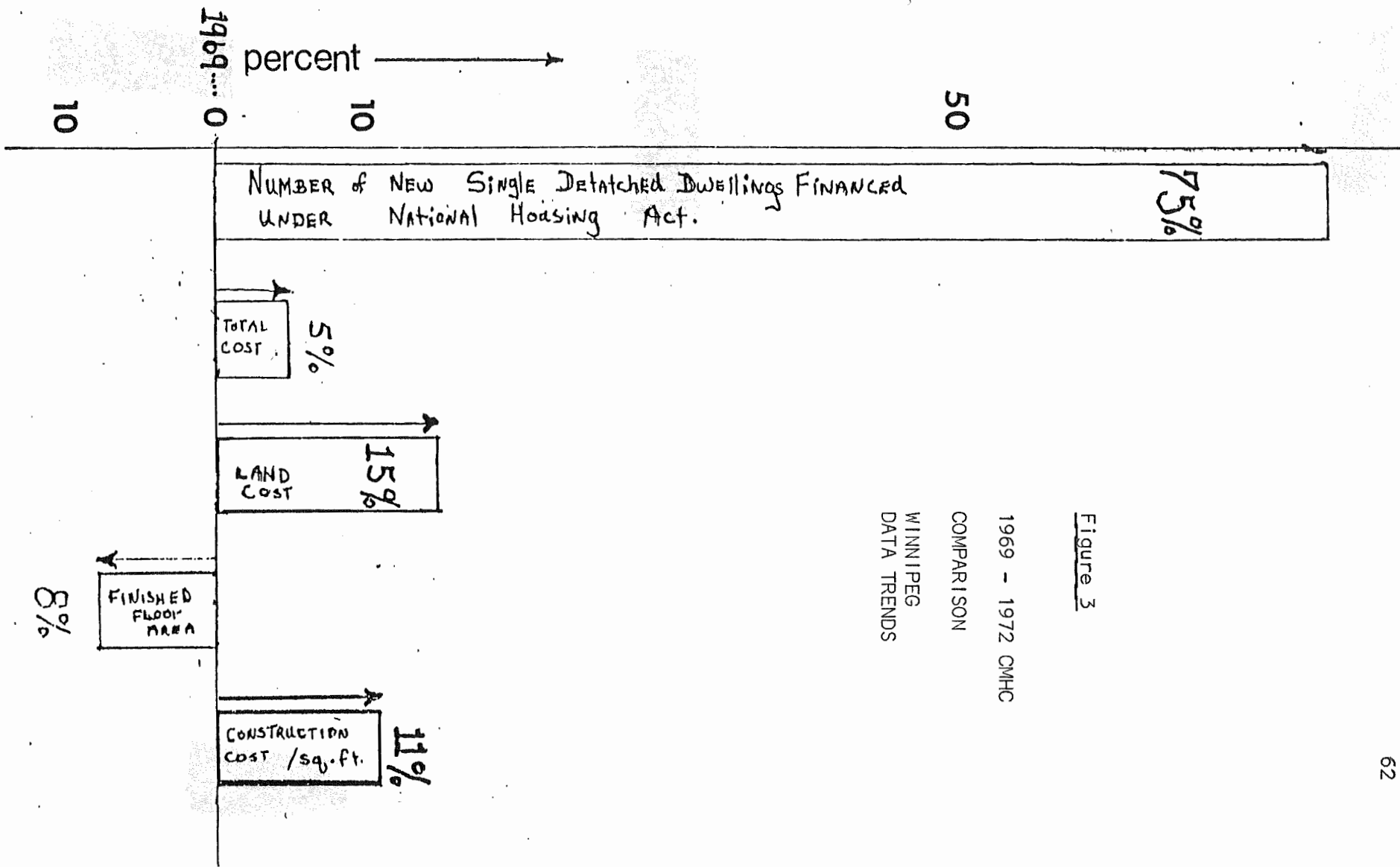


Figure 3

1969 - 1972 CMHC

COMPARISON

WINNIPEG

DATA TRENDS

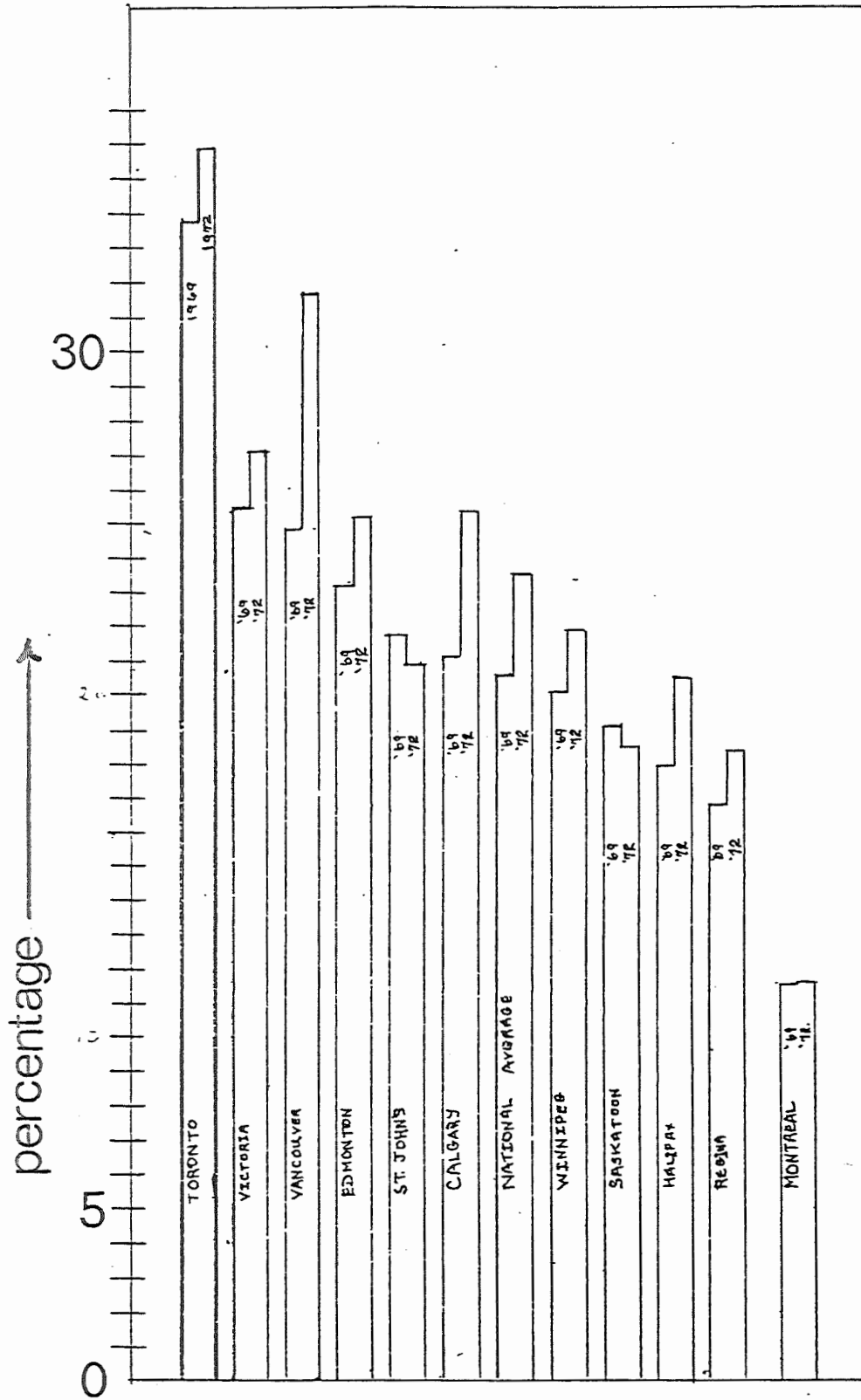


Figure 4

LAND COST TO TOTAL CONSTRUCTION (percent)

1969 1972

cmhc data selected areas

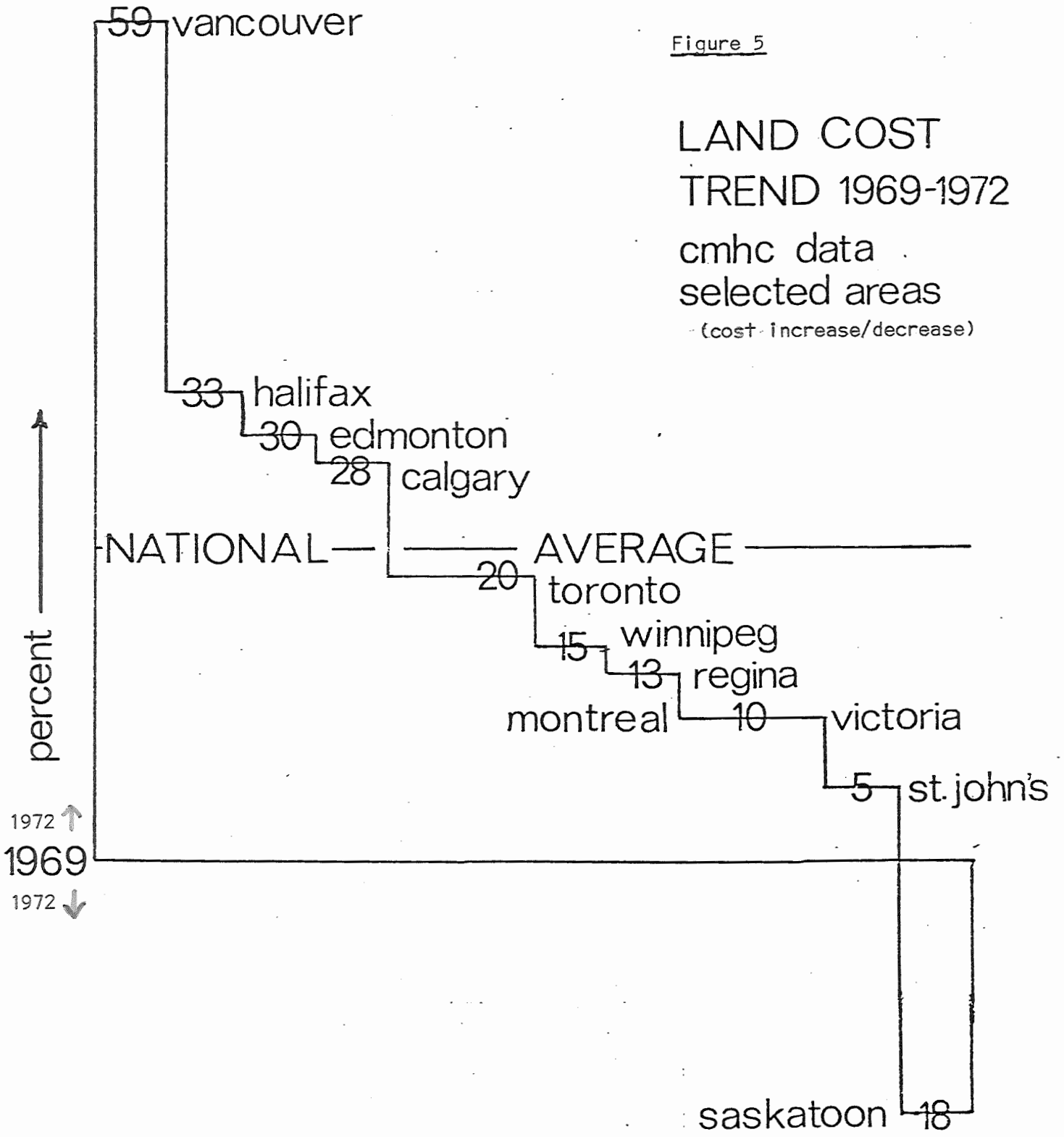


Table 12. Population Statistics
R.M.'s of St. Andrews and Richot 1966-1971

<u>Municipality</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>Increase</u>	<u>% Increase</u>
St. Andrews	5,565	5,865	300	5%
Richot	2,817	2,946	129	5%

This population increase, seemingly small, has some important demographic consequences in the rural areas being settled. This increase basically means more people in the area dependent on an infrastructure including transportation, utilities, social services, schools, etc. The low densities of population in these rural areas means that there is a high per capita cost for these services. What may be more serious a problem, moreover, is the lack of any coordinated, cohesive development plan to allocate where development in these areas occurs. In the additional zone, minimum lot size as a development requirement is simply not adequate enough to manage the development of exurban areas alone.

Land costs generally reflect of the economic dynamics of the metropolitan complex. When there is a steady and continuously increasing demand for land for a number of purposes such as housing, transportation, recreation, industries, commercial, etc. then the prices escalate to reflect this intensive demand for usable space. Our research in parts of Winnipeg clearly indicates that the number of large competitors for land is not extensive - perhaps as few as a half dozen private buyers and the provincial government - yet land values keep rising. Figures published May, 1975 in the local newspapers illustrated the extent to which these buyers own land. In addition, there are, in sections of the city, small speculators who have given no indication

that they intend to use the land except to make a profit. In that way, land costs are directly affected by economic activity of dubious benefit to the future of Winnipeg. Certainly the land buying and selling in East St. Paul, West St. Paul and Springfield in 1974-75 only confirm the cost spiral noted in this research. The movement of Winnipeg based companies into the fringe areas transforms land costs from the local economy into the city economy; that is, the price of land in the rural area begins to reflect its worth to the metropolitan community more so than the local community. Consequently, the bidding soon eliminates the individual home buyer seeking to escape the city. Finally, our research leads us to comment on the role of municipalities in the cost of development land. While municipalities have been charged with unduly increasing the cost of housing through holding up new projects, the evidence also indicates that new property owners have been quite willing to pressure local governments into decisions which would increase the value of their land. The major protagonists here are not the large land buyers but small entrepreneurs who can distort an otherwise stable market place in search of immediate development opportunities. The three municipalities mentioned above are certainly subjected to this type of pressure with subsequent poor planning decisions and further escalation in land costs.

3. POPULATION GROWTH IN METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

The purpose of this research has been to analyse rural-urban population movements. Population projections from local studies indicate a steady population increase in Winnipeg over the next 25 years.²² In the area of migration, however, Winnipeg does not have the retentive capacity of Toronto, Montreal or Vancouver. As a result, population increases are expected to come from natural increase and from in-migration from other parts of the Province.²³

There are two demographic factors which determine population growth - natural increase and net migration. In the last few decades there has been virtually no net migration of people into the province, and therefore, only natural increase has accounted for Manitoba's total increase in population.²⁴ Metropolitan Winnipeg is particularly significant in the discussion of urban growth because of the fact that the increase in metropolitan Winnipeg's population accounted for 95% of the population increase in the province between 1961 and 1971.²⁵ In fact, the city has experienced population growth from 356,813 in 1941 to 474,543 in 1961 to 540,262 in 1971.²⁶

22. L.D. Stone, Urban Development in Canada, 1961 Census Monograph. (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1967), Table 9.2.

23. Between 1966 and 1971, net migration accounted for 32% of the population increase in Metropolitan Winnipeg, according to figures obtained from the Planning Division, City of Winnipeg, May 1973.

24. Manitoba to 1980, Report of the Commission on Targets for Economic Development (TED Commission Report). (Winnipeg, Manitoba 1969), p. 426.

25. The Place of Greater Winnipeg in the Economy of Manitoba. Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Planning Division, pp. 25-26.

26. Metropolitan Winnipeg Population Report 1966-1971. Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Planning Division, (Winnipeg, 1968).

The TED Commission's projections for Metropolitan Winnipeg suggest that by 1980 the city could contain 64% of the provincial population, and the proportion would even be greater by the end of the century.²⁷

Natural increase in population for Metropolitan Winnipeg has not been significant. Between 1966 and 1969, there was a natural increase in the province as a whole of 29,500, and of that number 14,000 occurred in the city.²⁸ On the other hand, since 1940, the population of all urban centers has reflected the rural to urban shift, and Metropolitan Winnipeg has shown the fastest population change due to such population migration. The contribution of rural-urban migration to Winnipeg's urban growth is discussed in the following section.

(a) Rural-Urban Migration

Urbanization in Manitoba has involved extensive redistribution of population. Excluding population on Indian reserves and unorganized territory, the rural segment of the population of Manitoba lost approximately 64,000 due to migration during the 1951-1961 decade. At the same time, the Winnipeg area and other incorporated centers of 1,000 or more population in 1951 gained nearly 60,000 people due to migration.²⁹ Table 13, which displays the rural-urban distribution of population in Manitoba, reveals the increasing proportion of the population which resides in urban centers. The

27. Census of Canada, 1971. Bulletin 92-707 (and preliminary reports), Tables 5,7.

28. The Place of Greater Winnipeg...op.cit. p. 26.

29. E. I. Sharp, and G. H. Kristjunson, The People of Manitoba 1957-1961, p. 19.

population in Manitoba changed from 80 percent rural in 1901 to 70 percent urban in 1971. If the same forces promoting urbanization in the province continue, by 1980 roughly three quarters of the provincial population will live in urban areas.³⁰

Table 13. Rural-Urban Population Distribution of Manitoba, 1946-1971³¹

YEAR	TOTAL	RURAL		URBAN ^a	
		NUMBER	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
1946	726,923	389,592	53.6	337,401	46.4
1951	776,541	336,961	43.4	439,580	56.6
1956	850,040	339,457	39.9	510,583	60.1
1961	921,686	332,897	36.1	588,807	63.9
1966	963,066	317,018	32.9	646,048	67.1
1971	988,245	301,800	30.5	686,445	69.5

The urbanization process in Manitoba has been selective in terms of both age and sex. As the agricultural industry continues to offer fewer direct employment opportunities, the rural, younger generation has tended to migrate to urban centers in search of better social, economic, and educational opportunities. In 1966, 13.3 percent of

30. Manitoba to 1980. op. cit. p. 426.

31. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1946, Vol. 1; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1951, Bulletin 1-10, Vol. 1; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin 92-536; Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, Bulletin 92-709.

a. Urban refers to those who reside in cities, towns, and villages of 1,000 population or more.

the population belonged to the youth category, while only 12.2 percent represented the older age group.³² Table 14 displays the uneven distribution of Manitoba's population by sex in 1961 and 1971. The rural population showed a slight decrease in its over-representation of males while the urban population experienced a slight over-representation of females between 1961 and 1971.

Table 14. Rural-Urban Distribution by Sex, Manitoba, 1961 and 1971³³

SEX	RURAL		URBAN	
	1961	1971 (percentage)	1961	1971 (percentage)
Male	53.4	52.3	49.4	49.1
Female	46.6	47.7	50.6	50.0
Total	332,879	301,805	588,807	686,440

As indicated previously the City of Winnipeg now accounts for over half of the population in the province. As the rate of natural increase in the province has been quite moderate, the major element contributing to Winnipeg's population growth and its growing dominance in terms of population concentration has been in-migration

32. The Place of Greater Winnipeg in the Economy of Manitoba.
op. cit. p. 13.

33. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1961,
Bulletin 95-536; Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971,
Bulletin 92-709.

from other areas of Manitoba. It has been estimated that by 1980, the number of people living within the boundaries of Metropolitan Winnipeg will increase by 50 percent to a total of around 775,000, if the present momentum is maintained.³⁴

(b) Manitoba In The National Context

As shown in Figure 7, Manitoba in 1971 ranked fifth among the provinces with 69.5 percent of its population urban. The highest urban/rural population ratio of 82.4 percent is found in Ontario. While the lowest of 38.3 percent is found in P.E.I. Figure 7 also illustrates the population densities of the 10 Canadian provinces. With greater concentration of urban population, we find higher urban population densities. Compared with other provinces, Manitoba ranks eighth with a population density of 4.6 persons per square mile. P.E.I. has the highest density with 50.3 persons per square mile; while the lowest 9.3 percent has been recorded in the N.W.T. and the Yukon.

(c) Family Mobility In And Out Of Winnipeg

Population mobility is yet another dimension of urban growth. A total of 1,446 such households relocated in Winnipeg in 1972, while 1,050 moved to other cities from Winnipeg. In 1973, the relocation figure was higher in both cases; a total of 1,530 households moved to Winnipeg, while 1,215 left Winnipeg for other cities.³⁵

34. Manitoba to 1980. op. cit. p. 426.

35. Winnipeg Tribune. Tuesday, April 23, 1974, p. 43.

MANITOBA PERCENT URBAN AND POPULATION DENSITY
 RELATIVE TO OTHER PROVINCES AND CANADA-1971

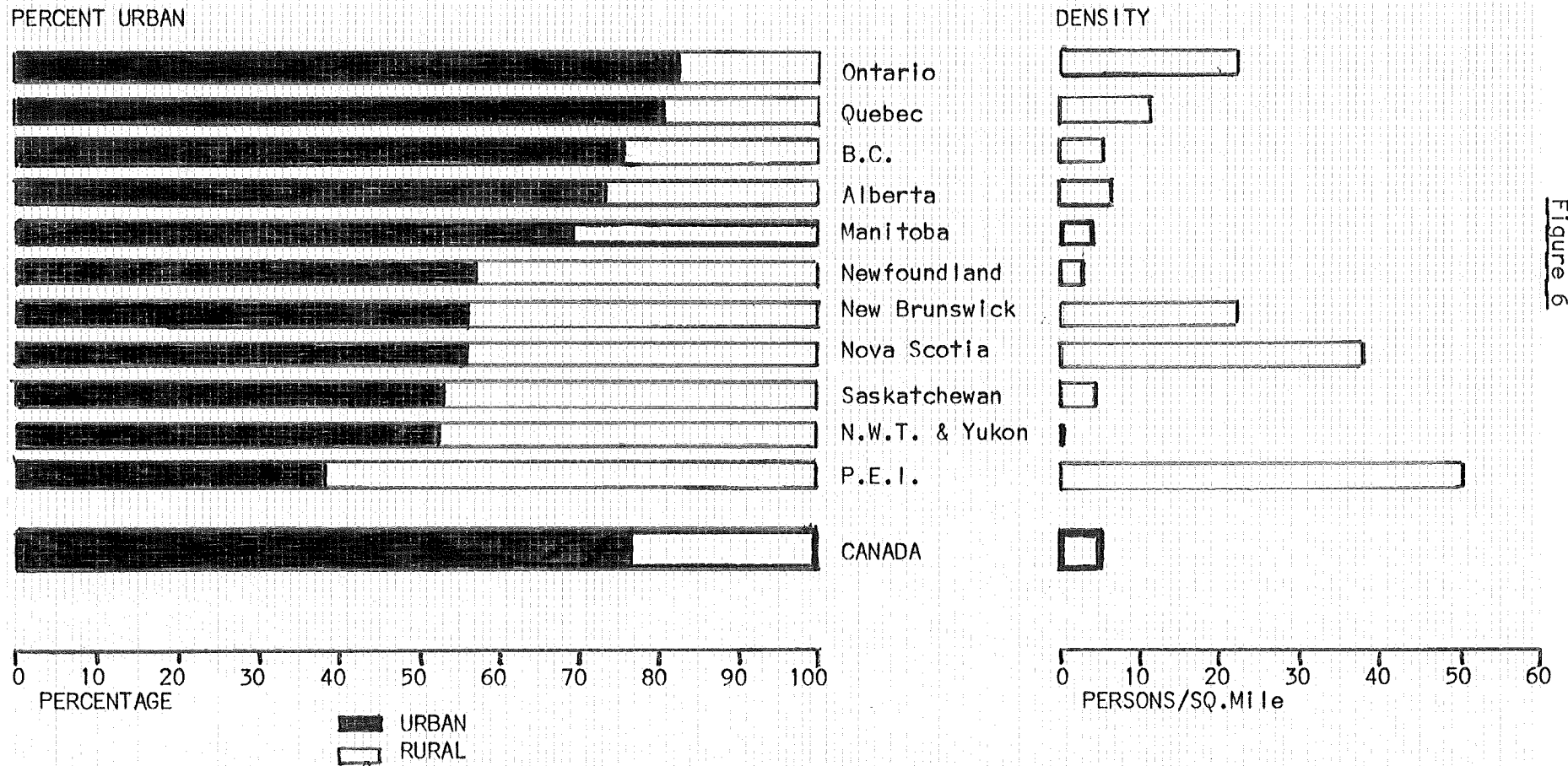


Figure 6

Source: Graphs adapted from Table 3. Population Growth and Urban Problems Perceptions 1
 Science Council of Canada, June 1974.

(d) External Migration

As pointed out elsewhere, the 1967 immigration policy has led to changes in the occupational composition of the Canadian immigration flow.³⁶ The trend in Canada is presently characterized by a decline in the proportion of immigrants who intend to work in primary industries, and a rise in the proportion destined for the managerial, professional and clerical categories. Over the period 1946 - 1955 the primary industry immigrant labour force fell from 25 percent to roughly 4 percent in the early 70's. On the other hand, the managerial, professional and clerical labour force immigrants rose from 15 percent to 48 percent during the same period.

Table 15. Canadian Foreign Born Population, 1971³⁷

	Population	Number Foreign Born	Percent Foreign Born
Canada	21,568,310	3,295,530	15.3
Urban Canada	16,436,845	2,792,170	17.0
Montreal	2,743,235	405,680	14.8
Toronto	2,628,125	893,315	34.0
Vancouver	1,082,355	286,485	26.5
Ottawa-Hull	602,555	25,130	4.2
Winnipeg	540,260	107,425	19.9
Hamilton	498,510	132,940	26.7
Edmonton	495,910	90,925	18.3
Calgary	403,325	82,595	20.5
London	286,265	57,270	20.0
Winsor	258,655	55,635	21.5

36. Perceptions 1. p. 4 et sequitur.

37. Perceptions 1. Table 6, p. 16.

Although external migrants make up 20 percent of Canada's population, Manitoba has not been a popular destination for most migrants. While Ontario has attracted 52.7 percent of external migrants, during the period 1946-1970, the Prairie Provinces have absorbed only 13.3 percent during the same period. External migrants tend to adopt the urban rather than the rural life-style. This is thought to be due to the pull of family ties and the relatively high percentages of those in professional, managerial and occupational categories. In 1971 Winnipeg's foreign born population stood at 107,425 persons or 19.9 percent of the total city population.

Finally, it has been predicted that the number of farms and the farm population in Manitoba will continue to decline so that by 1981, only 10% of the total population will live on farms.³⁸ It is estimated that between 1971 and 1981, 400 Farmers will leave their farms annually. For these farmers who leave their farms seasonal and annual farm labor will be reduced by 724 jobs annually.

Thus, 1,124 new jobs will be needed annually to absorb the people that leave farm work. (This figure would of course be adjusted to account for those who choose to retire.) The Committee on Manitoba's Economic Future states that declining employment opportunities are intensifying the disparities between Metropolitan Winnipeg and its depressed interland. Although it is true that 1971 Census data shows farmers as having incomes between \$4,800 - \$5,500 and the urban population \$9,000 - \$11,000, there is no past data for comparison and it is not known whether the disparities are in fact increasing.

38. "Source Migration Analysis and Farm Numbers projection Models; A Synthesis" by J. MacMillan et. al. The American Journal of Agricultural Economics, 1974.

4. NEW WINNIPEGGERS: WHO ARE THEY?

The movement of rural people to large urban centers has become a complex and controversial issue which involves the migrants, the remaining rural residents, both on farms and in small towns, and the residents of the receiving urban centers. The movement has social, economic, and environmental repercussions for the migrants, the declining rural areas, and the growing urban centers. First, this paper attempts to examine Manitoba's urban growth trends over the last twenty years.

Secondly, this study focusses on the demographic and social characteristics of the rural-urban migrants, their adjustment to urban living and their satisfaction with living in an urban milieu. One major objective is to uncover the problems and needs of this group of people who have been forming an increasingly large proportion of the new residents in the Winnipeg area.

(a) Frame of Reference

The first part summarizes the reasons for population movements, based on some earlier studies which deal with internal migration. The second section is a review of the literature on the problems faced by rural-migrants in urban centers. It also includes a report of the special problems faced by rural migrants of Indian and Metis origin. The final section provides evidence for the degree of association between various social and demographic characteristics of rural

migrants in the city and their adjustment to urban living. An understanding of why some rural migrants adjust better to urban life than others will be helpful in discovering the areas in which migrants need assistance and the special problems of some of the migrants on which social agencies and government departments could concentrate.

(b) Reasons for Migration

Different theories have explained population movements. One widely-accepted theory is the "push-pull" hypothesis.³⁹ It suggests that movement of people is due to socio-economic imbalances between regions where people are "pushed" away from the area of origin while certain factors "pull" them to the area of destination. On the individual level, several factors have been pointed out as being important forces behind migration -- the desire for both economic and social betterment, limited employment opportunities in rural areas, apparent attraction of urban living, the psychological motive of being no longer tied to the land, better schooling and training possibilities in the city, and others.⁴⁰ In other words, economic, social, as well as cultural considerations all play a part in motivating the rural residents to migrate.

39. D. S. Thomas, Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements (New York, 1941), adapted from J. A. Jackson (ed.), Migration (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 65; G. V. Fugitt, "Part-Time Farming and the Push-Pull Hypothesis", American Journal of Sociology m64 (1969), pp. 375-79.

40. G. Beijer, Rural Migrants in Urban Setting (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963), p. 33; D. R. Whyte, "Social Determinants of Inter-Community Mobility; An Inventory of Findings", The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, (February, 1967), pp. 1-23.

Jane Abramson⁴¹ has studied the migration behavior of 100 former farmers who moved voluntarily to Saskatoon between 1955 and 1965. According to Abramson's study, most migrants make the move as a result of severe economic pressures in the rural areas. There are those whose leases expire and have insufficient capital to purchase their land; some lack capital to purchase machinery; some are in debt and cannot get further credit to continue their operations; and there are those who are forced to discontinue their farming operations because of accidents, illness, or advancing age. Other than economic disadvantages, factors such as isolation from medical services, secondary schools for farm children, advanced vocational training facilities, and opportunities for social contacts also contribute to geographical mobility. The younger people are motivated to move in view of the relatively educational and employment opportunities in the city.

McCaskill,⁴² in his study of migration of Indians and Metis to Winnipeg from the reserves and their adjustment to the urban way of life, found that the depressed economic situation on the reserves and in Metis communities is probably the greatest single cause of their migration.⁴³ There is a lack of employment opportunities on the reserves since many of the traditional occupations such as

41. Jane Abramson, Rural to Urban Adjustment, ARDA Research Report, No. Re-4 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968).

42. D. N. McCaskill, "Migration, Adjustment, and Integration of the Indian into the Urban Environment", unpublished Master's thesis, Carleton University, 1970.

43. McCaskill, pp. 109-115.

hunting and trapping are declining in importance. In addition, the native people are also facing the problem of over-population in their rural communities as they are the fastest growing ethnic group in Canada.⁴⁴

(c) Problems Faced by In-migrants in the City

A report of a workshop on migrants, immigrants, and transients conducted by the Community Welfare Planning Council of Winnipeg gives some insights into the problems faced by recent arrivals in Winnipeg from rural areas.⁴⁵ Loneliness is seen as a problem among rural-urban migrants as well as inaccessibility of services. They often face frustration and discouragement in trying to find work because of all the formality they have to go through. Other problems facing rural-urban migrants in trying to find work are lack of money for transportation and clean clothes, over-crowded employment offices, and inability to obtain references which are necessary to get work in the city.

Housing has always been a problem in the urban center, especially for those rural migrants who lack the capital to purchase a house or sufficient earnings to rent adequate housing. Consequently, most are forced to live in substandard housing in undesirable neigh-

44. Indians have an overall increase of 3.2% per annum as compared with a 1.9% increase per annum for Canada as a whole, according to McCaskill, p. 94.

45. Report of Migrants, Immigrants, and Transient Workshop, sponsored by the Community Welfare Planning Council, (Winnipeg, 1970).

bourhoods. They tend to feel crowded in the city, while farm-reared children also lack their spaced activities of the farm.⁴⁶

It is quite common for former farm people to show some symptoms of psychological stress amidst complicated and busy urban life.⁴⁷ They may have feelings of insecurity and social isolation, feelings of disillusionment with city life because of a discrepancy between rural and urban values, or they may experience role adjustment problems or perceive the urban social setting as being impersonal, indifferent, and competitive. According to Abramson,⁴⁸ social adjustment seems especially poor among former successful farm operators, who have been leaders in their rural community. Migration to the city and subsequent employment among low-status occupations is seen as a loss of social status and influence.

It has been documented in a study by the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre and the Institute of Urban Studies⁴⁹ that problems of housing and employment are perhaps the most crucial for native people coming into the city from Metis communities or reserves. The majority of

46. Abramson, Rural to Urban Adjustment, pp. 76-80.

47. Ibid., p. 85.

48. Ibid., p. 67.

49. Indian and Metis Friendship Centre and the Institute of Urban Studies, The Indian-Metis Urban Probe, (Winnipeg, 1971), pp. 8-10.

them have tremendous difficulties in finding adequate housing or locating homes at rents they can afford. As a consequence of their lack of information on the availability of city houses and the necessary economic means, they are often confined to the most inferior houses in less desirable neighbourhoods. Families with children may face more acute problems since adequate houses to accommodate their large families are often beyond their purchasing or renting power.

The Indian-Metis Urban Probe⁵⁰ also indicates that poor education, language deficiency, lack of training and job experience, and lack of information on how to find jobs are the major hinderances of equal employment opportunities for Indian and Metis people in Winnipeg. Since a large proportion of the native people are in the labourer category the fact that they do not belong to trade unions has put them in a disadvantaged position.

It has been suggested that another reason why native migrants find it more difficult to adjust to urban living is that Indian and Metis migration patterns always involve a type of "reverse mobility" which leads the individual to return to the home community frequently.⁵¹ In other words native people "commute" rather than "migrate" to the cities.⁵² Thus, their adjustment to the urban environment is

50. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

51. McCaskill, "Migration, Adjustment, and Integration of the Indian into the Urban Environment". p. 226.

52. Nancy Lurie, "The Indian Moves to an Urban Setting", in *Resolving Conflicts - A Cross-Cultural Approach*, (Winnipeg: Department of University Extension and Adult Education, University of Manitoba, 1967, adapted from McCaskill, p. 226.

hampered and they undergo a unique process of urbanization instead of becoming urbanites like other migrants do.

Factors Affecting Satisfaction and Adjustment

Based on previous empirical studies several factors have been found to be indicative of successful urban adjustment on the part of rural migrants while other factors seem to inhibit such adjustment.

Age. Migration generally involves selection according to age. Younger people are found to make poorer adjustments than the middle-aged men and better adjustments than older persons.⁵³ Handicaps in age often prevent rural immigrants from obtaining desirable, high-status jobs.

Previous urban experience. There is evidence that those migrants who have lived in urban communities before are more likely to make better adjustments to city life than those who have only lived in rural municipalities.⁵⁴

The type of occupational experience which the migrant has had before moving is also a significant factor in his adjustment. In general, non-agricultural working experience leads to better adaptation in

53. Jane Abramson, Adjustments Associated with Migration from Farm Operator to Urban Wage Earner. An ARDA -sponsored research project, (Saskatoon: Canadian Centre for Community Studies, 1966), p. 114.

54. Ibid., p. 117; T.P. Omari, "Factors Associated with Urban Adjustment of Rural Southern Migrants", Social Forces 35, (October, 1956), pp. 47-63.

the urban environment.⁵⁵ On the other hand, Omari indicated that migrants who were not farmers, especially those who engaged in occupations that brought them in contact with the urban way of life, tend to be less satisfied with their new community.⁵⁶ He explained that this may be due to the fact that migrants who have had an opportunity to work off the farm had reason to be more critical of their occupational role in the city.

Length of residence. Studies by Monu, Zimmer, and Omari have demonstrated that the length of residence in the city is positively associated with the migrant's adjustment.⁵⁷ Omari indicated that the length of time the migrant has lived in his new community is the most important factor in the process of his adjustment to all phases of life in the community.⁵⁸ These findings, however, are quite contrary to Abramson's, which suggest that longer residence in the city is not significantly related to increasingly favourable attitudes toward the city environment.⁵⁹ She argues that time alone does not appear to produce a more positive attitude toward urban living.

55. Abramson, Adjustments Associated with Migration from Farm Operator to Urban Wage Earner, p. 116.

56. Omari, op. cit., p. 52.

57. Omari, op. cit., p. 51; E. D. Monu, "Rural Migrants in an Urban Community: A Study of Migrants from the Interlake Region of Manitoba in Winnipeg and Brandon:", unpublished Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1969; B. Zimmer, "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures", American Sociological Review 2, (April, 1955), pp. 218-224.

58. Omari, op. cit., p. 53.

59. Abramson, Adjustments Associated with Migration from Farm Operator to Urban Wage Earner, p. 101.

Educational and Occupational Levels. There are discrepancies in the findings on the relationship between educational level and adjustment. It has been shown that higher levels of education tend to be predictive of later urban adjustment,⁶⁰ while another study revealed nonsignificant association between educational level and community satisfaction.⁶¹

Abramson's⁶² study demonstrated that difficulties in adjustment to city employment are the most common problems. Handicaps in age, lack of skills, and low level of education often prevent rural immigrants from obtaining high-status jobs. Consequently, the majority are engaged in unskilled labour, and the move from farm operator to city labourer is often regarded as a loss of status. Other hinderances to occupational adjustment are the rigid hours, the monotony of the work, the lack of independence, a sense of alienation and non-achievement, and a general dislike of the kind of work done. A farm operator feels free when he is working on a farm and he is able to see his own production; a wage earner in a factory is forced to work regular hours at the assembly line and he seldom sees the finished products. Work and self become separated so that the worker loses a sense of achievement. It has been shown that because of the lack of motivation on the part of farm-reared migrants, most show little upward mobility over time, while horizontal

60. Abramson, p. 51.

61. Omari, op. cit., p. 51.

62. Abramson, Rural to Urban Adjustment, p. 63.

mobility occurs quite frequently.⁶³ Those migrants who are engaged in poorly-paid jobs also find it difficult to earn adequate incomes to maintain a minimal standard of living in the city. Their perception of the buying power of their earnings tends to undergo a marked revision soon after their move.

Social participation. It has been cited in several studies that social participation is indicative of successful adjustment in the urban environment.⁶⁴ Burchinal and Monu⁶⁵ found that rural migrants to the city tend to have lower participation and fewer memberships in social organizations. They both explained that rural-reared migrants tend to find it difficult to adjust to the social activities where farm life has not prepared them. This has been supported by Zimmer's findings⁶⁶ which emphasizes the fact that membership in formal organizations tends to increase directly with length of time in the community. Zimmer also pointed out that the effects of migration may only be temporary, since migrants soon approximate the native population in level of participation and in number of memberships.

63. Freedman, R. And D. Freedman, "Farm-Reared Elements in the Non-Farm Population", Rural Sociology, 21 (1956), pp. 50-61.

64. Abramson, Rural to Urban Adjustment, ARDA Research Report, No. R#-4 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968); Monu, op. cit., pp. 10-12; Zimmer, op. cit., pp. 281-324; S. M. Lipset, "Social Mobility and Urbanization", Rural Sociology 20, (September, 1955), 220-228.

65. L. G. Burchinal, (ed.) Rural Youth in Crisis: Facts, Myths, and Social Change, prepared for the National Committee for Children and Youth, United States Department of Health, Education & Welfare, Monu, op. cit., pp. 10-12.

66. Zimmer, op. cit., pp. 219-223.

Family ties. It has been found that migrant family often tends to suffer from family disorganization and weakening of family integration.⁶⁷ Whyte indicated that this is mainly due to the differential rate of adjustment of different members of the family. He further explained that the new roles played by the migrants and the new norms governing their behavior are also likely to increase the conflict among family members.

There is evidence, on the other hand, which suggests that family ties are conducive to social adjustment.⁶⁸ It is argued that the migrant acts as a communicate to other members of his family who follow him to the city, thus helping to cushion the shock of adjustment for the more recent migrants. The tendency of migrants are more likely to remain isolated from the rest of the community.⁶⁹

A common phenomenon among many of the migrants is the maintenance of social ties in the rural community after their migration to the city. Abramson argued that visiting, attending church and other social functions in the home community "presumably help the migrants maintain their sense of identity, in spite of the changes in the self-image that accompanies migration."⁷⁰ On the other hand,

67. Whyte, "Social Determinants of Inter-Community Mobility: An Inventory of Findings", pp. 15-17.

68. Abramson, Adjustments Associated with Migration from Farm Operator to Urban Wage Earner, p. 93; Whyte, op. cit., p. 16; Burchinal, Rural Youth in Crisis, p. 280.

69. Burchinan, op. cit., p. 280; A.M. Rose and L. Wanobey, "The Adjustment of Migrants to Cities", Social Forces 36 (1957), 72-76.

70. Abramson, Adjustments Associated with Migrants from Farm Operator to Urban Wage Earners, p. 94.

Schwarzweiler⁷¹ postulated that the greater the frequency of interaction with the home community, the more dissatisfied the rural migrant is with the urban community. Furthermore, Abramson⁷² observed that the social integration of the wife and/or the children often enhances the adjustment of the male head of the household. Hanson and Simmons⁷³ also considered the marital status of the migrant and the number of children at home to be significant factors in the adjustment process.

(d) Summary of the Literature on Population Migration

This summary has dealt with some of the problems faced by rural migrants in the large urban area, and has reviewed the literature on the association between various social and demographic characteristics of rural migrants and their adjustment to urban living. It has also provided the framework for an analysis of rural-urban migration in Manitoba. One of the objectives of this study is to discover which migration theories, if any, are supported by a study of rural migrants to Winnipeg. Another aim is to find out whether the problems of rural migrants identified in previous studies are similar to those found in a study of rural-urban migration in Manitoba between 1963 and 1973. A third objective is to investigate which social and demographic factors are associated with successful urban adjustment.

71. H. K. Schwarzweiler, "Parental Family Ties and Social Integration of Rural and Urban Migrants", Journal of Marriage and the Family 26 (November, 1964), pp. 410-416.

72. Abramson, Rural to Urban Adjustment, pp. 82-83.

73. R. C. Hanson and O. G. Simmons, "The Role Path: A Concept and Procedure for Studying Migration to Urban Communities", Human Organization 27, (Summer, 1968), pp. 152-158.

(e) Results of the Winnipeg Study

In order to present the reader with a clearer picture of some of the experiences and circumstances that the rural migrants face in adjusting to Winnipeg life, a description of the background and the present life situation of the people studied in this research report is presented in the following section.

Of the 100 respondents, 41 came from rural municipalities or villages of 50 to 99 population. More than half of the rural migrants actually lived on farms just prior to moving to the city. It was anticipated that those who had been raised on farms and had had no previous urban experience would have the greatest difficulty adjusting to urban living. In the sample, 62 percent fell into this category. The largest group, 34.6 percent, were either farm operators or farm labourers. The overall previous occupational status of the respondents was quite low, according to Blishen's scale.⁷⁴

Before leaving their rural homes, more than half of the respondents had held full-time or part-time jobs or various kinds outside farming. A minority of 35 percent had never worked off the farm. Those migrants would predictably have less earning power in the city and would lack the necessary information to find suitable employment. Of those people who were planning to work once they arrived in the city, 30 percent had obtained a job prior to their arrival.

74. B.R. Blishen, "A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, IV, (February, 1967); pp. 41-53. For a discussion of the Blishen scale, refer to Appendix B.

(f) Migrant Family Characteristics

The numbers of young, middle-aged and older persons were almost equal in the sample. There were 38 in the young category, 34 in the middle aged group, and 28 older persons. There were 46 males and 54 females. Seventy-nine respondents were married and 79 households had children. The average family size was 3 persons. Households with 1 or 2 children comprised 35 percent of the respondents while only 3 percent had 5 or more children living with them.

The largest ethnic groups in the sample were the British and Germans (29 households each). The language used most at home by the migrants was English (76 percent); 11 percent spoke German and 10 percent spoke French at home.

The educational level of the respondents as a group was by no means limited. The distribution of the respondents by education is presented in Table 17 in Appendix B. Those that had some college or technical training made up 27 percent of the sample. Those with some high school, college, or technical education should not find it difficult to find employment. Those who had grade eight or less education (22 percent), might encounter some difficulty in obtaining well-paid jobs. After leaving the academic system, 31 percent of the migrants had taken some additional vocational training.

At the time of the interview 74 percent of those who wished to be active in the labour force had secured full-time jobs. Only 3 percent were unemployed and seeking work. For those migrants who were working, 77 percent held jobs that scored relatively low on the Blishen occupational scale, as compared to 75 percent who scored relatively low on the scale prior to moving to Winnipeg. The distribution of the present occupational status of the respondents is presented in Table 18 in Appendix B. The occupational status of the group as a whole did not change much as a result of its move to an urban center.

Besides the earnings from the heads of households, some of the households still depended on the farms as a source of income; 27 percent had income from farm produce and/or from renting out their farms. The wives' earnings also supplemented the households' income in 34 percent of the households. Among the wives who were active in the labour force, 69 percent were employed in jobs of relatively low status (less than a status of 50 on the Blishen scale) while 31 percent were employed in jobs of very low status (less than 40 on the Blishen scale).

Half of the households in the sample had average incomes, while only a minority of 22 percent belonged to the low or very low income categories.⁷⁵ Little evidence could be found to support the idea that former rural residents present a special social aid problem

75. Note: The particular characteristic should be considered with caution since the interviewers assessed the respondents' economic situation by examining their accommodation and judging their situation by the atmosphere which the household created for the interviewer.

went directly to the employers' offices; while 11 percent obtained their jobs through relatives or friends. Others relied on Manpower offices or newspaper advertisements. Most of the sample did not seem to have much difficulty in obtaining employment. Only 23 percent were unemployed for any length of time (up to six months).

Consistent with other findings cited in this paper, the factors that activated the move from the rural setting to a large urban center varied widely, depending on differences in family characteristics, personalities, opportunities and resources of the respondents. In Table 16 in Appendix B the reasons given by the respondents for leaving their locality are listed. The largest group, 26 households, considered that one of the main reasons for leaving their rural homes was to look for employment. Another 19 households decided to move to Winnipeg because of educational facilities available in the city. Others quit farming because of the poor economic situation on the farm, the lack of public services in the country, or because of a job transfer.

The extent to which migrants participate in organized social groups in the city provides some indication of their integration into the urban social network. The respondents, as a group, were relatively active; 62 percent were members of at least one social organization and 11 percent held offices in at least one organization.

The following section is a review of the migrant households, based on their personal characteristics, educational level, financial

for the city. Only 2 percent of the sample were receiving welfare or unemployment insurance.

One of the objectives of this study was to find out the adjustment problems encountered by former rural residents and their families when they settled in the city. The following section attempts to examine the favorable and unfavorable attitudes of the migrant toward urban living. It also presents the findings on the extent to which migrants are able to adjust satisfactorily to their environment, based on the adjustment scale specially designed for the present research.

(g) Adjustment to the Urban Environment

The Rural migrants tended to have some difficulties upon their arrival in Winnipeg. These difficulties are illustrated in Table 19 in Appendix C. Nevertheless, 53 percent of the respondents stated that they had no difficulty at all when they first arrived in Winnipeg. Most of the reported difficulties were with city traffic, congestion, air pollution, noise, and crowds. Other complaints included difficulties in meeting people, finding a job, and finding suitable accommodation. These findings are consistent with Abramson's⁷⁶ study which reported that getting accustomed to the physical setting of the city was a major problem for rural migrants.

Presumably, if the adjustment of rural migrants is successful, there should be favorable attitudes toward the city and urban living. Proximity

76. Abramson, Rural to Urban Adjustment, pp. 84-85.

to shopping centers and the availability of cultural facilities and public services were the most frequent responses to a question asking the respondents to comment on the favorable aspects of living in Winnipeg. Other positive responses included the availability of recreational and educational facilities and special services, and the convenience of having relatives or friends in the neighbourhood. Table 20 in Appendix C indicates the distribution of these responses.

The respondents' comments on the unfavorable aspects of living in Winnipeg, displayed in Table 21 in Appendix C, indicated the inability of the migrants to adjust satisfactorily to the urban environment. Most migrants disliked the confinement of city accommodation, failed to grow accustomed to the noise of the city, and were confused and upset by city traffic and pollution. One other aspect which many respondents complained about was the lack of friends in the city. These findings support those of the Community Welfare Planning Council study⁷⁷ which stated that loneliness was a problem of many rural-urban migrants. There were complaints about the high cost of living in the city. This is not inconsistent with Abramson's findings⁷⁸, which indicated that rural migrants often found discrepancies between consumption requirements and incomes. This was especially true for those newcomers who lacked purchasing skills and the specialized knowledge of products and prices needed for management of fixed sums of money.

77. Report of Migrants, Immigrants, and Transients Workshop.

78. Abramson, Rural to Urban Adjustment, p. 71.

When asked what the respondents missed most about living in the country, many referred to the open spaces. Others indicated that they missed the peaceful environment of the country. This, again, confirms Abramson's reports that many rural migrants missed the outdoor life of the farm and the open spaces of the countryside.⁷⁹

In order to uncover the extent to which rural migrants are able to adjust satisfactorily to the urban environment, a scale was designed to measure the adjustment level of the respondents. (A detailed description of the scale appears elsewhere in this paper.) The data, presented in Table 22, showed some interesting findings. Only 40 percent of the respondents preferred city life to rural life. However, 86 percent of the respondents were happy about the way things have turned out for them in the city. The results show that 66 percent found it easy to get acquainted with people in the city, while half of the respondents felt that people in the city are not as sincere and concerned about others as people in the country. Just over half of the respondents felt a part of their communities within Winnipeg. It was not surprising that 77 percent thought there were more things to do in the city than in the rural areas.

Concerning the opportunities which the city appeared to hold for the respondents, 90 percent stated that there were more job opportunities for them in the city than in the country. It is significant to note that just over half (57 percent) felt that they were economically

79. Abramson, p. 84.

TABLE 16
QUESTIONS RELATED TO ADJUSTMENT

QUESTIONS	Strongly agree No. of respondents (%)	Disagree No. of respondents (%)	Undecided No. of respondents (%)	Agree No. of respondents (%)	Strongly dis- agree No. of respondents (%)	TOTAL NUMBER OF Respondents
1. After having lived in the city for awhile, I prefer city life to rural life.	12 (12.0)	28 (28.0)	20 (20.0)	30 (30.0)	10 (10.0)	100
2. Taking everything into consideration, I am happy about the way things have turned out for me in the city.	2 (2.0)	8 (8.2)	4 (4.1)	70 (71.4)	14 (14.3)	98
3. I personally find it easy to get acquainted with people in the city.	7 (7.3)	21 (21.6)	5 (5.2)	57 (58.8)	7 (7.2)	97
4. I think that people in the city are as sincere and concerned about others as people in the country.	7 (7.3)	43 (44.8)	13 (13.5)	32 (33.3)	1 (1.0)	96
5. I feel a part of my community in Winnipeg.	7 (7.1)	25 (25.5)	11 (11.2)	52 (53.1)	3 (3.1)	98
6. There are more things to do in the city than in the country.	0 (0.0)	14 (14.1)	9 (9.1)	63 (63.6)	13 (13.1)	99
7. There are more job opportunities for me in the city than in the country.	0 (0.0)	3 (3.5)	6 (7.0)	53 (61.6)	24 (27.9)	86
8. I am economically better off in the city than I would be if I lived in the country.	3 (3.1)	27 (27.8)	12 (12.4)	48 (49.5)	7 (7.2)	97
9. There are better educational opportunities for young people in the city than in the country.	2 (2.0)	13 (13.1)	2 (2.0)	63 (63.6)	19 (19.2)	99
10. I am very satisfied with my present job.	4 (6.3)	1 (1.6)	7 (11.1)	41 (65.1)	10 (15.9)	63

* A percentage based on those who responded to the questions.

better off in the city than they would be if they lived in the country. However, 83 percent stated that there were better educational opportunities for young people in the city than in the country. Of those in the labour force, 81 percent were satisfied with their present positions.

In order to examine the relationship between the independent variables and dependent variables, measures of association were calculated between several independent variables, designed to measure social and demographic characteristics and the dependent variables, designed to measure satisfaction and adjustment of the migrants.⁸⁰

(h) Association of Independent Variables and Adjustment Measures

Nine independent variables, which were in the form of nominal scales, were cross-tabulated with each of the four adjustment measures: general satisfaction with urban living; adjustment to the social aspects of urban living; perceived opportunities; and job satisfaction. It was found that the association between the respective variables was significant in only two cases.

The association between employment status and adjustment to social aspects of urban living is presented in Table 23. The table shows

80. The ten adjustment variables were grouped into four scales, by a procedure explained elsewhere in this paper. In the case where one of the independent variables was in nominal form, the contingency coefficient, C , was used; otherwise Spearman's r_s and Kendall's τ were employed. The following section presents the results of the cross-tabulation of several independent variables which consist of nominal scales, and the adjustment measures, using the contingency coefficient, C . Then the association between several independent variables, which were in ordinal or interval scales, and the adjustment measures, using Kendall's τ , are discussed.

that it is a strong, linear relationship. In other words, the degree of ease in meeting people, the perceived difference in temperament between rural and urban people, the degree of belongingness, and the perceived differences in the number of activities in urban and rural areas are all associated with the employment status of the rural migrants.

Table 17. Employment Status By Adjustment To Social Aspects of Urban Living

Employment Status	Adjustment to Social Aspects of Urban Living					TOTAL
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Agree Strongly	
Full-time	0(0.0%)	6(13.4%)	22(47.8%)	16(34.8%)	2(4.3%)	46(46.5%)
Part-time	0(0.0%)	1(9.1%)	3(27.3%)	7(63.7%)	0(0.0%)	11(11.1%)
Seasonal	0(0.0%)	1(33.3%)	1(33.1%)	1(33.3%)	0(0.0%)	3(3.0%)
Unemployed	0(0.0%)	1(50.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(50.0%)	2(2.0%)
Retired	1(5.9%)	3(17.6%)	3(17.6%)	10(53.0%)	0(0.0%)	17(17.2%)
Housewife	0(0.0%)	4(20.0%)	7(35.0%)	9(45.0%)	0(0.0%)	20(20.2%)
TOTAL	1(1.0%)	16(16.1%)	36(36.4%)	43(43.5%)	3(3.0%)	99(100%)

C = 0.66

$\chi^2 = 76.278$ (with 55 d.f.) 73.3

Table 24 illustrates the strong linear relationship between the migrants' employment status and their perceptions of employment and educational opportunities which the city had to offer as well as their perceptions of their economic situation in the city relative to what it would be outside of Winnipeg.

As indicated in the review of recent literature on rural-urban movement, those migrants who have previously lived or worked in urban centers are more likely to make better adjustments to city life than those who have only lived or worked in rural municipalities.⁸¹ This is, however, quite contrary to the findings of the present study. In the instances where the independent variables in nominal scale form, such as previous locality, previous residence on a farm, location of present job, language spoken at home, ethnic origin, major source of income, income from agriculture, wife's employment status, were cross-tabulated with the four adjustment scales, the contingency coefficient was found to be insignificant, indicating little or no association.

Table 18. Employment Status By Perceived Opportunities

Employment Status	Perceived Better Opportunities in the City					Total
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree	
Full-time	3(6.8%)	0(0.0%)	5(11.4%)	27(61.4%)	9(20.5%)	44(69.8%)
Part-time	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(12.5%)	6(75.0%)	1(12.5%)	8(12.7%)
Seasonal	1(50.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(50.0%)	0(0.0%)	2(3.2%)
Retired	0(0.0%)	1(33.3%)	0(0.0%)	2(66.7%)	0(0.0%)	3(4.8%)
Housewife	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(16.7%)	5(83.3%)	0(0.0%)	6(9.5%)
TOTAL	4(6.3%)	1(1.6%)	7(11.1%)	41(65.1%)	10(15.9%)	63(100.0%)

$$C = 0.57$$

$$\chi^2 = 30.813 \text{ (with 16 d.f.) } 26.30$$

81. Abramson, Adjustments Associated with Migration from Farm Operator to Urban Wage Earner, p. 117.

In the cases where the independent variables consist of ordinal or interval scales, Kendall's correlation coefficients were calculated to test the significance of the relationship between two variables. Table 25 presents the measures of association between the adjustment scales and thirteen independent variables which are in either ordinal or interval form. If the correlation coefficient has a significance level of less than 0.05, the association between the prevalent variables is accepted as significant.

Some earlier studies⁸² reported that those rural migrants with previous urban experience tended to adjust better in the new urban environment than those without previous urban experience. The present study, however, yielded different findings. Previous urban experience was found to be negatively associated with the migrants' satisfaction with city life. In other words, those migrants with previous non-agricultural experience did not necessarily prefer city life to rural life. This, however, supports Omari's⁸³ findings which indicated that non-farmers who had previous contact with urban life often tended to be more critical of and were less satisfied with their new environment.

The findings of this study are supportive of another study⁸⁴ which showed that the length of residence in the city is positively associated with the migrants' adjustment. The findings indicated that the longer a migrant is in the city, the more likely it is that he will prefer

82. Abramson, Adjustments Associated with Migration from Farm Operator to Urban Wage Earner, p. 114; Omari, "Factors Associated with Urban Adjustment of Rural Southern Migrants".

83. Omari, op. cit., p. 52.

84. Omari, p. 51; Monu, "Rural Migrants in an Urban Community".

MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN ADJUSTMENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Independent Variables	ADJUSTMENT SCALES			
	Satisfaction With Urban Living	Social Aspects of Urban Living	Perceived Opportunities	Satisfaction With Job
Number of Children at Home	Tau = 0.1068 N = 99 Sig. at .117	Tau = 0.1068 N = 99 Sig. at .117	Tau = 0.1015 N = 99 Sig. at .137	Tau = -0.0608 N = 62 Sig. at .485
Educational Level	Tau = 0.0134 N = 99 Sig. at .845	Tau = -0.0532 N = 99 Sig. at .435	Tau = -0.0331 N = 98 Sig. at .629	Tau = 0.0970 N = 62 Sig. at .265
Additional Post-school Training	Tau = 0.0260 N = 99 Sig. at .703	Tau = 0.1337 N = 99 Sig. at .050	Tau = 0.0764 N = 98 Sig. at .265	Tau = 0.0206 N = 62 Sig. at .813
Present Occupation	Tau = 0.0728 N = 58 Sig. at .419	Tau = -0.0383 N = 58 Sig. at .671	Tau = -0.1653 N = 58 Sig. at .067	Tau = 0.1385 N = 53 Sig. at .143
Wife's Occupation	Tau = -0.0859 N = 13 Sig. at .683	Tau = 0.0272 N = 13 Sig. at .897	Tau = -0.1876 N = 13 Sig. at .372	Tau = 0.0495 N = 13 Sig. at .814
Estimated Financial Situation	Tau = 0.0170 N = 95 Sig. at .807	Tau = -0.0640 N = 95 Sig. at .358	Tau = 0.0288 N = 94 Sig. at .681	Tau = 0.0615 N = 59 Sig. at .491

Table 19

city life to rural life. The level of significance of this association is presented in Table 25.

The migrants' previous occupational status was found to be significantly correlated with their satisfaction with their present jobs. The significance level of the association was 0.001.

Middle-aged men have been found to make better adjustment to a new environment than younger or older persons.⁸⁵ The findings of this study show a positive linear relationship between age and adjustment to the social aspects of living in the city. In other words, the older the migrants, the greater probability that they found it easier to meet people in their urban neighbourhood, the more similar they felt urban and rural people were in regards to sincerity, the more they felt a part of the urban community, and the more activities they felt there were in the city relative to those in the country. This association indicated that the older the migrant, the better adapted he would be in the new urban community. Furthermore, age was found to be negatively correlated with perceived opportunities, which was also indicative of successful adjustment. Younger people felt that the large urban center offered them more employment and educational opportunities and a better economic situation than the country.

85. Abramson, Adjustments Associated with Migration from Farm Operator to Urban Wage Earner, p. 114.

Another interesting finding from this study was that those migrants who had post-academic training found it easier to adjust to the social aspects of urban living than those who had not taken additional training courses. The association between these two variables, presented in Table 25, was significant at the 0.004 level.

In a previous study of rural migrants in a prairie city, no significant relationship was found between education and satisfaction with the urban community.⁸⁶ The data from the present research tended to support this study, since there was no significant association between educational level and any of the four adjustment scales.

As previously pointed out in this paper, social participation is an indication of positive adjustment in the city.⁸⁷ Our data, however indicated no significant relationship between the migrants' previous level of social participation and their adjustment level in Winnipeg. Thus, those migrants who had participated in social activities in their rural areas before did not necessarily make better adjustment in the city.

Social visits to the rural community have been taken as a hinderance to successful adjustment in the urban milieu.⁸⁸ This is not supported by this study, since no significant relationship was found between the frequency of return visits and the four scales of adjustment.

86. ibid., p. 101; Omari, op. cit., p. 51.

87. Abramson, Rural to Urban Adjustment, pp. 218-224; Lipsit, "Social Mobility and urbanization".

88. Schwarzweller, "Parental Family Ties and Social Integration of Rural and Urban Migrants".

It has also been observed that those rural families with children at home are able to adjust better because the integration of the children often enhances the adjustment of the father. This, however, is not the case with our sample. No significant relationship was found between the number of children at home and the adjustment scales.

There are a few other variables which were correlated with adjustment in this study, but have not been discussed in the previous studies. These variables are: timing of the movement of different family members, present occupational type, wife's occupational type, and financial situation of the household. None of them, however, were found to be significantly associated with adjustment.

(i) Design of the Study

The migration study was structured to examine selected social and demographic characteristics of the migrants in order to develop a profile of population movement from rural Manitoba to Metropolitan Winnipeg. The characteristics have been compiled from various studies noted in the bibliography.

In order to ascertain the migrants' satisfaction with urban life, environmental dimensions were selected about which respondents could express satisfaction as well as dimensions about which judgements concerning their adjustment to urban living could be made. These dimensions were categorized as follows: (1) general satisfaction with

urban living; (2) social aspects of urban living; (3) perceived opportunities; and (4) job satisfaction. Two open-ended questions adopted from previous research⁸⁹ were included in order to discover the specific aspects of urban living which they liked and those which they disliked.

In addition to the application of the social and demographic characteristics in describing the rural-urban migrants, certain of these characteristics were selected in order to determine the degree of association between such variables and measures of the migrants' adjustment to urban living. For example, length of residency in Winnipeg, age of respondent, previous urban experience were correlated with measures of general satisfaction concerning urban living, in order to discover which factors were interrelated.

The Sample

The population for the present study includes all households which have moved to Winnipeg in the last ten years from any area of Manitoba with the exception of the towns and cities which had 5,000 or more residents in 1971.⁹⁰ The unit of analysis was the head of the household or spouse who had set up a permanent residence in Manitoba. There was no economical, efficient, or fast way to select a reasonable

89. Theodore D. Graves and Minor Van Arsdale, "Values, Expectations, and Relocation: The Navaho Migrant to Denver", Human Organization 25 (Winter, 1966), pp. 300-307.

90. These towns and cities include Brandon, Thompson, Portage La Prairie, Flin Flon, Selkirk, Dauphin, The Pas, Steinback.

representative sample of this population. Possible sources of such information, Manitoba Hydro, the Manitoba Telephone System, Manitoba Department of Health and Social Welfare and moving companies were unable to assist us. A list of migrants was compiled, however, with the aid of the Secretary-Treasurers of the rural municipalities, towns and villages in Manitoba, the Manitoba Pool Elevators, the Manitoba Co-operator, and the National Farmers' Union (Manitoba Branch). A letter of introduction outlining the nature of the survey was mailed to all the potential respondents in the sample. Attempts were made to contact everyone on the list by phone, although some people could not be reached due to change of addresses or no answers. In all, 262 households were contacted and 100 questionnaires were completed.⁹¹

Data Collection

Based on earlier studies on internal migration, a questionnaire was designed to be administered by trained interviewers. Both structured

91. Research Note: The sources of the sample render it a nonprobability sample. The precision involved in probability sampling, where every element in the population has a known non-zero probability of being selected, was lost. Consequently no valid estimate of risks of error could be made and statistical inferences were not legitimate. Furthermore, powerful tests of significance such as the T or F tests which have strong assumptions underlying them, cannot be employed. In studies of an exploratory nature, such as the present one, however, where data on the entire population is lacking, the main goal is to obtain valuable insights in order to indicate some general parameters of the problem.

Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970) p. 410 and Bernard S. Phillips, Social Research: Strategy & Tactics, (New York: The Mcmillan Company, 1966), p. 269.

and open-ended questions were included in the interview schedule.

It was divided into the following sections: (1) objective questions related to adjustment in urban setting; (2) subjective questions related to adjustment in urban setting; (3) personal information.

The study included the examination of selected characteristics of the migrants which may influence their satisfaction towards various aspects of the urban environment and perceived adjustment to urban living. The following demographic or independent variables were included to measure these characteristics:

1. Previous locality.
2. Previous urban experience.
3. Previous residence on farm.
4. Previous occupational type.
5. Location of previous employment.
6. Previous level of social participation.
7. Age.
8. Number of children living at home.
9. Total number of children.
10. Marital status.
11. Language spoken at home.
12. Ethnic origin.
13. Educational level.
14. Training after leaving school.
15. Assessment of financial situation.
16. Present employment status.
17. Present occupational type.
18. Length of residence in Winnipeg.
19. Main source of income.

20. Income from farming.
21. Frequency of return visits.
22. Timing of movement of different family members.

Dependent variables were designated as those environmental dimensions about which respondents could express satisfaction and those dimensions about which judgements concerning their adjustment to urban living could be made. These dimensions and the corresponding measures are as follows:

1. General satisfaction with urban living:
 - (a) preference for city life versus rural life; and
 - (b) degree of happiness with present situation.
2. Social aspects of urban living:
 - (a) degrees of ease in meeting people in the city;
 - (b) differences in the temperament of people in the urban and rural areas;
 - (c) degree of feeling of belongingness in the city; and
 - (d) difference in number of activities in urban and rural areas.
3. Perceived opportunities:
 - (a) job opportunities;
 - (b) economic situation; and
 - (c) educational opportunities.
4. Job satisfaction:
 - (a) satisfaction with present job.

To supplement the responses, questions of the following nature were incorporated into the questionnaire:

1. Reasons for migration.
2. Reasons for choosing Winnipeg.
3. Manner of obtaining first job in the city.
4. Timing of obtaining first job in the city.
5. Favorable aspects of living in Winnipeg.
6. Unfavorable aspects of living in Winnipeg.
7. Area of residence.
8. Present level of social participation.
9. Present number of offices held in organizations.
10. Previous feeling of belongingness in rural area.
11. What is missed most about living in the country.
12. Major difficulties upon arrival in Winnipeg.
13. Period of unemployment between present and previous job.
14. Sex.
15. Number of persons living in the present home.
16. Present employment status of wife.
17. Occupational type of wife.
18. Previous employment status of wife.

Operational definitions of the ten dependent variables are presented in Section B of the questionnaire which appears in Appendix A. The ten variables designed to measure satisfaction with urban living and adjustment to an urban setting were measured on a six-point, Likert-type scale. The scale consisted of the following categories: strongly disagree (1); agree (2); undecided (3); disagree (4); strongly disagree (5); and no opinion or do not know (0). A respondent's score on these variables was obtained by summing and averaging the scores corresponding to his responses on each of the following dimensions:

- (1) general satisfaction with urban living (comprised of questions 1 and 2);
- (2) social aspects of urban living (comprised of questions 3 to 6);
- (3) perceived opportunities (comprised of questions 7 to 9); and
- (4) job satisfaction (comprised of question 10).

The questionnaire was pretested by the interviewers with ten households, and changes resulting from the pre-test were incorporated in the final draft which appears in Appendix A.

A coding format for the structured questions was outlined before the questionnaires were administered. The format for the open-ended questions were designed after all the questionnaires were completed and a large number of them were read in order to demise a representative list of categories. The questionnaires were then coded by hand.

Data Analysis

1. The first step in the analysis involved the presentation of all variables in one-way frequency distribution tables, thus enabling the researchers to examine the data before more sophisticated methods were applied. For each of the nominal scales, the mode was calculated. The median was computed for the ordinal scales and the standard error, standard deviation, variance, and skewness were calculated for each of the interval scales.

2. The second stage in the data analysis involved the cross-tabulation of the independent variables, whether in the form of nominal ordinal, or interval scales with the satisfaction and adjustment measures. In cross-tabulation, the degree of association between variables is determined by an examination of the joint frequency distribution of cases by their position on two or more variables in tabular form.⁹²

In the third step of the analysis, measures of association were calculated between several independent variables, designed to measure social and demographic characteristics, and the dependent variables, designed to measure satisfaction and adjustment of the migrants. The degree of association between two variables, one of which was in nominal form, was measured with the use of the contingency coefficient, C .⁹³ The degree of association between the two variables, which were ordinal or interval scales, was measured by two rank-order correlation coefficients, Spearman's r_s and Kendall's tau. The latter two statistics measure only linear relationships. These two statistics involve the assumption that the scores are drawn from an underlying continuous distribution. Since Kendall's tau is preferred over Spearman's r_s when the data is grouped into a few categories.⁹⁴ Only the Kendall correlation coefficients are reported here.

92. Morris Rosenberg, The Logic of Survey Analysis: (New York: Basic Books, 1968).

93. Blacock, Social Statistics, p. 230.

94. Norman Lee, Dale H. Bent, C. Hadla, Hull, SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970), p. 144.

The analysis is limited because of the non-random nature of the sampling method. Parametric statistics, which proceed with the underlying assumptions that the sample is a random one, that scores are drawn from a normally distributed population, and that the variables involved have been measured on at least an interval scale, such as chi-square, analysis of variance, and F-tests, cannot be applied in the present study.⁹⁵

The questionnaire and other methodological information can be found in the Appendices.

95. Sidney Siegel, Non-Parametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1956), p. 19.

THE NEW TOWN CONCEPT

A. INTRODUCTION

Such urban problems as suburban sprawl, traffic congestion, water and air pollution, the declining fiscal base of central cities are familiar symptoms of the physical, economic and social situation currently facing the large metropolitan cities in North America. Some of these problems are beyond the capabilities of present institutions. While the different levels of the government and the private sector are attempting to develop an efficient economic and satisfying urban environment, they are often frustrated when it comes to creating and implementing effective policies.

Metropolitan Winnipeg has not yet suffered seriously from all the urban pathologies as displayed by major metropolitan complexes on the continent. Yet, it should not be assumed that urban crisis is only limited to Montreal, Toronto or American cities, because recent urban development in Winnipeg indicates that it is slowly moving in a similar direction. Greater Winnipeg, being the only major metropolitan center in the province, has revealed an increasing proportion of Manitoba's urban population. The increase in the city's population accounted for 95% of the population increase in the province between 1961 and 1971.⁹⁶ The major source of this urban growth as established elsewhere in this research paper has

96. Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg Planning Division, Metropolitan Winnipeg Population Report, 1966-1971. (Winnipeg, 1968.) Table 7; Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, Bulletin 92-707.

been due to rural-to urban migration. In the province of Manitoba, two problems in particular - the social costs of current metropolitan growth patterns and the disparities between urban growth centres and depressed areas - are increasingly acute, adding weight to the argument that new settlements are worthy policy options.

In recent years the provincial government has shown an interest in finding a growth strategy and the Premier has talked about new towns development as an option. The Premier has indicated that the government could "foster the development of a satellite town within a few miles of Winnipeg, if investigations show that the city faces a disproportionate problem of increasing land prices because of speculation."⁹⁷ However, the Manitoba government does not yet have specific legislation directed at new town development.⁹⁸

More and more, new towns are seen as a means of determining new settlement patterns, be they in underdeveloped areas or locations within the established urban centers. Since new towns exist in various forms and sizes and have

97. "Rocketing Land Prices Could Bring 'Satellites'", Winnipeg Free Press. April 17 1973.

98. With regard to new communities legislations, the Province of Alberta is the only province in Canada which has established a new towns act - the New Towns Act, 1969. Initially it was created in 1956 and was conceived as a means to establish new communities in both developing resource regions and in urban-centered regions. The 1956 Act was later replaced by The New Towns Act in 1969, which provides for financial as well as professional planning assistance to create new communities in the province. The legislation also makes provision for governmental and administrative handling and management of the new town development process from inception through to implementation. The Province of Alberta, The New Towns Act, C. 81. N. Pressman, op.cit., p. 13.

various functions, it is likely that some kind of new community would be applicable in the prairie setting. This paper proposes to examine the concept of new communities in order to determine the conditions under which the principles of the concept might be applicable to Manitoba. It presents some arguments which suggest that new towns could be a feasible urban growth policy for the province. It also examines the cases which indicate that new towns might not be the answer. Finally, it is the purpose of this study to stimulate further discussion and research on the subject so that both government and private sectors could benefit from a consideration of the alternate concept, as compared to other urban growth strategies which are more commonly understood in the Canadian context.

The first section gives a brief overall view of the urban problems experienced by major metropolitan areas in North America. It also identifies the problem of the study. The second section is a literature review of the new towns concept. Section III follows with a presentation of the new town experience in Europe and North America. The fourth section suggests some of the conditions under which the province could benefit from the development of a new community or communities in the periphery of Metropolitan Winnipeg. The last section, on the other hand, discusses some of the circumstances under which new towns might prove non-feasible and unnecessary.

B. The New Town Concept

The term "new towns" or "new communities" refers to:

"large developments constructed under unified management, following a fairly precise, inclusive plan and including different types of housing, commercial and cultural facilities..... they may provide land for industry or offer other types of employment and eventually achieve a considerable measure of self-sufficiency..... within commuting distance of existing employment."⁹⁹

The new town concept had its roots in late 19th century Britain. It was originally conceived as a solution to the over-crowded living and working conditions suffered by the working classes in English cities. Many reformers considered the building of new towns as the only way to improve the living environment of the industrial workers. One ardent reformer was Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928)¹⁰⁰, who saw in such towns an opportunity to combine the advantage of both town and country living. His Garden City was planned on the concept of setting up physical boundaries for the town as a greenbelt, within which hinterland activities were placed for the support of the town. He not only set his ideas of planning in detail¹⁰¹, but actively promoted it through the formation of the Garden Cities Association and later in the

99. Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations, Urban and Rural America, April, 1968. Quoted from Pressman, Division of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo, Contact, Vol. 3, #2, June, 1972.

100. J. A. Clapp, New Towns and Urban Policy, Dunellen, N.Y. 1971. Chapter 2.

101. E. Howard, Garden Cities of Tomorrow, 3rd ed. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1965.

development of the communities of Letworth and Welwyn outside London. Although these two Garden City experiments showed some of the difficulties of transferring Howard's scheme to reality, the towns pioneered some significant planning innovations, such as use and density zoning, neighbourhood planning, use of greenbelt to control size and public land ownership.¹⁰²

The new town movement in Great Britain did not get well underway, however, until the enactment of the New Towns Act in 1946.¹⁰³ With the legislation, the British government carried out a program of building new towns to relieve overcrowding in London and other cities and to relocate industry. Later, the Howard idea of new towns caused widespread interest in other parts of Europe and in North America.

Other European nations such as the Netherlands, France and the Scandinavian countries have also confronted the problems of urban sprawl, central city congestion, and depressed areas. They all turned to the development of new towns as a solution. One essential fact about European towns is that they have been created mostly with governmental efforts, and have been built in

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102. L. Rodwin. The British New Towns Policy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956) p. 15. Quoted from J. Clapp, op. cit. p. 26.
103. F. J. Osborne and A. Whittick, The New Towns, Leonard Hill, London, 1969. pp. 34-38.

places where land has come to be regarded as a public resource and not a private commodity.¹⁰⁴

The United States, with its tremendous rate of urbanization, is clearly in need of an alternative urban policy to decentralize city population and to avoid suburban sprawl. The housing and planning problems are further complicated by racial segregation. In many big cities, the existence of black ghettos is a serious obstacle to a policy of decentralization to new housing elsewhere. Nevertheless, the continuing pressures of urban population and economic change, coupled with the success of the European new towns, have made the ideas of new towns more acceptable in the United States. Since World War II, many planned communities have been initiated by private developers, and many other new towns are still under development. It has been suggested that a pragmatic and flexible approach to the nation's new towns is necessary.¹⁰⁵ Presently, the new towns built after the war consist mainly of three kinds. There are new towns that are essentially self-contained and separate from existing cities; there are those which are constructed as satellites of major metropolitan centers in order to prevent wasteful sprawl; there are also "new towns in-town" which are re-developments in the inner cities.

104. F. J. Osborne and A. Whittick, op. cit. p. 127.

105. New Towns: Laboratories for Democracy, Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Governance of New Towns. The Twentieth Century Fund. (New York: 1971) p. 5.

The enactment of Title VII of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970¹⁰⁶ encouraged a variety of applications of the basic new town idea. It provides for financing for land acquisition and development. Federal assistance can be in the form of loans or grants to cover the initial costs of development, as well as special help to developers of new towns in the use of advanced technology and social planning. It also creates a Community Development Corporation in the Development of Housing and Urban Development to administer the new town program. Indeed, with the provisions contained in Title VII of the act, it is expected that new towns would be the key elements in the American urban growth policy.

In Canada, rapid urbanization and city congestion cause similar concern, but none of its cities have yet experienced all the problems faced by some American major urban centres. There are, however, some well-planned communities in Ontario and British Columbia, and city extension and urban renewal projects are appearing in many other regions. It would seem that a positive urban decentralization policy in Canada would not be too far away, and already the Ontario government has indicated that new towns will be a part of a major effort to draw growth away from major metropolitan

106. Urban Growth and New Community Act of the Housing and Urban Development Act, 1970. Ibid. pp. 5-6.

areas. For example, that government has been considering a number of sites hundreds of miles away from Toronto which could function as new regional growth centers.

C. THE NEW TOWN EXPERIENCE

The different forms of new towns vary from a few thousand to 100,000 in population. Some of the new communities are built by private developers, such as by corporate organizations in the United States, while others are created principally by the government, such as those in Europe.

New towns or planned communities are also built with a variety of objectives in mind. Some new towns are developed to accommodate urban expansion and to absorb population expansion in congested central cities, such as Cumbernauld in Scotland. One of the largest areas of urban congestion, with some of the worst housing conditions in Britain, was found in Glasgow. As an answer to the congestion problem, Cumbernauld was developed in the late fifties on a site of 4,150 acres about 14 miles north-east of Glasgow.¹⁰⁷ The plan for the town was mainly directed to securing a compact urban unit of 50,000 to 70,000. At the end of 1967, over 6,000 houses were completed in Cumbernauld with a population of 23,000 and it is still under development. Cumbernauld has unquestionably relieved much of the over-spill population in Glasgow area and lately it has been developed into a very high-density area.

107. F. J. Osborn and A. Whittick, *op. cit.* pp. 376-402.

There are other new towns being created near existing cities in the United States, as part of the policy of curbing sprawl patterns, decentralizing growth around urban centres and meeting housing needs. It has been estimated that in the next 30 years, the American urban population will double from its present 150 million to 300 million people.¹⁰⁸ Thus, it is hoped that the development of new towns will provide the possibility of contributing some solutions to urban housing problems.

One of the advantages of planned communities is the opportunity to organize the town into well-planned neighbourhoods to improve the quality of suburban living. Comparatively small scale of the settlements and their relative isolation help ease the dispersion of pollution and wastes. New towns offer options for living in mixed social and racial neighbourhoods. They provide varied ranges and different types of housing and there is also a greater variety of architectural designs and land use patterns. Columbia in Maryland,¹⁰⁹ for example, consists of a series of neighbourhoods with about 2,000 population each, and seven neighbourhoods are grouped into a village, in the middle of which there is a village centre, supermarket, bank, drugstore and youth service centre. The town consists mainly of young, affluent families, though

108. New Communities for New York. A Report prepared by the New York State Urban Development Corporation and the New York State Office of Planning Coordination. 1970, p. 47.

109. R. Brooks and S. Gottschalk and F. Heller, "Social Planning for New Towns - two Case Studies: Columbia, Md., A Suburban Middle Class Biracial Community, and Lee County, Southeast Georgia, A Rural Low Income Black Community," New Community Development, Vol. 1, op.cit. pp. 277-299.

there is a substantial amount of low-income housing.

Reston, in suburban Virginia,¹¹⁰ is graced with a striking town center built around a lake. The vast stretches of open space and most rural character and the varied architecture of Reston have made it one of the most famous and attractive new towns in the United States.

Advocates emphasize the ecological soundness of beginning a new town. Jonathon in Minnesota,¹¹¹ for example, has many natural features that appeal to the residents. There are Lake Minnetonka, and Minnesota River on the site. Nearby there is the Hannepin County Reserve, which is a permanent open space with natural lakes and marshlands. An artificial lake has been built to provide a beach for swimming and sunning. New towns like these certainly provide distinction and prestige in competing with suburbs, which have often been described as dreary, culturally and socially dull, and lacking in open spaces and walking areas.¹¹²

It has been suggested that certain kinds of technological innovations such as those involving the installation of new systems in transportation and communication can only be carried out in new towns.¹¹³ The fact that

110. New Communities for New York, op.cit. p. 50.

111. New Community Development, Vol. II, op.cit. pp. 125-126.

112. R. Strandland, "Innovation and New Towns," a research report prepared for the New Town Research Seminar, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of North Carolina, January, 1972.

113. New Community Development, Vol. II, op.cit. p. 91.

new towns are planned means that they lack the structural legal barriers which hinder the acceptance of innovations by existing large cities. In addition, more efficient public services can be obtained through careful planning and organization in a relatively small community.

Some new towns are specially built to support a major industrial plant, research institutions and medical centres. Kitimat, British Columbia and Deep River, Ontario are such communities, which have been associated with a major industry such as aluminum in the former and atomic energy in the latter.¹¹⁴ As these towns are often built on remote sites and controlled by the resident corporation, they only cater to company employees and families. It is argued that these industrial new towns, established in areas of declining or no employment in primary production, provide jobs and thus an alternative to out-migration.

There are people who advocate the development of new communities for settling rural migrants. One such development has been planned in East Kentucky area, where there has been substantial out-migration from the Appalachian region.¹¹⁵ Here, the development of a new town is seen as a means to help the migrants make a transition, so that the move is not a relocation of rural poverty.

114. N. Pressman, "New Towns," in Contact, June 1972, Vol.3, #2, p. 12. Division of Environmental Studies, University of Waterloo.

115. J. Maloney, "New Communities: One Answer to the Employment Problems of Rural and Urban Poverty Areas," New Community Development Vol. 1, pp. 317-359.

In other words, the building of a new community is seen as the only technique to efficiently provide a positive and supportive environment for people making a social, geographic and economic transition.

In recent years there has been an increasing interest in creating new towns in-town, which are compact sub-cities within the city. They may be diverse in population and economy, but are not physically separated from surrounding urban areas.¹¹⁶ The first new-town in-town to be implemented under the United States federal grant is the Cedar-Riverside New Town In-Town in Minneapolis.

Cedar-Riverside¹¹⁷ is built on the bank of the Mississippi River in Minneapolis. One hundred acres of the three hundred and forty acres acquired by private enterprise will be redeveloped over the next 20 years into a highly organized community. The plan calls for a high density, socially and racially integrated community. The presently completed first stage of the development consists of units of public and private housing, integrated within the same frame-work and grouped around the community's plaza main street system. The plaza provides room for neighbourhood facilities which include an elementary school, a health clinic, a day care centre, meeting rooms and other convenience stores. Cedar-Riverside has been carefully planned to maintain a lively and cultural community. It has become a centre for performing arts, crafts and innovative social services. When fully completed, it will house 30,000 persons in 12,500 apartment units. However, recently, it has run into severe economic difficulties.

116. New Towns - Laboratories for Democracy, op.cit. p. 34.

117. J. Fisher, "The Easy Chair" Harpers Magazine, July 1973. G. M. Segal, "Cedar-Riverside, The Architect as Teacher" Northwest Architect, July-August and September-October 1972.

Thus, it has become evident that the new town concept has developed into more than merely a means to rescue overgrown and over-congested cities from their potential plight. Its objectives vary to include applications in a variety of situations. They are seen as an alternative to present modes of urban and suburban living by creating a totally new and positive environment. In some cases, new towns support resource developments or industrial plants. Sometimes they are referred to as a technique to assist people to make a move from rural poverty into gainful employment. The implementation of the new town principles within the metropolis is also seen as a means to solving some of the problems of the inner city.

The full benefits of planning and building new towns, nevertheless, have not been fully realized in the United States and Canada. This is often due to the lack of coordination between the different levels of government, the fragmentation of authority and responsibility for public policy-making and the administration of public services.¹¹⁸ It has been reported that in the United States, four years after the start of the surplus lands program initiated during the Johnson Administration, only 120 units of housing had been built. Derthick¹¹⁹ suggested that such

118. N. Pressman, *op. cit.* p. 5,
M. Derthick, New Towns In-Town, the Urban Institute,
Washington D. C. 1972. pp. 83-86.

119. M. Derthick ibid. p. 83.

failure resulted mainly from the distance of federal government from local politics and thus, the limited ability of the former to analyze the housing problem from the perspective of the local officials or to affect the actions of local governments. At the local level, the mayors of large cities often take the position against any federal assistance to new towns development if such assistance deprives existing cities of their share in the development program.¹²⁰ Such evidence suggest that there is little force to the arguments urging a major national commitment of effort and resources to new towns development are negated by constitutional and political complications.

D. Why New Towns for Manitoba?

In comparison with European and American major urban centers, Winnipeg is small, both in size and in magnitude of its urban problems. It would appear that not all of the attributes of new towns could apply in the Manitoban setting. Nevertheless, a new community to provide working and living space for residents as well as sites of industries might have some validity in the province. The following section discusses some of the factors which might indicate the feasibility of new communities development in the periphery of Metropolitan Winnipeg.

120. R. H. Ryan, "New Towns and Public Policy", New Community Development, Vol. 1, p. 128.

E. THE GROWTH CENTER CONCEPT AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR NEW COMMUNITIES

The term, growth center, refers to the designation and concentration of growing and influential economic activities in a particular geographic area.¹²¹ Generally speaking, the human resettlement pattern in any region is a response to the economic development of the area. Conceivably, an equal growth rate in all regions can never be achieved, due to differentiated and limited resources. A few centers, however, can reach some roughly estimated "critical size by encouraging components of the leading economic growth sectors to locate in such regions selected for expansion. One basic pre-requisite for these regions is the feasibility of attracting such economic activities. Also, the regions selected for development and expansion should be those which in turn improve opportunities to develop large, resource-rich hinterlands.

The concept of the Winnipeg Urban Region has been suggested as a useful tool for understanding local urban growth.¹²² It also suggests that a 45-minute contour line from the centre of Winnipeg could be used to delineate the commuting region. One reason that this concept is useful is the fact that of the 20 fastest growing centers in the province as identified in the TED Report, 10 of these centers are located within the Winnipeg Urban Region.¹²³

121. L. Rodwin, Nations and Cities, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970, p. 25.

122. ~~This refers to the urban-centered region which is formed by the geographic concentration of people and by the relationship established between a major urban-center and the surrounding country, town, and villages.~~ The Winnipeg Urban Region, A structure Plan for 1991, a report prepared by the students of the Department of City Planning-Design IV Studio, University of Manitoba, December 1969, p. 5.

123. D. Vincent, "A Review of Rural-Urban Migration Trends in South-Central Manitoba," I.U.S. working paper, 1971.

These ten centers are shown in the following table:

Table 19 ¹²⁴

Population Growth of Centres Within the Winnipeg Urban Region

	Pop. 1966	1970	1951-1966 (% Increase)	1961- 1966 (%)	1966- 1970 (%)
Altona	2,129	2,190	48.1	5.1	3.4
Beausejour	2,129	2,753	60.9	25.1	29.4
Gimli	2,262	2,919	70.8	22.9	29.1
Lac Du Bonnet	886	1,479	55.2	55.7	67.0
Morden	3,097	3,294	66.3	10.9	6.5
Portage la Prairie	13,012	13,258	52.9	5.0	1.9
Selkirk	9,157	9,488	47.3	6.8	3.6
Steinbach	4,648	5,087	115.7	24.3	9.5
Stonewall	1,577	2,014	51.6	11.1	27.8
Winkler	2,570	3,214	93.1	1.6	25.1
Winnipeg				6.9	7.4

These centers are predicted to have the most potential for growth in the Winnipeg region particularly because they offer location advantages for industries which seek low-cost sites. An increasing concern for environmental pollution, coupled with increasing rent and congestion in metropolitan Winnipeg is gradually causing some industrial relocation.

124. Manitoba to 1980, report of the Commission on Targets for Economic Development. Winnipeg, 1969, p. 441. Population of Manitoba, June 1, 1971, compiled by the Continuing Programs Secretariat, Planning and Priorities, Committee of Cabinet, Government of Manitoba, in co-operation with the Manitoba Health Services Commission.

For example, the proportion of manufacturing employment has increased in Brandon but decreased in Winnipeg.¹²⁵

With industrial and economic growth resulting from a decentralization of industry, the urban centres in the commuting zone are also likely to become residential communities. They are not only places of residence for workers employed in those urban communities, but also possible for people who work in the metropolitan Winnipeg area, but prefer the environment of small residential towns.

The implication of these growth centers for satellite communities, therefore, is that given the increasing importance of these strategically situated centers, with their opportunities for industrial growth and employment, and their provision of varied services, these centers should not be viewed just as service centers for the surrounding area, but also as places of residences and employment.

125. W. R. Maki and J. A. MacMillan, Regional Systems for Development Planning in Manitoba. Research Bulletin No. 70-1, Department of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Manitoba, September 1970, p. 20.

APPENDIX A

INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION STUDY
QUESTIONNAIRE

All information obtained from this questionnaire will be treated confidentially. Your name and address will not be identified with the response you made to any of the items on the survey.

Card No. 1

Interview No. 2,3,4 ---

A. OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS RELATED TO ADJUSTMENTS IN URBAN SETTING

1. What locality do you come from? 5
 town (specify) _____
 municipality (specify) _____
 No response _____
2. What were the main reasons for leaving that place?
 _____ 6,7
 _____ 8,9
 _____ 10,11

3. Why did you choose to come to Winnipeg in particular?
 friends and/or relative here _____ 12,13
 job opportunities _____ 14,15
 proximity to previous location 16,17
 school (specific type _____
 other (specify) _____

4. (a) Had you previously lived in a large town or city* such as Winnipeg, Brandon, Portage or Steinbach?
 Yes ____ No ____ 18 _
 If yes, location _____
- (b) If yes, period of time _____
5. (a) How many years have you lived in Winnipeg? _____ 19 _
 (b) Did you or your spouse move to the city before the rest of the family moved?
 Yes ____ No ____
 (c) If yes, length of time between their moves? _____ 20 _
6. Before you moved to Winnipeg, did you live on a farm?
 Yes ____ No ____ 21 _
7. (a) What was your occupation before you moved to Winnipeg?
 full-time _____ 22,23 _ _
 part-time _____
- (b) In what locality did you work before you moved to Winnipeg?
 _____ 24 _
8. What organizations did you belong to before you moved to Winnipeg?
 none _____ 25 _
 Church _____
 sports club _____
 Other (specify) _____

* towns of 5,000 population or over

9. Did you feel a part of your community before you moved to
Winnipeg? Yes ___ No ___ 26 __
10. What were the main difficulties you had when you arrived in
Winnipeg?
- finding accommodation _____ 27,28 __
- meeting people _____ 29,30 __
- finding a job _____ 31,32 __
- none _____
- other (specify) _____
- _____
11. Had you obtained a job in Winnipeg before moving here? 33 __
- Yes ___ No ___ Not seeking employment ___
12. How did you find a job in Winnipeg? 34 __
- newspaper advertisement _____
- friends or relatives _____
- Manpower office _____
- still unemployed _____
- not seeking employment _____
- Other (specify) _____
- _____
13. For how long were you unemployed between your present job and
your previous position? _____ 35 __
14. What are the things you like about living in Winnipeg?
- (i) _____ 36,37 __
- (ii) _____ 38,39 __
- (iii) _____ 40,41 __
- (iv) _____

15. What are the things you dislike about living in Winnipeg?

- (i) _____ 42,43 __
- (ii) _____ 44,45 __
- (iii) _____ 46,47 __
- (iv) _____

16. What do you miss most about living in the country now that you are living in the city? _____

17. (a) What organizations do you belong to at present?

	<u>In city</u>	<u>In country</u>	
Church:	_____	_____	49
Community Clubs	_____	_____	
sports clubs	_____	_____	
other (specify)	_____	_____	
	_____	_____	
	_____	_____	

(b) In which organizations, if any, do you hold offices?

Organization	Position	
_____	_____	50
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	
_____	_____	

18. How often do you return to your previous community for social visits? _____

51

B. SUBJECTIVE QUESTIONS RELATED TO ADJUSTMENT

In the space provided after each of the following statements, please write the phrase that best describes how you generally feel about each of the statements:

Strongly agree

Agree

Undecided

Disagree

Strongly disagree

No opinion or do not know

1. After having lived in the city for a while, I prefer city life to rural life. _____ 52 _
2. Taking everything into consideration (social, economic, occupational, educational), I am happy about the way things have turned out for me in the city. _____ 53 _
3. I personally find it easy to get acquainted with people in the city. _____ 54 _
4. I think that people in the city are as sincere and concerned about others as people in the country. _____ 55 _
5. I feel a part of my community in Winnipeg. _____ 56 _
6. There are more things to do in the city than in the country. _____ 57 _
7. There are more job opportunities for me in the city than in the country. _____ 58 _
8. I am economically better off in the city than I would be if I lived in the country. _____ 59 _
9. There are better educational opportunities for young people in the city than in the country. _____ 60 _

10. I am very satisfied with my present job. _____ 61 _

C. QUESTIONS RELATED TO STUDY OF NEW COMMUNITIES

1. Which area of the city did you first live in when you moved to
Winnipeg? _____ 62 _
second _____ third _____
etc. _____

2. Are you satisfied with the community you live in? 63 _
Yes _____ No _____

3. (a) What is it that you like about this community? 64,65 _ _

(b) What improvements would you like to see made?

shopping facilities _____ 70,71 _ _

road conditions _____ 72,73 _ _

recreational facilities _____ 74 _

transportation facilities _____

social organizations _____

easier to make social contacts _____

Other (specify) _____

4. (a) Are you satisfied with your present type of housing? 75 _

(state type) _____ Yes _____ No _____ 76 _

(b) If "no", specify what type you would prefer. _____ 77 _

5. (a) Do you intend to move? Yes _____ No _____ Unsure _____
- (b) If "yes", within Winnipeg _____ 78 _
to original area _____
different area (specify) _____
- (c) If "yes", why are you moving? _____ 79

6. (a) Which of the following areas would you prefer to live in?
- downtown _____
- suburbs _____
- outer fringe _____
- older neighbourhood (excluding
downtown area) _____ 80 _
- Card No. 2
- Interview No. 2,3,4 _____
- (b) What is the reason(s) for your preference? _____ 5,6 _ _

7. (a) Would you be interested in living in a newly developed area
- i) in the outer fringe of the city. Yes _____ No _____ i) 11 _
- ii) in a satellite town such as Selkirk, Steinbach
and Portage la Prairie? Yes _____ No _____ ii) 12 _
- (b) What are your reasons for your answer? _____ 13,14 _ _

_____ 15,16 _ _
_____ 17,18 _ _

8. (a) How long does it take you to get to work? _____ 19 _
- (b) Are you satisfied with this length of time?
Yes _____ No _____ Not applicable _____ 20 _
- (c) What means of transport do you use to get to work?
_____ 21 _
- (d) Would you prefer to take a bus to work if it were convenient?
Yes _____ No _____ Not applicable _____
Bus not suitable for nature of work _____ 22 _
- (e) Would you prefer to be employed in your neighbourhood?
Yes _____ No _____ Not applicable _____ 23 _

D. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | How many people are living in your home at the present time
(including yourself)? _____ | 24 | __ |
| 2. | Age of the Respondent _____ | 25 | __ |
| 3. | Sex of the Respondent _____ | 26 | __ |
| 4. | Marital status of the Respondent _____ | 27 | __ |
| 5. | Total number of children _____ | 28 | __ |
| 6. | How many of your children are living at home? _____ | 29 | __ |
| 7. | Language used most at home? _____ | 30 | __ |
| 8. | Of what ethnic origin are you? _____ | 31 | __ |
| 9. | Last grade in school completed? _____ | 32 | __ |
| 10. | (a) Have you taken any special training since you left school?
Yes _____ No _____ | | |
| | (b) <u>If</u> yes, what type of training? _____
_____ | 33 | __ |
| 11. | (a) What is your main source of income? _____
_____ | 34 | __ |
| | (b) Do you have any income from farming?
rent from land _____
produce _____
rent & produce _____
None _____ | 35 | __ |
| 12. | (a) Are you ?
_____ employed full time
_____ employed part-time
_____ unemployed
_____ retired | (b) _____
present occupation | 36
37,38 __ __ |

(ask questions #13 if married)

13. (a) Does your spouse work outside the home? Yes _____ No _____ 39 __
- (b) If "yes", what is her (his) occupation? 40,41 __
- full-time _____
- part-time _____
- (c) Did she (he) work before you moved to the city?
- Yes _____ No _____ 42 __

E. TO BE ANSWERED BY INTERVIEWER

1. Description of neighbourhood:
- street and avenue (corner) _____ 43,44 __
- electoral division _____ 45 __
2. Assessment of financial situation:
- above average income _____
- average income _____
- low income (sufficient) _____
- very low income _____

Date

Interviewer's signature

APPENDIX B

ONE-WAY FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF SOCIAL
AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICSBlishen's Scale

Blishen's Socio-Economic Index is a system whereby occupations listed in census publications are ranked in terms of socio-economic status. Each occupation is assigned a score between 0 and 100, with 0 being no status and increasing values indicate increasing status. Blishen thus devised individual scores for each occupation, which actually ranged between 25.36 and 76.69. He subsequently categorized the interval scale into six class intervals. Tables 2 and 6 employ the classification system suggested by Blishen.

TABLE I

REASONS BEHIND MIGRATION OF RESPONDENTS

Reason for Migrating	Frequency of Responses
To find employment	26
Educational Opportunities	19
Poor economic situation	18
Job transfer, promotion, or had job previously	18
Quit farming because of old age and/or illness	16
Lack of services	4
Others	10

Mode = to find employment

TABLE 2

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF RESPONDENTS

Last Year of Schooling Completed	Frequency	Frequency (%)
Grade 5	3	3.0
Grade 8	22	22.2
2 years of high school	14	14.1
4 or 5 years of high school	33	33.3
Some college or technical training	27	27.3
TOTAL:	100	100.0

Median = 3.7 years of high school.

TABLE 3

PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS

Occupational Scale	Frequency	Frequency (%)
25 - 29 (very low)	9	15.5
30 - 39	15	25.9
40 - 49	20	34.5
50 - 59	6	10.3
60 - 69	2	3.4
70 - 77 (very high)	6	10.3
TOTAL	58	100.0

Mean = 43.172

Standard Deviation - 13.495

APPENDIX C

RURAL MIGRANTS' ATTITUDESTOWARDS URBAN LIVING

TABLE 4

MAJOR DIFFICULTIES UPON ARRIVAL IN WINNIPEG

Difficulty	Frequency of Responses
Adjusting to urban living	26
Meeting people of one's own background	15
Finding suitable accommodation	14
Finding a suitable job	4
Others	4
None	53

Mode = none

TABLE 5

FAVORABLE ASPECTS OF LIVING IN WINNIPEG

Favorable Aspects	Frequency of Responses
Proximity to shopping facilities	33
Cultural activities or entertainment	27
Range and quality of public services	27
Friends and relatives nearby	15
Recreational facilities	12
Educational facilities	7
Specialized services	6
Others	14

Mode = proximity to shopping facilities.

TABLE 6

UNFAVORABLE ASPECTS OF LIVING IN WINNIPEG

Unfavorable Aspects	Frequency of Responses
Traffic, noise, crowds, congestion	47
Unfriendliness of people	19
High cost of living	11
Lack of privacy	7
Travel time to jobs, shopping	7
Lack of open spaces	7
Others	7

Mode = Traffic, noise, crowds, congestion.

APPENDIX D

A SUMMARY OF THE SEMINAR ON URBAN GROWTH
UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG, OCTOBER 4, 1975

PRESENTATION TO THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

The main purpose of making this presentation is to focus on the issue of urban growth in Manitoba as seen through the eyes of a cross section of citizens. This presentation is the outcome of a planned process undertaken by the Urban Studies Student Association with the cooperation of the Institute of Urban Studies. The process included;

- 1) Publication of a series of research and discussion papers to provide a basis and stimulus for discussion prepared by summer students in the Institute of Urban Studies under editorship of Professor D. Walker. These were presented to individuals signifying their intention to attend a seminar on Urban Growth.
- 2) The provision of a forum for discussion in the shape of a day seminar designed to promote discussion amongst a diversified group of seventy-five participants representing a cross section of the local community people and students.
- 3) The evaluation of this discussion and suggestions of policy options by students of the Urban Studies Association based on transcripts and reports from the conference and the original discussion papers.

It is important to assess the relative usefulness of this process.

Although the process did generate new ideas there are inherent problems in using a model of this kind to produce "a community view". In this case they included;

- under representation from the business and political sectors
- the tendency for group leaders, planners, educators and the most knowledgeable to influence and dominate discussion
- time constraints which caused discussion and the development of policy options to be too short
- the tendency for discussion to be at a broad and general level because participants lacked the specific knowledge to suggest more detailed proposals
- the tendency to focus too much on Winnipeg particularly the core area

Despite these difficulties the seminar was regarded by the participants as a positive constructive and useful exercise by the Urban Studies Association. The main discussion topics and policy suggestions which emerged from the seminar are presented in the rest of this paper.

URBAN GROWTH

The participants felt that because our population and industries continue to choose the city as the centre of activity it would be wrong to aim at no-growth policies. Instead a method of ensuring a suitable and attractive environment despite the pressures of growth must be developed. Unless our public policies are coordinated and we make use of planning for future growth we can only anticipate chaos.

But what is urban growth? The growth of cities is caused by increased population and by expanding commercial and industrial activity which requires space; growth creates scarcity of space. How can we expand and better use the limited space within and around the city?

Decisions must be made on how our urban complex can achieve optional use of space and these are complicated by various and conflicting expectations and needs. Decisions made on land use will preclude all other activities - ie. an opportunity cost is involved and all decisions will be interdependent. Leadership and coordination therefore is vital in this process.

CORE AREA

Concern over the future of the core area was a major discussion topic of the seminar. There was a strong consensus that the core area should develop mixed (land) uses rather than become a predominantly business centre. It was felt that the core area should combine residential, business, recreational and cultural facilities and that the development of the core should be based on small scale neighbourhood models rather than mammoth projects. A core area plan was regarded as of prime importance in managing the development of the central area. Recreational facilities for those living, working, or visiting the core area, evening entertainments, preservation of residential accommodation, small shops as well as department stores, cultural facilities and respect for buildings,

landmarks etc. were all considered important components in regenerating the core area of the city and preserving the viability of new facilities such as the convention centre.

Participants questioned the advisability of letting single family houses deteriorate beyond repair forcing demolition of homes and construction of large apartment blocks and business accommodation. Zoning bylaws were felt to discriminate against housing renewal. A strong residential area was envisaged as a vital part of the core area plan.

It was recommended that transportation within the core area be pro-pedestrian.

It was also recommended that the core area should be developed as a community in itself as well as a recreational and business centre to serve the needs of the suburbs and communities outside Winnipeg.

HOUSING POLICY AND REHABILITATION

The view was expressed that the single, family detached urban dwelling has become too expensive and results in wasteful use of the valuable urban land it occupies.

Suggestions made in connections with controlling the costs of housing and promoting more economical and intensive use of urban land for housing

included:

- In the suburbs, housing units should be close to the roadway and each other.
- Existing structures should be upgraded and rehabilitated wherever possible.
- Future housing developments should be located along existing transportation routes.
- There should be some interpretation between residential developments and industrial areas to facilitate greater accessibility.
- The transition zone should become primarily a residential area including low-income housing and medium density apartments.

It was also recommended that a major policy objective that governments should undertake is land banking and the provision of more serviced land. This would impose a desirable limitation on developers and absentee landlords. It would also provide some price controls on future increases in the cost of land.

LAND USE (IN WINNIPEG'S FRINGE AREA)

There was consensus that 1) land use outside the core area should be controlled to make the optimum use of available land and protect undeveloped areas; and 2) that the escalating cost of land is a major contributor to the increased cost of housing.

The constraints imposed on urban growth in Winnipeg and the development of urban land by the present infrastructure associated with the provision of energy and water was also discussed. For example, the Winnipeg Economic Development Board estimates that Winnipeg's water system has a maximum capacity for a 750,000 population.

It was thought that more effective use could be made of land by more careful placement of industrial parks, suburban shopping centres, parks and recreation facilities. For example, it was suggested that industrial parks should be situated near the perimeter highway to provide for easier movement of large vehicles using provincial highways and to avoid this kind of vehicle travelling through the core area and suburbs.

Strong support was expressed for the idea of retaining a "decent" transition zone between the core area and working class neighbourhoods. This could act as a growth overflow zone from both core and suburbs and act as a buffer zone.

Concern was also expressed about uncontrolled outward growth and sprawl. It was considered vitally necessary to protect the immediate hinterland and agricultural land. It was felt that it was harmful in the long term to encroach too much upon valuable agricultural land to accommodate urban growth in Winnipeg.

The possibility of considering the development of a satellite city to

counteract the tendency towards urban sprawl was recommended.

There were mixed feelings about the provincial government's 'stay option' policy as a tool for controlling migration. Some participants felt that the designation of growth centres in which a diversified economic infrastructure would be encouraged to develop would be more successful in controlling the migration of rural Manitobans to Winnipeg.

TRANSPORTATION

It was thought that increasingly congested traffic in the core area may force transportation in this area to become geared to the pedestrian. It might be advisable to ban private transportation from the city centre and develop a comprehensive public transport system using buses and transportation corridors. Cold Winnipeg winters are a deterrent to exclusively pedestrian travel not supplemented by some form of climate controlled walkways and transportation.

Another alternative to deal with the problem of congestion might be the development of a rapid transportation system possibly using old, disused railway lines as a basis for rapid transportation corridors.

In conjunction with either of the above systems, designated car parks possibly on the periphery of the core area would allow people to drive

part of the way to the city centre and transported for the rest of the journey.

Another suggestion for easing congestion was the decentralization of business into less crowded, easily accessible areas of the city. This, however, needs to be carefully thought through less it create other, more complicated problems such as urban sprawl extension of costly services, etc.

PARTICIPATION AND PLANNING

A widely expressed concern was that there was not sufficient leadership in managing the problem of urban growth and in developing long-term policies. It was generally accepted that the public sector should be responsible for establishing directions and priorities in dealing with our urban future. The British North America Act, however, divides jurisdiction in this area between three levels of government which act independently and in many cases in isolation. The division of authority tends to divide responsibility and the fragmentation lessens opportunity for decisiveness and concerted action. Unless governments act cohesively cooperation with the private sector which initiates growth cannot be expected.

Greater planning (not less) was felt necessary by most participants and this planning should include governments, private enterprise and citizen

groups to be most representative and effective. The planning process cannot take place in a vacuum. If it is to be most functional planning should be used a priori to the actual decision making process as an aid rather than an after-thought. Proper communication between the necessary elements of the public sector especially in regards to elected representatives and planning bodies is vital and perhaps overlooked. Planning, with people, should not be viewed as simply a theoretical exercise but instead should be integrated and an essential part of policy-making, especially in exploring alternatives.

Politicians can easily be used as scapegoats to simplify the most complex matters. Politicians were seen as short-sighted in terms of future growth at the seminar. It was observed that they operate in a political process which must deal with political expedients. There was dissatisfaction with disjointed and largely ineffective "political solutions" as they have operated in the past. It is evident that policies to affect urban growth must be long-term and must be removed from the day-to-day operation of political machinery. There was dissatisfaction with the present management of urban growth stemming from the uncoordinated, traditional political processes which seem to confuse rather than alleviate.

It was suggested, therefore, that an independent broad-based coalition of citizens be formed to offer alternative plans to those put forward by conventional government agencies. In discussion during a plenary session

it was strongly expressed that the system for managing growth needs the provision of fresh options which could and should come from a body of private people. The idea of a body such as Common Cause that operates in the United States was mentioned as one very valuable way of expressing urban concerns, commenting on the actions of government, presenting new ideas and pressuring for change.

It can be seen very clearly that there must be fundamental changes in the way planning is done utilizing the concern of people if we are to manage urban growth in our community.