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AN EVALUATION OF NIP: A CASE STUDY OF NORTH ST. BONIFACE

KENT SMITH 19



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AN EVALUATION OF THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM:
A CASE STUDY OF THE NORTH ST. BONIFACE
NEIGHBOURHOOD IN WINNIPEG

by

Kent C. Smith

A Master's Degree Project Submitted
to the Faculty of Environmental Design in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Environmental Design (Urbanism)

Calgary, Alberta

September, 1979

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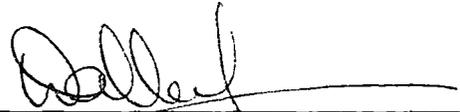
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FACULTY OF ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Environmental Design for acceptance, a Master's Degree Project entitled

An Evaluation of the Implementation of the
Neighbourhood Improvement Program:

A Case Study of the North St. Boniface Neighbourhood in Winnipeg submitted by Kent C. Smith in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Environmental Design.



Supervisor Dr. Walter Jamieson



Mr. Ben Carniol



Mr. M.R. Kirby

DATE

80.09.25

ABSTRACT

An Evaluation of the Implementation of the
Neighbourhood Improvement Program:
A Case Study of the North St. Boniface Neighbourhood in Winnipeg

by Kent C. Smith

Completed in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the Degree of Master's of Environmental Design (Urbanism)

Supervisor: W. Jamieson
Faculty of Environmental Design

University of Calgary

Alberta

September, 1979

This project examines the role planning played in the implementation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (N.I.P.) in Winnipeg's North St. Boniface. The method used was a specific neighbourhood case study where the author worked as part of the NIP implementation team in 1977 and 1978.

The first section of the study presents the problems of Winnipeg's inner city as well as the effects of public and private action on those problems. This analysis took a vast array of existing data on these problems and organized it into a planning framework. This framework will be useful for planners undertaking the revitalization of declining inner city areas.

In the second section, the problems of North St. Boniface itself are examined and compared to those of Winnipeg's inner city. This serves as the basis for evaluating the early results of the program in North St. Boniface. The results of this examination reveal that NIP did not accomplish many of the objectives established for the program by the City of Winnipeg or the Federal Government. In addition, NIP activity in North St. Boniface aggravated many of the problems leading to neighbourhood decline and the program imposed some serious social costs on low income tenants living in the community. Much of the negative impact of NIP was rooted in the type of planning process utilized and the techniques used to elicit resident participation although outside influences and the nature of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program itself also played a role. The study demonstrates that even with a large input of resources (both financial and manpower) and a fairly clear understanding of the problems of community renewal, the success of NIP depended to a great extent on an effective implementation process.

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INTRODUCTION

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program

With the failure of the Urban Renewal Program (URP), the National Housing Act was amended on June 12, 1973. The Federal Government made a substantial policy shift and established the legislative framework for the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP). The general objectives of the new program, as stated in the amendments to the Act, were "improving the amenities of neighbourhoods and the housing and living conditions of the residents of such neighbourhoods" [1].

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program, like the Urban Renewal Program, was to be used in those neighbourhoods which were threatened by physical and social deterioration. There was an underlying assumption that the private market was unable or unwilling to help improve these neighbourhoods without some government injection of funds. The NIP program was to be short-term: four years in duration from designation to termination. If action had not been initiated in this time period, the funds would have to be returned. By investing a substantial amount of money in the neighbourhood, the Federal Government hoped to "turn things around" so that private market forces and already established government programs would be sufficient to ensure that no further decline would take place in the neighbourhood.

[1] Government of Canada, The National Housing Act (Ottawa, 1973) Section 27.1 (1), p.331.

Unlike the Urban Renewal Program, which emphasized a large scale, "bulldozer" approach to community renewal, the Neighbourhood Improvement Program was designed to conserve and rehabilitate the housing stock while maintaining the existing qualities of the neighbourhood.

The NIP program places considerable emphasis on a more sensitive and fine-tuned approach to physical improvement which complements the social fabric of the neighbourhood. The program is not designed to be used for wholesale demolition of deteriorated buildings and the subsequent construction of massive new building projects. [2]

Thus, NIP's emphasis, like its Urban Renewal counterpart, was to be almost exclusively a physical approach. Physical improvements would be used to solve the problems of the physical and social deterioration of neighbourhoods. The major difference between NIP and the Urban Renewal Program was the new program's assumption about the viability of inner city neighbourhoods. The underlying assumption of the Urban Renewal Program was "that the old residential and mixed areas had outlived their economic usefulness, had a housing stock which was largely inadequate and, partly because of the latter, were the locus of severe social problems" [3]. With the Neighbourhood Improvement Program the focus became strengthening and improving what exists in the

[2] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, The N.I.P. Operator's Handbook (Ottawa, 1975), p A1.

[3] Reg McLemore, Carl Aass and Peter Keilhofer, The Changing Canadian Inner City (Ottawa, June, 1975), p.1.

neighbourhood rather than remaking it, as under URP. The assumption of NIP was that inner city neighbourhoods are viable economically and socially. [4]

There were other differences between the two programs - particularly in the way the new Neighbourhood Improvement Program was to be implemented. For example, the new legislation was designed to facilitate the participation of local residents in the planning and implementation of NIP in their neighbourhood. The Hellyer Task Force had found that the Urban Renewal Program had alienated residents by not involving them in the planning process.

Urban Renewal, the Task Force might fairly comment can serve as a successful example of neither public dialogue nor participatory democracy. In a number of areas actually visited by the Members, local residents seemed to know little more than that they were living in an "urban renewal area" and that this designation should not be interpreted as a compliment to their neighbourhood. What exactly was to be "renewed" and how, not to mention what would happen to them as individuals and families were facts locked securely within the minds and filing cabinets of the bureaucracy [5].

The Federal Government attempted to overcome these problems by requiring municipalities to submit the methods to be used to obtain the participation of residents in the planning of NIP in their neighbourhood. The improvements undertaken through NIP were to meet the aspirations of the residents of the neighbour-

[4] Ibid, p.1.

[5] Government of Canada, Report of the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development (Ottawa, January, 1969), p.14.

hoods and these people were to have some measure of involvement in the improvement planning.

Other problems experienced under the old Urban Renewal Program led the Federal Government to introduce additional changes in the way neighbourhood improvement was to take place. Minimum maintenance bylaws controlling the condition and safety of dwellings were to be drawn up and enforced by the municipalities. Plans for the relocation of residents displaced through the NIP process also had to be submitted.

Once these mechanisms had been set in place, the municipality could then apply for Neighbourhood Improvement Program funds. As stated above, NIP would be directed mainly, but not exclusively, at inner city areas which were becoming rundown and undergoing varying degrees of decline. The criteria for the eligibility of neighbourhoods appears in several documents of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). [6] They are as follows:

- the neighbourhood must be predominantly residential.
- a significant proportion of the housing stock must be in need of rehabilitation.
- the neighbourhood must be inhabited predominantly

[6] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, N.I.P. Operator's Handbook (Ottawa, 11 June 1975), p.B1.
C.M.H.C., "The Neighbourhood Improvement Program" unpublished, 1974, p.3.
C.M.H.C., The Neighbourhood Improvement Program (Ottawa, 1973) Info Pamphlet NHA5128-6.

by low and moderate income people.

- there should be a deficiency of neighbourhood amenities such as playgrounds or municipal services.
- the neighbourhood will be potentially stable in terms of land uses and densities.

Within these NIP areas, the Federal Government would provide 50% of the cost of:

- selection of neighbourhoods for participation and development of improvement plans.
- acquisition and clearance of land to be used for medium and low-density housing for persons of low to moderate income and land for social and recreational amenities.
- construction of new or improvement of existing social or recreational facilities.
- development of occupancy and building maintenance standards to apply in the neighbourhood.
- relocation of persons dispossessed of their homes by the program.
- local administration of the program including the employment of staff.

The Provincial and Municipal Governments would each contribute 25% of the cost of the above. In addition, the Federal Government would contribute 25% of the cost of:

- improvement of municipal and public utility services in the neighbourhood.
- acquisition and clearance of land where the existing use is not consistent with the general character of the neighbourhood and the planned reuse is other than social housing or social or recreational facilities.

In these cases the Province would contribute 25% of the costs while the Municipality would increase its cost share to 50%. It

should also be pointed out that Federal loan money would be available for 75% of the municipality's share of costs in the Neighbourhood Improvement Program. [7]

From the above, it is obvious that NIP would be biased towards physical change and improvement. A great deal of emphasis was put on providing funds for capital expenditures, and virtually no money was to be available for operating costs. In addition, little money was to be available to establish programs that deal with social and economic problems the residents of the neighbourhood may face. Again, the assumption is that by providing a large influx of cash to bring the neighbourhood up to the physical standards of the entire city, the social and economic problems will be taken care of by existing programs and services. NIP was seen as the solution to the problems of inner city neighbourhoods.

Any discussion of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program would not be complete without mentioning the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), which is a component of NIP. That is, for the most part, RRAP funds are only available to homeowners and landlords in neighbourhood improvement areas. The RRAP program is 100% financed by the Federal Government. Under RRAP these funds are available to assist homeowners and landlords in repairing and upgrading their dwelling units. Priority is given to structure, as well as heating, plumbing and electrical

[7] CMHC, op cit.

systems. A maximum of \$10,000 is available per dwelling unit with an automatic forgiveness of \$3750 for all landlords and homeowners earning less than \$6000. As the homeowner's income increases, the portion forgiven drops until it reaches zero for owners earning \$11,000 or more. Thus, while neighbourhood improvement is taking place, home improvement also occurs under the RRAP program.

The Role of the Federal Government in
the Implementation of NIP

Two terms can be used to characterize the federal role in the implementation of NIP: noninterference and flexibility. The Neighbourhood Improvement Program was to be administered by the municipality. The only requirement CMHC set down for the municipality to obtain NIP funds was the submission of a concept plan which would include a budget. The concept plan, itself, is a sketchy document, more like an application form than a plan. [8] The reason for this is that the Federal Government did not want elaborate and costly studies of the neighbourhood to be done before it had been designated. Elaborate designation requirements had resulted in a huge stack of costly studies, with no relevance, to be produced under the old Urban Renewal Program.

The planning process is one which does not contemplate the preparation of an elaborate plan before action com-

[8] See Appendix E for a sample of a concept plan.

mences. It emphasizes action along with planning as a continuous process and seeks to avoid the negative effects and consequent lethargy that results from long periods of study, analysis and planning before action is taken. [9]

By emphasizing action along with planning the Neighbourhood Improvement Program had to be flexible. The planning process was not standardized for each community and municipalities were given almost free rein in implementing the program. Beyond the broad budgetary restrictions and time constraints, there were few other parameters in which municipalities had to operate in implementing the program.

The Study Approach

Due to the flexibility of the program, implementation became the most important part of NIP. Besides the initial program constraints which I have outlined, the method of implementation undertaken within NIP determined the program's success or failure in any given neighbourhood. In order to effectively assess the methods of implementation undertaken within NIP I was faced with an enormous task. The flexibility of the program meant that the process of plan implementation would be different in each municipality, indeed, in each neighbourhood. In order to do an effective job of evaluating the implementation of NIP with the resources a graduate student, such as myself, has before him, I

[9] CMHC, NIP Operator's Handbook (Ottawa, 11 June 1975), p.A3.

decided on a case study approach. This would enable me to analyze one neighbourhood's problems and its residents' aspirations in detail. In addition, a case study would give specificity to the implementation process by placing it in the context of one city's administrative and political structure.

Fortunately, I had the opportunity to become involved in first hand research and observation of the implementation process in a NIP neighbourhood. In May, 1977, I began work as part of the planning team in the community of North St. Boniface in Winnipeg, Manitoba. I worked in this neighbourhood until September 1978. Although the area was designated in December, 1975, my term of employment began before the resident committee had been established, which was the vehicle for the planning of NIP action in this community. Although the program will not end until December 1979, most of the planning has now taken place and almost all of the action programs have been initiated. From this first hand experience and research and the use of many secondary sources, I hope to be able to assess the impact of implementation on the success of NIP in this neighbourhood.

Assessing Implementation within the Framework of NIP

A number of perspectives can be used in assessing the implementation of NIP in a neighbourhood. I have chosen to explore the role planning played in determining how neighbourhood improvement was carried out in North St. Boniface. Very few as-

assessments of the role planning played in the implementation of a program have been undertaken by agencies or independent researchers. This is regrettable because, although policy objectives are important in determining the overall thrust of an agency in community revitalization, the planning process utilized is an important determinant of the success and effectiveness an agency has in implementing the objectives outlined in the policy for community revitalization. The study will demonstrate that even with a large input of resources (both financial and manpower) and a fairly clear understanding of the problems of community renewal, the success of a program largely rests on an effective and well thought out implementation process. Although there are many other interesting features to the implementation of NIP such as the effects of the structure of NIP agencies on the process, these are outside my area of concern. Where such features as city organizational structure, policies of the provincial government or the general economic climate are pertinent to the discussion of plan implementation, I will point them out, but their analysis is beyond the scope of this paper.

Any assessment of the implementation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program has to be carried out with the program's policy objectives in mind. These have been briefly outlined above. These goals must include the underlying objective, that of solving the problems of Canadian inner cities.

The analysis of Winnipeg's inner city and North St. Boniface's problems, and the examination of the climate in which neighbourhood improvement took place in Winnipeg became an important part of this project. Although there is a vast array of information on the problems of Winnipeg's inner city, this data has not been placed in any comprehensive framework. One of the most challenging aspects of this study was to determine the interrelationships amongst the problems and the impact of government and private action on those problems. The development of a methodology to analyse Winnipeg's inner city and North St. Boniface's problems formed an integral part of the study. This methodology may have further utility in examining the problems of other neighbourhoods and cities where neighbourhood improvement is contemplated. This aspect of the work, alone, represents an important contribution to the field of urban planning.

This Master's Degree Project will consist of two sections; the first will contain three chapters setting the context of the case study, while the last section will contain a discussion of the case study itself. Chapter 1 will include a description of Winnipeg's inner city problems and Chapter 2 will contain a discussion of the impact of private enterprise and government institutions on those problems. The last chapter of Section I is designed to explain the administrative framework for NIP in the City of Winnipeg.

In the second section the problems of the neighbourhood in which the case study takes place will be examined. Early results (the program is only five years old) will be examined in light of their ability to deal with these problems. In Chapter 4 I will explore the problems of North St. Boniface by analyzing the characteristics of the neighbourhood and the attributes of the people living within it. Such indicators as population trends, age and family structure, ethnicity and language, housing and land use information, socio-economic data and resident attitudes will be presented and analysed. This objective data will enable me to assess the early results of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program and will give the reader the opportunity to determine the similarities and differences North St. Boniface has to communities he may be interested in or familiar with. A discussion of the methodology surrounding the determination of North St. Boniface's problems will be included in an appendix so that the discerning reader may assess the accuracy and reliability of the information presented.

Chapter 5 will contain a description of the process of implementation of NIP in North St. Boniface. The information will be presented in a chronological sequence so that such things as how the goals and objectives of residents vis a vis NIP were established, will be clearly seen.

In order to facilitate the assessment of the implementation of NIP, I have decided to use an issue approach in Chapter 6. Several key issues, such as the enforcement of the minimum

maintenance bylaw and the planning process used for the development of parks and recreation facilities, will be discussed in detail so that the role planning played in implementation can be assessed. These issues will be analysed and evaluated in relation to the problems of the neighbourhood outlined in Chapter 4, the problems of the inner city as discussed in Chapter 1 and, of course, in relation to the goals and objectives set out for the program by the Federal Government, the City of Winnipeg and the residents of North St. Boniface.

The Conclusion will serve to summarize the problems and potentiality of implementing NIP in North St. Boniface. It is here that the planning implications of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program will be concisely summarized. I will also determine whether the difficulties encountered were due to conditions within the sphere of implementation (e.g. untrained staff, lack of adequate preplanning etc.) or whether the problems resulted from factors outside the control of those involved in plan implementation (e.g. structure of institutions engaged in NIP implementation, the economic climate, program limitations of NIP itself etc.)

Any assessment of plan implementation would not be complete without suggesting alternative methods of planning within NIP. These methods should be examined in light of their ability to deal with the problems of North St. Boniface and Winnipeg's inner city or to clarify goals for the residents. It should be pointed out that these methods will be developed for the North St. Boni-

face case study, but they should have some relevance to other inner city neighbourhoods. Finally the value of the study will be discussed for planners working at the neighbourhood level in Canada.

SECTION 1

THE CONTEXT OF THE CASE STUDY:

THE INNER CITY AND THE
NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM
IN WINNIPEG

Chapter 1

'The Decline of Winnipeg's Inner City

Any case study conducted at the neighbourhood level must acknowledge the outside influences of the larger city. Forces and factors operating in the City of Winnipeg have created unique problems and opportunities for community renewal. These forces have created a different environment for neighbourhood improvement in Winnipeg than in other cities such as Calgary and Toronto.

In Chapter 1, some of the demographic and socio-economic trends occurring in the Winnipeg region will be outlined, followed by a description of some of the problems these and other forces have created in the inner city area. While giving the reader some familiarity with conditions in Winnipeg, this first chapter will also serve as a reference point when the neighbourhood profile of the case study is presented in Chapter 4.

In order to describe the problems of Winnipeg's inner city, its boundaries have to be defined and demarcated. In defining inner city boundaries for any city, a static geographic approach is insufficient, rather a dynamic method is needed to encompass the socio-economic features and demographic trends taking place in inner city areas. [1]

[1] Some such trends and features applicable to Winnipeg's inner city are an aging and obsolescence of its housing, infrastructure, social services and industrial base, aging of its population and a decline in families, and lower cost housing which functions as a first area of settlement for new immigrants. See Reg McLemore et al., op.cit. and L.S. Bourne, Perspectives on the Inner City. (Toronto, Feb., 1978).

Several attempts have been made to define the inner city of Winnipeg utilizing a dynamic approach. McLemore et al., themselves, defined Winnipeg's inner city using age of housing stock as the index [2]. Unfortunately, this method ignores some of the other processes, such as aging of the population, which are important characteristics of the inner city. Several other authors have used a variety of indicators to arrive at an inner city boundary for Winnipeg. [3]. In fact, no fewer than four different inner city boundaries have been proposed in the last three years.

Bourne has pointed out that "there is no single definition of the inner city; nor should there be. The term is strictly relative. That is, the inner city has to be defined from a specific point of reference and set within a particular social and political context." [4] The most recent attempt at integrating an inner city definition with the social and political context of Winnipeg is that of Lloyd Axworthy and the Institute of Urban

[2] Reg McLemore et al. op.cit. p.2.

[3] These authors are:

a. Reg McLemore et al., op.cit.

b. C. McKee and J. Epstein "Inner City Profiles and Processes of Change" in Innovative Strategies for the Renewal of Older Neighbourhoods. C. McKee, Ed. (Winnipeg, 1977).

c. Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Housing: A Background Paper on Phase 1 of the Winnipeg Housing Study. (Winnipeg, 1978).

d. L. Axworthy et al., "Inner City Housing Study: Interim Report". unpublished, Aug., 1978.

[4] L.S. Bourne, op.cit., p.5.

Studies (IUS) research team's effort, done in conjunction with the Winnipeg Development Plan Review. [5] Many indicators were used, and all were carefully tailored to reflect processes that have been operating in Winnipeg. These indicators are shown in Figure 1 and a quick glance would reveal that many would not apply to a universal definition of the inner city. The indicators also have the advantage of coming from the latest census information [6]. Since the processes which operate to create an inner city area are dynamic, the boundary of any inner city area cannot remain totally static over time. By using the latest census information, combined with a carefully selected set of indicators, the IUS team has produced the best operational definition of Winnipeg's inner city, and it will be utilized throughout this study. The boundaries of Winnipeg's inner city are shown on Map 1.

[5] L. Axworthy et al., op.cit.

[6] Census tract information is the best area-based information source available even though tracts do not always adhere to neighbourhood boundaries. The City of Winnipeg has recently started to organize information at the neighbourhood level but this research is in its infancy. See Dept. of Environmental Planning, District Plans Branch, Winnipeg Area Characterization (Winnipeg, July, 1978).

1. Age of Housing Stock (pre 1901)
2. Building Condition (more than 30% poor and very poor)
3. Population Change 1971-1976 (population loss of 15% or greater)
4. Income - 1971 (25-50% at or below the poverty line)
5. Tenure - 1976 (61-100% tenant occupied dwellings)
6. Population Density - 1976 (more than 40 persons per residential acre)
7. Household Density - 1976 (more than 15 households per residential acre)

Those census tracts which satisfied two or more of the criteria were included.

Those satisfying only one criterion were visited by the study team and a field decision was made as to whether or not to include the census tract on the basis of a windshield survey. A boundary line was drawn around the perimeter of the clustered census tracts keeping in mind two guidelines:

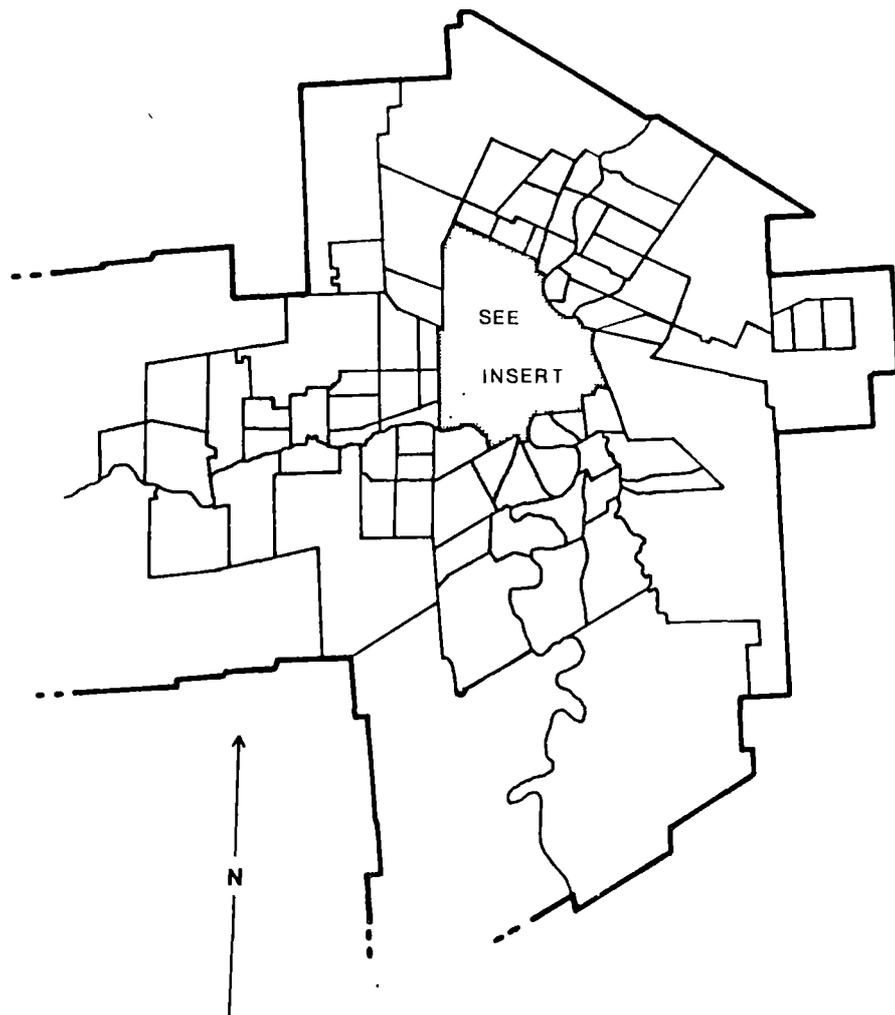
1. the tracts had to be contiguous.
2. any tracts which did not emerge but were surrounded by other census tracts which had emerged were included.

Source:

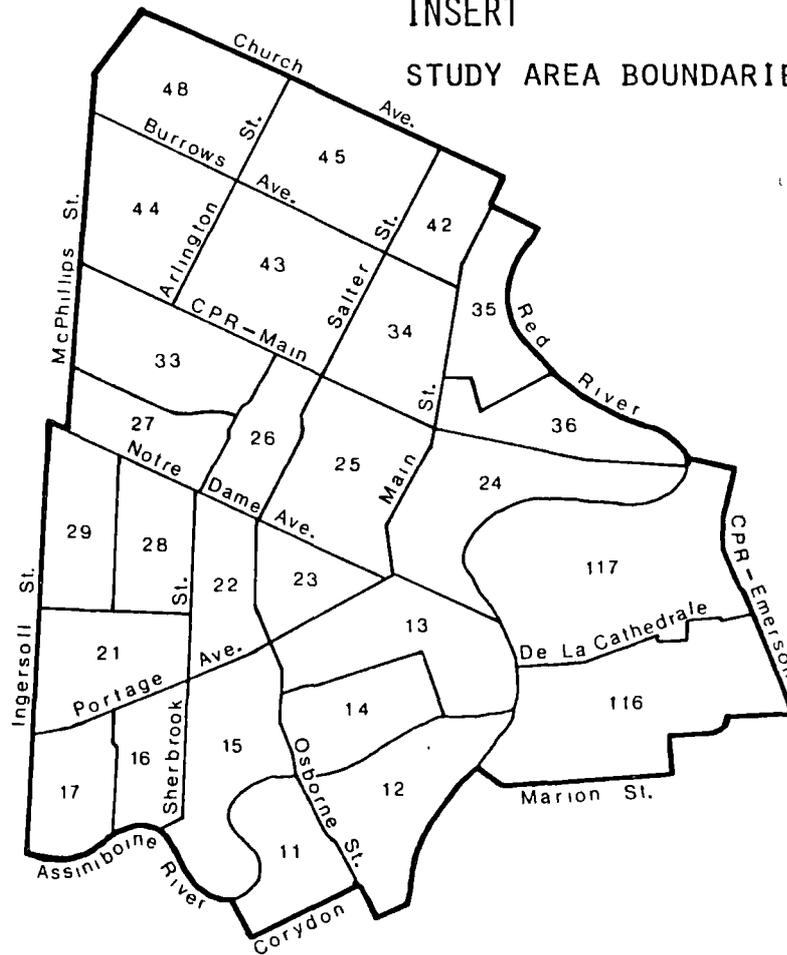
L. Axworthy et al.,
"Inner City Housing Study: Interim Report".
unpublished study prepared for the Greater Winnipeg
Development Plan Review, Aug., 1978.

Figure 1. Indicators Used to Define the Boundaries
of Winnipeg's Inner City

LOCATION OF INNER CITY STUDY AREA IN RELATION TO WINNIPEG CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA



INSERT
STUDY AREA BOUNDARIES



Numbers refer to census tract identifiers

The Decline of Winnipeg's Inner City

An aging housing stock, growing obsolescence in infrastructure, loss of population and families, all combine to create special problems for Winnipeg's inner city. While these factors are more or less beyond the control of a planner working at the neighbourhood level, they have important influences on the processes operating within the inner city.

Winnipeg, unlike many other Canadian cities, has undergone a slow but continuous decline in its growth. Although it once dominated the West in terms of both population and economic activity, Winnipeg's influence has slowly waned, first in the face of competition from Vancouver, and more recently, from the growing oil centres of Calgary and Edmonton. [7] The 1920's were a turning point for Winnipeg and signalled the beginning of its decline which has continued right up to the present time.

With the stabilization and decline of ocean freight rates after the war and the opening of the cheaper sea route via the Panama Canal in 1914, European shippers and eastern Canadian manufacturers tended to use the ocean route instead of railways. Vancouver became a new gateway to the west and was soon able to capture a large part of Winnipeg's grain and wholesale trade...The rise of other prairie cities challenged Winnipeg's traditional freight rate privileges, which were declared discriminatory and extended to other western cities. The growth of these rival centres seriously undermined Winnipeg's primary function as a distributing centre...The growth of such cities as Saskatoon, Regina, Edmonton and Calgary, along with

[7] George A. Nader, Cities of Canada, Vol. II (Toronto, 1976), p. 271-275.

their respective trading areas, strengthened their capacity to offer services comparable to those supplied by Winnipeg firms. Between 1924 and 1930 for example, the wholesale trade of Winnipeg declined from \$96.7 million to \$72.9 million. In Calgary, it rose from \$24.6 million to \$30.5 million and in Edmonton from \$18.1 million to \$24.7 million [8].

Winnipeg's shrinking economic base has meant that growth in the labour force has not kept pace with other Canadian cities (see Table 1 [9]), and consequently population growth has been adversely affected. In fact, historically, Winnipeg's population growth has been the slowest of any of the Canadian metropolitan centres (see Table 2). Table 2 indicates that in the last five years annual population growth has been less than 1%. Between 1966 and 1971, Winnipeg had a net internal outmigration which has only been offset by foreign immigration (see Table 3). With shrinking foreign immigration the forecast is for even slower growth in the coming decade (between 0.6-0.8% per year to 1986) [10].

This slow economic and population growth has had important implications for Winnipeg's inner city. A move to suburbia, started after the Second World War, has continued unabated in the city and is due, indirectly, to slow growth (see Table 4). Slow

[8] Alan Artibese, Winnipeg: An Illustrated History. (Toronto, 1977), p.116-122.

[9] all tables in this chapter appear at the end of this study in Appendix A.

[10] Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Plan Winnipeg (Winnipeg, July, 1978), p.84.

growth has kept the price of housing low, compared to other centres (see Table 5), and the transportation tradeoffs, which have been important in encouraging inner city revitalization in centres such as Toronto, have not yet manifested themselves in Winnipeg. Industries have also moved to the suburban areas in significant numbers because of cheaper available land and good transportation connections, creating further incentives to suburban migration (see Table 6). One study has shown that the inner city has suffered a net loss of 600 households through suburban migration alone [11].

The weak regional economy of Winnipeg, and its declining population growth have had a negative impact on the inner city:

A weak regional economy coupled with a slow growth rate and a process of suburbanization can affect large parts of the inner city. As middle income families, stores and industries move to the suburbs, there is too little demand for inner city space to fill the gap. Areas become more and more populated by the lowest income groups and commercial vacancies increase. There are no major new functions seeking a location in the inner city, which consequently loses its place as the focal point of the urban region. There are few reasons to go there or live there, if one has the choice [12].

[11] This is a preliminary estimate based on 540 responses with no control over the time period. Source: Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Some Preliminary Results of the Social Planning Council's 1978 Survey of Housing Units" unpublished, Sept., 1978, p.10.

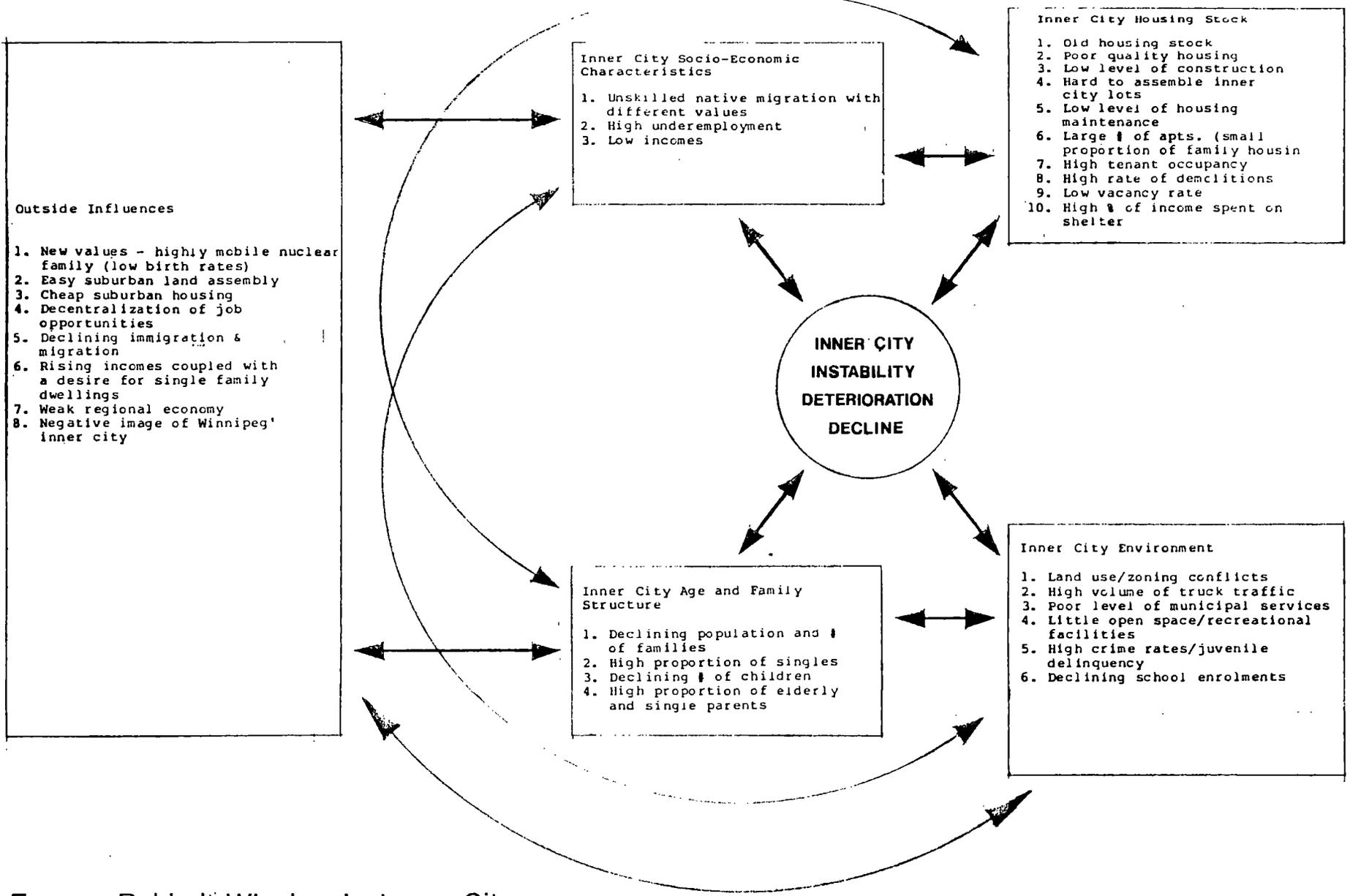
[12] Reg McLemore et al., op.cit., p.7.

The decline of Winnipeg's inner city, while a problem in itself, has created a series of interrelated problems which, in turn, affect the inner city and accelerate the rate of decline. The interrelationship of these problems are complex; however an attempt to show just some of these relationships is contained in Figure 2. For the purposes of analysing Winnipeg's inner city problems, this diagram will be broken up into its four components:

- age and family structure
- socio-economic characteristics
- housing stock
- environmental conditions.

Age and Family Structure

As Table 4 indicates, Winnipeg's inner city has been losing population at least since 1941. This loss of population creates certain problems in and of itself, such as the underutilization of community and city resources (churches, parks, libraries, etc.) and the undermining of the downtown's vitality since there is now a smaller population in close proximity to the CBD. However, Table 4 masks other problems which are only uncovered when it is discovered that several groups are leaving the inner city at a faster rate than others.



Forces Behind Winnipeg's Inner City
Instability, Deterioration and Decline

Figure 2

Families are leaving the inner city at an accelerating rate. While general population losses were 2.5% for the period from 1966-1971 and 13% from 1971-1976 (see Table 4), the loss of families was 5.5% and 16.5% for the same two periods (see Table 7). This occurs at a time when the rate of family formation has increased by 8.5% for the period between 1966-1971 and 7.8% between 1971-1976 in the City of Winnipeg (see Table 7).

While the number of families has declined by 21.0% from 1966-1976, the number of non-family households has increased by 66.1% over the same period (see Table 8). As families have moved out, young singles have moved into the inner city, although recently even young singles have not been attracted to the inner city. In 1976, for the first time ever, the outer city had the majority of all non-family households in the city (see Table 8).

Table 8 shows that the outer city experienced a 77.6% gain in non-family households compared to a 16.3% gain for the inner city. The main reason for this is the large amount of apartments which are now being built in suburban areas (see housing stock discussion below).

One family type which is overrepresented in the inner city is the single parent family. In 1976, 18.3% of all inner city families had one parent, as opposed to 9.9% of outer city families, and 11.3% for Winnipeg families [13].

[13] L. Axworthy, op.cit.

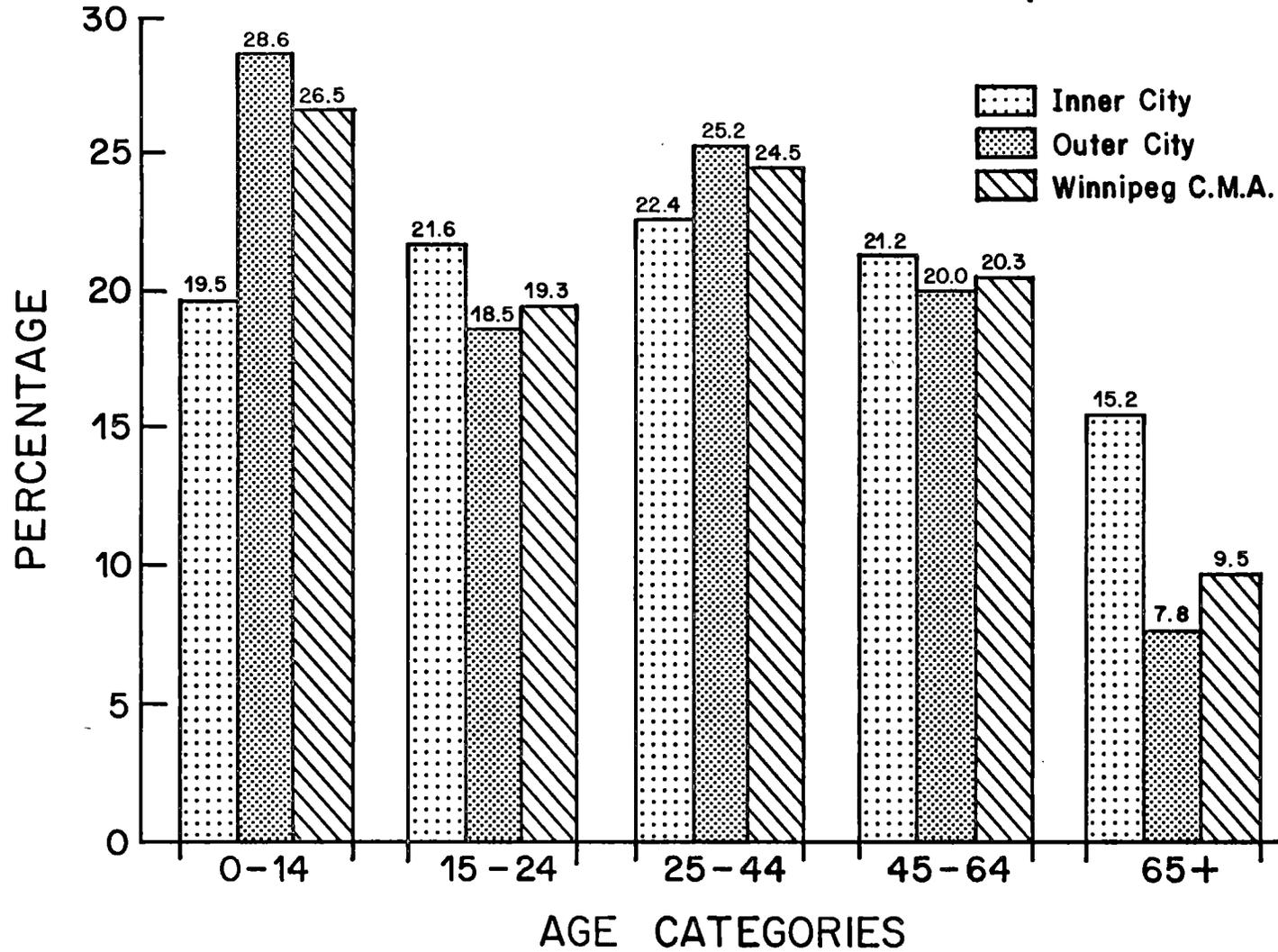
The age structure of the inner city also differs markedly from that of Winnipeg and the outer city. The inner city has a significantly smaller population of children below 15 years of age, and a substantially higher proportion of elderly. Figure 4 shows that 17.1% of the inner city's population is under 15, and that 16.7% is over 65 years of age. On the other hand, 24.9% of the outer city's population is under 15 while only 8.6% are over 65. Both the inner city and outer city experienced a similar aging pattern between 1971 and 1976 (see Figures 3 and 4), although the inner city lost a greater number of children in both absolute and percentage terms (5755 or a 23.5% decline in the inner city compared to 4715 or a 4.0% decline in the outer city) [14].

The implications of the changing age and family structure in Winnipeg's inner city are many. The decreasing number of families and children means that amenities such as schools are underutilized. Declining school enrolments threaten many schools with closure, thus reducing their attractiveness to families and therefore, hastening the family exodus. A declining number of children also means that there is less need for community groups to provide activities for children, and, as a consequence, few incentives for adults to become actively involved in community affairs [15].

[14] Statistics Canada, Census of Canada. 1971 and 1976.

[15] City of Calgary, Proposed Inner City Plan. (Calgary, Oct., 1978), p.25.

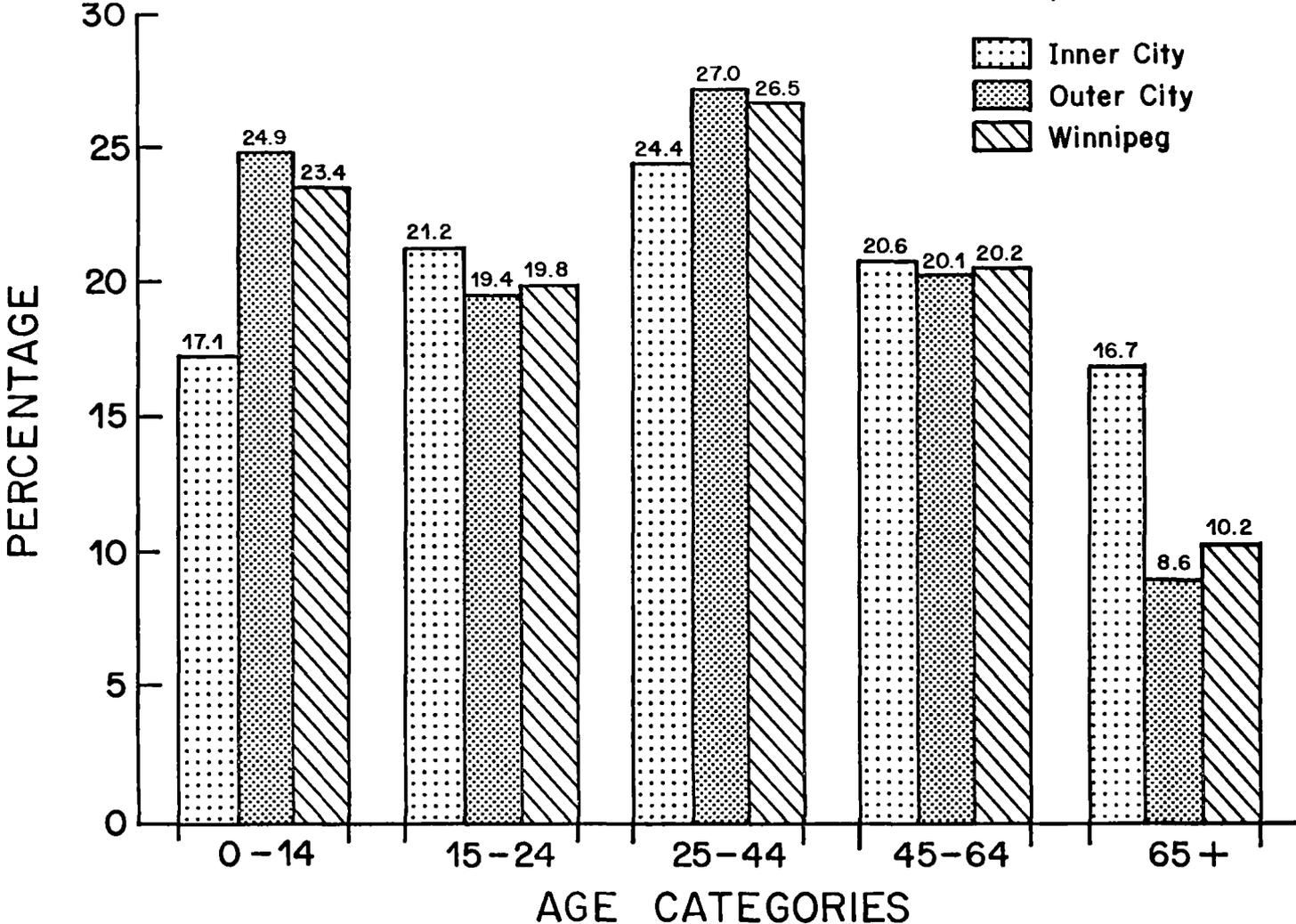
AGE STRUCTURE COMPARISON, 1971



Source: Census of Canada 1971

Figure 3

AGE STRUCTURE COMPARISON, 1976



Source: Census of Canada 1976

Figure 4

As Winnipeg's inner city population becomes more homogeneous (less families and more and more singles), the housing alternatives dwindle as family housing is converted into bachelor and one bedroom suites (see housing stock discussion below). This means that a change in life cycle in an increasingly homogeneous area such as Winnipeg's inner city, will usually involve a change in community and a loss of established community linkages.

In addition, several groups have emerged in Winnipeg's inner city who have special problems. Single parent families with low mobility and low incomes [16] require special services such as daycare and low cost family housing. Elderly people are also becoming increasingly concentrated in the inner city, and their low incomes [17] and immobility create other problems. A closure of a corner grocery store, resulting from population decline, will have a much greater impact on the less mobile elderly than other groups. Low incomes and the aging process combine to

[16] 62% of single parent families living in the inner city had incomes less than \$6,000 in 1978 compared to approximately 15% of all Winnipeg households which had incomes less than \$6,000. Although 56% of Winnipeg's single parent families also earned less than \$6,000 annually, 53.9% own their own homes compared to only 9.3% of inner city single parent families who are owners. These preliminary results from the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg's survey of housing units were communicated to me by Frank Johnston, Institute of Urban Studies, January, 1979.

[17] 63.8% of all households with heads over 65 have incomes less than \$5,000 compared to 13.9% for all Winnipeg households in 1978. These preliminary results from the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg's survey of housing units were communicated to me by Frank Johnston, IUS, 1979.

render the senior citizen less able to repair his home, which can lead to further deterioration in the quality of the housing stock. Elderly singles, particularly men, are also becoming increasingly concentrated in inner city rooming houses and hotels and they also have special problems which require attention [18]. All these target groups' needs must be considered by neighbourhood planners working in the inner city.

Socio-Economic Characteristics

As stated above, the inner city serves as a first area of settlement for immigrants arriving in Canada. Not surprisingly, Winnipeg's inner city has a much high percentage of foreign born people than does the outer city (28% vs. 17% [19]). Certain ethnic groups are more concentrated in the inner city than elsewhere (French, Ukranian, Portugese, Polish, Italian and Asian) [20]. Many of these groups are located in particular neighbourhoods within the inner city and give Winnipeg the cultural flavour that is well known [21]. The case study area, North St. Boniface, has

[18] see W. Zink Smith, "Single Old Men on Main Street: An Evaluation of Jack's Hotel", unpublished, Jan., 1979.

[19] L. Axworthy, op.cit.

[20] Ibid

[21] Winnipeg ethnic segregation index is above the Canadian metropolitan average and only behind that of Toronto, Ottawa/Hull and Montreal. See F.I. Hill, op.cit., p.84-109.

a heavy concentration of French people, and this played a crucial role in the planning of the neighbourhood. In fact, the ethnic diversity, yet high degree of segregation of ethnic groups within neighbourhoods, proves to be one of the inner city's greatest assets. The Ukrainians, for example, have established a large number of institutions in several inner city neighbourhoods, as well as innumerable Ukrainian stores and restaurants [22]. "Ethnic, religious and cultural institutions as well as family ties, are factors that discourage dispersal from the original neighbourhoods and therefore changes of residence normally occur within the same neighbourhood." [23] This helps explain why, in spite of many adverse factors, [24] the length of occupancy in the inner city is not significantly different from Winnipeg as a whole (see Table 9). Although inner city residents have moved more times than those in Winnipeg's outer city (1.6 moves vs. 1.0 moves between 1973 and 1978), 75.4% of those moves were within the inner city [25]. It is clear that a sense of ethnic identity is important in keeping many of Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods from declining at an accelerated rate. Maintaining and

[22] Alan Artibise, op.cit., p.175.

[23] George A. Nader, op.cit., p.284. See especially Figure 9.5 which shows the pattern of residential relocation of Ukrainians in Winnipeg's inner city between 1951 and 1961.

[24] Some of the factors are the high proportion of non-family households and tenant occupied dwellings, both of which encourage higher transiency rates.

[25] Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, op.cit.

fostering this identity becomes an important part of community revitalization in Winnipeg, as will be seen in Chapter 4.

However, the influx of different cultural groups into Winnipeg's inner city is not without problems. One of the most recent features of immigration to Winnipeg's inner city is the influx of native people. "There are estimates of anywhere between 30,000 to 80,000 native persons presently living in Winnipeg, almost exclusively in the inner city areas." [26] This is reflected in several inner city neighbourhoods by the high proportion of native children in the elementary schools [27]. The current estimated rate of net migration is approximately 1,200 - 1,300 per year and it is expected that 7,000 - 10,000 native people will migrate from the reserves between 1978 and 1985, the majority of whom will come to Winnipeg [28].

The push from the reserves is proving to be the major factor explaining the recent migrations. High birth rates, inadequate medical facilities, massive underemployment, low incomes and, in many instances, intolerable living conditions all have pushed na-

[26] Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Housing: A Background Paper on Phase 1 of the Winnipeg Housing Study. (Winnipeg, 1978), p.12.

[27] for example, Dufferin - 60% enrolment of native children; David Livingstone - 45%; Norquay - 30%; King Edward - 50%; William Whyte - 50%; Aberdeen - 35%. See L. Axworthy and P. Christie, Winnipeg's Core Area: An Assessment of Conditions Affecting Law Enforcement. (Winnipeg, Oct., 1975), p.56.

[28] Personal communication from Frank Johnston, Institute of Urban Studies, Jan., 1979.

tive people to the city [29]. Although living conditions are by no means satisfactory in Winnipeg, there are better chances of earning more here. [30].

The migration of native people into Winnipeg's inner city has created a number of problems. Many of the migrants lack the skills necessary to cope with the urban environment and life-style. The values of native people clash with those of the larger white society (see Table 10) and unlike foreign immigrants, their "home country", the reserve, is readily accessible so there is no "once and for all" commitment to settle in the inner city. The clash between values as shown in Table 10 creates considerable racial tension between existing residents and the newly arrived natives. A recent article in the Winnipeg Tribune illustrates the problem:

There's a FOR SALE sign in front of the only home Lou Koski has ever known...The FOR SALE sign has been there for 2 1/2 years now - and Mr. Koski has not even received an offer. Seven such signs dot Dufferin between

[29] See J.S. Frideres, Canadian Indians: Contemporary Conflicts. (Scarborough, 1974), J.N. Kerri, Urban Native Canadians: The Adjustment of Amerindians to the City of Winnipeg. (Ann Arbor, 1973), and comments by Richard Flett, vice-president of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood in the Winnipeg Tribune, Oct. 5, 1978.

[30] In 1971 Winnipeg native people had an average family income of \$4,571 compared to natives on the Manitoba reserves whose average family income was only \$3,571. See M.D.Ray, ed., Canadian Urban Trends: National Perspective, Vol. 1. (Toronto, 1976), p.198. In 1972 Kerri found that 45.7% of native people he interviewed received less than \$2,000 annually before coming to Winnipeg, while only 20% received less than \$2,000 now that they were living in the city. See J.N. Kerri, op.cit., p.103.

Andrews and McGregor Street, six in front of homes and one in front of a vacant lot...Immediately to the east of Mr. Koski's home at 549 Dufferin which he says has housed as many as 50 Indians at one time...Mr. Lysohurka said he has problems with a number of Indian families in the neighbourhood. "They regularly keep us up until four, five, six in the morning," he said of one nearby house. "During the summer holidays it's non-stop"...Further down the street, the resident of a home with a FOR SALE sign on the lawn echoed the thoughts of his neighbours. "Why is the house being sold? The reason is right across the street," he said, motioning to a home in which Indians live [31].

It is clear from the above passage what the attitudes of existing residents are to the native migration. There is also some evidence that the native migration has many detrimental effects on the native people themselves. Kerri has shown that marital breakdown, alcoholism and unemployment increase when native people migrate to the city [32]. Again, the value clash between whites and natives shown in Table 10 is an important factor in creating these problems. What is worse for neighbourhood planners working in Winnipeg's inner city is that the racial conflict generated by the clash in values and lifestyles between natives and whites gives the neighbourhood a bad image - one of an area in the final stages of deterioration. This image creates an enormous amount of neighbourhood instability and an uncertainty of the impact of changes in the community. Owners increasingly want to "get out before the neighbourhood gets worse". Such ra-

[31] Tim Harper and John Drabble, "Core Area Owners Paint Bad Picture" in The Winnipeg Tribune, Oct. 5, 1978, p.1.

[32] J.N. Kerri, op.cit.

cial conflict is difficult to resolve, but cannot be ignored when attempts are made at revitalization.

Winnipeg's inner city is also characterized by high underemployment and low incomes when compared to outlying areas. Underemployment has hit inner city males hardest as their employment incomes are falling far behind general increases in employment income which have taken place in Winnipeg between 1951 and 1971 (see Table 11). Underemployment has led to low income. A recent Social Planning Council survey has shown that the average household employment income for inner city residents was \$9,200 compared to \$15,217 in Winnipeg's outer city. Even after transfers (welfare, UIC, Canada Pension, etc.) were taken into account there was still a considerable disparity (see Table 12).

Low socio-economic status and underemployment create many problems for Winnipeg's inner city residents. One of the greatest problems is finding affordable shelter (see housing stock discussion below). Low income can also lead to the cycle of poverty which creates problems of health and education (low incomes from underemployment prevent many inner city residents from investing in their own educational upgrading). Many of these problems have been well documented elsewhere [33]. Low incomes accentuate the problems of the elderly and single parent

[33] Economic Council of Canada, Fifth and Sixth Annual Reviews (Ottawa, 1968 & 1969), J. Harp & J.R. Hofley, ed., Poverty in Canada. (Scarborough, 1971) and I. Adams et.al., The Real Poverty Report (Edmonton, 1971).

families discussed earlier, as well as adding to other problems, such as the deterioration of housing - lower income owners have no money for housing maintenance. While many of these problems have been addressed directly in the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, others such as employment upgrading and health are not dealt with. Solving these problems is difficult, but they cannot be ignored.

The Housing Stock

Many of the housing problems of Winnipeg's inner city are complicated and escalated by the characteristics and trends described above. For example, a high proportion of singles and a large number of low income residents has helped ensure that a large number of housing units in Winnipeg's inner city are tenant occupied. Therefore, most of the housing problems have to be discussed with the residents of the inner city in mind.

Winnipeg has one of the oldest housing stocks of any Canadian city (see Table 13). Much of this housing stock is concentrated in the inner city. The Social Planning Council survey shows that 72.7% of the inner city housing stock was built before 1941, while only 6.4% was built after 1961 (see Table 14). The fact that most of this housing stock is of wood-frame construction has resulted in Winnipeg having a higher proportion of poor quality housing compared to most other Canadian cities (see Table 15), and a higher proportion of this poor quality housing is lo-

cated within Winnipeg's inner city (see Table 16). However exterior condition, as measured in Table 16 is only a rough indicator of housing quality. In a survey of interior defects, the Social Planning Council has found that 37.8% of inner city housing units have two or more defects compared to 18.7% of all housing units in Winnipeg (see Table 17). 19% of inner city residents felt major repairs were required for their housing units while only 9% of Winnipeg residents felt their dwellings were in need of major repair (see Table 18).

Expenditure on maintenance and repair is much lower in the inner city than in Winnipeg as a whole due to low incomes and the large number of absentee landlords (see Table 19), even though the inner city's housing stock is of much poorer quality than Winnipeg. As a result the inner city housing stock will continue to decline in quality.

The majority of the inner city's housing stock is made up of apartments, while the majority of the housing stock of the outlying areas consists of single family dwellings (see Table 20). 73.6% of these inner city apartment units are bachelor and one bedroom units [34] and only 27.7% of all housing units have three or more bedrooms compared to 51.1% of outer city dwellings which have three or more bedrooms (see Table 21). Therefore, most of Winnipeg's inner city housing stock is geared to singles, which

[34] City of Winnipeg, "Apartment Block Inventory". unpublished, Jan.1, 1977.

means that once couples have children, they are increasingly forced to look to the suburbs for suitable family housing.

Little construction has taken place in the inner city from 1972 to 1978. Only 3% of all single family dwellings have been built in the inner city since 1972 and 7/10 of all apartment construction has taken place outside the area [35]. Building permits, which overestimate new construction, show that only 79 single family dwellings have been built in the inner city since 1972 (See Table 22). High inner city lot prices compared with outlying suburban lots and a negative image of the inner city held by Winnipeggers are some of the factors responsible for the lack of new construction in the inner city. The trend of new suburban apartment construction corresponds with the dramatic increase in non-family households which occurred in the outer city between 1971 and 1976.

The lack of new construction has helped create a shortage of housing that presently exists in Winnipeg's inner city. Many units, especially family housing units have been demolished since 1972 (see Table 23). A comparison between Tables 22 and 23 shows that new family housing has not kept pace with demolitions. 1126 family units have been demolished since 1972, and only 425 units have been built in Winnipeg's inner city. Unfortunately, demolitions do not represent the total number of units lost to the

[35] Dept. of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, "Housing Trends". unpublished, Aug. 29, 1977.

inner city. Many units have been boarded up but not yet demolished. Closures represent a permanent loss because "past experience indicates that most closures are later demolished rather than reopened" [36]. 662 multiple family dwellings alone have been closed in Winnipeg's inner city since 1972, and many single family dwellings and other family units have also been closed but no estimates are available [37]. The demolition statistics in Table 23 also do not include buildings which are recorded as single family dwellings, but are actually rooming houses. No reliable data exists for these last units, although the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation (MHRC) estimates that for 1977 alone 178 rooming house units were demolished in the inner city [38]. Furthermore, any residential buildings which have been converted to commercial or office use are also not included in inner city dwelling losses. If the last two numbers (662 and 178) are added to the inner city demolition figures, a total of 2782 units have been lost since 1972, and this is a very conservative estimate. There is also every indication that this rate of demolitions will continue:

In view of the 1973-1977 demolitions data, it seems

[36] Ad Hoc Committee on Housing, Committee on Environment, City of Winnipeg, Apartment Loss Study. Research conducted by Dept. of Environmental Planning and the Institute of Urban Studies (Winnipeg, Oct., 1978), p.25.

[37] Ibid, p.26.

[38] Ibid, p.27.

reasonable to assume that, barring changes in the City regulation of demolition permits and/or effective housing rehabilitation programs, there will be 500-800 dwelling units approved for demolition in each of the next five years. It's likely that over the five-year period at least 3000 more dwelling units will be demolished... [39]

The increasing rate of demolitions, coupled with the sparse construction activity in Winnipeg's inner city, has decreased the area's family housing and has helped create a housing shortage and affordability problem for low income tenants, as will be seen in the discussion below.

The high percentage of apartment units, the low incomes of inner city residents, and the high proportion of singles mean that a high percentage of inner city dwellings are tenant occupied. While 58.3% of Winnipeg's and 67.1% of the outer city's dwellings are owner occupied only 29.7% of inner city dwellings are owner occupied (see Table 24). The percentage of tenant occupied units has steadily increased from 65.2% in 1966 to 70.3% in 1976. This trend is also reflected in absolute terms, for there has been a loss of slightly less than 1000 owner occupied units over this time period (see Table 24). Much of the tenant occupied housing is owned by absentee landlords [40]. High

 [39] Les Mudweiler, "Winnipeg Demolitions: 1977". unpublished, March, 1978, p.13.

[40] Housing Action Coalition*, "A Housing Action Plan for Winnipeg's Inner City". unpublished, July, 1977, p.2. *The Coalition consists of a group of concerned individuals who work in Winnipeg's inner city e.g., low level NIP and government staff, daycare workers, social workers, health workers, architects, etc.

tenant occupancy, especially when dwellings are absentee owned, contributes to neighbourhood instability - landlords have little stake in their buildings and are therefore more prone to negligent maintenance. This contributes to the overall deterioration of the housing stock in Winnipeg's inner city (see the discussion on the private sector in the next section).

The effects of housing problems are very different for those who rent their shelter as opposed to those who own it. Therefore the problems of owners and tenants in the inner city housing market have to be discussed separately.

Tenants: One of the main attractions of the inner city is the low rent, and this partially explains the larger proportion of low income residents living in Winnipeg's inner city. 42.8% of inner city tenants paid less than \$150 per month for rent in 1977 compared to 15.3% of outer city tenants (see Table 25). Along with ethnic and family ties discussed above, low rents are one of the positive features of inner city neighbourhoods.

Even lower inner city rents do not alleviate the affordability problem that many tenants have. Inner city tenants spend a higher percentage of their income on shelter than outer city residents (see Table 26). 41.0% spend more than 26% of their income on shelter while 25.6% of inner city tenants spend more than 36% of their income on shelter costs. This is in spite of the fact that 9.2% of inner city tenants receive rent/shelter subsidies compared to 2.1% of outer city and 4% of Winnipeg tenants [41]. Keeping rents low is therefore very important in the inner

city as tenants are there, in part, because of the low rents, and increased shelter costs would only worsen the affordability problem just outlined.

Low vacancy rates in Winnipeg's inner city have exacerbated this housing affordability problem. The city-wide vacancy rate in October 1977 was only 1.8% [42]. What makes this worse for inner city tenants is the even lower vacancy rate for older apartment buildings, located mainly in inner city areas (see table 27). These older apartment blocks are normally rented at rates well below those of recent construction. The Apartment Loss Study authors note:

In fact, the statistics indicate that the only inner city rental housing for which substantial vacancy rates do exist are recently constructed units. A further analysis of their rent structures revealed that they are without exception renting at rates unaffordable by low and moderate income people [43].

The low vacancy rates of older apartment blocks, combined with the increasing rate of demolitions of these units, put low income tenants in Winnipeg's inner city in a situation of either paying higher rents or settling for inferior accommodation. Neighbourhood planners working in the inner city have to be extremely careful of not aggravating this problem through a ruth-

[41] Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, op.cit. p.10.

[42] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, "Semi-Annual Vacancy Survey". unpublished, October, 1977.

[43] Ad Hoc Committee on Housing, op.cit., p.15.

less code enforcement program. Also every attempt has to be made to provide new housing which is affordable to inner city tenants.

Owners: Inner city owners in Winnipeg, like inner city tenants, pay lower shelter costs than do owners in the outer city (see Table 28). At the same time inner city owners pay a higher percentage of their income on shelter than do outer city owners (see Table 29). Part of this discrepancy is due to the fact that elderly couples represent the highest percentage of home owners in the inner city, and their meagre pensions are barely able to cover taxes, utility and maintenance costs [44].

One of the major problems which inner city owners face is selling their homes. Part of this problem was already discussed in relationship to the increasing native migration to the inner city (see p.33-34). The public, particularly that portion with enough money to afford home ownership, perceives the inner city as an undesirable place to live. It is estimated that more than half the current real estate listings are for houses priced below \$40,000, most of which are located in Winnipeg's inner city [45]. Most of these units cannot be sold, both because of the public's negative image of the inner city and because of the large number

[44] These preliminary results from the Social Planning Council's survey of housing units were communicated to me by Frank Johnston, Institute of Urban Studies, January, 1979.

[45] Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Housing, A Background Paper on Phase 1 of the Winnipeg Housing Study (Winnipeg, 1978), p.5.

of cheap newly completed unsold units in suburban areas [46]. For elderly people who have placed all their equity into their house, the prospects of unreachable capital at retirement can be very perplexing, especially when taxes and utility costs are rising so rapidly. The negative public image of the inner city also contributes to neighbourhood instability there, and "turning the image of the inner city around" is an important part of community renewal here.

The Environment

The environment of Winnipeg's inner city is, of course, made up of all the preceding parts, the housing stock, the kind of residents etc., but there are several other important components which create problems for the inner city or have arisen because of the problems discussed elsewhere. These components will be discussed under the broad heading environment.

The inner city was the first part of Winnipeg to be developed and at a time when there were few, if any, planning controls. The combination of uses which resulted has created a considerable number of land use conflicts in Winnipeg's inner city [47]. Industries are mixed in with residential areas, and the resulting truck traffic on residential streets creates many

[46] Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Plan Winnipeg (Winnipeg, July, 1978), p.52.

[47] City of Winnipeg, Dept. of Environmental Planning, District Plans Branch, Winnipeg Area Characterization. (Winnipeg, July, 1978).

safety and noise problems. Increased suburban development has forced the widening of streets within the inner city to carry the escalating volume of traffic from the suburbs to the downtown. Since the provisions for this increased traffic have been made on an ad hoc basis, many of the congested arteries bisect residential communities, cutting off schools, churches and parks from many of the residents they were originally built to serve.

Most inner city neighbourhoods have a serious deficiency of both park and developed recreational facilities [48]. Municipal services, because of their early date of installation, are in need of major repair and upgrading. Inner city residents received dramatic proof of the inadequate sewer system when several torrential downpours in the summer of 1977 flooded many of their basements and flats [49].

A large number of inner city residential dwellings occupy land which is zoned for non-residential uses (e.g. commercial and industrial). In the heyday of Winnipeg's boom, before the era of industrial parks, large sectors of inner city residential land were zoned industrial. Properties along thoroughfares, which have experienced greatly increased traffic flows, have been re-zoned for commercial use. This makes the undertaking of major

[48] L. Axworthy and P. Christie, op.cit. p.52-55.

[49] Most inner city neighbourhoods do not have storm and sanitary sewer separation, and in severe rainstorms, basement flooding can result because of the sudden overloading of the sewer system.

repairs and upgrading very difficult for owners of these residential properties because of their non-conforming status.

Poor housing quality and a low level of housing maintenance have led to an increased presence of mice and other vermin in Winnipeg's inner city (see Table 30). High crime rates are also a fact of life for inner city residents. 62.8% of all juvenile delinquency was found to occur in Winnipeg's core area between June 23 and August 5, 1975 [50]. This is in a city which has twice the number of juveniles (age 7-15) charged than any other metropolitan area in Canada [51]. 37.8% of all crimes reported occurred in Winnipeg's core area during the same time period [52]. These high crime rates have had a marked effect on inner city residents' perceptions of neighbourhood safety. Only 64.2% of inner city residents felt that they lived in a safe neighbourhood, compared to 87.2% of outer city residents (see Table 31).

All these factors contribute to further neighbourhood instability in Winnipeg's inner city. The growing list of environmental problems furthers the negative image of the inner city, and people who can afford to, move out.

[50] L. Axworthy and P. Christie, op.cit. (see Table 11 for core area boundaries).

[51] John N. Stewart et al., Urban Indicators: Quality of Life Comparisons for Canadian Cities. (Ottawa, Dec., 1975), p.11.

[52] L. Axworthy and P. Christie, op.cit. (see Table 11 for core area boundaries).

While the above factors have created problems for Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods, there are positive attributes to these communities, some of which have already been discussed. Inner city residents have a much higher accessibility to neighbourhood facilities than do outer city residents, largely because of the mixture of uses and higher population densities in the inner city (see Table 32). Beyond the mere convenience of such facilities, their proximity also reduces transportation costs for inner city residents [53].

Conclusion

The problems that have led to the decline of Winnipeg's inner city have now been described. Some of the interrelationships between these problems have been illustrated in Figure 2. An understanding of these problems and their interrelationships is critical to any planner working to stabilize a Winnipeg inner city neighbourhood.

From the previous discussion it should also be clear that the problems of Winnipeg's inner city are not shared equally by all residents. The problems of the elderly are not the same as those of families with children. Indeed, some groups come into

[53] A recent study of Winnipeg's public housing tenants has shown that transportation costs are significantly lower for those tenants living in inner city neighbourhoods. Source: N.D. Lea and Associates Ltd., "Transportation/Housing Interrelationships - Pilot Study". unpublished, July, 1978.

direct conflict as we have seen with the owners and native people in the Dufferin Street area (see p.33-34). While the elderly homeowner is concerned about how he can obtain his equity from his home for retirement, the low income renter is concerned with finding an appropriate, affordable dwelling. Each target group perceives Winnipeg's inner city problems differently, and is affected by those problems in a unique way. The neighbourhood planner should realize that although the community may share certain problems, its residents are not homogeneous, and they may benefit unequally through certain planned actions aimed at revitalizing the area.

While Figure 2 clarifies some of the forces behind the decline of Winnipeg's inner city, it is also important to understand what forces are stabilizing the area. These assets could provide the basis for revitalizing the inner city. For Winnipeg's inner city communities there appears to be three main assets: ethnic and family ties, low cost housing, and high accessibility to neighbourhood amenities. Indeed, McKee and Epstein, in their interviews of housing and neighbourhood characteristics and attitudes of Winnipeg's inner city residents, found that these three characteristics were most often mentioned when residents were asked what they like about their present accommodation and neighbourhood [54]. These features then, can be the building blocks to a better neighbourhood.

[54] C. McKee and J. Epstein, op.cit. p.38-39.

In the next chapter, the influences of the private sector and the various government institutions on the problems of Winnipeg's inner city will be examined. Chapter 2 will provide the reader with a knowledge of the political and economic climate in which the Neighbourhood Improvement Program operated in North St. Boniface.

Chapter 2

The Actors in Winnipeg's Inner City:
The Impact of Private Enterprise and Government
Institutions on Inner City Problems

Through direct intervention, or indirectly through non-action and unintended effects, the private sector and government institutions have accelerated the pace of neighbourhood decline in Winnipeg's inner city. Besides NIP and RRAP, there are few programs operating to deal with Winnipeg's inner city problems. Private enterprise has lost confidence in the ability of inner city areas to generate a return on investment. Governments, either because of economic restraint and/or ideology, are not willing to increase their level of activity in the inner city, and have cut back on existing programs. While most of these factors are well beyond the control of neighbourhood improvement staff, they cannot be ignored when contemplating action in the community.

In the first part of this chapter, the effects of the private sector on the inner city through the market system will be examined. The influence of developers, financial institutions, and landlords will be described. The second part of the chapter will contain a discussion of the public sector's role in hastening Winnipeg's inner city decline, either through its attempts at regulating the private market system, or through its direct intervention in the inner city. Federal, provincial and municipal policies and programs will be examined to determine their impact on inner city decline.

The Private Sector

One of the major reasons for the decline of Winnipeg's inner city has been the corresponding ascension of the suburban areas. The role of private developers in Winnipeg's suburban development has already been summarized in the Bellan Report [1]. After the war, a trend towards mass production and vertical integration in the housing industry made large land assembly in the suburbs more economical than small lot development in the inner city. The Winnipeg land development business has become increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few large companies, and this has made suburban development both economically feasible and very profitable [2]. Subsequently, almost all new housing in Winnipeg is erected in suburban areas at the expense of the inner city.

There is every indication that this suburban land development will continue. Both CMHC and the City of Winnipeg indicate that there is an adequate supply of serviced land in suburban areas to handle housing demand until 1981 [3]. In addition,

[1] Ruben C. Bellan, Report and Recommendations of the Winnipeg Land Prices Inquiry Commission (Winnipeg, July, 1977), p.4-9 & 19.

[2] As of December 1976, four companies, BACM, LADCO, Metropolitan Properties, and Qualico Developments owned 32% of vacant land between the built-up area and the Perimeter Highway; and as of December 1975, 59% of all land that is scheduled to be developed before 1981. See R.C. Bellan, op.cit., p.52 and W.R. Bloxom and H.J. Harks, "The City of Winnipeg Long Range Housing Needs Analysis and Development Potentials in Relation to Existing Land Banks" unpublished, Dec., 1975, p.22.

[3] Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Plan Winnipeg (Winnipeg, July, 1978), p.57.

there is a large supply of land outside the City of Winnipeg's boundaries. 8,000 serviced lots in rural settlements, and a large number of 1, 2 and 5 acre building sites are all within commuting distance to the city [4]. It is no wonder that virtually all new family housing has been constructed in suburbia (see p.38). Every indicator points to continued private house building in the suburbs and almost no private initiative in the inner city in the coming years [5].

The private sector has also largely ignored the inner city in apartment construction. Only 30% of all apartment construction has taken place in Winnipeg's inner city since 1970, and this figure may now be closer to 20%. Of these inner city units only 39.4% have been built by the private sector [6]. Most of these private units have been constructed south of the downtown core and are high rise "singles apartments" renting at very high prices.

Small scale lot development is no longer competitive with the large scale land development taking place on the periphery by a vertically integrated housing industry. Those lots that are developed privately in the inner city contain high rise or three storey walkups renting at rates two and a half times the average

[4] Ibid, p.57.

[5] Ibid, p.58.

[6] L. Axworthy, op.cit., p.61.

rent in the inner city.

The lack of confidence and reluctance to invest in Winnipeg's inner city is not restricted to the private developers and builders. Financial institutions have been reluctant to grant mortgages on older housing in some areas, have been charging higher than market interest rates when they do lend mortgage money in the inner city and, in some cases have "red-lined" certain high risk areas of Winnipeg's inner city which effectively places an embargo on loan capital [7].

Landlords, too, are becoming more and more reluctant to invest money in the inner city of Winnipeg. This is, in part, reflected in the large number of apartment block demolitions that have been taking place in the last five years (see Table 23). The landlord, like other groups in the private sector, is seeking a return on investment. In his case the money invested in buying and maintaining the dwelling is used to obtain a return either through rent, resale or through tax deferrals. Since the latter has now been eliminated for older apartment blocks (see discussion under Federal Government below), many apartment owners in Winnipeg's inner city are using their properties as short term investments and are "milking them dry" in an attempt to recover their cash investment [8]. Both the Apartment Loss Study and

[7] Marianne Bossen, "The Role of Private Financial Institutions in Older Winnipeg Neighbourhoods" unpublished, Oct., 1976.

[8] Ad Hoc Committee on Housing, op.cit., p.33.

research by MHRC have indicated that many absentee landlords have very little equity in their buildings and, therefore, very little financial stake in the building itself. Overfinancing has made it difficult for landlords to obtain loans for building repair, and when they do, it is often at high prices [9]. Even obtaining mortgages for apartment acquisition is not an easy task:

Because of the unstable but generally declining market prices of older rental properties, combined with their uncertain futures, mortgage money to finance the acquisition of older apartment blocks is not easy to obtain from conventional sources. In fact the only cases in which it has been easy to obtain financing have been those where the building itself was so badly deteriorated that it was virtually worthless and the land became the only component [10].

High mortgage costs, high maintenance costs, low rents, and the elimination of tax shelters have all diminished the landlord's profit margin in Winnipeg's inner city. Indeed, the Apartment Loss Study has found that several inner city landlords are in rather precarious financial positions [11]. All these factors have combined to encourage a low level of maintenance by landlords, and hence, building quality has further deteriorated. Landlords, in response to city upgrading orders or even to changing mortgage rates, have begun to close and demolish their build-

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[9] The Rentalsman has found that most of the older inner city rental units are financed for between 95% and 115% of value: see MHRC "Submission to Cabinet: Inner City Housing Action Program" unpublished, May, 1977, p.5.

[10] Ad Hoc Committee on Housing, op.cit., p.34-35.

[11] Ad Hoc Committee on Housing, op.cit., p.95.

ings rather than refinance or undertake repairs. The result has been an increasing number of demolitions and closures in Winnipeg's inner city (see Table 23).

The private sector in general has increasingly looked to the outlying areas of Winnipeg as the target for its investments. There has been a growing lack of confidence in the economic viability of investing in inner city areas and this has created a vicious cycle of a withdrawal of capital, decline, further withdrawals and greater inner city decline. The private sector has largely left Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods in the hands of the public sector, claiming that costs are too high for them to undertake neighbourhood revitalization.

The Public Sector

Winnipeg's inner city has rarely been considered as a unit for the purposes of policy making by any level of government. Most municipal policies have been established without regard to the significant differences between inner city areas and suburbia. Federal policies, except for NIP, have not been directed by any notion of the inner city in mind, and the provincial government only began concrete action in Winnipeg's inner city in the late days of the former NDP provincial government. The new provincial government has not continued in this policy line. It is only recently that Winnipeg's inner city has gained any real notoriety, and that has been through the work of the Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, a body set up to review the Winnipeg

Development Plan. At this writing none of the concern expressed by this body for the problems of inner city areas has been translated into action. The Neighbourhood Improvement Program stands as an isolated example of policies designed to revitalize inner city areas and its impact will be explored in more detail in the case study.

In the following discussion, the attempt will be made to demonstrate that the neglect of Winnipeg's inner city, by the various levels of government, has often resulted in many programs working at cross-purposes, and other programs have only served to accelerate that rate of inner city decline. Beginning with the Federal Government, each level of government's effect on the problems of the inner city will be considered.

The Federal Government

While a comprehensive appraisal of the role the Federal Government plays in Winnipeg's inner city is beyond the scope of this paper, some examples of policies implemented by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) will be examined [12]. CMHC, almost since its inception, has encouraged the private sector's investment in suburban areas through its provision of NHA assisted mortgages, and its attempts at creating a vertically integrated, mass-production based housing industry [13]. Recent-

[12] for a discussion of the Federal role in creating urban problems in Canada see N.H. Lithwick, Urban Canada: Problems and Prospects (Ottawa, 1970).

[13] See for example, H. Carver, Compassionate Landscape (Toronto, 1975), especially Chapters 8 & 9, and J. Sewell "The

ly several other national programs have given substantial incentives for private developers to continue to build large tracts of housing in Winnipeg's outlying areas.

The Assisted Home Ownership Program (AHOP), was created under the 1973 NHA amendments, which for the first time, allowed CMHC to obtain government funds for interest rate reductions on mortgages. Low interest loans over a 35 year amortization period became available and grants to reduce the monthly payments for principal, interest and taxes (PIT) to 25% of family income were also authorized. While this program was originally designed to encourage home ownership for low and moderate income families, its direction shifted after the first year of implementation, and the change has had important implications for the inner city of Winnipeg. "In October 1974, the need to compensate for a decline in new housing starts led to a reorientation of AHOP towards production goals...All lending for existing units by CMHC ceased" [14]. The fact that only new units now come under the AHOP program has encouraged first-time home buyers to buy new homes in suburbia rather than older housing in inner city areas. This has accelerated the building of low cost [15] suburban homes

Suburbs" in City Magazine, Vol. 2, #6 (Toronto, Jan., 1977), p.19-55.

[14] Canadian Council on Social Development, A Review of Canadian Social Housing Policy. (Ottawa, Jan., 1977), p.93.

[15] The maximum price for which a new unit can qualify for AHOP in Winnipeg is \$38,500.

which are designed to compete with "starter homes" in Winnipeg's inner city and has helped move families out of the inner city.

Another Federal government initiative, the Assisted Rental Program, (ARP), was designed to encourage the construction of new apartment units. By giving cost allowances and rent guarantees to new apartment builders, investment capital was encouraged to move from the rehabilitation of older units to the construction of new units. Virtually all new apartment units in Winnipeg have been built under the ARP program, 70% in the outer city. Those that were built in inner city areas were not geared to the groups most in need of housing assistance. "{T}hese ARP units are not catering to the lowest income groups, who are the groups in need of new accomodation" [16]. The removal of tax shelters for older apartment blocks provided a further enticement of investment capital away from older inner city apartment blocks. As long as the Federal government continues to place its emphasis on encouraging new construction, the prospects for the survival of older apartment blocks in Winnipeg's inner city do not seem bright [17]. Unfortunately, the new programs, recently announced by the Federal government, do not substantially change this emphasis.

[16] Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Housing: A Background Paper on Phase 1 of the Winnipeg Housing Study (Winnipeg, 1978), p.8.

[17] Ad Hoc Committee on Housing, op.cit., p.34.

The Municipal Incentive Grant Program also encouraged suburban development by providing subsidies to the City of Winnipeg for the servicing of vacant land on its periphery. "{Mayor} Steen said the city has received a total of \$2,958,000 under the federal grants program or \$1,000 for each eligible dwelling unit constructed in Winnipeg since Nov. 1, 1975" [18]. This program has only served to encourage the city's bias towards expenditures on servicing new subdivisions rather than allocating funds for inner city revitalization.

The only programs which have been directed at Winnipeg's inner city are NIP and RRAP. Although the effect of these programs will be discussed in more detail in the case study, a few general observations can be made here. The requirements of area designations for NIP, and the tying of RRAP to NIP has meant that Federal government funding for neighbourhood revitalization and housing rehabilitation has been limited to small areas within Winnipeg's inner city. Some authors have even gone so far as to say that the Federal government uses the Neighbourhood Improvement Program as a method of limiting RRAP expenditures:

the NIP as we know it now in this country is essentially a way of limiting government expenditures for residential rehabilitation. It amounts to a negative committment to the idea of residential rehabilitation in many respects [19].

[18] The Winnipeg Free Press, Sat., Dec. 23, 1978.

[19] J. Patterson, "Reflections on Canadian Housing Policy since the 1973 Amendments to the National Housing Act" in Innovative Strategies for the Renewal of Older Neighbourhoods, C.

Whether or not the Federal government has a negative commitment to housing rehabilitation, RRAP in Winnipeg has not significantly slowed the rate of housing deterioration in the inner city [20].

Budget cuts announced by the Federal government have also reduced the impact of NIP and RRAP [21]. Although RRAP has been left more or less intact, the interest rate for home repair loans will no longer be subsidized by CMHC, and loan forgiveness for landlords will be reduced from \$3750 to \$2500 [22]. This will provide less incentive for owners and landlords to enter the RRAP program. CMHC seems to be leaning toward more private funding for housing rehabilitation and a withdrawal of government support:

(RRAP) is a highly popular program, officials say and a difficult one to cut politically. But they say that encouraging the private sector to put up more of the money could allow it to have the same impact while reducing federal financial involvement [23].

Unfortunately, Winnipeg's private sector has been unwilling to get involved in inner city housing and financial institutions

 McKee, ed. (Winnipeg, 1977), p.143.

[20] L. Axworthy, op.cit., p.54.

[21] CMHC's budget has been cut by \$388 million or 20%. See "Budget Cuts Worry CMHC" in Winnipeg Free Press, Fri., Aug. 18, 1978.

[22] At this writing it seems that the Federal government will eliminate loan forgiveness for landlords.

[23] "Budget Cuts Worry CMHC" in Winnipeg Free Press, Fri., Aug. 18, 1978.

have discriminated against the area because of its high risk. By pulling out of RRAP the Federal government will leave few incentives for owners to rehabilitate their homes in Winnipeg's inner city.

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program has now been terminated and replaced by the Community Services Grant Program (CSGP). CSGP represents a global funding approach and encompasses a number of old programs which have been individually funded under the National Housing Act (programs which provided funds for the planning and installation of sewage treatment plants, community water supply, storm sewer construction, etc.). One study has estimated that the new program will effectively reduce the amount of Federal funds received by the City of Winnipeg [24]. This occurs at a time when Winnipeg is contemplating several capital intensive projects, such as large scale storm sewer renewal and the construction of a new aquaduct from Winnipeg to Shoal Lake. The reduced amount of funding will leave little, if any, money left for inner city revitalization. Funds will be allocated yearly and this will also adversely affect neighbourhood improvement:

It is extremely difficult, for example, to forecast accurate yearly expenditures when neighbourhood processes, local funding demands, and scheduling of work in other Departments external to our own, affects the work which will be carried out...The new method precludes the flexibility through which programs may

[24] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Dept. of Environmental Planning, "Report on Changes Funded Through the National Housing Act" unpublished, Aug., 1978, p.9-10.

evolve in a neighbourhood setting [25].

CSPG is designed to "disentangle" the Federal government from direct involvement in municipalities [26]. Its effect has been to place heavier reliance on the other levels of government to set priorities on spending federal funds. As will be seen below, the other levels of government have never given community renewal a high priority, except when federal dollars have provided large incentives.

The Provincial Government

The provincial government's role in Winnipeg's inner city has been determined, in a large part, by the party in power. Manitoba underwent a change in government in October, 1977, and the impact of the provincial government on the inner city also changed, so each government's term in office will be discussed separately.

For most of its term, the former New Democratic government did not use the concept of the inner city as a basis for policy formulation and action. The Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation (MHRC) generally followed the programs which were outlined by the Federal government. An examination of a few programs undertaken by MHRC will serve as an illustration.

[25] Ibid, p.10.

[26] See statement by Minister Andre Ouellet before the Commons Committee on Health, Welfare and Social Affairs, May 16, 1978.

A land banking program, aided by federal funds, was designed to slow down the price increases in new Winnipeg family housing by offering low priced lots to builders. Most of the land was acquired on the edge of the city and its subsequent development has encouraged the outward family migration from the inner city. The Public Housing Program has also been outer city biased, particularly in the provision of family housing. Since 1970 only 22% of the family units constructed in Winnipeg (28% of the funds) have been built in the inner city [27].

One of the few programs of any government which has addressed the problem of housing deterioration on a large scale was introduced by the Provincial government in 1975. Nevertheless, the Critical Home Repair Program's impact has not been very great because funds are only available to homeowners for emergency repairs which cost less than \$2,000. In addition, the new provincial government froze all applications shortly after taking office.

In 1977, MHRC realized that the housing stock of Winnipeg's inner city was badly deteriorating and if effective action was not taken immediately, "the core and surrounding areas of Winnipeg will go the way of Buffalo, Detroit and Philadelphia; that is block upon block of placarded boarded-up housing and demolition cavities which have no marketability of their own and which are beyond market redemption without public capital infusions so mas-

[27] L. Axworthy, op.cit., p.75.

sive as to be beyond imagination" [28]. Accordingly, MHRC proposed the construction of 500 units of new family public housing and apartment block acquisition and renovation. In June 1977, 20 million dollars was earmarked for the first phase of the program which involved the expropriation of 17 parcels of land and some apartment blocks [29]. Due to the rush to implement the program, many errors were made [30], but the program represented the first acknowledgment by any level of government of the seriousness of Winnipeg's inner city problems. The election in October 1977 ended this government's activity in the inner city.

The new Conservative provincial government has taken a substantially new direction in its handling of government affairs. Elected on a platform of "getting government out of business", the new provincial government has clearly stated that it intends to reduce the role of MHRC. "We don't want to be the biggest landlord in the province", says Frank Johnston, minister responsible for MHRC [31]. The new government has taken the position of not becoming directly involved in the provision of low income housing but, instead, will assist the private sector in serving

[28] MHRC, "Submission to Cabinet: Subject: Inner City Housing Action Program" unpublished, May, 1977, p.6.

[29] Winnipeg Tribune, Sat., June 18, 1977.

[30] See "Land Grab by MHRC Vote Ploy?" in Winnipeg Free Press, Sat., Dec. 10, 1977, "Trail of Errors in Housing Rush" in Winnipeg Free Press, Sat., Dec. 10, 1977 and "Gordon Confirms Costly Land Errors" in Winnipeg Tribune, Mon., Dec. 12, 1977.

[31] Winnipeg Free Press Fri., Dec. 16, 1977.

the entire housing market [32]. The outcome of this policy has been to substantially reduce the amount of public housing built in Winnipeg's inner city, which has aggravated the problems of low income tenants living there:

Public housing is presently the recourse for roughly half the tenants displaced from existing apartments. Consequently, a constriction in the future supply and availability of public housing, coupled with already low vacancy rates, would pose serious problems for such tenants. In all likelihood, it would result in either their paying higher rents in the private market for comparable accommodation or accepting inferior housing to remain at their original rent level [33].

The provincial government has accompanied these housing cuts with reductions of 11%, or \$1.3 million, in unconditional grants to the City of Winnipeg [34]. This has magnified the already difficult financial position of the City, and made it impossible for Council to make any substantial, new financial commitments to tackle inner city problems. In fact, some councillors have blamed these provincial cutbacks for civic inaction in neighbourhood revitalization [35]. The provincial government has also indicated that it will gradually phase out rent controls. While perhaps stimulating construction and upgrading, these measures will increase the risk that inner city tenants will be displaced

[32] Remarks made by Frank Johnston, minister responsible for MHRC to HUDAM March 2, 1978.

[33] Ad Hoc Committee on Housing, op.cit., p.10.

[34] Winnipeg Free Press, Sat. March 11, 1978.

[35] Winnipeg Free Press, July 15, 1978.

not by physical closure but by rent increases beyond their affordability [36].

The problems of Winnipeg's inner city have been virtually ignored by the new provincial government. Many of their actions have been taken in the face of massive evidence of their negative impact on the inner city. No attempt has been made to monitor government action in the inner city and recent cabinet shuffles and government restructuring has left inner city responsibilities spread over many cabinet ministers and occupying a low priority [37].

The City of Winnipeg

Like the other levels of government, the City of Winnipeg has never used the inner city as a basis for policy making. Even when the research conducted for the proposed Winnipeg Development Plan, and the demolition controversy brought the problems of the inner city to the front pages of Winnipeg's newspapers, City Council and the Administration were reluctant to acknowledge the existence of inner city problems. David Henderson, the City Environment Commissioner, echoes sentiments felt by many councillors:

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Although the core area was in trouble 15 to 20 years ago, a massive input of public and private initiative...has successfully arrested the physical

[36] Ad Hoc Committee on Housing, op.cit., p.11.

[37] Robert Matas, "Inner City Ignored in Cabinet Shuffle" in The Winnipeg Tribune, Sat., Oct. 21, 1978.

deterioration [38].

The city's financial resources, already limited by the senior levels of government, have been directed instead to the servicing of suburban land to feed the development of new subdivisions:

The city appears reluctant to provide resources to improve and upgrade existing capital infrastructure in inner city areas, preferring to place its thrust in capital spending in providing servicing for new development in the suburbs. The City of Winnipeg proposed five year capital budget for 1977-1981 showed that capital resources are almost entirely devoted to providing regional services for the servicing of new suburban development at a cost of \$330,000,000...This policy will tend to contribute to the acceleration of decline in inner city areas [39].

The City of Winnipeg has also aggravated the problems of inner city tenants through its increased building code enforcement. Several fires, resulting in at least 76 deaths since 1974 in Winnipeg put tremendous pressure on the City to enforce its housing bylaws [40]. Although code enforcement is by no means the root cause of the demolitions and closures outlined in Table 23, "the various bylaws have been the precipitating agents which finally caused the closures and demolitions" [41]. Largely because of these actions, many groups and experts began to criti-

[38] "City Core Area Not Dying" in The Winnipeg Tribune, Sat Nov. 4, 1978.

[39] C. McKee and J. Epstein, op.cit., p.34.

[40] MHRC, op.cit., p.2.

[41] Ad Hoc Committee on Housing, op.cit., p.27.

cize the municipal government for not getting involved in the provision of alternative housing for those people displaced through code enforcement[42]. City Council had earlier [43] adopted a policy of non-involvement in housing, but in June, 1977, following a submission by the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch of the City, Council accepted, in principle, a motion calling for the establishment of a municipal housing corporation which would buy, renovate and sell 395 inner city homes over a five year period [44]. Many people recognized that the impact of the corporation on the housing problems of Winnipeg's inner city would be minimal because "the mandate of this corporation is limited to single family and duplex dwellings, and does not extend to multiple family dwellings" [45]. It, therefore, would have little impact on the apartment loss problem, and since housing would be sold after rehabilitation, it would not likely ameliorate the problems of inner city tenants. Nevertheless, the corporation would represent the first action taken by City Council to solve the housing problems of Winnipeg's inner city. Many people, including councillors, felt that it would be a small step

[42] The Housing Action Coalition, Peter Barnard & Assoc. and the Associated Tenants Action Committee (ATAC) to name a few.

[43] City Council Minutes, May 19, 1976.

[44] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, City of Winnipeg, "Proposed Five Year Program of a Municipal Non-Profit Rehabilitation Corporation" unpublished, May, 1977.

[45] Ad Hoc Committee on Housing op.cit., p.113.

in a more comprehensive program to deal with the inner city's problems:

Recent steps by the City have, however, begun to recognize the extent of the housing problem and to recognize the city's responsibility to contribute to the solution. The City has created a municipally owned non-profit housing corporation aimed at implementing housing policy primarily in the inner city [46].

Provincial funding for the corporation was finally obtained, with great difficulty in 1978. On December 11, 1978, Jim Ernst, Chairman of Environment Committee of City Council, presented a new set of guidelines with respect to the involvement of the City in the provision of housing [47]. Essentially, these guidelines proposed that the City continue its "support role", and have no involvement in the construction of new housing or in the rehabilitation of existing units. Economic restraint was the major reason that was given to scrap the proposed housing corporation even though the major funding came from the provincial government. After much heated debate the guidelines were passed by City Council on December 20, 1978. Many councillors, predominantly from the ICEC, felt that there was no housing problem in the inner city and that government should not involve itself directly in the housing field [48].

[46] Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Housing: A Background Paper on Phase 1 of the Winnipeg Housing Study (Winnipeg, 1978), p.13.

[47] A copy of the guidelines is enclosed in Appendix B.

[48] The author watched a rebroadcast of this City Council meeting on Winnipeg Cable TV.

The outcome of municipal action has been to accelerate the decline of Winnipeg's inner city. Many councillors and administrators do not believe that inner city problems are serious enough to warrant intervention. McKee and Epstein have claimed that the lack of City concern for the inner city reflects a suburban bias on the part of council, [49] but the debate over the formation of the municipal housing corporation and recent research has shown that voting patterns on Winnipeg Council are party or ideologically based rather than along geographic lines [50].

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it should be clear that the economic and political context in which planners working in North St. Boniface found themselves was not very conducive to neighbourhood improvement. The private sector has largely left Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods in the hands of the public sector which has been reluctant to intervene because of economic restraint and/or ideology. In addition, many government policies have actually exacerbated the decline and deterioration of inner

[49] C. McKee and J. Epstein, op.cit., p.34.

[50] J.E. Rea "Parties and Power: An Analysis of Winnipeg City Council 1919-1975", Appendix IV of Committee of Review of City of Winnipeg Act, Judge P. Taraska, chairman (Winnipeg, Oct., 1976).

city areas. These factors did not help the efforts of NIP planners to revitalize North St. Boniface, and this will be made clear in the case study which follows.

Chapter 3

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program in Winnipeg

Due to the flexibility of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program and its administration by local municipalities, every city has a unique structure and method of program delivery for NIP. In this chapter, the last of the first section, the origins of neighbourhood improvement in Winnipeg will be described as well as the structure and objectives of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program as established by the City.

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program in Winnipeg

As I stated in the Introduction (p.1), NIP grew out of the problems encountered in the old Urban Renewal Program. The problems of urban renewal had become quite apparent to planners in Winnipeg by the late 1960's. Over \$17 million had been spent through the Urban Renewal Program in Winnipeg since 1954, not including the substantial yearly subsidies for the 314 units of public housing constructed under the program [1]. The huge capital outlay was accompanied by massive clearance projects which displaced many people from family, friends and familiar surroundings. The 314 units, known as the Lord Selkirk development, consist of one seven storey apartment tower and barrack-like row housing. The population density is extremely high at over 100 people per acre [2]. The fact that the project is entirely made

[1] L. Axworthy, op.cit., p.70. Note: this figure does not include monies committed for 254 units of public housing at Burrows and Keewatin.

[2] Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, City of

up of public housing has concentrated low income people who often have associated social problems into one area, thereby stigmatizing the development as a slum. Vandalism has also been high and this has furthered the project's negative image and also has raised operating costs.

These growing problems associated with the "bulldozer approach" to community renewal, along with the release of the Hellyer Task Force Report in early 1969, led urban renewal planners in Winnipeg to explore new avenues for neighbourhood revitalization. In 1969 the Housing and Urban Renewal Department released a report which placed a great deal of emphasis on rehabilitation and conservation rather than redevelopment, and advocated a greater degree of citizen participation in the planning and implementation of such a program [3]. In January, 1970 this strategy was officially adopted by City Council [4].

In 1970 the Housing and Urban Renewal Department began an intensive study of the North Point Douglas area to determine how a new "neighbourhood improvement program" could be implemented. They quickly determined that any new program had to be action oriented rather than research oriented, and that the municipality should

 Winnipeg, Urban Renewal: Progress and Evaluation (Winnipeg, July, 1972) p.23.

[3] Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Neighbourhood Improvement: North Point Douglas (Winnipeg, 1969).

[4] D. Vincent, "The Inner City: A Winnipeg Example" in The Citizen and Neighbourhood Renewal. L. Axworthy, ed. (Winnipeg, 1972), p.67.

set the example in any neighbourhood by renewing and upgrading the municipal services. Other neighbourhood changes were also necessary but had to involve the residents of the area if the program was to succeed. "Actual change will only occur through collective or mutual decision-making on the part of active participants in the Improvement Program, the most important of which, are the residents themselves" [5]. Such a great emphasis was put on the involvement of residents in the program that planners felt that the hiring of a community development worker was essential in order to develop a satisfactory community awareness, and make residents capable of participating in the improvement of the area. The planners also recognized the importance of solving the social and economic problems of residents as well as renewing the physical components of the neighbourhood. While they advocated that some form of financial assistance be made available to homeowners to repair their homes, the planners also recognized the need for community programs and services to establish identity and a sense of belonging, as well as a need for a concerted effort by a wide variety of social agencies to attack the social and economic problems of the local residents [6]. By late 1970, through provincial funding and City backing, the planners were able to begin implementation [7]. However, financial constraints

[5] Housing and Urban Renewal Department, Neighbourhood Improvement: North Point Douglas (Winnipeg, 1969), p.61.

[6] Housing and Urban Renewal Department, Neighbourhood Improvement: North Point Douglas (Winnipeg, 1969), p.65.

at the municipal level and no federal funding forced the Housing and Urban Renewal Department to await the amendments to the National Housing Act.

This pre-program activity taken by neighbourhood planners was invaluable once the new Neighbourhood Improvement Program was established. Unlike many other Canadian cities, planners in Winnipeg had gone through the process of community renewal program development, and had already spent long hours debating what the ideal community renewal program would be and how it should be implemented.

When the new program was announced in late 1973, the old Housing and Urban Renewal Department was quickly transformed into the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, and \$220,000 was obtained as start-up funds from City Council. Broad flexibility was given to the Branch to implement NIP as it saw fit. By January, 1974, the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch had arrived at a workable program and had begun to implement it. The process of program development is shown in Figure 5.

[7] A community development worker was hired to work in North Point Douglas; the area was rezoned to reflect existing use, and all absentee-owned buildings were inspected for by-law compliance. Two homes were rehabilitated by the City as a demonstration project and the riverbank was cleared of litter and debris. See Housing and Urban Renewal Department, City of Winnipeg, North Point Douglas Housing Program (Winnipeg, April, 1971).

ESTABLISHING A NEIGHBORHOOD IMPROVEMENT PLANNING PROCESS

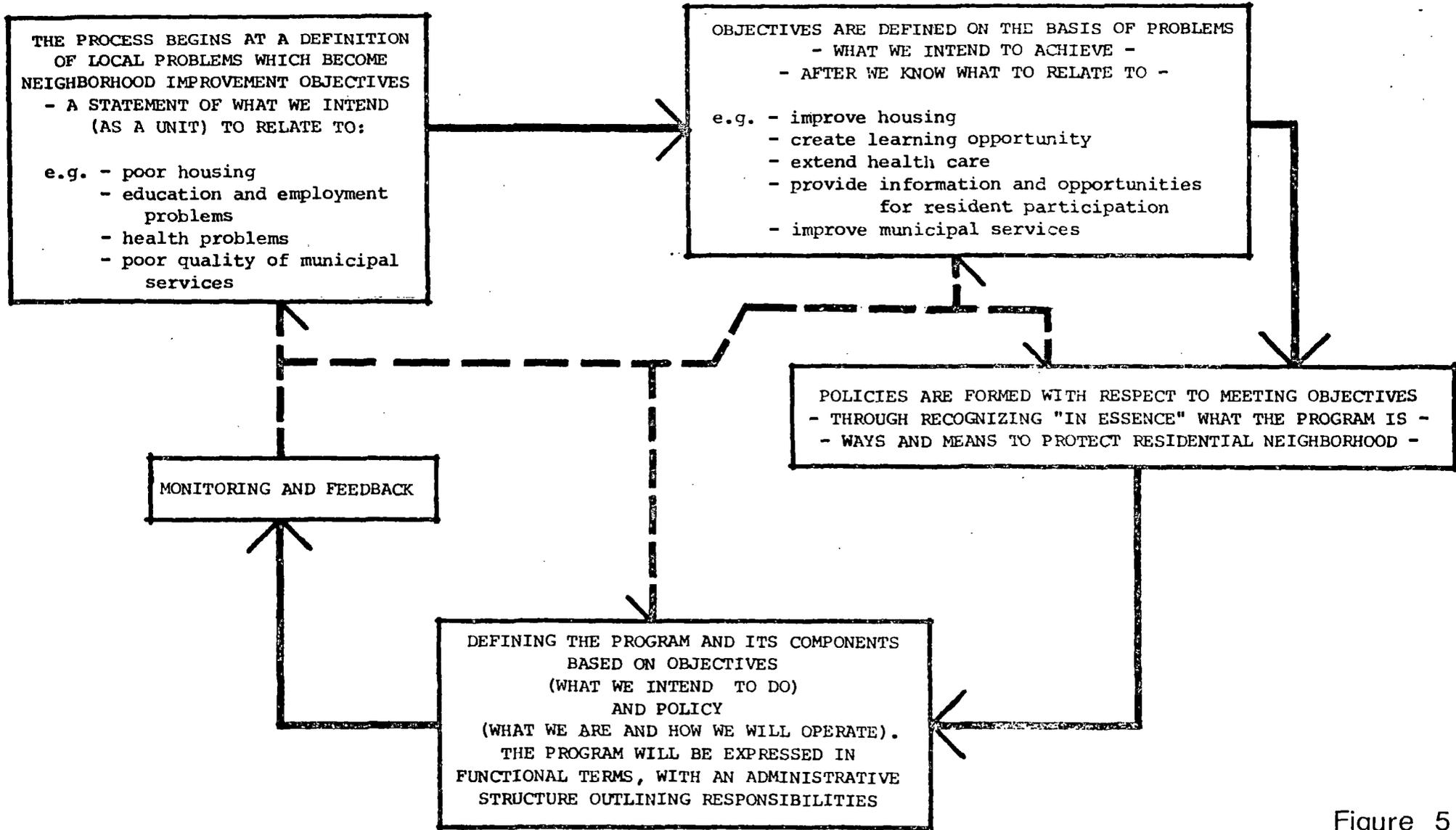


Figure 5

While operating within the program guidelines outlined by the federal government (see p.4-5 in Introduction), Winnipeg's Neighbourhood Improvement Program had four important objectives which were in addition to federal policy:

1. the involvement and coordination of existing departments to maximize program impact in the designated area and to assure quick action in response to neighbourhood problems;
2. the importance of dealing with both the physical and social problems of the neighbourhood and, therefore, the institution of proposals designed to compensate for the social service deficiency of the NIP program;
3. the necessity of meaningful citizen participation which would require a community development approach designed to organize and maintain resident involvement; and
4. the importance of having City staff accessible to the residents to encourage resident participation and to speed up and permit sensitive NIP action. An important corollary to this objective was the desire to have one building inspector administer RRAP, enforce the bylaws and most importantly work in and exclusively on the designated community.

These four objectives distinguish Winnipeg's Neighbourhood Improvement Program from most other Canadian cities in terms of program delivery. Each objective will be discussed separately below.

Interdepartmental Cooperation

The Neighbourhood Improvement Branch realized that the cooperation of many civic departments was essential for a community renewal program to be effective. In December, 1973, a Civic Advisory Group was formed to serve as a vehicle through which a concerted civic effort would be directed towards the needs of

designated areas [8]. Nine departments sent representatives to the group meetings and their input to NIP took various forms:

- helping the NIP Branch to designate neighbourhood improvement areas;
- helping to characterize the area;
- suggesting forms of improvement action which could be undertaken; and
- responding to the needs of residents on a day to day basis [9].

By combining the efforts of various departments, the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch hoped to reinforce the elements of improvement for designated areas. Most importantly, the Group was to provide a mechanism to respond to the daily needs and complaints of area residents. The communication links established in the Civic Advisory Group would permit a quick, sensitive response by various departments to the needs of residents, thereby increasing the credibility of the program. The fostering and maintenance of resident trust in the civic bureaucracy was held to be crucial to the success of the program.

[8] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Department of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, NIP 1974 (Winnipeg, Jan., 1974), p.15.

[9] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Department of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, Report of the Civic Advisory Committee to Neighbourhood Improvement (Winnipeg, February, 1975), p.4.

The Importance of Social as well as Physical Community Renewal

The pre-planning process that neighbourhood improvement staff went through before the inception of NIP instilled in them a concern for the social aspects of community renewal. The social and economic problems that faced inner city residents were well known to neighbourhood planners as were the inadequacies of existing social service programs:

Social services provided in Metropolitan Winnipeg are basically remedial in nature. Remedial action is designed and taken for precisely that purpose, and usually fails to diminish or eliminate the source of the problem. The bulk of the time spent by health and welfare agencies is in the urgencies of remedial service [10].

The Branch was determined to go well beyond the federal legislation in regard to social services. Staff would be hired with skills needed to deal with the residents' social and economic problems, and it was hoped that the effects of existing social agencies could be concentrated on the designated areas. A referral system would be implemented whereby staff working out of the site office could call on various agencies to deal with problems in the community. Resident participation was also recognized as an important aspect of the social component to NIP; it will be discussed separately.

[10] Community Welfare Planning Council, Report of the Social Service Audit (Winnipeg, May, 1969), p.30.

The Provision of Meaningful Citizen Participation

In order to ensure that residents would be able to articulate their needs, and so that a real dialogue would take place between residents and planners, a community development approach was decided upon. A community development worker would be hired to organize and maintain resident interest in the program. Although recent legislation had institutionalized citizen participation in city government through Resident Advisory Groups (RAGs) [11], the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch felt that a separate NIP resident committee should be established since designated areas only comprised a segment of the Community Committee areas, which the RAGs represented [12]. The committee would be elected from the community in order to provide policy directions on priorities for spending and the staging of projects as well as input on the design and location of projects. A very real attempt would be made to make citizen participation more than a mere exchange of information and opinion.

[11] See Donald J.H. Higgins, Urban Canada. Its Government and Politics (Toronto, 1977), p.202-206 and Judge P. Taraska, Report and Recommendations - Committee of Review City of Winnipeg Act (Winnipeg, October, 1976), p.98-104.

[12] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Department of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, Neighbourhood Improvement Program 1973 (Winnipeg, Sept., 1973), p.6. The impact of this decision on the decline of Resident Advisory Groups would make an interesting topic for investigation.

The Importance of Making NIP Staff Accessible to the Residents

In order to encourage resident participation and to provide quick but sensitive responses to neighbourhood needs, a site office would be established in the designated areas:

The site office will be the base of operations for planning staff involved in program development and implementation. Through it communication with the neighbourhood is established and maintained. To be successful it should be recognized as a neighbourhood facility where information, advice and service are provided in an informal way [13].

The site office would bring experts in physical and social community renewal together. The Branch recognized that in order to have a successful Neighbourhood Improvement Program a wide array of staff would be needed. Planners, building inspectors, social workers, designers, community development workers and architects would work together using a team approach to improve the neighbourhood. By combining several approaches to community renewal the social implication of physical renewal could be clarified. For example, sensitive code enforcement could be achieved through the interactions of the community development worker and building inspector, thereby insuring that long time residents or low income tenants would not be routinely displaced from their homes.

[13] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Department of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, NIP 1974 (Winnipeg, Jan., 1974), p.66.

In order to achieve the meshing of staff in one site office, a housing inspector would be needed who could both administer RRAP and enforce the housing bylaws. By placing the inspector in the community and in an office with other renewal staff, RRAP and code enforcement would be much more successful. Since RRAP requires expertise in all forms of housing elements (plumbing, heating, electrical, structural, etc.), a generalist inspector would be needed:

In a single inspector is the administrative capacity to provide loans, give technical assistance to those wishing to repair homes, assist in obtaining contractors through a bid process, inspect work to ensure adequacy and enforce our housing bylaws [14].

This type of approach was very unique and is an important aspect of the Winnipeg Neighbourhood Improvement Program.

Conclusion

While these four elements are probably the most important objectives of the City of Winnipeg's Neighbourhood Improvement Program besides those of the Federal Government, there are other unique features which will be discussed in the case study. The important point to remember is that these City objectives have to be considered when the implementation of NIP in North St. Boniface is assessed in Chapter 6.

[14] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, "Submission to the Housing and Social Services Subcommittee of the Committee of Environment" unpublished, Sept. 28, 1977, p.9.

It also should be mentioned that these objectives and their resulting implementation structures were not uniformly applied in each neighbourhood improvement area. Instead, the administrative framework for the program was kept flexible. Two NIP areas preceded North St. Boniface; Centennial and North Point Douglas, and the experience obtained in the implementation of the program in these areas was used to formulate a method of program delivery in North St. Boniface. The influence of these other NIP areas will be discussed in Chapter 5.

This chapter ends the first section, which has set out the context for the case study. In the next section a discussion of the case study of the North St. Boniface Neighbourhood Improvement Program will be initiated. In Chapter 4, a community profile of North St. Boniface and an analysis of the problems facing the community which NIP was obliged to tackle will be presented. As mentioned above, Winnipeg's inner city problems, described in Chapter 1, will serve as a point of departure for the discussion of North St. Boniface's problems.

SECTION II

THE CASE STUDY:

NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT IN NORTH ST. BONIFACE

Chapter 4

A Community Profile of North St. Boniface

In this chapter a community profile of the neighbourhood and an analysis of the problems facing its residents will be presented. This profile will be utilized in Chapters 6 and 7 as a basis for discussing the implementation of NIP and the early results of the program. Many of the problems in North St. Boniface are shared by the inner city of Winnipeg, but there are some important differences and these will be elaborated.

Most of the community profile was compiled while the author worked in the neighbourhood during 1977 and 1978. A detailed survey was conducted in the community during the summer of 1976, and it provided the basic information on the neighbourhood. Data on age and family structure, ethnicity and language, socio-economic statistics, housing and land use information and resident attitudes concerning neighbourhood problems and needs were all collected in the survey. A discussion of the methodology surrounding the survey is contained in Appendix C.

The North St. Boniface Neighbourhood Improvement Program Area

The North St. Boniface NIP area is located at the eastern edge of Winnipeg's inner city, approximately one mile east of the downtown core. The neighbourhood has, as its western and northern boundaries, the Red River, which isolates it from Winnipeg's Central Business District. Provencher Boulevard, a major east-west thoroughfare constitutes the southern boundary, while Archibald Street forms the eastern boundary of the neighbourhood as

well as the inner city (see Map 2).

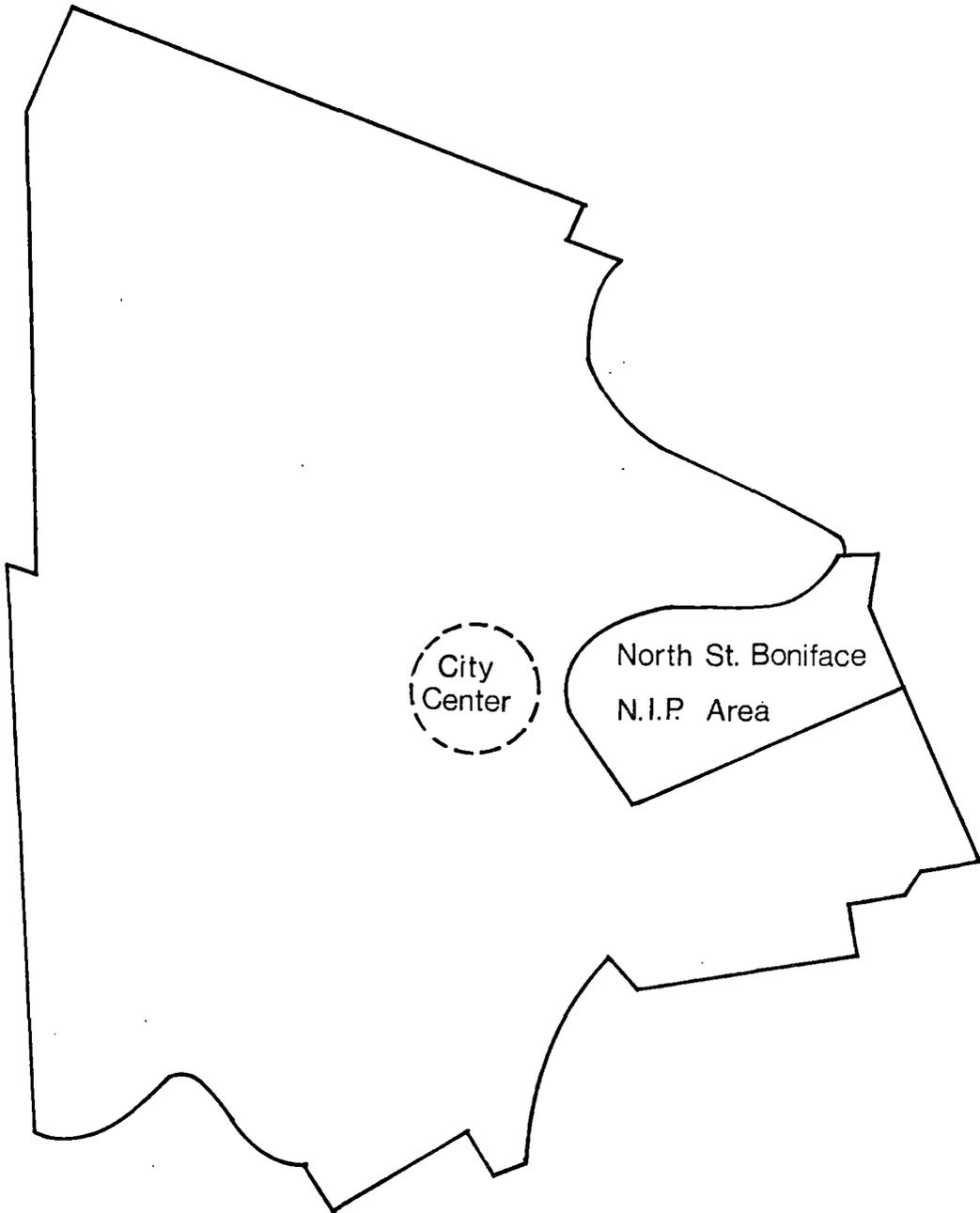
North St. Boniface is one of the oldest areas of settlement in Winnipeg [1]. Indeed, the first white woman to settle on the prairies occupied a homestead at the confluence of the Red and Seine Rivers within the community as early as 1808. In 1818, at the request of Lord Selkirk and Hudson Bay Company officials, Catholic missionaries were sent to the Red River area to encourage the settlement of the Metis buffalo hunters. The missionaries established a church site on the east bank of the Red River just a quarter mile south of what is now Provencher Boulevard (see Map 3). With the gradual disappearance of the buffalo, especially after 1850, a settlement slowly developed around the church site.

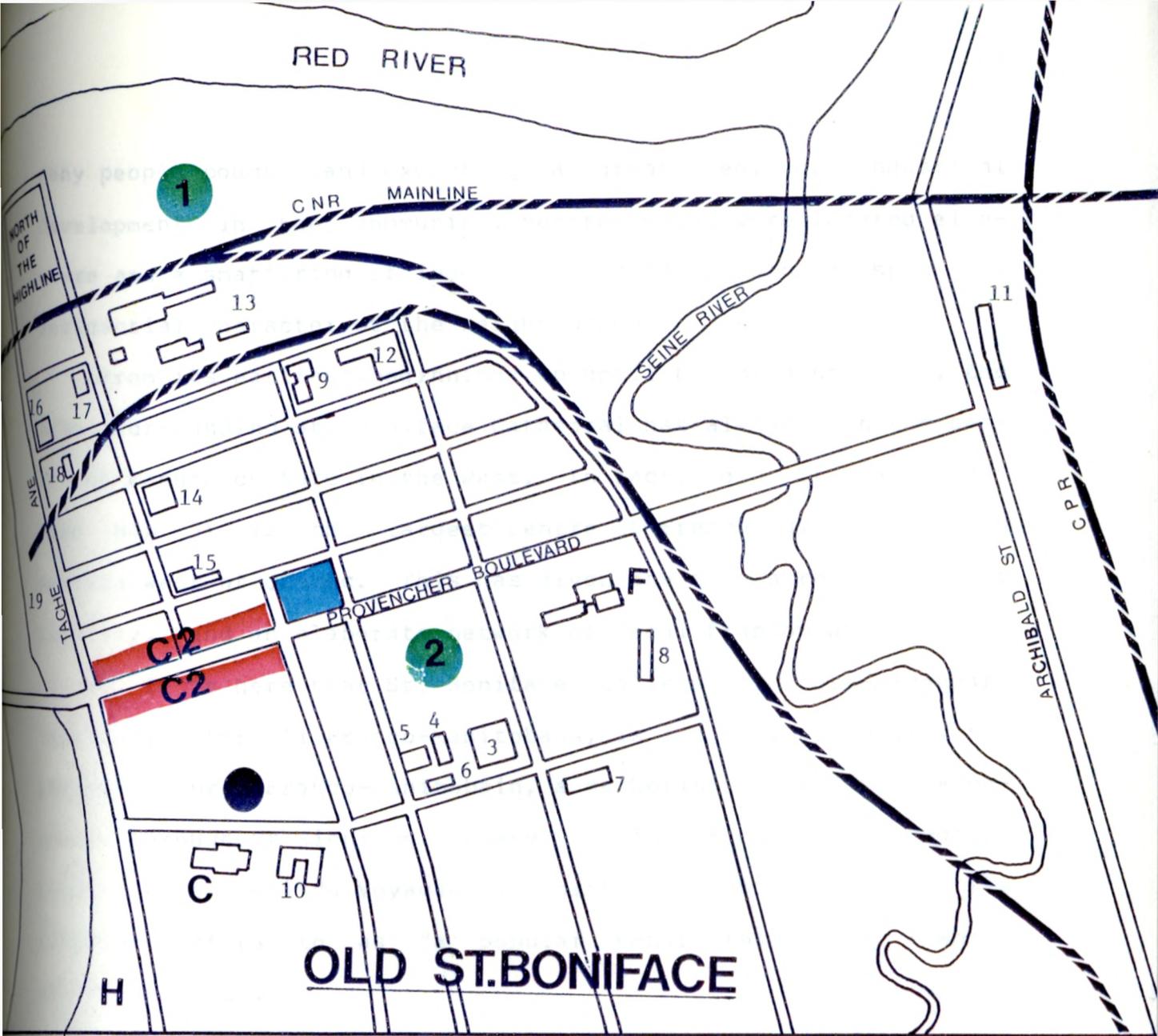
North St. Boniface, itself, was settled between 1872 and 1900. Many of the houses still standing in the community were built during this time period. The construction of the Canadian Northern Railway through the community in 1900 (now the Canadian National Railway - CNR), and the location of its station in the community in 1901, led to a great deal of speculation that the railway was going to establish its maintenance yards in what is now "Whittier Park" in North St. Boniface (see Map 3).

[1] The historical information in this section has been obtained from the following sources: W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto, 1957), Alan F.J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914 (Montreal, 1975) and Joseph K. Howard, Strange Empire: A Narrative of the Northwest (New York, 1952).

MAP 2

Location of North St. Boniface N.I.P. Area Within Winnipeg's Inner City





LEGEND MAP 3

- C - St. Boniface Cathedral
- H - St. Boniface Hospital
- F - Centre Culturel Franco-Manitobain (Cultural Centre)
- - Senior Citizen Home
- - Commercial Strip
- **ST. BONIFACE MUNICIPAL COMPLEX**
 - Old City Hall Building
 - City Welfare Office
 - Parks and Recreation Dept.
 - Old Firehall Building
 - Neighbourhood Improvement Centre
 - Provincial Court
 - Senior Citizen Drop-In Centre
 - Police Station
 - Provincial Health & Social Development Building

PARKS AND RECREATIONAL AREAS

- ① Whittier Park
- ② Provencher Park
- 3) Notre Dame Community Centre Bldg.
- 4) Tennis Court
- 5) Swimming Pool (outdoor)
- 6) Library (local branch)

SCHOOLS

- 7) Provencher (Elementary 50% F-50% E)
- 8) Marion (Elementary 70% F - 30% E)
- 9) Tache (Elementary 90% F - 10% E)
- 10) College

INDUSTRIES

- 11) Central Grain
- 12) Pilkington
- 13) Supercrete
- 14) Modern Dairies
- 15) Kiewels Brewery (Trevi Tile)
- 16) Kemso
- 17) Grandin Trucking
- 18) Winnipeg Elevator
- 19) Tache Industrial Area

Many people bought land expecting a great deal of industrial development in the community, but the yards were located elsewhere and a smattering of industries was left behind to spot the residential character of the neighbourhood.

From its earliest beginnings up until the present times, the area surrounding St. Boniface Cathedral has always been the centre of French culture in the west. In fact, "old St. Boniface" (see Map 3) is the largest centre of French culture in North America west of Quebec. This has given the area a real sense of identity, and an elaborate network of local francophone institutions. It is here that St. Boniface College, a post-secondary institution for all Franco-Manitobans, is located, along with the Centre-Culturel Franco-Manitobain, a gathering place for francophones throughout Winnipeg. Every year the francophone community holds the Festival du Voyageur in North St. Boniface which its director refers to as "a popular manifestation of Franco-Manitobans" [2].

The French presence in North St. Boniface, as in other Winnipeg ethnic communities, is crucial to the fostering of a neighbourhood spirit and identity, and has played an important part in the implementation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in the area, as will be seen in Chapter 5.

[2] Hubert Pantel, "The Festival du Voyageur: Twelve Months of Activity" in Programme Souvenir Festival du Voyageur (Winnipeg, Feb., 1978), p.11.

The Community Profile

North St. Boniface, like most other inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg, can be classified as a declining area, according to the broad typologies of neighbourhood types which have been set out by Reg McLemore et al.:

Declining areas are characterized by:

- continuing loss of population, particularly the economically mobile, leaving an increasing concentration of low-income people;
- an exodus of families with a corresponding increase in the percentage of non-family and elderly households;
- worsening housing and environmental conditions;
- a loss of business establishments;
- property values which are increasing at a much slower rate than the metro average, or in some cases are actually declining;
- lack of community organization, and a corresponding inability to deal with the area's problems;
- often an increasing proportion of tenants and non-resident ownership [3].

To illustrate these characteristics of decline, the community profile of North St. Boniface will be discussed below. The forces behind North St. Boniface's decline are similar to those which are acting on the inner city as a whole (see Figure 2), yet there are some important differences between the two areas. In order to describe these similarities and differences, the community profile of North St. Boniface will be discussed using the same framework that was used to discuss the problems of the inner city in Chapter 1. As you may recall the headings were:

[3] Reg McLemore et al., op.cit., p.5.

- population
- age and family structure
- socio-economic characteristics
- housing stock
- environmental conditions

Population

North St. Boniface, like almost all of Winnipeg's inner city, has experienced a substantial decline in population over the last fifteen years (see Table 33) [4]. While North St. Boniface's population only began declining after 1961, [5] (compared to 1941 for the inner city), its decline has been more rapid than that of Winnipeg's inner city (see Table 33). North St. Boniface's population has declined from 2917 people in 1966 to 2170 people in 1976, or a loss of 25.6% [6].

The reasons for this population loss are rooted in Winnipeg's slow growth rate and weak regional economy combined with a high degree of suburbanization (see p.22). Unlike the inner city which depends on a large amount of foreign immigra-

[4] All tables in this chapter appear at the end of this study in Appendix D.

[5] Census of Canada, 1956 and 1961 enumeration area data.

[6] A special request to Census of Canada provided me with exact population data in 1971 and 1976 on North St. Boniface which forms part of E.A.'s 319, 320, 321, 322, 323 and 324 in census tract 117 (1971). In order to estimate the population for North St. Boniface in 1961 and 1966, I assumed that North St. Boniface had the same percentage of the E.A.'s population in 1961 and 1966 as it did in 1971.

tion, (see p. 30), North St. Boniface receives most of its migration from rural Manitoba, particularly from the rural francophone towns around Winnipeg [7]. As these towns dwindled in size, [8] and Winnipeg became less attractive, employment wise, this rural migration began to ebb. Therefore, as people left North St. Boniface to settle in the suburbs, there were fewer and fewer people migrating to the neighbourhood from outside the city.

Age and Family Structure

As in the case of Winnipeg's inner city, families have been leaving North St. Boniface. Between 1971 and 1976 the number of families declined by 13.0% in North St. Boniface compared to a 16.5% decline in the inner city (see Table 34). On the other hand, the number of non-family households in the neighbourhood has increased by 20.9% over the same time period (see Table 35). While North St. Boniface still has a high proportion of families compared to the inner city (65.3% compared to 50.6% in 1976 [9]), it seems to be undergoing the same processes of family decline

[7] M. Bilodeau et al., Etude Geodemographique de la Population Francophone a l'Interieur de la Region Metropolitaine de Winnipeg Basee sur le Recensement de 1971 (Winnipeg, May, 1977), p.190-194.

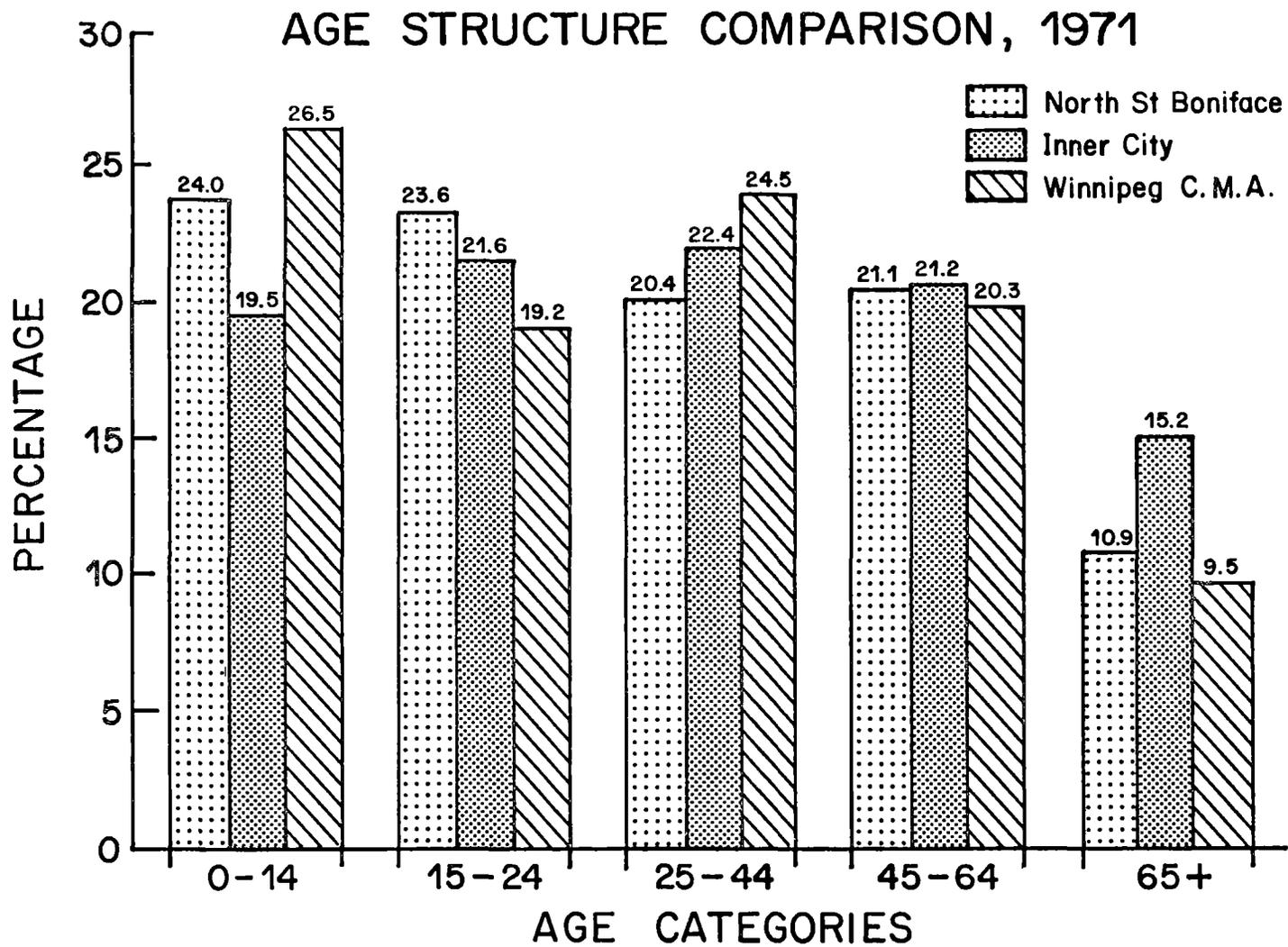
[8] Many of the small francophone towns have experienced severe outmigration. "Fifty years ago there were 80,000 Francophones in this province. Now there are only 36-40,000 which is only four to six per cent of the population." Excerpts from Heather Menzie's book, The Railroad's Not Enough (Toronto, 1978) in The Winnipeg Tribune, Fri., Oct. 6, 1978.

[9] Census of Canada 1976 and K. Smith, "North St. Boniface Survey Results - 1976" unpublished, 1978.

and non-family increases as the inner city (see p.25). More and more families move to suburban areas and single family dwellings are subdivided into bachelor and one bedroom apartments.

The age structure of North St. Boniface confirms that the neighbourhood has more families than the inner city, but less than the Winnipeg average. Although children have declined in proportion from 24.0% to 21.1% between 1971 and 1976, and there are less children proportionately in North St. Boniface as compared to Winnipeg, the neighbourhood still has a higher proportion of children than does the inner city (see Figures 6 and 7). North St. Boniface has a higher proportion of teenagers and young adults than either Winnipeg or the inner city, and this proportion has actually increased between 1971 and 1976. The proportions of middle-aged adults is similar for all three areas as Figure 7 illustrates.

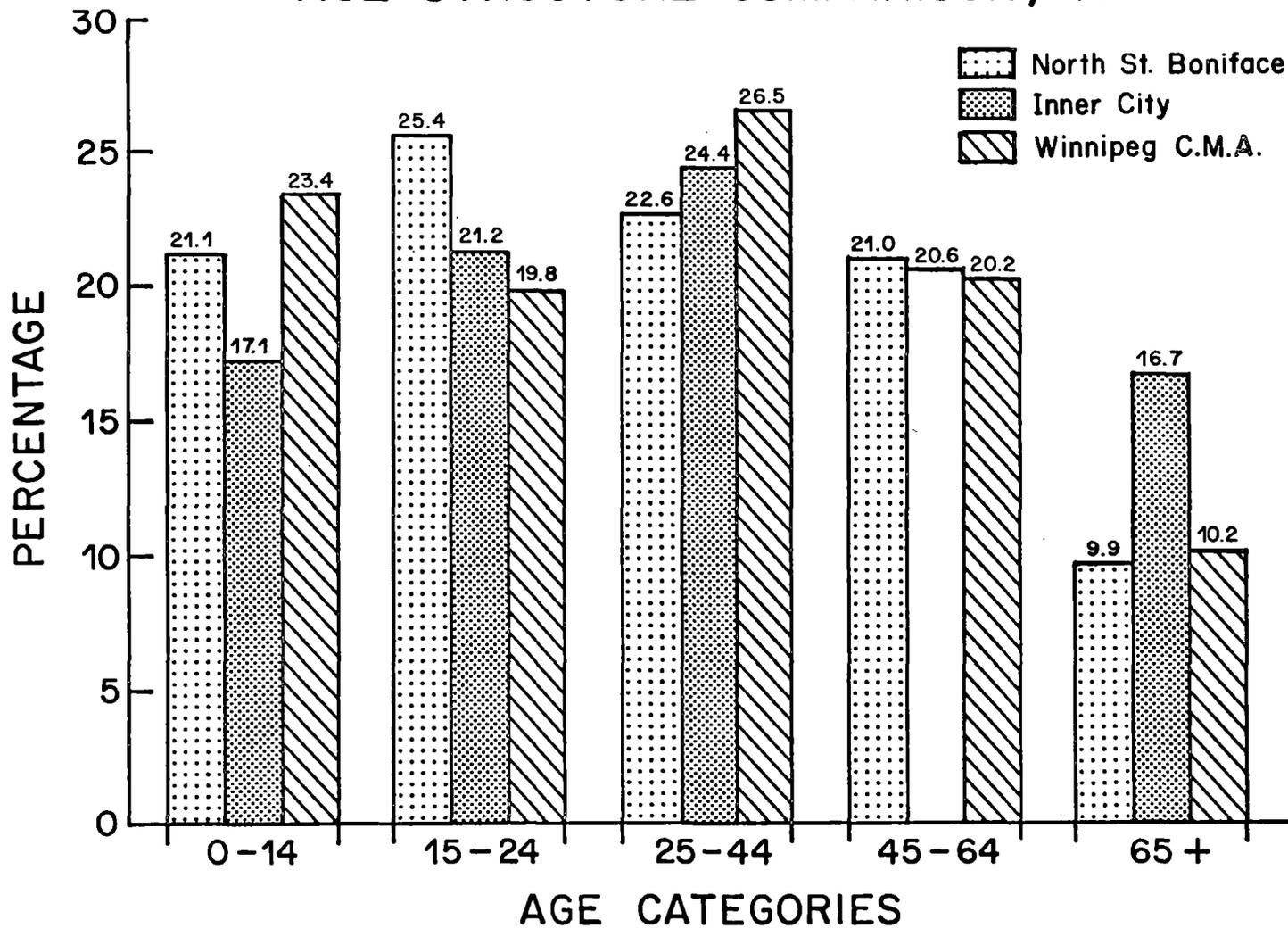
The greatest anomaly between North St. Boniface and the inner city is in the proportion of elderly people.



Source: Census of Canada 1971

Figure 6

AGE STRUCTURE COMPARISON, 1976



Source: Census of Canada 1976

Figure 7

Not only does the neighbourhood have a smaller proportion of elderly compared to both the inner city and Winnipeg, but the proportion of elderly actually declined in North St. Boniface between 1971 and 1976 even though the proportion of elderly rose in nearly every other community during this time. The reason for this discrepancy is that between 1971 and 1976, three large senior citizen apartment complexes have been built south of Provencher Blvd., just outside the neighbourhood improvement area boundaries. Many elderly people have moved from the neighbourhood into these units.

When age structure data is combined with household information it appears that North St. Boniface is losing families with heads less than 35 years of age. Table 36 shows that only 19.4% of all households in the neighbourhood have heads between 35 and 44 compared to 25% for the inner city and 22.8% for Winnipeg. The door-to-door survey indicated that 27.8% of young couples without children were planning to move out of the neighbourhood compared to 10% of all households who were planning to move [10]. In addition, 36% of all young couples in tenant occupied housing were planning to move out of the area compared to 15% of all tenant occupied households [11]. This seems to indicate that these young couples, perhaps contemplating families, are leaving the area for the perceived better child rearing environments and

[10] K. Smith, op.cit.

[11] Ibid.

housing investments of the suburbs.

The proportion of single parent families is much lower in North St. Boniface than in the inner city (9.9% vs. 18.3%) [12]. However, as discussed later, they seem to be more adversely affected by demolitions in the neighbourhood than any other group.

The decline in the number of families, particularly young families, and the reduction of the number of children in the neighbourhood has created problems for the local elementary schools. The children of North St. Boniface attend any one of three schools depending on whether parents want the language of instruction to be French, English or both. In 1977-78, 42% of the neighbourhood's children went to Tache school (French), 34% to Marion school (English) and 24% to Provencher school (bilingual) [13]. Tache school is the only school which is located within the neighbourhood improvement area (see Map 3).

The importance of Tache school to North St. Boniface cannot be overstated. Not only does it serve as the neighbourhood school for over 40% of the neighbourhood's school children, but it is the only school where French is taught in the entire school rather than in just several classrooms. For francophones concerned with maintaining their culture and identity in an anglophone province, this seems to be of crucial importance. Tache

[12] Ibid.

[13] School enrolment figures were provided by the principals of Tache, Marion and Provencher Schools.

school is the only school where francophones can send their children knowing that French will be the language of instruction. In addition, all children going there will be francophones so French will also be the language at recess and after school as well as in the classroom. The importance of this fact is stressed by the principal of St. Boniface College:

Language is the centre of everything you do. Each time I make a joke in French, each time I attend French theatre, I am affirming my French identity...If the French partake of a lot of activities in English they're subtly molded to the values, the culture and the vision of life that is English. The more activities you have that are French, the more you can identify, positively with being French [14].

It was for these reasons that Tache school became one of the prime factors in the decision of many francophones to move into North St. Boniface.

Population decline in the neighbourhood, particularly among elementary school children, forced Tache school to close in 1974 and 1975 for economic reasons [15]. It was only reopened in 1976 when 70% of its students were brought in from outside the immediate neighbourhood [16]. This centralization of French instruction, carried out by the St. Boniface School Division, is becom-

[14] excerpts from Heather Menzie's book, The Railroad's Not Enough (Toronto, 1978) in The Winnipeg Tribune Fri., Oct. 6, 1978.

[15] City of Winnipeg, North St. Boniface District Plan By-law #965/75 (Winnipeg, Sept., 1975), p.24.

[16] Enrolment figures were provided by the principal of Tache school.

ing increasingly unpopular with many suburban parents who dislike the idea of their children being bused long distances to French schools such as Tache [17]. If the decision to decentralize French schools is made, Tache school, with only 207 children in 1977 [18], could again face the possibility of closure, this time permanently. This would have an enormous impact on the French in the neighbourhood and give young couples with children even less reason to remain in the neighbourhood.

Socio-Economic Characteristics

Ethnicity: By far the most important attribute of North St. Boniface is the French presence in the area. As outlined earlier, old St. Boniface has always been the centre of French culture in the west. In 1976, 72.5% of the people living in North St. Boniface were of French origin [19] and 61.2% of all households use French most frequently in the home [20]. This is in a city in which only 5.3% of the total population lists French as their mother tongue [21]. Indeed, North St. Boniface has the largest percentage of French speaking people of any community in Winni-

 [17] Winnipeg Tribune, Wed., May 11, 1977.

[18] Enrolment figures were provided by the principal of Tache school.

[19] Census of Canada, special request for North St. Boniface, 1976.

[20] K. Smith, op.cit.

[21] Census of Canada, 1976.

peg.

The homogeneous nature of the community is one of North St. Boniface's main assets. As mentioned in Chapter 1, ethnic ties and cultural institutions discourage dispersal from the original neighbourhood (see p.31). Despite the many adverse factors [22], the length of occupancy of residents in the community compares very favourably to the rest of Winnipeg (see Table 37). More than 50% of the households have lived in the neighbourhood for over 10 years [23], and a large percentage of households have elaborate friendship networks and kinship ties in the community [24]. The maintenance and fostering of the francophone nature of North St. Boniface is absolutely essential to its revitalization and this has played an important part in the Neighbourhood Improvement Program for the area.

The 1976 survey of the area gave several indications that the French nature of the community was beginning to break down. 56% of the households who had lived in the neighbourhood for two years or less used French in the home compared to 65% of the households who had lived in the neighbourhood six years or more [25]. In addition only 48.3% of young couples (heads less than

[22] Some of the factors are the high proportion of non-family households and tenant-occupied dwellings, both of which encourage higher transiency rates.

[23] K. Smith, op.cit.

[24] Ibid; 35% of the households have many relatives in the neighbourhood while only 24% have none and 50% of the households have many friends in the community while only 12% have none.

35 years old) with children used French in the home compared to 61.2 % of all households [26]. This has presented problems for the French school in the neighbourhood (see p. 96-98) and has threatened the future ethnic base of the community. Many young French couples have been moving to suburban areas in St. Boniface, such as Windsor Park and Southdale, where they have been quickly assimilated into the anglophone culture [27].

Income and Socio-Economic Status: Unfortunately, since the North St. Boniface NIP area does not make up a complete census tract, it was impossible to examine increases in income in the neighbourhood over time. From the survey which was conducted in 1976, a very rough estimate for 1977 household income was determined which could be compared with data for the inner city and Winnipeg as a whole (see Table 38). The table shows that North St. Boniface has approximately the same percentage of households which earn less than \$5,000 as the inner city, but a higher percentage of households in the \$10,000-\$15,000 range compared to the inner city and Winnipeg. This group is the most neglected group with respect to housing, since these households do not qualify for public housing but they have a great deal of difficulty obtaining

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] In 1971, 20.2% of the population in Windsor Park and Southdale were of French origin, but only 9.6% of the population in these communities used French in the home. See M. Bilodeau et al., op.cit.

housing on the private market.

After the survey was conducted, all people over fifteen years of age who were working were placed within Blishen's socio-economic index for Canada (see Table 39) [28]. 62.7% of all household heads are in the bottom two categories which indicates that North St. Boniface, like the inner city, has many people working in unskilled, low paying positions with little opportunity for advancement. As Table 47 illustrates, there is a high percentage of households which were classed as low income in 1971 living in North St. Boniface. Therefore, the cycle of poverty described on page 35, evident in the inner city is also present here.

A further breakdown of the survey data shows that tenant occupied households, consisting of young couples with and without children, have an even lower socio-economic status than all households in the neighbourhood (see Table 40). This creates more problems of low income and housing affordability for this group.

[28] Bernard R. Blishen "A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada" in The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology Vol. 4 #1 (Peterborough, 1967), p.41-53 and Bernard R. Blishen and Hugh A. McRoberts, "A Revised Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada" in The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology Vol 13 #1 (Calgary, 1976).

The Housing Stock

Not surprisingly, North St. Boniface shares many of the same housing problems as the inner city of which it is a part (see Chapter 1). Like the inner city, much of the neighbourhood was settled before 1901, so it too, has a large number of old buildings [29].

The fact that most of this housing is older has resulted in a poor quality housing stock (see Table 41). The table depicts the quality of housing in North St. Boniface just before the RRAP program began in July, 1976 (the building condition survey was conducted in September, 1975). Generally speaking, North St. Boniface has about the same percentage of poor quality housing as does the inner city, but the neighbourhood has a slightly higher percentage of very poor quality dwellings. 54% of the owners and 38% of the tenants in the community felt their dwellings were in need of major repair [30].

There were 835 housing units in North St. Boniface at the time of the survey [31]. Table 42 shows that 46.0% of the dwellings were single detached and 38.5% were apartment units. Unlike the inner city, North St. Boniface still has a substantial number of single family dwellings which makes it easier for the neighbourhood to attract families with children. However, many

[29] T.R. Weir, Atlas of Winnipeg (Toronto, 1978), p.7.

[30] K. Smith, op.cit.

[31] Ibid.

of these single family dwellings are being converted into smaller suites. In 1976, 14% of all single family dwellings were converted into suites which accounted for 25.4% of all units in the neighbourhood [32]. Table 43 shows that, while by appearance, North St. Boniface is a single family dwelling community, a minority of households live in single family dwellings. The advantage of this dwelling unit composition is that the low density feeling of single family dwellings are maintained while a higher density is achieved through the subdivision of houses into suites and a small percentage of infill apartment blocks. The only concern is that the family nature of the neighbourhood is maintained and not too many more single family dwellings be subdivided into bachelor and one bedroom, units.

As in the case of Winnipeg's inner city little new construction has taken place in North St. Boniface from 1972 onwards. According to building permit records, since 1972 only 21 units have been built in the neighbourhood and 13 of these were erected by the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation [33]. Private enterprise has been very reluctant to erect housing in the neighbourhood. All the units privately built are owner occupied, including the six unit apartment block built in 1973.

[32] Ibid.

[33] City of Winnipeg, Building Permit Records and interviews with staff of the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation.

New construction, especially of apartments, has not kept pace with the growing number of demolitions in the area. A total of 88 units were demolished between January 1, 1972 and June 1, 1978 and 74.0% of those units were apartments. 32 of the units demolished were surveyed in 1976. 97% of these units were tenant occupied and 73.9% charged rents between \$150-\$200 [34]. 41% of the units were occupied by single family parents, most of whom were on social assistance, and 21.1% were occupied by young couples with children [35]. Since only 9.9% of all households were occupied by single parent families and 13.8% were occupied by young couples with children, these groups were more adversely affected by demolitions than others in the neighbourhood [36]. Another building, vacant during the survey, was demolished in 1978. It was a rooming house consisting of 28 units, and its absentee owner, in a letter to the Winnipeg Free Press, complained about the cost of repairs and the City of Winnipeg's apartment upgrading bylaw and revealed the sorts of tenants which once occupied the building:

I had quite a few old-age pensioners and provincial and city welfare cases...My rents were \$45 to \$55, everything included [37].

[34] K. Smith, op.cit. (rents were adjusted to include heating and electrical costs).

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Letter to the Editor by Jack Gilchrist, Winnipeg Free Press, March 4, 1978.

Thus demolitions in the neighbourhood seem to have affected three groups of tenants in particular: single parent families, young couples with children, and the rooming house group consisting of single old men, many of them pensioners. These are the groups most in need of affordable housing in the neighbourhood.

With a higher percentage of single family dwellings than the inner city, North St. Boniface also has a higher percentage of owner occupied dwellings as Table 44 illustrates. At the same time the proportion of tenant-occupied dwellings has remained relatively static over the last five years [38].

As in the case of the inner city, most of the tenant occupied dwellings are absentee owned. 68% of the rental units are owned by people who live outside the neighbourhood and only 20% of these units have owners who are living in the same building [39]. Three quarters of all landlords, whether community or absentee, are of French origin so absentee ownership would not seem to have an effect on the ethnic balance of the neighbourhood [40]. However, building condition and state of repair are much better in dwelling units owned by landlords that live in the dwelling than by those who do not, and landlords who live in the

[38] Census of Canada, special request for North St. Boniface, 1971 and 1976.

[39] K. Smith, op.cit.

[40] City of Winnipeg, Assessment Rolls. Survey results do not show any adverse impact on the ethnic balance of the community by absentee ownership.

neighbourhood, but not in the same building as their tenants (community landlords) seem more inclined to repair their tenant occupied dwellings when given the opportunity than do absentee owners [41].

North St. Boniface, like Winnipeg's inner city, has extremely low shelter costs (see Table 45). Part of the reason rents are so low is the fact that 32% of the dwellings are owned by landlords who live within the community or within the building itself [42]. These owners often rent dwellings for social rather than purely economic reasons. Friends and relatives are often given units at lower prices and "good tenants" are kept by not raising rents frequently [43]. Table 46 shows that community and resident landlords charge lower rents than absentee owners. While absentee ownership has a destabilizing influence on Winnipeg's inner city (see p.40-41), community and resident landlords from North St. Boniface generally have better maintained dwellings, lower rents, and show a greater willingness to repair their dwellings. These landlords help to stabilize the community through their encouragement of longer tenure and their efforts at preventing the deterioration of the dwelling stock [44].

[41] K. Smith, op.cit. 33.3% of resident landlords' dwelling units were in good condition compared to 24% of other landlords' dwellings and 34% of community landlords used RRAP compared to 5% of absentee owners.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., combined with personal observations.

[44] For arguments that local landlords are the best group

The attractions of low rent and community ties, coupled with the increasing number of demolitions of rental units has created an extremely low vacancy rate in the neighbourhood. When North St. Boniface was surveyed by CMHC for the semi-annual vacancy survey in October 1977, there were no vacancies in any of the dwellings which were enumerated [45].

House prices, like rents, are below levels for the city as a whole in North St. Boniface. Average house prices for single family dwellings in 1975, one year before NIP was launched in the neighbourhood, were \$25,919 [46]. This was \$8,000 below the price of an average older single family dwelling in Winnipeg in the same year [47]. Real estate prices did not rise substantially between 1974 and 1975 in the neighbourhood. The average house price only rose \$753 between 1974 and 1975 in North St. Boniface [48] and one single family dwelling in good condition, on a nice block in the neighbourhood was sold in 1975 for only \$1000 more than its selling price in 1974 (\$32,500) [49]. There was little

to provide affordable housing see R.G. Krohn et al., The Other Economy: The Internal Logic of Local Rental Housing (Toronto, 1977).

[45] CMHC, "Semi-Annual Vacancy Survey, Oct. 1977" unpublished, 1978.

[46] Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation, WHAP Group, "1974 and 1975 Sales Data for Winnipeg" unpublished, 1977.

[47] Average older house price in Winnipeg was \$33,500 in 1975, Ruben C. Bellan, op.cit. p.25.

[48] WHAP Group, op.cit.

[49] Ibid.

speculation in the neighbourhood and prices were not rising rapidly.

Many homeowners regarded the Neighbourhood Improvement Program as a mechanism to secure higher house prices for the neighbourhood. Rising property values would secure their investment in their property and give them a healthy income upon retirement.

While there is no data on housing affordability for either owners or tenants in North St. Boniface, other data indicates that the problem of housing affordability is as severe in this neighbourhood as in the rest of the inner city (see p. 41-43). In 1971 28.6% of North St. Boniface's economic families spent more than 70% of their income on food, shelter and clothing, the same proportion as in Winnipeg's inner city (see Table 47). The desire to secure affordable housing clashed directly with the demand for rising property values. Higher land and real estate values usually means higher rents so the balancing of these objectives became a real challenge for the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in North St. Boniface.

Environmental Conditions

As one of the oldest areas of settlement in Winnipeg, North St. Boniface has developed many problems due to the timing of its development and its age. Many of these problems are shared with Winnipeg's inner city (see p. 44-46). The development of the neighbourhood took place at a time when there were few, if any planning controls in operation. Speculation surrounding the location of the CNR railway through the community in 1900 led to the location of industries and residential development side by side. Map 4 shows the present land use of North St. Boniface. 16.3% of the land in the community is used for industrial purposes [50], and as Map 4 illustrates it is concentrated in the western sector of the neighbourhood (particularly along Tache, St. Joseph, Grandin and Aubert St.). Along with the CNR mainline, many spur lines crisscross the community, detracting from its residential character and spoiling many parcels of land which could have been used for residential development. The industries generate a great deal of truck traffic on residential streets creating safety and noise problems for the residents. In addition, the industries, themselves contribute to the look of neglect in the neighbourhood through their appearance:

[50] City of Winnipeg Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, "North St. Boniface Concept Plan" unpublished, March, 1978.

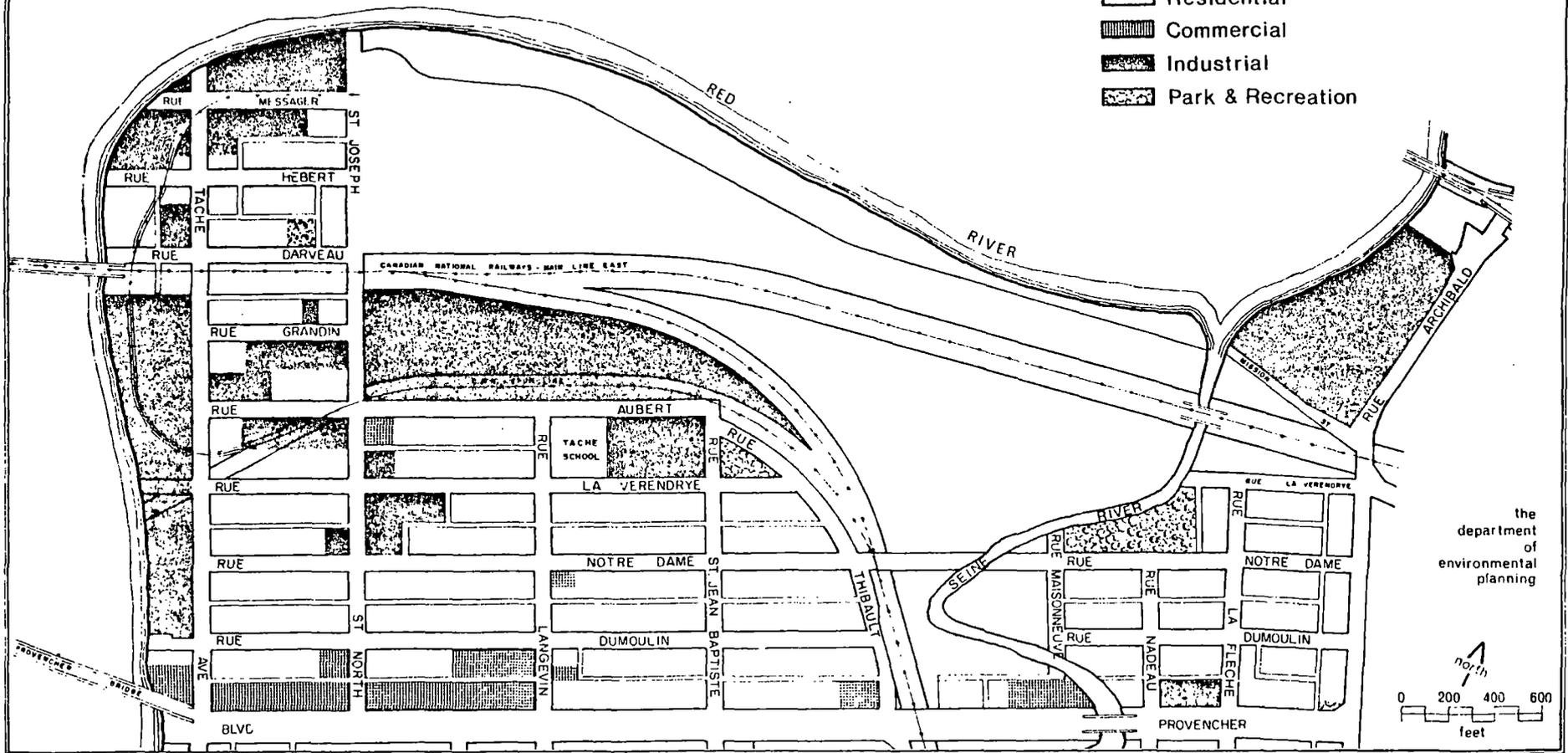
NORTH ST. BONIFACE District Plan

MAP 4

EXISTING LAND USE

LEGEND

-  Residential
-  Commercial
-  Industrial
-  Park & Recreation



The majority of these industries are characterized by vast areas of outdoor storage which are cluttered, untidy and frequently under-utilized, deteriorated and/or derelict buildings, and poorly organized parking and vehicle access [51].

Despite these problems with industry, only 36% of the households surveyed were disturbed about the location of industries in the neighbourhood [52]. The survey also revealed that many of the residents work in these plants and, therefore, the industries serve as local employment centres for the community.

Before the advent of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, zoning in the community reflected the speculation that much of the neighbourhood would be transformed into an industrial area. Those residential properties which were not zoned industrial were designated as R4 (high density apartments) to encourage the redevelopment of the area (see Map 5).

This zoning created a great deal of instability in the neighbourhood. A residential property owner in an M1 zoning district could be subjected to industrial expansion on his block. In the R4 zoning districts, property owners were reluctant to rehabilitate their homes, because of the fear of apartment block construction which could adversely affect the quality of life for families in the neighbourhood.

[51] City of Winnipeg, North St. Boniface District Plan Bylaw #965/75 (Winnipeg, Sept., 1975), p.21.

[52] K. Smith, op.cit.

Increased suburban development in Transcona, east of North St. Boniface has turned Provencher Blvd. into a major traffic artery. This has split the area north of Provencher from the area south of the boulevard and has important implications for the provision of community services.

North St. Boniface...is part of a larger community in terms of community services. In fact none of the community services are located within the sector described by the boundaries of this study [53].

Community facilities such as the St. Boniface Cathedral (87.2% of the people living in Census Tract 117 were Roman Catholic in 1971 [54]), the Centre Culturel Franco-Manitobaine, and the St. Boniface Hospital and Medical Centre, to name a few are all located just outside the boundaries of the NIP area (see Map 3).

As in the case of most other inner city neighbourhoods, North St. Boniface has a deficiency of developed park and recreational facilities. Aside from Provencher Park, located just outside the NIP boundaries, there are few developed recreational amenities in the community, and 60% of all households felt there was a need for more developed parks in the neighbourhood [55]. However, unlike many other inner city neighbourhoods, North St. Boniface has excellent potential for park development within its

 [53] City of Winnipeg, North St. Boniface District Plan Bylaw #965/75 (Winnipeg, Sept., 1975), p.24.

[54] Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1971.

[55] K. Smith, op.cit.

boundaries. Whittier Park, a large tract of open space north of the CNR mainline (see Map 3) was once part of the Lagimodiere homestead [56], then used as a site for harness racing, and now is totally undeveloped. A large potential for park development also exists along the banks of the Red and Seine Rivers on land currently both in city and in private hands. Much of this land has not only potential to be developed for use by North St. Boniface residents, but also for use as a regional park by all Winnipeggers.

The early development of North St. Boniface has rendered most of the municipal services in the neighbourhood obsolete; 69% of all households interviewed in 1976 felt that new municipal services were required. No storm sewers existed in the neighbourhood and during heavy spring and summer rain storms the sanitary sewer system became quickly overloaded so that basement flooding resulted. Water mains were in need of major repair and many of the streets were not even paved. One estimate put the cost of bringing municipal services in North St. Boniface up to the standard of the rest of the city at \$7,370,900 [57].

[56] The Lagimodiere family was the first white family to settle on the prairies.

[57] Neal Kowlessar, "North St. Boniface Municipal Service Program" unpublished, 1977, p.1.

While the above discussion illustrates some of the environmental problems which exist in North St. Boniface, there are some positive attributes concerning the physical character of the neighbourhood. Several of the streets are lined with large trees which greatly add to the beauty of the older homes and provide shade in the summer. The riverbanks are used as "fishing holes" by the local residents and much of the banks are still in a "wild" state complete with birds and flowers in the summer.

The neighbourhood is only a fifteen minute walk from downtown Winnipeg, has good transit connections to industrial St. Boniface where many residents work and is within walking distance of virtually all French cultural facilities and clubs. At the same time the Red River isolates the community from the rest of Winnipeg so that it maintains a "small town atmosphere". There is even a farm, complete with horses, located within the neighbourhood.

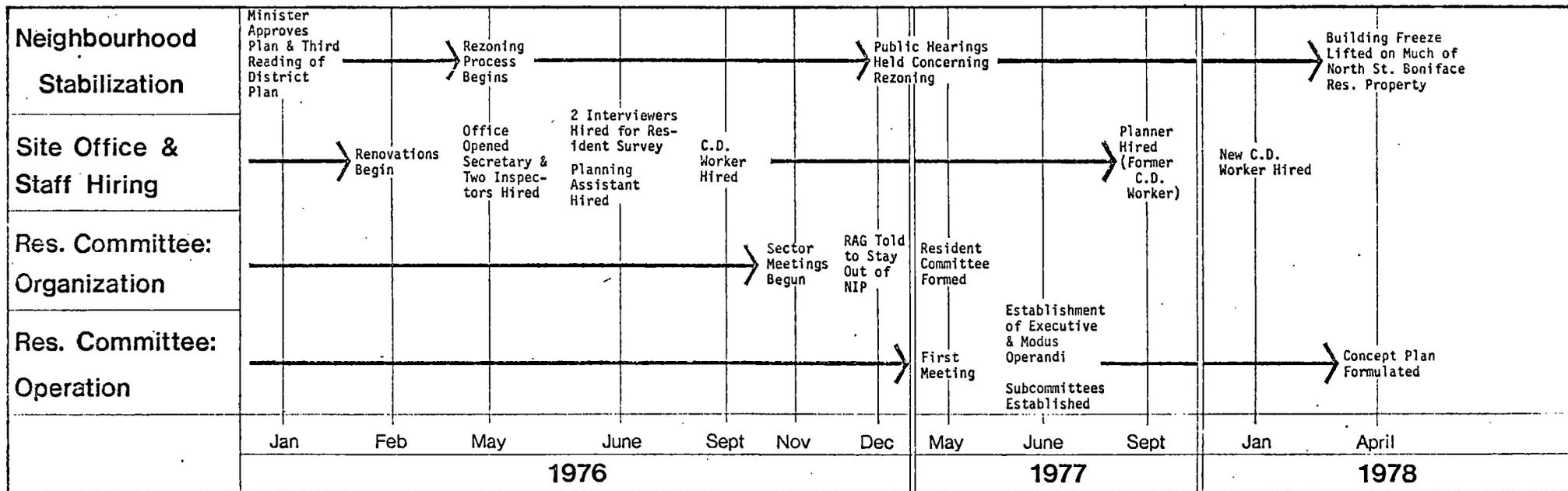
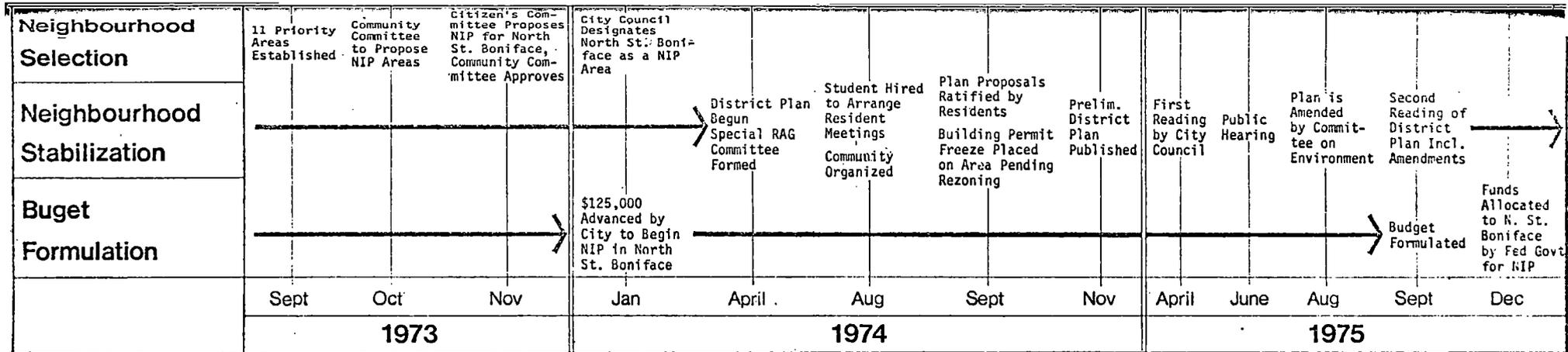
These assets, combined with close ethnic and family ties, and low cost accomodation are the basic selling points of the community. By accentuating these assets and dealing with the neighbourhood's problems which have been discussed above, neighbourhood planners could revitalize the area and halt the neighbourhood decline. The process by which Neighbourhood Improvement was introduced to North St. Boniface is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 5

The Implementation Process of the Neighbourhood
Improvement Program in North St. Boniface

In Chapter 5 the process through which the Neighbourhood Improvement Program was implemented in North St. Boniface will be outlined. The method of neighbourhood selection, the process of stabilizing land use, the manner in which the budget was formulated, the process of community organization, and the operation of the NIP resident committee and staff will be discussed and analyzed. This will be done as much as possible in a chronological sequence, although some facets of the implementation process did occur simultaneously. A time chart illustrating the process is shown in Figure 8.

Chapter 5 will also contain a description of the goals and objectives residents established for the improvement of their neighbourhood. These will be used in Chapter 6 along with the goals of CMHC, the city, the problems of North St. Boniface and the inner city itself to evaluate the early results of the program. These results will be much easier to explain once the process of implementation has been outlined.



Timing of N.I.P. Implementation in North St. Boniface

Figure 8

Neighbourhood Selection

In September, 1973, soon after the new program was announced by the Federal government, the City of Winnipeg established eleven priority areas which planners felt exhibited characteristics which met the CMHC eligibility criteria [1]. (See Introduction). Unlike other cities[2] there is no documentation on how planners arrived at these eleven areas. Many older areas of Winnipeg, including some inner city neighbourhoods were excluded in the September report. No attempt was made to fit the new Neighbourhood Improvement Program into an overall strategy of dealing with the problems of Winnipeg's inner city. Instead, two additional criteria were employed by the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch to designate four areas for neighbourhood improvement. These were:

- a. response and interest on the part of local communities through Community Committees, Resident Advisory Groups and resident associations
- b. consideration for areas where programs of improvement in one form or another have already been established. Over the past number of years, for example, certain communities have been singled out as requiring government action. However, due to the termination of urban renewal funding in 1968 these communities have been left in circumstances of uncertainty. In other communities residents them-

[1] Dept. of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, Neighbourhood Improvement Program 1973 (Winnipeg, Sept., 1973), p.3.

[2] The City of Calgary Planning Department, Established Communities in Calgary: An Evaluation (Calgary, Dec., 1974).

selves have identified local programs which could form a basis for improvement planning [3].

On the basis of the above criteria, North Point Douglas, Centennial, North St. Boniface and Brooklands were singled out among the eleven neighbourhoods first identified for neighbourhood improvement. Again, no documented evidence was presented showing that these neighbourhoods should be given higher priority than any of the others. With only four months between selection and designation, very little study seems to have been undertaken on the eleven neighbourhoods first set aside. It is also probably more than coincidental that each of the four neighbourhoods is located in a separate community committee area. By maximizing the number of community committees that were directly involved in NIP, the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch felt that this would maximize the political support for the designations by city council.

While the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch planners had done considerable pre-program planning in North Point Douglas, and also to a limited extent in Centennial, (see Chapter 3, p.73-75), little work had been undertaken in North St. Boniface, except for studies done under the old Urban Renewal Program. It was clearly not in the same stage of preparedness as the other two neighbourhoods (e.g. North Point Douglas had already been downzoned to reflect the residential character of the neighbourhood whereas

[3] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Dept. of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, NIP 74 (Winnipeg, Jan., 1974), p.21.

North St. Boniface had not).

However, like the other three communities first designated in January, 1974, North St. Boniface had a long history under urban renewal and so satisfied the second of the two criteria imposed by neighbourhood improvement planners for NIP designation. Designated as an urban renewal area in 1965, it was proposed that several areas would be cleared and redeveloped, although, even then it was recognized that much of the neighbourhood could be conserved through rehabilitation. In particular, the area north of La Verendrye Street was slated for redevelopment:

The area north and immediately south of the CNR mainline resembles a shanty town and is heavily interspersed with industrial uses in equally poor condition. From external appearances, most of these homes are seriously blighted and from the point of view of assessed values, have long since passed the point of maximum depreciation...most of these homes have no proper foundations and because of their small size, major repairs area not economically feasible and clearance is the only solution [4].

As will be found later in this chapter and discussed in Chapter 6, these words came to haunt residents north of the CNR mainline under the Neighbourhood Improvement Program.

Even after the funds for urban renewal were frozen by the Federal government in 1968, the Planning Division of the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg produced another study

[4] Planning Division, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, An Urban Renewal Study for North St. Boniface (Winnipeg, June, 1965), p.3.

which called for the clearing of the area north of La Verendrye Street, using municipal and provincial funds [5]. The fact that the area was so close to downtown Winnipeg seemed to be the reason this area was picked over others for redevelopment:

For the purpose of developing a major public project with a large site area requirement, few locations in metropolitan Winnipeg can compete with the site in St. Boniface bounded by the CNR mainline on the south, Rue St. Joseph on the east and the Red River on the west and north... [6]

Just what public project the planners had in mind was never revealed in this confidential report, but since no provincial funding was forthcoming the scheme was dropped.

Thus, like many other urban renewal areas in Canada [7], North St. Boniface's residents were faced with a great deal of uncertainty concerning the future of their neighbourhood. When community committees were asked by City Council to propose areas for neighbourhood improvement funding in October, 1973, residents of North St. Boniface were quick to respond. They were "fed up with the fact that as homeowners they cannot get permits to repair or remodel their homes on the grounds that something is being planned for the North..." [8]

[5] Planning Division, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, A Development Proposal for North-West St. Boniface (Winnipeg, June, 1971).

[6] Ibid, p.1.

[7] An excellent account of the role uncertainty plays in a neighbourhood can be found in Graham Fraser, Fighting Back (Toronto, 1972).

A citizens' committee was formed from members of the Resident Advisory Group and residents of the neighbourhood, (five of the six residents lived in the area proposed for clearance under the old Urban Renewal Program). They prepared a proposal for establishing North St. Boniface as a neighbourhood improvement area. Residents regarded the Neighbourhood Improvement Program as the solution to the problems of the neighbourhood. It would give them a chance "to take their fate in their own hands...(and)...to bring the necessary elements that will help to revitalize the area...The time when bulldozers and urban renewal were synonymous has come to an end" [9]. They presented their proposal to the St. Boniface Community Committee on November 26, 1973 and there received approval in principle from the community committee and a recommendation from it to the Committee on Environment that the community be designated for the Neighbourhood Improvement Program.

[8] Lucien Loiselle, letter to St. Boniface Community Committee opposing the rezoning of 143 LaVerendrye, File #396-73 St. Boniface, Nov. 13, 1973. Mr. Loiselle was chairman of the citizens' committee which proposed the establishment of NIP in North St. Boniface, was on the committee which coordinated the district plan process in the area, was elected to the NIP resident committee and served as chairman of that committee from August, 1977 until October, 1978.

[9] Citizens' Committee for North St. Boniface, "Proposal for a Neighbourhood Improvement Program" unpublished, Nov. 21, 1973, p.3.

It was these two criteria, citizen interest and old urban renewal plans, which played a major role in the decision of neighbourhood improvement planners to designate North St. Boniface for the Neighbourhood Improvement Program. No real attempt was made at this stage to determine if the community actually required program funds, nor was any effort made to assess the needs of the neighbourhood. No studies were undertaken to determine if North St. Boniface was declining as a neighbourhood and whether its decline was more serious than those of other inner city areas. Therefore no one could discern if money was being put into the community which needed it most. It wasn't until July, 1978 that City of Winnipeg planners classified neighbourhoods according to their individual problems and stages in the life cycle [10]. With no criteria based on neighbourhood change, the designation of neighbourhood improvement areas did not allocate resources to those inner city communities in most need of public funds. According to a recent study by the Institute of Urban Studies, several Winnipeg neighbourhoods are characterized by more problems of decline than North St. Boniface and yet have had few public funds to help in their revitalization [11]. Designating North St. Boniface for the Neighbourhood Improvement Program,

[10] District Plans Branch, Dept. of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, Winnipeg Area Characterization (Winnipeg, July, 1978).

[11] Sybil Frenette, "Inner City Type Older Area Housing Study" unpublished, May, 1979.

while at least directing money into the inner city did not go very far in dealing with or even recognizing the problems of Winnipeg's inner city as discussed in Chapter 1.

After North St. Boniface had been selected for the new Neighbourhood Improvement Program, its boundaries had to be clearly defined in order to receive federal funding. Neighbourhood improvement funds could only be spent inside the designated area and money under the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program was also limited to the same boundaries. For the determination of boundaries neighbourhood improvement planners relied on the boundaries developed under the Urban Renewal Program [12]. Unfortunately, no concept of neighbourhood or community was used in formulating these boundaries under the Urban Renewal Program and they were based on solely physical criteria:

In planning for urban renewal it is necessary to work within a readily definable area and for this reason the boundaries chosen for this study were the major traffic routes, Provencher Avenue and Archibald Street in the south and east respectively, and the Red River on the north and west [13].

[12] Interview with Ralph Bickle, City of Winnipeg planner under the Urban Renewal Program and the Neighbourhood Improvement Program.

[13] Planning Division, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, An Urban Renewal Study for North St. Boniface (Winnipeg, June, 1965), p.1-2.

Both urban renewal and neighbourhood improvement planners ignored the social dimensions of the community in their boundary delineation. As mentioned in Chapter 4, most of North St. Boniface's community services are located just to the south of Provencher Boulevard (see Map 3) and all these facilities could not obtain program funds for upgrading, since all were located outside the boundaries of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program area. The boundary delineation, therefore, had an enormous impact on the implementation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, especially where parks and community services were concerned.

North St. Boniface was designated by City Council, along with North Point Douglas and Centennial in January, 1974. However, all the federal funds available to Manitoba in 1974 were allocated to the latter two neighbourhoods so federal funding would not be available for North St. Boniface until 1975. Nevertheless, the City of Winnipeg, through its 1974 Capital Estimates, provided \$125,000 as start-up funds for the establishment of a Neighbourhood Improvement Program in the area [14]. This gave planners the necessary funding to begin the implementation process of neighbourhood improvement in North St. Boniface.

[14] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Dept. of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, Neighbourhood Improvement Progress Report (Winnipeg, Sept., 1975), p.45.

The District Plan Process

As mentioned in Chapter 4, North St. Boniface was zoned for high density residential and industrial uses, so in order to comply with federal eligibility criteria that the neighbourhood be largely residential and be potentially stable in terms of land uses, planners decided to rezone the area using a district plan. Under the 1971 City of Winnipeg Act, the district plan was required to contain proposals for the development and use of land and a description of the measures council considered necessary for the improvement of the physical, social and economic environment and transportation within the district [15]. Not only would the plan provide the basis for the future rezoning of the area but it would also establish the basic goals residents and the City of Winnipeg had for the improvement of the neighbourhood. Pending the passage of the district plan and a future zoning bylaw, a building permit freeze was placed on the area in late summer, 1974.

The planning process necessary to complete the district plan was undertaken by the District Plans Branch of the Environmental Planning Department, which is a separate branch from the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch. Little or no input was provided by the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch into the district plan; instead the planners put all their efforts into Centennial and

[15] The City of Winnipeg Act, 1971, Section 569, p.281.

North Point Douglas.

The City of Winnipeg Act and its concern for a great deal of local involvement in planning, coupled with the Neighbourhood Improvement Program's emphasis on citizen participation led the district planners to embrace the concept of allowing the greatest possible participation by the Resident Advisory Group and the local citizens [16].

The idea of involving citizens in the planning process had been well publicized in the planning literature and by the Federal Government in the early years of Trudeau. Most planners and politicians viewed the concept of citizen participation as a more responsive government/planning process which would seek out the views of citizens before action was taken. In the "ladder of citizen participation" developed by Arnstein [17] this notion of participation was giving citizens a token role in decision making. The concept was devoid of the notion of power, which to many theorists such as Davidoff [18] and Arnstein was the basis of participation. "It is the redistribution of power that en-

[16] Dept. of Environmental Planning, North St. Boniface District Plan (Winnipeg, March, 1976), p.4. and M. Phillips, "Planning in Winnipeg: An Analysis of the Evolution and Role of the Development Programs Division of the Department of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg" unpublished, 1977, p.25.

[17] Sherry R. Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation" in J.A.I.P. Vol. 35, #4 (July, 1969), p. 216-224.

[18] Paul Davidoff, "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" in A Reader in Planning Theory. A. Faludi: ed. (Oxford, 1973), p.277-296.

ables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. [19]"

Unfortunately district planners and later NIP planners did not view community involvement as redistributing power to the lower income tenants of the neighbourhood. The view of citizen participation as consultation meant that district planners had already formulated the parameters of what a district plan should include before any citizen input was solicited.

The district plan as conceived by the planners was to be concerned mainly with the physical character of the neighbourhood; land use configurations, transportation patterns, the location of parks and recreational/community facilities and housing condition. The planners' physical bias prevented them from discussing issues such as housing affordability and unemployment which are of much greater concern to disadvantaged citizens such as low income tenants, single parent families, etc. This bias was perpetuated, even though these economic and social issues were clearly within the terms of reference of a district plan as set out in the legislation (see p. 126 above).

The process began with the district planners meeting with St. Boniface's Resident Advisory Group and through them, formed a special RAG committee from RAG members and interested residents of the area. This committee was composed of many of the same

[19] Arnstein, op.cit., p. 217.

members who presented the proposal for the establishment of NIP in North St. Boniface in November, 1973. The committee set out the goals and aspirations (within the parameters discussed above) held to be important in the area and after reviewing metropolitan concerns and adopted policies for the area, the committee formulated a general land use proposal for the area which reflected the goals, concerns and aspirations that had been expressed [20].

A student was hired during the summer of 1974 to help the committee arrange meetings of residents in North St. Boniface to explain the plan and receive additional input. A general meeting was held first to explain the plan to area residents after which North St. Boniface was divided into sub-areas, and area captains were appointed to arrange for a sector meeting and to talk to as many residents as possible about the proposed plan. During these smaller meetings, comments and opinions were solicited and motions were put forward to embody goals and set out proposed courses of action. 222 citizens attended the area meetings and 240 people attended the final meeting in early September, 1974 [21], when the area meeting motions were brought together to be ratified by the community as a whole.

[20] Dept. of Environmental Planning, North St. Boniface District Plan (Winnipeg, March, 1976), p.5.

[21] Minutes from district plan area meetings and final general meeting.

The whole district planning process served to prepare the community for the NIP program which would be funded in 1975. The planners had organized at least part of the community, by establishing a committee of elected RAG members and hard working volunteers from the community. Residents were eager to start planning for the implementation of NIP and most people's awareness had been raised about the issues and problems which faced their community.

The preoccupation of the district planners with physical issues and their lack of concern for the have-not citizens of the neighbourhood meant that community organization had been largely confined to homeowners and the middle class. As stated by Davidoff:

The city planning profession's historic concern with the physical environment has warped its ability to see physical structures and land as servants to those who use them...Relative ignorance of social and economic methods of analysis have caused planners to propose solutions in the absence of sufficient knowledge of the costs and benefits of proposals upon different sections of the population..."Who gets what, when, where, why and how" are the basic political questions which need to be raised about every allocation of public resources. The questions cannot be answered adequately if land use criteria are the sole or major standards for judgement [22].

No tenants were members of the committee, and very few came out to the area meetings. Nevertheless, the district planners had created a mechanism to involve citizens in the planning of their

[22] Davidoff, op.cit., p. 291-293.

neighbourhood and it had shown that at least homeowners were keenly interested in planning for the improvement of their neighbourhood.

Two months after the September meeting, the proposed North St. Boniface District Plan was published [23]. The plan included the goals and aspirations of citizens and of the City of Winnipeg for the improvement of the area. Among those goals set out were:

- the restoration of the neighbourhood as a residential community oriented primarily to families, although all members of the community should have housing commensurate to their needs, particularly senior citizens;
- the maintenance of the existing ethnic balance (keep Tache school open);
- encourage the rehabilitation and maintenance of the existing housing stock and enforce the minimum maintenance bylaw;
- ensure that redevelopment in North St. Boniface is compatible with the character of the neighbourhood;
- encourage the upgrading of the physical appearance and establish a set of performance criteria for industrial and commercial establishments to ensure that these uses are compatible with residential uses;
- establish a program to encourage and assist in the relocation of non-compatible industries;
- preserve Whittier Park as a park and recognize the urgent priority of the acquisition of the riverbanks for parkland; and

[23] Dept. of Environmental Planning North St. Boniface District Plan (Winnipeg, Nov., 1974).

- replace and upgrade municipal services in the neighbourhood [24].

With these goals in mind, the district planners produced a Proposed Land Use Map to serve as the basis for rezoning the area and to embody the goals put forward in the district plan (see Map 6). The planners proposed that "the existing uses in the area which conform to the uses outlined on the plan should be given conforming zoning while those uses which do not coincide with the proposed land use should either be placed in a zoning category which would negate the possibility of development until a suitable application is made or should be zoned to conform with the applicable policy" [25].

To further the implementation of the proposed plan the district planners recommended that the city initiate a Neighbourhood Improvement Program in North St. Boniface. This was a redundant recommendation since the city had already designated the community for neighbourhood improvement in January, 1974. Finally the district planners recommended that the achievement of resident goals through NIP could only become possible if there was "continued cooperation between all of the groups who participated in the preparation of the plan" [26].

[24] Dept. of Environmental Planning North St. Boniface District Plan (Winnipeg, Nov., 1974).

[25] Ibid, p.33.

[26] Ibid, p.33.

Most importantly planners felt that the Resident Advisory Group of St. Boniface should be involved in the implementation of NIP in the neighbourhood. This was in direct conflict with the objectives of the NIP Branch which felt that only local residents should be involved in the planning and implementation of NIP (see p.80). The expectations raised by the district planners created some problems with the Resident Advisory Group at the beginning of the program and this will be discussed on pp. 153-154 of this chapter.

While the district plan process provided the first means by which citizens could set their own goals regarding the improvement of the neighbourhood, its preoccupation with land use, and the lack of understanding district planners had for the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, meant that the district plan excluded many issues such as housing affordability problems and high demolition rates combined with no new construction. The planners assumed that the neighbourhood was homogeneous in its interest concerning neighbourhood revitalization, but they failed to realize that the need for low cost housing conflicted with property owners' desires to raise property values in the community. "The treatment of local areas as "communities" of homogenous interests can result in severe damage to the interest of their weakest inhabitants. [27]" By failing to consider issues which

[27] Lisa R. Peattie, "Reflections on Advocacy Planning" in J.A.I.P. Vol. 34. #2 (March, 1968), p. 80.

affected tenants, the district planners effectively excluded them from the process, so no citizen input was obtained from low income renter households. Similar assumptions and actions by neighbourhood improvement planners also resulted in the interests of low income tenants being relegated to a low priority. These assumptions about the homogeneity of the community's interests had a severe impact on the condition of the low income groups in North St. Boniface as will be shown in Chapter 6 (see discussions under Enforcement of Minimum Maintenance Bylaw).

Their concern for developing overall, basic goals for the improvement of the neighbourhood, meant that district planners developed few specific recommendations for the way neighbourhood improvement should take place in North St. Boniface. With no involvement by the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch in the planning process, the district plan itself offered little for planners, and resident committee members who had to decide on what projects neighbourhood improvement funds would be spent.

On April 16, 1975, first reading was given to the District Plan by City Council. As provided for in the City of Winnipeg Act, a public hearing was held in the St. Boniface community committee offices on June 18, 1975. No major objections were received, except those by property owners along Provencher between Thibault and the Seine River, who were concerned that their future commercial plans were in jeopardy due to the designation of that area as future park (see Map 6). Homeowners on Archibald Street were also concerned that their properties were to be used

as a buffer strip between industry on the east side of Archibald and the residential area of North St. Boniface (see Map 6).

With these objections, the proposed district plan went to the Committee on Environment on August 25, 1975 for its consideration before the plan received second reading. In making amendments concerning the above objections, the Committee also introduced two significant amendments which originated from within the City of Winnipeg administration. These amendments were:

- that the future public transit corridor and the east-west thoroughfare be shown on the North St. Boniface District Plan.
- that the area north of the CNR Mainline between Tache Avenue and St. Joseph Street North be shown as proposed park [28].

The new proposed land use map is shown as Map 7.

One can only conclude that these amendments which fundamentally altered the district plan were not made before the first reading of the plan in order to avoid having them debated at a public hearing. Unfortunately, the City of Winnipeg Act allows for amendment after first reading without the necessity of having another public hearing. Again no input was received by the NIP Branch as to the impact removing the residential area north of the highline [29] would have on the program there.

[28] minutes of the Committee on Environment Aug. 25, 1975.

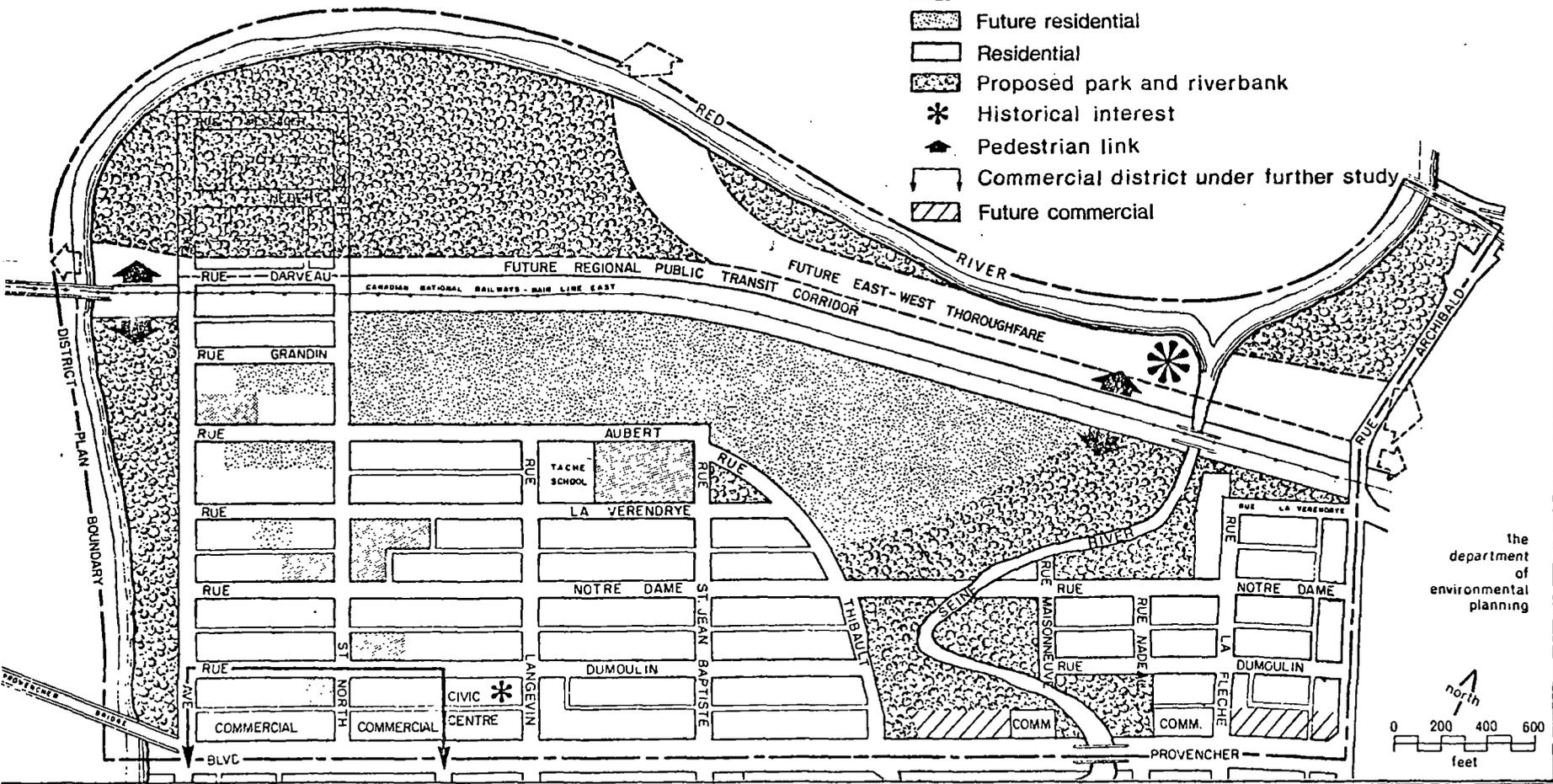
[29] "the highline" is what residents refer to when speaking of the CNR mainline since it is 30' above ground level as it passes through the neighbourhood.

NORTH ST. BONIFACE District Plan

Map 7 PROPOSED LAND USE

LEGEND

-  Industrial
-  Future residential
-  Residential
-  Proposed park and riverbank
-  Historical interest
-  Pedestrian link
-  Commercial district under further study
-  Future commercial



In fact there is every indication that NIP planners were not aware of the ramifications of these amendments to the district plan which received second reading on September 17, 1975. Their lack of awareness is borne out in the agreement signed in December 1975 between the city, province and federal governments allocating NIP funds to North St. Boniface and including the residential area to be designated as park. It was clear that the city administration wanted the area excluded from the program (i.e. they did not want residents north of the highline to be able to take advantage of the RRAP program and thus increase the value of their homes). Yet, NIP planners included this area within the agreement and this created enormous problems especially between the city and the province, and between the residents north of the highline and the civic government. The impact of the designation of the area north of the CNR Mainline as park, and the conflicts generated will be explored in detail in Chapter 5. For now it is sufficient to say that the minister approved the district plan on January 19, 1976 [30] and it was given third and final reading by city council on January 21, 1976.

The lack of coordination between the District Plans Branch and the NIP Branch had enormous impact on the implementation of the program in North St. Boniface. The decision not to become involved in the district plan process, cost neighbourhood im-

[30] informed sources have indicated that even Saul Miller, the Urban Affairs Minister, and his staff were unaware that the district plan had been amended after first reading.

Improvement planners a great deal of time in the implementation process of NIP and the plan itself created a severe impact on the neighbourhood's vitality by eliminating the area north of the CNR mainline.

Once the North St. Boniface District Plan was passed in January, 1976, the process of rezoning the neighbourhood was begun. The rezoning process, like the district planning process, was undertaken by the District Plans Branch. Again the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch took no part in the preparation of the zoning in the area. This created a number of problems, especially for the RRAP program when some R3 and R2 residential structures were downgraded to R2 and R1 respectively (see Chapter 6).

A series of public hearings were held and a staged approach was used in the rezoning process. At this writing, four sectors have been rezoned and the results are shown on Map 8. The building permit freeze for these areas was finally lifted in April 17, 1978 [31]. Several key parcels of land have not yet been rezoned and this has prevented NIP from acquiring industrial zoned properties for housing and parks as owners feel they can fight the redesignations of the district plan at the future rezoning hearing (this has already been done by some owners). A further discussion of this problem will be undertaken in Chapter 6.

[31] minutes of Committee of Environment April 17, 1978.

By not involving itself in the rezoning process, or in the preparation of the zoning bylaw, the NIP Branch failed to realize the important impact these had on the implementation process. Several problems that plagued implementation could have been avoided if NIP and district planners, cooperating together, could have formulated a strategy for the rezoning of the community.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that the district plan and the new zoning bylaw went a long way to guaranteeing the residential nature of the community. They also insured that much of the neighbourhood would remain low density and be suitable for families, thus acknowledging two of the goals set out by the residents. The revitalization of North St. Boniface, first proposed in 1965 under the Urban Renewal program had finally begun.

Budget Formulation

In August, 1975, over a year and a half after North St. Boniface had been designated as a neighbourhood improvement area, the NIP Branch finally began preparing for the revitalization of the community. A small information package was prepared on the community using census data as well as additional information such as school enrolment records. A building condition survey was also conducted during this time period.

At the same time, NIP Branch planners began preparing the budget for North St. Boniface, which was a prerequisite for getting funds from the Federal Government (see p.7). Given the poor state of municipal services in the community, the planners com-

missioned a study on the cost of upgrading roads, sewers and lighting for the neighbourhood. After meeting with representatives of the federal government, the NIP administration was told that \$2 million was the maximum amount any NIP area would be allowed to spend on the upgrading and replacement of municipal services [32].

NIP planners also knew that \$2,900,000 had been set aside by the Federal Government for neighbourhood improvement programs in Manitoba for 1975. They also had information that Brandon would be the only area outside of Winnipeg that would be applying for federal funds in 1975 and that this program would utilize 900,000 federal dollars [33].

With these two facts in mind NIP planners in Winnipeg decided to use the rest of the 2,900,000 federal dollars in North St. Boniface (approx. \$2,000,000) and to provide a municipal service program which would make use of the maximum allocation of \$2,000,000. A draft budget was prepared (Table 48) and it proposed that \$4.9 million be allocated to North St. Boniface by all three levels of government for a Neighbourhood Improvement Program. In addition \$2 million would be added through the City of Winnipeg's capital works budget to complete the municipal services program for the area.

[32] remarks made by Neal Kowlessar, assistant coordinator of Winnipeg NIP in Minutes of the North St. Boniface Neighbourhood Improvement Resident Committee Feb. 6, 1978.

[33] Ibid.

Table 48. Budget: North St. Boniface Neighbourhood Improvement Area 1975-1979

	Total	Federal	Provincial	Municipal	
Administration	655,000	327,500	163,750	163,750	Permanent and Temporary Staff Salaries and the Operating of a NIP office.
Resident Participation	50,000	25,000	12,500	12,500	Expenditures for Sector Meetings and Election Campaign, Resident Committee Meetings, Publicity, Surveys
Land (Social Housing)	1,375,000	687,500	343,750	343,750	Acquisition and clearing of land to be used for medium and low density housing for individuals of low and moderate income
Relocation	35,000	17,500	8,750	8,750	Relocation expenses and compensation paid to people dispossessed of their homes due to NIP program action
Municipal Services	1,950,000	487,500	487,500	975,000	Improving municipal and public utility services
Social and Recreation Facilities	650,000	325,000	162,500	162,500	Funding of Capital Costs of Social and Recreation facilities such as day care centres, multi-service centres, playgrounds, swimming pools, etc. Operating costs of these facilities are not eligible
Reserve	204,454	102,227	51,113	51,113	Contingency Fund
TOTAL	4,919,454	1,972,227	1,229,863	1,717,364	

The \$4.9 million represents an extremely large amount of money to be spent on a relatively small area. Table 49 shows the average per capita funding of all Canadian and Manitoba NIP projects. These figures are compared with both North Point Douglas and North St. Boniface NIP areas.

Table 49. Per capita Federal Funding of NIP Projects (\$)

Canada*	Manitoba*	North Point Douglas	North St. Boniface with North of Highline	Boniface without North of Highline
137.25	483.00	315.60	908.86	978.77

*Source: Nils K. Larsson, "Evaluation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program Vol.2 Main Report" unpublished, Nov., 1977.

The table shows that Manitoba has over 3 times the per capita federal funding of Canadian NIP projects, the highest in Canada [34], and that the North St. Boniface NIP area had nearly twice the federal per capita funding of the Manitoba average.

According to Winnipeg's NIP Branch, the increased funding was necessary because of the need to upgrade the municipal services in the community [35]. However if the \$247,000 difference

[34] Nils K. Larsson, "Evaluation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, Vol. 2, Main Report" unpublished, Nov., 1977.

[35] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Dept. of Environmental Planning, Neighbourhood Improvement Progress Report (Winnipeg, Sept., 1975), p.47.

in federal contributions for municipal services between North St. Boniface and North Point Douglas [36] is taken out of the calculations, North St. Boniface still has a per capita federal allocation of \$794.80, over twice the amount in North Point Douglas.

When the area north of the CNR mainline was excluded from the NIP area after its inception, the per capita federal allocation increased to \$978.77 or \$2441.42 if all 3 levels of government funds are included (excludes the extra \$2,000,000 put up by the City of Winnipeg through the capital works budget).

These figures demonstrate that an enormous amount of federal funds were allocated to an area with a small and declining population. Such an expenditure seems tremendously extravagant, especially when one considers that there were many other inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg which were in dire need of public funds for revitalization. Yet there is no evidence that NIP planners gave this matter any thought when they were drafting the North St. Boniface budget. Instead of fitting the budget to the assessed needs of the area, the community's needs were molded to meet the 2 million federal dollars which remained for NIP in Manitoba in 1975. Ultimately this has resulted in a massive waste of federal funds, for at this writing much of the budget has not been allocated, and it seems that a large proportion will be returned to the Federal Government when the North St. Boniface NIP

[36] \$240,500 in federal funds was allocated for municipal service improvement in North Point Douglas.

program expires in December 1979.

Establishment of Site Office, Hiring of Staff and Community Organization

In October, 1975 the search for a site office in North St. Boniface was begun and in November a request was made to the Civic Properties Division of the City of Winnipeg to use the abandoned fire hall behind the St. Boniface City Hall for a NIP office (see Map 3) [37]. In February, 1976 the Committee on Environment granted permission to renovate the old firehall for this purpose [38].

After obtaining permission to use the firehall, renovations had to be carried out to turn it into an office. These renovations were planned by NIP staff and were undertaken by the Winnipeg Home Improvement Program (WHIP), a work training project for hard to employ people. Renovations were completed by early May and the office was officially opened on May 26, 1976 [39].

Up until this point, no local staff had been employed through the Neighbourhood Improvement Program. All work had been undertaken by administrative staff at 100 Main St. Once the re-

 [37] minutes of St. Boniface Community Committee meeting Oct. 27, 1975.

[38] minutes of Committee on Environment, Feb. 23, 1976.

[39] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Dept. of Environmental Planning, North St. Boniface Neighbourhood Improvement Program Progress Report 1975-1978 (Winnipeg, July, 1978), p.2.

innovations had been completed a secretary was hired and two generalist inspectors were transferred to North St. Boniface from North Point Douglas. As in the case of the North Point Douglas NIP, a decision was made to launch RRAP before NIP so that the residents would not confuse the two programs [40]. The renewal of municipal services was also started, based on the administration's premise that the City should set the example of neighbourhood improvement by upgrading its own services first (see p.74). This would give the program more credibility and also would indicate that NIP staff were actually doing something and not just talking about revitalization (again this was the strategy that was used in North Point Douglas).

In the spring of 1976, planners at 100 Main devised a survey for the residents of the neighbourhood. A discussion of the survey and the methodology surrounding it can be found in Appendix C. The survey of residents began in June, 1976 and the interviewers also undertook the task of promoting the RRAP program at the same time. The survey was not finished until late summer, 1976. No social service work was done by the interviewers in terms of documenting problem homes, situations of high rent but low income, or cases of substandard housing as the interviewers were without any background in community assessment or housing quality. Many opportunities for community assessment and problem definition were passed by during this time period since there

[40] North Point Douglas Staff Seminar, Feb. 5, 1976, p.11.

were no full time NIP staff working in the community, and planners working out of 100 Main St. were preoccupied with NIP in North Point Douglas and Centennial and so had little time for preplanning or strategizing in North St. Boniface.

The first staff person hired, who ostensibly was assigned to work in North St. Boniface, was a planning assistant whose job was to consist of doing technical planning work (production of informational handbooks, graphic presentations and technical reports) [41]. However with no strategy having been formulated concerning North St. Boniface's planning, the worker spent the first months working on projects in North Point Douglas and Centennial and was not even stationed within the community.

A real vacuum was present in the staffing for neighbourhood improvement in North St. Boniface. With NIP planners at 100 Main devoting their time to planning in the two other NIP areas, attempting to designate other areas and trying to administer the program at the same time, there was no planner who could devote much if any time to planning in North St. Boniface. Yet there was a real need for a planner to begin a process of problem definition, community assessment and program development in the neighbourhood. Valuable planning time was lost during this period and the neighbourhood improvement program generally suffered because of this in the implementation phase (see Chapter 6,

[41] Job description Planning Assistant II, January 15, 1976.

especially discussion concerning parks and recreation).

In late September, 1976, after the survey had been completed, a community development worker was hired by NIP staff at 100 Main St. to join the secretary and inspectors as part of the NIP site office staff. The community development worker held a key position in the evolution of NIP in Winnipeg as was outlined in Chapter 3. Essentially the community development worker's task was to foster citizen participation in the planning process by organizing the resident committee and maintaining contact with area residents. The job also involved assisting in the provision of social services through referrals to other agencies [42].

After the C.D. worker was hired, the organization of the NIP resident committee began in earnest through a public meeting campaign. It should be pointed out that from this time forward (late Sept. 1976), NIP site office staff were instructed not to do any community organization or maintain any contact with residents north of the CNR mainline. This directive came after the survey was completed which surveyed those residents north of the highline, and promoted the RRAP program within the area. Needless to say, the rising expectations caused by the survey's promotion of NIP and RRAP caused a great deal of problems for the city later on in the program (e.g. trust became difficult to build between the city and area residents).

[42] Job description, Community Service Worker, Oct. 27, 1977.

The methods used to organize the resident committee were identical to those used in North Point Douglas. The process began with home visits because it was assumed that face-to-face contact was the most effective way to invite resident involvement [43]. Every household was contacted and informed of an upcoming meeting in their area in which their concerns about the neighbourhood would be discussed. Again these home visits could have been incorporated into the survey, either by having the community development worker accompany the interviewers or to have the C.D. worker take part in the surveys.

The meetings were held by sector, as in the case of the district plan (although sector boundaries were not identical) (see Map 9) because it was felt that neighbourhood meetings should be of manageable size so that all people would have the opportunity to speak [44]. The first meeting provided residents with a detailed report of the nature and intent of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, and residents were given the opportunity to voice concerns about the problems facing North St. Boniface [45].

 [43] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Neighbourhood Improvement Progress Report (Winnipeg, Sept., 1975), p.3 and North St. Boniface NIP Progress Report p.3.

[44] North Point Douglas Staff Seminar Feb. 5, 1976, p.11 and North St. Boniface Progress Report p.3.

[45] North St. Boniface Progress Report op.cit p.4-5.

The second meeting, held approximately four weeks after the first, was designed to show that neighbourhood improvement was about doing and not just talking [46]. The problems raised by the residents were taken to civic departments for solutions and in the second meeting "the residents were exposed to examples of physical changes that could improve their area" [47]. Again, like the district plan process, the community development worker's stress on the physical improvement of the community tended to favour owner and middle class interests over the interests of tenants and low income households (see p. 128 above). The importance of forming a resident committee was also stressed at this meeting. As in North Point Douglas, it was decided that members of this committee should be elected and to ensure that representation was equal throughout the community, an equal number should be elected by each sector (in this case 5 people from each of 5 sectors totalling 25 people). The sector approach used in both North Point Douglas and North St. Boniface reflects the geographic notion of representation which is prevalent in most of our municipal, provincial and federal political systems. In this case the differences between areas were slight (except east of the Seine vs. west of the Seine). However there were other differences within the neighbourhood which were signifi-

[46] Neighbourhood Improvement Progress Report, op.cit. p.4-5.

[47] North St. Boniface Progress Report op.cit. p.6.

cant; for example, the survey showed that age, language, stage in the life cycle, tenure and occupational status were significant determinants in influencing resident attitudes about the problems in the community, such as affordable housing. There was no indication that NIP staff recognized these differences within the community, so that the committee which was elected had deep biases in their makeup, as will be seen later.

The sector meeting campaign consisted of three meetings, and stretched from October 1976 until May 1977 when the last sector elected its five members. The first two meetings averaged about 20 households per meeting, while the election meeting only averaged 13 households per sector [48]. Similar attendance figures were experienced in the North Point Douglas sector meeting campaign especially at the election meeting. The low turnouts in North Point Douglas should have alerted NIP staff to the problems of keeping interest up over such a long campaign, yet no time was given to considering alternate ways of organizing a resident committee in North St. Boniface.

The community organization process which had been started under the district plan was totally ignored by NIP staff. Names and addresses of those attending district plan meetings, although available, were never used as a basis for organizing NIP meetings. The RAG special committee which had done so much work in

[48] attendance records of North St. Boniface sector meetings.

community organization under the district plan was informed that its involvement was neither needed nor desired by NIP planners, even though the committee expressed an interest in becoming involved [49], and district planners had encouraged the RAG to become involved in planning for the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in North St. Boniface.

The community organization process had consumed one year and five months of the time allotted to implement NIP in North St. Boniface. The community organization which had been started under the district planning process had been allowed to die and the reorganization of the community did not have nearly the community interest as did the district plan process (compare attendance figures). If NIP planners had become involved in the district plan process, it could have served as the basis for forming a resident committee which would have been functional by the time the area was funded in December, 1975. The new North St. Boniface resident committee, established in May, 1977 had no operating procedure and little understanding of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program or the Branch which was charged with administering it - and there was only 2 years and 7 months left in which to implement the program.

[49] The Lance, late fall, 1975.

The Operation of the NIP Resident Committee

The resident committee was to have a fundamental role in the planning of the neighbourhood:

The resident committee would be encouraged to originate and develop program proposals of its own and would approve, alter or reject proposals advanced by staff [50].

With the committee's emphasis to be on planning, it is curious that there was as yet no planner working in the neighbourhood. Only the community development worker and the assistant coordinator of NIP attended resident meetings, but the C.D. worker's hours were taken up in committee organization and operation, while the assistant coordinator, beyond developing a municipal service plan for the area, had no more time for neighbourhood planning in the community. Very little planning was therefore undertaken by the committee, and most of the staff's and committee's project proposals were mere "shots in the dark", without much notion of their utility and consequences for neighbourhood residents.

Finally in September 1977, four months after the resident committee held its first meeting, the community development worker was redesignated as the planner for North St. Boniface. However, since no community development worker was immediately ob-

[50] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Dept. of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, "North Point Douglas Overview Report 1st Draft" (Winnipeg, Aug., 1978), Chapter 5, p.1.

tained to replace the new planner, she continued to carry out mainly community organization and committee operation activities. A new community development worker was hired in January, 1978, but because she had no previous involvement with the resident committee she found it very difficult to establish a relationship with its members. This task was made all the more difficult by the fact that the new planner was extremely reluctant to relinquish the responsibility for the day-to-day operations of the resident committee.

Therefore throughout the operation of the resident committee little planning activity was initiated by staff and most of this activity was begun only after program proposals had already been largely decided upon.

The resident committee was elected at a series of sector meetings which only had an average attendance of 13 households. The committee was composed mainly of single family dwelling homeowners - only two of its twenty-nine members [51] were tenants, and all lived in low density single family dwellings or duplexes [52]. This of course did not reflect the character of North St. Boniface, which has a majority of tenants and a substantial percentage of apartment dwellers (see Tables 43 and 44). In addition, the committee was composed of households whose heads

[51] These 29 members had attended 5 or more out of 28 meetings by July 10, 1978.

[52] K. Smith, op.cit.

had a higher than average socio-economic status, as is illustrated in Table 50. However, the committee did reflect the language balance which existed in the community and was composed of a variety of age groups and people at different stages of the life cycle. One important point to note though, is that young people, particularly teenagers, were only represented through their parents on the resident committee, and had no direct input in the planning of such projects as parks and recreation facilities.

The fact that the committee was elected from such a small turnout of households, and that its membership was highly biased toward homeowners with high socio-economic status, meant that planners could not be sure that program proposals originating from the committee would represent the needs of the community. The experience of many planners working at the neighbourhood level in other Canadian inner cities has shown that "there is always the danger that any well-organized community will use its strength and support from planners against weaker communities or weaker interests [53]" The complex framework and procedures of the resident committee discouraged many of the residents not well educated in committee processes from participating in decisions on the allocations of funds and the future of the neighbourhood. This tended to benefit homeowners and high income households at the expense of low income tenants and the "problematic poor". Yet there was no attempt by NIP staff to go outside the committee

[53] Graham Fraser, op.cit., p. 262.

Table 50. Socio-Economic Status of Households Heads*

<u>Socio-Economic Status</u>	<u>North St. Boniface</u>	<u>NIP Resident Committee</u> **
Self-Employed	6.0	7.7
>60.0 ***	8.4	26.9
50.0-59.9	10.4	23.1
40.0-49.9	12.5	15.4
30.0-39.9	25.7	7.7
<30.0	37.0	19.2

* includes those persons who were 15 years of age and over and who were employed in 1976 and heads were defined as parent who was earning the highest income.

** those members who were employed (excludes 3 retired members) and who attended 5 or more out of 28 meetings up until July 10, 1978.

***based on Blishen's socio-economic status for Canada.

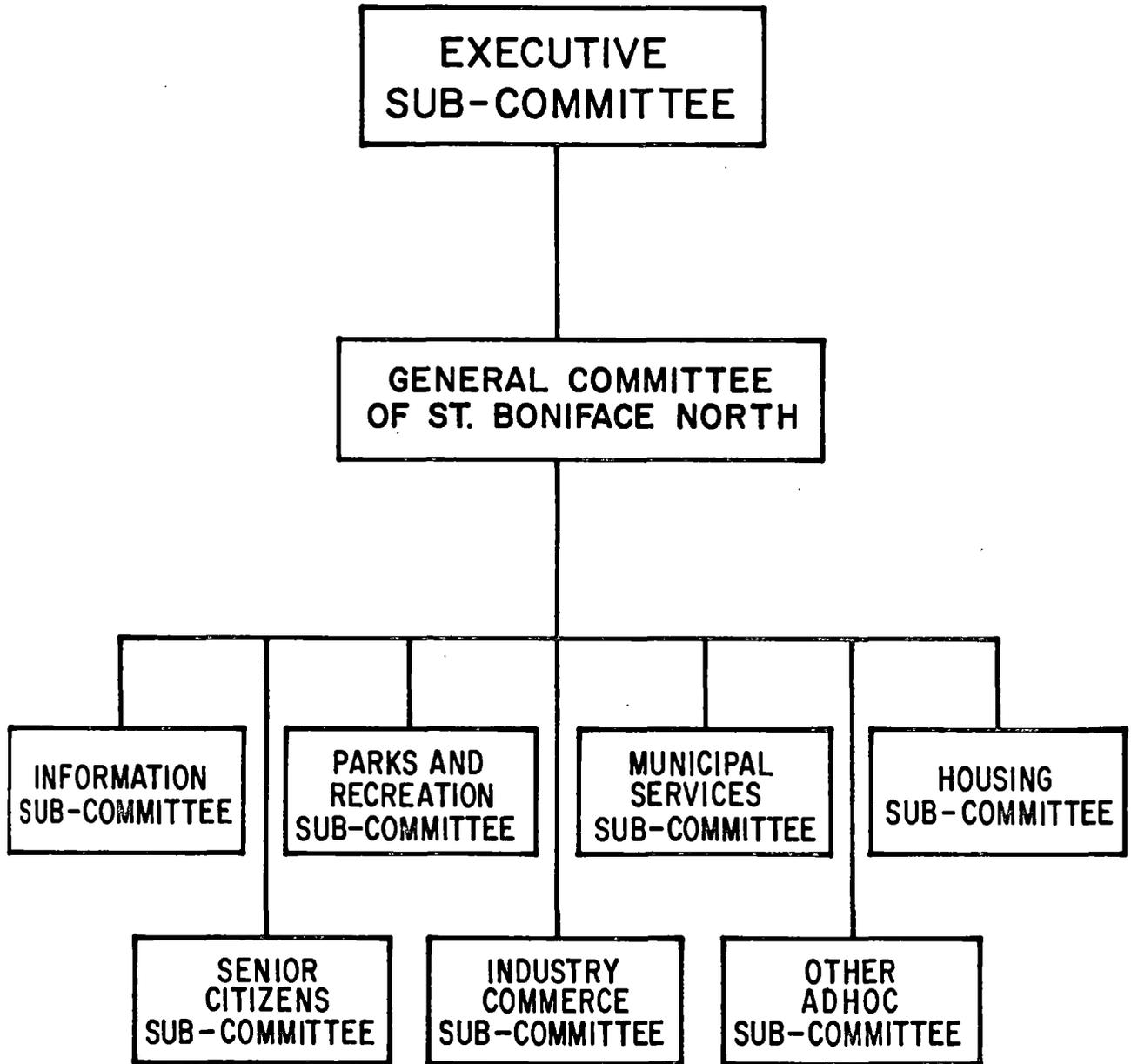
Source: K. Smith, op.cit.

structure to obtain other resident views concerning projects proposed for the neighbourhood. This action, along with the physical biases of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program itself (see Introduction, p. 6), effectively deprived the powerless groups of North St. Boniface from obtaining the needed resources with which to assert their views on the issues of neighbourhood revitalization. The fact that these groups were shut out of the planning process by both planners and the members of the NIP resident committee itself, had a number of negative consequences, some of which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The North St. Boniface resident committee held its first meeting on May 19, 1977. The first two meetings were used to inform committee members about the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, and it wasn't until the third meeting on June 20, 1977 that the committee began to discuss what its modus operandi should be [54]. (See Figure 9 for a diagram of the resident organization). The committee structure was formulated by the C.D. worker, with minor changes by committee members, and called for the establishment of an executive whose job would be to set meeting agendas, preside over meetings and act as spokesmen for the resident committee [55].

[54] Minutes of the North St. Boniface Resident Committee meeting June 20, 1977.

[55] Minutes of the North St. Boniface Resident Committee meetings June 28, 1977.



The formation of the executive further concentrated the biases of the resident committee (all were homeowners and all had socio-economic statuses of 50.0 or greater) [56], but more importantly, it made it difficult for planners to establish a planning process for the neighbourhood since agendas were decided and meetings presided over by residents who had little or no knowledge about planning and didn't see the need for needs assessment, problem definition, or objective specification since "they already knew what they wanted" [57]. The existence of the executive did have some advantages however. Members of the executive had a chance to develop their leadership skills through chairing meetings and making presentations before City Hall. The control given to the residents over their own organization gave them a real sense of involvement in the program and showed what an important role citizens could play in the planning of their neighbourhood. They also came face to face with the notion of power, and began to realize how the existence of a resident committee could influence the decisions of government bureaucracies. This is reflected in the first workshop held by the committee in November, 1977 in which they decided, as one of their primary objectives to "ensure the existence of a strong resident associa-

[56] K. Smith, op.cit.

[57] This impatience with the planning process was partly justified by the fact that residents had waited for over two years to become involved in NIP and had already been through the district plan process in 1974.

tion" [58].'

The formation of the executive and the handing over control to the committee by NIP staff might have been the proper course of action if there was time to develop leadership skills among committee members, undertake an education process with the committee, and if the committee was truly representative of the area. However, since there was little time to undertake the first two tasks, and it was clear that the committee was neither representative of or truly elected by the residents of the area, the committee's modus operandi created a great deal of problems for the revitalization of North St. Boniface. As stated earlier, so few projects have been launched, partly because of the time taken in developing leadership skills and in educating the committee, that much of the money will not have been spent when the program expires in December, 1979.

At the fourth meeting of the resident committee, it was decided, again on the advice of the CD worker, to form six subcommittees whose task would be to recommend projects to the General Committee in their area of concern. These subcommittees were to consist of members outside the resident committee, but in reality only 6 outside volunteers were recruited and most of the subcommittees' membership was composed of general committee members.

[58] Minutes from the North St. Boniface Resident Committee Workshop November 4 and 5, 1977.

The subcommittee approach while perhaps allowing the resident committee to consider more items at a faster pace, had a number of disadvantages. It had already been decided that general committee meetings would occur twice a month, and executive meetings once a week. Subcommittees were to meet once a month, so this meant that the community development worker, who attended all meetings at the beginning, was attending approximately 14 meetings per month, or 3.5 meetings per week. Even with the planning assistant's and research worker's help, NIP staff were forced to devote almost all their time to attending meetings, writing minutes and establishing agendas, and could spend little time on establishing a planning process of any kind, assessing the needs of the community, effecting social service coordination or cooperating with the generalist inspectors in the administration of the RRAP program. The fact that no one was officially assigned the planning role, or office manager only added to these problems.

The other disadvantage of the subcommittee approach was that only a few members of the community were involved in planning projects. Most subcommittees were composed of only 4-5 members and this effectively shut out the vast majority of households from becoming involved in the planning of projects. This will be further illustrated when parks and recreation projects are discussed in Chapter 6. The subcommittee approach also meant that only one staff person was involved in a subcommittee. This meant that other staff members lost contact with the planning process

used to develop projects in subcommittees they were not involved with. Therefore, no team or interdisciplinary approach could be utilized in project planning, even though it was recognized that such an approach was essential to the success of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (see Chapter 3).

The result of the lack of a sound planning process and an officially designated planning component within NIP staff is clearly shown in the concept plan for the improvement of North St. Boniface which was finally produced in March 1978 [59]. The concept plan, like the district plan, is almost totally physically based, and beyond RRAP makes little mention of housing (except for the need for senior citizen housing). The plan is dominated by improvements to existing parks, purchase of tot lots, and to the improvement of municipal services. Many of the projects suggested to be constructed, were done so without any study and have since proved to be infeasible. With no overall strategy for land acquisition no properties have been acquired for housing.

The early results of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in North St. Boniface will be the subject of the next chapter. In that chapter it will be demonstrated that the lack of a sound planning process, coupled with no designated planning personnel and treating the neighbourhood as a homogeneous community were among several factors which determined the outcome of the pro-

[59] Supplement to Application: Implementation Stage, March 23, 1978 (see Appendix E).

gram.

Chapter 6

Early Results of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program:
An Evaluation of the Implementation Process
in North St. Boniface

In order to assess the role planning played in the implementation process after the NIP resident committee had been established, the early results of the program will be examined. As stated earlier, the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in North St. Boniface will not end until December, 1979. However, many of the projects for improvement have been decided upon, and implementation has already begun in certain areas.

Five issues were chosen which illustrate the results of NIP in North St. Boniface and the reasons for which those results were obtained. The five issues are:

- the exclusion of the area north of the CNR mainline from NIP funding;
- the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP);
- the enforcement of the minimum maintenance bylaw;
- the process of land acquisition for social housing and for parks and recreational facilities;
- the planning process utilized for the development of parks and recreation facilities.

These five issues will illustrate that NIP in North St. Boniface did little to halt neighbourhood decline and in effect aggravated many problems in both the community and the inner city, which were discussed in Chapters 1 and 4. It will also be shown that the Neighbourhood Improvement Program proved to be an outright failure in addressing the social and economic problems of the community and, in many respects, was not greatly different from some of the urban renewal projects which preceded it.

The five issues to be discussed will also illustrate the reasons for the failure of NIP in North St. Boniface. While these reasons are complex, many of the problems of the program were caused by the type of planning process utilized, the administrative structure and the staffing of the local site office, the techniques used to elicit resident participation, and outside influences, including the very nature of NIP itself.

The Exclusion of the Area North of the CNR
Mainline from NIP Funding

As will be recalled from Chapter 5, it was by one small amendment to the North St. Boniface District Plan by Winnipeg's Committee on Environment that a 9 hectare residential parcel was to be transformed into a park. The ramifications of this decision on North St. Boniface received little, if any, thought, and no consideration was given to the conflict between eliminating such a large residential area and the goals established for the Neighbourhood Improvement Program.

Planners relied on the conclusions reached in old urban renewal reports which stated that the area was isolated from the rest of North St. Boniface and its homes were beyond repair [1]. In fact, the land north of the highline [2] was an integral part of the North St. Boniface neighbourhood, especially in social

[1] See Chapter 5, p120.

[2] See Chapter 5 footnote 29.

terms. There are approximately 150 people living in 45 households, predominantly in single family dwellings, north of the highline [3]. The sector reflects the ownership and ethnic balance of the rest of North St. Boniface, and like the households to the south, a large percentage have family and friends living within the community [4].

Contrary to the gloomy reports of housing condition contained in the old urban renewal studies of the area (see p.120), a 1975 building condition survey found that, while only 9% of the housing was in good condition, 84.5% of the housing was repairable [5]. As in the case of North St. Boniface, many of the tenant occupied structures are owned by landlords who live in the community, or within the building itself (34.8%) [6]. These landlords tend to keep rents low and the average rent north of the highline was \$115 in 1976, and 68.4% of all units were rented for less than \$150 (most of these are single family dwellings) [7].

[3] K. Smith, op.cit.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

The area north of the highline also has some other noteworthy social characteristics. 87.2% of the households were made up of families, which is a much higher percentage than for the rest of North St. Boniface (65.3%), and indeed, Winnipeg (73.5%) and the outer city (79.9%) [8]. The sector north of the CNR mainline also has a substantially higher proportion of household heads between the ages of 25 and 34 than does North St. Boniface (28.2% compared to 19.4%) [9]. These young families are the very group that North St. Boniface is losing, creating problems of declining school enrolment and general population decline.

The socio-economic status of working household heads living in the area north of the highline is much lower than the rest of North St. Boniface. 50% of these households occupy the lowest socio-economic position compared to 37% of the North St. Boniface households [10]. Therefore many of these households, particularly those that are renting cannot afford expensive housing.

The social and physical characteristics of the residential sector north of the highline clearly show that its elimination will aggravate many of the problems of North St. Boniface discussed in Chapter 4. 43 single family dwellings and 1 duplex will be torn down, displacing 45 households, or 150 people. Most

[8] Ibid and Census of Canada 1976.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

of these are families, many of whom are young and have low incomes. Both owners and renters will find it almost impossible to find similar accomodation at comparable costs [11].

In addition to aggravating the problems of North St. Boniface and the economic problems of the residents, the elimination of this residential area is causing a great many emotional problems. The survey conducted during the summer of 1976 showed that 87.2% of the households wished to remain in the area [12]. Many of the residents from the area north of the highline visited the NIP site office where they shared their anger and despair about council's decision. Staff were told that several women who attended an appeal at city council, could not contain their grief on losing, and wept openly on the bus back to their homes. These psychological costs of relocation have been documented in the case study of urban renewal in the West End of Boston by Marc Freid [13].

Given the implications of redesignating the residential area north of the CNR mainline for a park on the residents who lived there and on the North St. Boniface community as a whole, it is

[11] Rents in the area averaged \$115 per month compared to \$162 per month for the inner city; house prices for single family dwellings averaged \$22,000 in 1977 compared to \$43,000 for Winnipeg.

[12] K. Smith, op.cit.

[13] Marc Freid, "Grieving for a Lost Home: Psychological Costs of Relocation", in The Urban Condition L.J. Dahl ed. (New York, 1963).

surprising that the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch played absolutely no role in trying to reverse the decision. The NIP Branch's only action was to exclude the area north of the high-line from any community organization activities, RRAP funds, or representation on the resident committee. The area was effectively stigmatized as being outside the North St. Boniface neighbourhood. When the resident committee finally broke through this stigmatization of the area, and decided to send a delegation to the Committee on Environment which was reconsidering the matter, they were told by NIP planners that the area was outside their jurisdiction and that their attendance at the meeting would jeopardize resident participation in all the NIP areas [14]. However, thanks to good community organization, resident committee leaders recognized that this tactic was more of a bluff than a threat and made their presentation to the Committee on Environment on April 17, 1978 [15]. Unfortunately, the Committee on Environment and City Council did not amend the district plan.

Given the serious ramifications of removing 45 low cost family units from the North St. Boniface neighbourhood, the NIP Branch should have made provision to establish alternative housing in the community. Instead no action was taken in this field, and, in fact, NIP staff helped to delay a housing project

[14] Minutes of the North St. Boniface Resident Committee meeting Nov. 28, 1977.

[15] Minutes of the Committee on Environment meeting April 17, 1978.

planned by MHRC for the area.

The rationale for designating the residential area north of the CNR mainline as park was based on the following: there was a deficiency of regional parks in St. Boniface and much of the undeveloped open space known as Whittier Park would be taken up for the proposed east-west expressway [16] (See Map 7).

In response to identified deficiencies in parks and recreational opportunities in the North St. Boniface area, the District Plan approved by Council on January 12, 1976, recommended that all the land north of the CNR mainline in St. Boniface, not required for transportation purposes, be developed as park [17].

Just how much land is required for "transportation purposes" is still not clear at this writing, although in a recent report prepared by the Parks and Recreation Department, three transportation options have been outlined [18]. One of these options calls for a 250 foot right of way paralleling the CNR mainline while the other two propose an 80 foot public transit corridor in the same location. Instead of a park, much of the residential area north of the highline could be turned into an expressway [19].

 [16] The east-west expressway which runs from Transcona to downtown was first proposed in the 1966 Winnipeg Area Transportation Study (WATS).

[17] Minutes of the Winnipeg City Council meeting Oct. 4 1978.

[18] Parks and Recreation Department, City of Winnipeg, "Report Re: Park Development Masterplan Proposal for Whittier Park in the St. Boniface-St. Vital Community" Sept. 20, 1978.

[19] The masterplan for Whittier Park reflected this by

Thus, North St. Boniface would not only lose 150 people because of this proposed traffic route but the neighbourhood would also suffer from the noise and congestion generated from traffic travelling through the community to link up with the expressway [20]. Such an expressway could accelerate the exodus of families from the neighbourhood.

What has brought this prospect closer to reality is the recent approval by Winnipeg City Council of a regional shopping centre:

A regional shopping centre on Regent Avenue, east of Lagimodiere Boulevard, could help accelerate the need for a multi-million dollar traffic corridor linking downtown Winnipeg with Transcona, civic environment commissioner David Henderson said Monday...Streets and transportation director Harry Burns said the proposed route, scheduled for completion no sooner than 1991, runs north along the CNR Highline from Plessis Road to the downtown area [21].

As in the case of the non-profit housing corporation in Winnipeg's inner city described in Chapter 2, city councillors and administrators have ignored low income people in North St. Boniface. This has been based to a great extent on council's ideological leanings rather than because of its suburban bias

designating the residential area as an overflow parking lot for the Festival du Voyageur held each winter in the park. This would make it very easy to convert the area's use from recreation to transportation.

[20] Rue Tache has always been a prime candidate for such a linkup.

[21] Winnipeg Free Press Thursday, April 6, 1978.

(see Chapter 2, p. 70). Clearly the problems of low income, powerless groups in North St. Boniface were aggravated in order to benefit what was defined as the greater "public interest" of the city as a whole. That "public interest" certainly has included the needs of middle class commuters, suburban shoppers and shopping centre developers but not those of low income tenants and young families living in inner city neighbourhoods.

The passage of the North St. Boniface District Plan, intended to rejuvenate the residential sector of the community, has resulted, through an amendment generated from within the civic administration, in seriously jeopardizing the efforts of NIP to improve the area. By looking at narrowly defined community boundaries, the NIP Branch ignored the outside impacts generated from other civic departments [22]. These impacts include the removal of low density, affordable, family accommodation which will further the outmigration of families and increase the affordability problems of low income households. These impacts can only be dealt with by considering the inner city as a unit, and thus, tackling these inter-neighbourhood problems. However, such an approach was never contemplated by NIP staff, or for that matter, CMHC [23].

[22] These impacts were not merely confined to North St. Boniface as NIP staff also ignored the effects of the Sherbrook/McGregor Overpass on the Centennial Neighbourhood Improvement Area.

[23] CMHC never intervened when the residential sector north of the CNR mainline was designated for a park contending that the administration of the program was a civic responsibility.

The Residential Rehabilitation Assistance
Program (RRAP)

Although a separate program from the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, RRAP was actually an integral component of NIP. The Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program enabled property owners to improve the condition of their dwellings while NIP efforts were concentrated on upgrading municipal services and facilities. In North St. Boniface the first RRAP loans were approved in July, 1976, and by October 31, 1978, 113 loans had been approved and 101 units completed [24].

The 113 dwellings which are or are about to be RRAPed represent approximately 15% of all dwelling units in the community [25]. Given that only 30.3% of all dwelling were declared to be in good condition in 1975, (see Table 52), the number of RRAPed dwellings is not impressive. In addition most of the units which have received RRAP funds were in fair condition already (see Table 51).

[24] C.W. Newman, "Inter-Office Memorandum to NIP Branch Re: North Point Douglas, Centennial, North St. Boniface and Brooklands RRAP Highlights" (monthly reports) Aug. 3, 1976 to Nov. 9, 1978.

[25] K. Smith, op.cit. Note: does not include dwelling units located north of the CNR mainline.

Table 51. Previous Building Condition of RRAPed Units in North St. Boniface

Condition	#	%
Good	21	18.6
Fair	66	58.4
Poor	26	23.0
Very Poor	0	0.0
TOTAL	113	100.0

Source: K. Smith, op.cit.

Table 52. Change in Building Condition: North St. Boniface

Condition	Sept. 1975*	June 1978**	% Change
	%	%	
Good	30.3	40.1	+9.8
Fair	44.7	34.9	-9.8
Poor	22.2	20.8	-1.4
Very Poor	2.8	4.2	+1.4

Source: *District Planning Division, City of Winnipeg Planning Department, "Building Condition Map", unpublished, September 1975 and K. Smith, op.cit.

**District Planning Division, City of Winnipeg Planning Department, "Field Survey Notes", unpublished, June 1978 and K. Smith, op.cit.

In fact, as Table 51 indicates, almost as high a percentage of dwellings which were in good condition have been RRAPed as those that were in poor condition. As of October 31, 1978, no very poor dwellings had received RRAP funds. RRAP has made little impact on the condition of dwellings in North St. Boniface (see Table 52). The percentage of poor and very poor dwellings has been unaffected after the two years that RRAP has been in operation in the community, and the percentage of good dwellings has only increased by 10%.

The lack of success of RRAP in North St. Boniface is contrasted markedly by RRAP in North Point Douglas. The North Point Douglas NIP area has the most successful RRAP program in Winnipeg, and, perhaps one of the most successful in Western Canada. By October 31, 1978, 453 units had approved RRAP loans out of approximately 800 total units in the neighbourhood [26]. In addition, the building condition of all units has improved markedly as Table 53 indicates.

Although housing is generally in much better condition in North St. Boniface, (compare Tables 52 and 53) and homeowners are earning more money, this does not adequately explain the huge difference in the number of units RRAPed.

[26] 100 of these units are rooming house units not eligible for RRAP funding. Source: C.W. Newman, op.cit. Nov. 9, 1978. Note: while the RRAP program has certainly been operating longer in North Point Douglas, RRAP loans have tapered off so dramatically in North St. Boniface that it is unlikely that many more loans will be approved before December, 1979.

Table 53. Change in Building Condition: North Point
Douglas

	April 1974	February 1978	% Change
Good	9	49	+40
Fair	50	35	-15
Poor	31	14	-17
Very Poor	9	2	-7

Source: *District Planning Division, City of Winnipeg Planning
Department Building Condition Map April, 1974.

**District Planning Division, City of Winnipeg Planning
Department, Field Survey Notes, Feb., 1978.

Furthermore, high incomes and better housing do not explain why so few of the poor dwellings in North St. Boniface have been RRAPed, and the fact that 69% of the homeowners in North St. Boniface occupy the two lowest socio-economic positions or are not working, would seem to indicate that most are eligible for RRAP incentive grants [27].

RRAP was not as successful in North St. Boniface as it was in North Point Douglas for a variety of reasons. The key ones are:

- the lack of a strong RRAP promotional campaign;
- the change in CMHC's eligibility criteria for receiving RRAP funds; and
- the rezoning of the North St. Boniface residential area.

The lack of a strong RRAP
promotional campaign

As mentioned in Chapter 3, generalist housing inspectors were assigned to each of the site offices to work exclusively on administering RRAP and to enforce the housing bylaws in the neighbourhood. Two inspectors were transferred from other NIP areas to North St. Boniface in the early summer of 1976 to start RRAP before NIP began (see p.147). During the door-to-door survey of the community, promotional literature was dropped off to

[27] K. Smith, op.cit.

homeowners to encourage them to apply for RRAP funds. No efforts were made to contact absentee owners and this is borne out by the fact that only 5.1% of absentee owned units were RRAPed by October 31, 1978, compared to 34.1% of units owned by community landlords [28].

In addition to dropping pamphlets door-to-door, the interviewers also endeavoured to find out which homeowners were interested in obtaining more information about RRAP. The intention was to have the building inspectors contact these homeowners later to further explain the program but due to poor coordination between NIP and RRAP staff in the office, these contacts were never followed through, i.e., generalist inspectors in the office never saw it as part of their duties to promote RRAP, and NIP staff assumed that all the elements of RRAP would be handled by the inspectors. This lack of coordination of NIP and RRAP staff efforts was allowed to perpetuate, since generalist inspectors were supervised by a different set of personnel than were NIP staff. Therefore no discussion of job duties took place between NIP and RRAP staff at the field office level until September 1977, when a planner/office manager was hired for the site office in North St. Boniface.

[28] Ibid

On the other hand, the situation in North Point Douglas was entirely different. During the inception of RRAP in the neighbourhood, there were twice the number of generalist inspectors as compared to North St. Boniface, and four additional people were hired to promote RRAP in the community. These "RRAP Reps and Leads" canvassed the community convincing homeowners that RRAP could help them repair and upgrade their dwellings. With the encouragement of community development workers in the site office, generalist inspectors visited dwellings of absentee owners to assess their condition. Landlords were then contacted and offered the "carrot" of RRAP, while being reminded of the stick of the minimum maintenance bylaw. This proved to be a fairly successful method of enticing landlords into RRAP [29].

No such inspection campaign was conducted in the early years of RRAP in North St. Boniface, largely because of the lack of coordination between RRAP and NIP staff and inadequate definitions of job duties for field staff. While such an inspection campaign may now be contemplated, its effects may be limited because of the tightening up of CMHC eligibility criteria for receiving RRAP funds (see below).

[29] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Department of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, "North Point Douglas Overview Report 1st Draft" unpublished, Aug., 1978, Chapter 3, p.3.

The change in CMHC's eligibility criteria for
receiving RRAP funds

When RRAP was first devised as a program, its funds were to be used to improve inadequate sub-standard dwellings. The program was designed primarily to ensure the adequacy of the basic structural and service components of the dwelling, but funds were also available for cosmetics:

Some money may, however, be used to improve the environment of the dwelling - fences, walkways, out-buildings, etc., as the improvement of the external appearance of individual dwellings is a catalyst for community effort to improve the total living environment of a neighbourhood, and is visible evidence of success [30].

For many Winnipeg homeowners, the enticement of being able to beautify their homes, while repairing them, was what brought them into RRAP.

In late spring of 1977, CMHC began to tighten up RRAP funding, limiting the kinds of home improvements which would be eligible and requiring certain work to be done in all cases. Rearrangement of rooms or their enlargement, additional amenities, such as more closet space or more kitchen cupboards were all declared to be ineligible for RRAP funding [31]. Many dwellings

[30] Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program Delivery Handbook (Ottawa, 1977), p.A2.

[31] CMHC Winnipeg Office, "Clarification of CMHC's Standards of Rehabilitation for Residential Buildings", April 28, 1977.

which had previously been treated flexibly when CMHC building codes were not met, were forced to meet certain minimum standards regardless of their age or style of construction. For example, in July 1977, more stringent fire regulations were set out, requiring that all dwelling units without integral exits at or near grade shall be provided with two independent means of egress in the form of stairs in enclosed stairwells and/or exterior stairs [32].

This tightening of RRAP eligibility criteria had a substantial effect on the number of loans approved. From the start of the program in North St. Boniface until these changes were introduced by CMHC, 14 months later, 70 loan approvals were obtained. However, in the 14 months following the changes there were only 43 loan approvals in North St. Boniface [33]. This is despite the fact that loan approvals normally start off slowly and then pick up after the program becomes established in a NIP area. North Point Douglas also experienced the same problem, having 148 loans approved in the 14 months before the CMHC changes and only 43 in the 14 months afterward [34]. Part of this fall-off can also be explained by the fact that CMHC raised its interest rate on RRAP loans from 8% to 9 5/8% on January 27, 1978 and to 10% on April

[32] CMHC, Winnipeg Office, Interim Guidelines for Fire Protection in Existing Small Buildings", July 12, 1977.

[33] C.W. Newman, op.cit., Aug. 3, 1976 to Nov. 9, 1978.

[34] Ibid.

10, 1978 [35]. All these factors certainly reduced the incentives for owners to enter the program.

The rezoning of the North St. Boniface residential area

As outlined in Chapter 5, North St. Boniface was downzoned soon after the North St. Boniface District Plan became law in January, 1976. Many existing R3 and R2 residential structures were rezoned to R2 and R1 respectively. This was not because district planners wanted to make these structures non-conforming, but because inadequate field work was undertaken to determine the number of units in each structure. Subsequently, some of these owners applied for RRAP funds and found that one or more of their units were ineligible for upgrading because of their non-conforming status (no building permit could be obtained). If the efforts of the district planners had have been coordinated with those of NIP staff, many of these rezoning mistakes could have been prevented [36]. Such mistakes certainly prevented a number of owners from obtaining RRAP funds, thus, reducing its impact.

[35] R. Clough, Program Manager, CMHC Winnipeg Office, letters to Tom Yauk, Coordinator, Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, City of Winnipeg, Jan. 30, 1978 and April 12, 1978.

[36] For example, it would have been relatively easy for NIP interviewers to note the number of units in each structure when they administered the survey during the summer of 1976.

These, then are the major reasons why RRAP was not a success in North St. Boniface, although to determine all factors for RRAP's failure in the neighbourhood would require an indepth study.

Even though only 15% of all the units in North St. Boniface had entered the program by October 31, 1978, RRAP still had some impacts on the neighbourhood. On the positive side, RRAP benefited mainly low income homeowners and tenants, and thus upgraded their housing quality [37]. However, there is some evidence that RRAP has aggravated the housing affordability problems of low income tenants. 72% of all rental units RRAPed rented for less than \$150 per month in 1976 before owners had them upgraded [38]. In addition, RRAPed units represent 37% of all units which rented for between \$100-149 per month [39]. Thus, RRAP had a sizeable impact on low rental accomodation. Unfortunately, generalist inspectors in North St. Boniface have confirmed that in the vast majority of cases, CMHC's approved rents are far higher than what the owner was charging before the unit was RRAPed [40]. For example, one unit rented at \$85/month before being rehabilitated

[37] 84% of homeowner and 78% of tenant households were in the lowest two socio-economic positions or not working. Source: K. Smith, op.cit.

[38] K. Smith, op.cit.

[39] Ibid.

[40] CMHC's approved rents are the maximum rents that can be charged by the landlord.

through RRAP, yet CMHC's maximum rent allowable was \$135/month [41].

While not requiring landlords to charge the maximum rent allowable, such a large discrepancy between rent charged and rent allowable (which supposedly reflects current market value), encourages the landlord to raise the rent to those limits set by CMHC. This, of course, puts additional pressure on low income tenants in the form of higher rents. Already there is evidence that rents are rising faster in NIP areas than the 8% annual increases set by the provincial government under rent control. Take North Point Douglas as an example:

A survey of 50 rental units in the area showed an increase in rental levels of 15% during 1976 which represents some tenant relocation pressure [42].

Every indication is that similar rental increases will take place in North St. Boniface so RRAP will likely have a negative impact on the housing affordability problems of low income tenants.

There is also evidence that RRAP is one of the factors pushing property values in North St. Boniface up faster than real estate prices are rising in Winnipeg as a whole, (see discussion under land acquisition, p.199-201). Generalist inspectors have reported that RRAP is being used as a selling point for homes in

[41] This information was obtained from North St. Boniface RRAP files.

[42] Nils K. Larsson, "Evaluation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program Vol. 2, Main Report" unpublished, Nov., 1977, p.84.

North St. Boniface [43]. A study of real estate transactions in North Point Douglas found that the average selling price of five homes which were repaired through RRAP was \$21,900, compared to an average selling price of non-RRAPed homes of \$14,483 between 1974 and 1978 [44]. A home which had been sold in 1976 before repairs were done was sold after repairs in 1977 for an 81% increase in North St. Boniface [45]. This compares with a general rise in property values in the community between 1976 and 1977 of 20.3% [46] (an already high percentage when compared to Winnipeg - see Table 56, p.200). Such a rise in property values has no doubt benefited elderly and low income homeowners who have been the major beneficiaries of RRAP in North St. Boniface. However, the rise in property values could make it more difficult for young families who are now renting to buy homes in the area, although prices are still below those of Winnipeg.

[43] Statements made at a NIP/RRAP Review meeting held on Jan. 24, 1978 at the North St. Boniface site office.

[44] City of Winnipeg, Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, "Effect of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program on Real Estate Transactions in the North Point Douglas Area. 1974-1978" unpublished, 1978, p.29. Admittedly this could be due to other factors besides RRAP such as housing condition, style, year of construction, year of sale, etc., but it is the only data available.

[45] K. Smith, op.cit. Even after the cost in repairs is deducted, some of which was paid by CMHC, the rise in property value was still 34.3%.

[46] Ibid.

In summary, what little impact RRAP has had, is not significant in terms of improving housing quality in North St. Boniface. However, RRAP will likely lead to a rise in property values for homeowners and higher rents for tenants. Generally the program has done very little towards solving the problems of the neighbourhood outlined in Chapter 4.

The Enforcement of the Minimum Maintenance Bylaw

As stated in the Introduction, municipalities were required by the Federal Government to draw up and enforce a minimum maintenance bylaw which controlled the condition and safety of dwellings. On August 21, 1974, Winnipeg City Council passed the Maintenance and Occupancy (M&O) Bylaw [47]. Essentially the bylaw was designed to force owners to maintain their dwellings to a minimum standard.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, there are a number of code enforcement bylaws used in Winnipeg, but the M&O Bylaw is the main one used in NIP areas. Although not the root cause, bylaw enforcement has led to a number of closures and demolitions (see p.67). In North Point Douglas alone, 49% of those units which received an order to repair under the M&O Bylaw were either demolished or vacated by the owner [48]. While removing substan-

[47] City of Winnipeg, The Maintenance and Occupancy Bylaw #763/74.

[48] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, Dept. of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, "North Point Douglas

dard dwellings, the bylaw has definitely increased the number of closures and demolitions in the area. In fact NIP areas in general have had a larger number of demolitions and closures than other inner city neighbourhoods and this has increased the number of closures and demolitions in the inner city as a whole.

In North St. Boniface bylaw enforcement procedures were only started after the community development worker received complaints from residents. Unfortunately many of these complaints were directed at the people living in the houses rather than at the condition of the houses themselves. The first three cases of bylaw enforcement all involved native people [49]. The problems created between white owners and native tenants in North St. Boniface were similar to the conflicts generated by native people moving into other inner city areas. These have already been outlined on p.33-34. The important point here is that bylaw enforcement was used to force native families out of the neighbourhood, rather than to upgrade substandard dwellings [50]. These

Overview Report, 1st Draft" unpublished, Aug. 1978.

[49] According to the 1976 survey there were only 4 native households in North St. Boniface.

[50] Due to the difficulties of getting a quick conviction using the Maintenance and Occupancy Bylaw, NIP personnel often call upon the help of the Public Health Department:

Experience has proven that when fast action is required, such as building closure, the Public Health Department should be involved since their Health Inspectors have a mandate through the City of Winnipeg Health Act to close a dwelling within 30 days. (North Point Douglas Overview Report 1st Draft).

families are usually relocated to other inner city neighbourhoods which, unlike neighbourhoods funded through NIP had few resources to deal with such problems [51]. Such actions also serve to aggravate the already serious inner city, low rental housing shortage by continually dumping low income tenants into inner city neighbourhoods.

Twenty eight units were singled out for minimum maintenance violations in North St. Boniface in January, 1978. Surprisingly many of the very poor dwellings were ignored in this enforcement campaign. Only 13 of the 26 very poor buildings in the community (not including structures located north of the CNR mainline) were to be prosecuted [52]. Eight of the units to be prosecuted were declared to be in fair condition in the summer of 1978 [53]. Building code enforcement depended not only on building condition but on the kind of people who were occupying the units at the time. Table 54 compares the characteristics of occupants in very poor dwellings that were not touched by code enforcement with those that were.

This ignores the rights of tenants not to be arbitrarily displaced. See also, Alan Whittle et al., "Analysis and Assessment of Present Policies and Programs" in Innovative Strategies for the Renewal of Older Neighbourhoods C. McKee, ed. (Winnipeg, October, 1977), p.95-96.

[51] NIP areas have community development workers and social workers assigned to the site offices.

[52] District Planning Division, City of Winnipeg Planning Department, "Field Survey Notes" June, 1978.

[53] Ibid.

Table 54. Differences in Household Characteristics Between Structures Given Repair Orders Under the Maintenance and Occupancy Bylaw and Those Structures that Were Not Given Repair Orders

<u>Household Characteristics</u>		<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 3</u>	<u>Group 4</u>	<u>Group 5</u>
		(by dwelling)				
Tenure (by structure)	Owner	76.7	15.4	0.0	6.9	47.2
	Owner/Tenant	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	Tenant	15.4	80.0	100.0	93.1	52.8
Family Status	Single Parent	0.0	27.3	16.7	21.7	9.9
	Family					
	Young Couple + Children	12.5	27.3	25.0	26.1	13.8
Socio-economic Status of Working Head	< 30.0	16.7	60.0	80.0	70.0	37.0
Unemployed or on Welfare		0.0	66.7	45.5	55.0	5.6

Group 1 Dwellings in Very Poor Condition and not Given Repair Orders

Group 2 Dwellings in Very Poor Condition and Given Repair Orders

Group 3 Dwellings not in Very Poor Condition and Given Repair Orders

Group 4 All Dwellings Given Repair Orders

Group 5 All Dwellings in North St. Boniface

Source: North St. Boniface survey results 1976.

The table shows that those buildings to which code enforcement was applied were largely tenant occupied, and a large percentage of those tenants were on welfare, unemployed and on low incomes. Many of the households were composed of single parent families and young couples with children.

Many citizens on the NIP resident committee argued that these "problem families" were contributing to the decline and negative image of the neighbourhood. The resident committee, as discussed in Chapter 5, was composed mostly of homeowners who had a much higher socio-economic status than the community as a whole. Their interests clearly conflicted with those of the low income groups in the neighbourhood. Such conflicts have been well documented in urban renewal areas in both Canada and the United States [54]. Since the homeowners middle class dominated the resident committee and planners were committed to citizen participation through this committee, an alliance was formed between the committee and the city to improve low income problem families right out of the area. By assuming that this resident committee represented North St. Boniface as a whole, planners aggravated the problems of low income tenants in the neighbourhood.

While there were many examples of sensitivity and flexibility shown to elderly couples and singles by generalist inspectors and community development workers, no such flexibility was shown

[54] See Graham Fraser, op.cit. and Lisa R. Peattie, op.cit.

to low income tenants, many of whom were multi-problem families. Given that almost 50% of the dwellings in North Point Douglas which were given orders to repair through the M&O Bylaw were either closed or demolished by the owner, it is clear that many of the families in dwellings to be given repair orders in North St. Boniface will have to be relocated. Fortunately, the Federal Government requires that assistance be given in relocating such households.

Since only one relocation had been completed in North St. Boniface by September, 1978, it is useful to examine the experiences of relocation in Centennial and North Point Douglas NIP areas. By late summer, 1978, 54 relocation cases had been handled by staff in North Point Douglas [55]. In 50% of the cases, occupants of dwellings to be closed or demolished, were forced to relocate outside the neighbourhood [56]. The Centennial community development worker found that most of the people who were relocated outside of that neighbourhood were very unhappy at the prospect of moving out of the community [57].

[55] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, City of Winnipeg, "North Point Douglas Overview Report 1st Draft" unpublished, Aug., 1978 Appendix VI.

[56] Ibid.

[57] L. Pearce, "Inter-Office Memorandum to Tom Yauk, NIP Coordinator, Report on NIP Relocation Efforts in the Centennial Area" July 2, 1976.

In North Point Douglas, it was determined that 66% of those households relocated, faced increased rents for their new accommodation [58]. The community development worker in Centennial found that most of the households relocated also faced increased rents, and because of their low income, could not afford rent payments [59]. The financial assistance available for relocation was found to be insufficient to cover this shortfall over a long time frame so public housing was found to be the best alternative for those relocated. 20% of the relocation cases in North Point Douglas moved into socially assisted housing [60]. The halting of public housing activity by the new Conservative Government created many problems for relocation workers as the housing situation became more tight (See Chapter 2). The community development worker in North Point Douglas sums up the experience and problems of relocation:

90% of the relocatees we have dealt with would rather remain in substandard housing than go through the anguish and great inconvenience (financially and otherwise), of being relocated. Provision of alternate housing before the fact would facilitate a much more humane and fair relocation process [61].

[58] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, City of Winnipeg, "North Point Douglas Overview Report 1st Draft" unpublished, Aug., 1978 Appendix VI.

[59] L. Pearce, op.cit.

[60] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, City of Winnipeg, "North Point Douglas Overview Report 1st Draft" unpublished, Aug., 1978 Appendix VI.

[61] E. Shapiro, "NIP Relocation to Date for North Point Douglas and Centennial Areas" March 23, 1976.

The problems these site offices faced were documented as early as the spring and summer of 1976. Code enforcement in North St. Boniface did not get underway until 1978, and yet, no attention was paid to the problems experienced in the other two neighbourhoods. No attempt was made to get affordable housing on stream in North St. Boniface before code enforcement was started. In fact, as will be seen in the next section, a conscious effort was made to delay land acquisition for social housing until the early part of 1978. Those rental units that have been built by private enterprise have rents well beyond the average rents of North St. Boniface (see Table 55) and are exclusively bachelor, one and two bedroom units. Without alternative low rental accommodation within the neighbourhood, the same problems encountered in relocating individuals in Centennial and North Point Douglas will be encountered in North St. Boniface.

In summary, while reducing the number of substandard dwellings in North St. Boniface, the enforcement of the Maintenance and Occupancy Bylaw will lead to more demolitions particularly in family accommodation. Code enforcement will also have a substantial impact on low income tenant families. Many of these families were already dealing with other social problems such as unemployment.

Table 55. Rents of New 1978 Units Built by the
Private Market in North St. Boniface (15
units)

<u>Rooms</u>	<u>Rent</u>	<u>House Type</u>
Bachelor	\$200/mo. + utilities	10 suite 3 storey walk-up
1 Bedroom	\$265/mo. + utilities	" " " "
2 Bedroom	\$335/mo. + utilities	" " " "
2 Bedroom	\$340/mo. + utilities	5 units townhousing

Their lifestyles are often not tolerated by neighbours, and the resulting conflict has been dealt with by eviction, particularly in the case of native people.

The relocation of these families to other inner city areas, only aggravated the problems of those areas and did absolutely nothing to solve the problems the families faced before relocation. The problems of bylaw enforcement were apparent to NIP planners in the summer of 1976, well before enforcement began in North St. Boniface. Even with this knowledge, the enforcement campaign took essentially the same form and as will be seen in the next section, no attempt was made to acquire land for needed social housing in the community.

The Process of Land Acquisition for Social Housing and
The Acquisition of Land for Parks and Recreation Facilities

Up until May, 1979, seven months before the Neighbourhood Improvement Program is to be terminated in North St. Boniface, no land has been acquired with NIP funds for social housing, or for parks and recreation facilities. This is despite the fact that there is \$1,375,000 in the budget for acquiring land for social housing, and \$650,000 for the funding of the capital costs of social and recreational facilities which can include land acquisition (see Table 48). The reason that no land has been acquired is not due to a lack of desire by NIP staff or the residents themselves to purchase it:

We are, more importantly, aware of our short-comings

and failures. Some residents are frustrated with our work. Land acquisition is slow in St. Boniface, hampering the implementation of needed parks and housing [62].

The problems of land acquisition, if not due to lack of money or desire to purchase property, must have their roots in the process of land acquisition in North St. Boniface or with outside market forces. The problem certainly does not seem to be the result of a lack of property transactions. In 1975, before NIP in North St. Boniface was officially funded only 25 property transactions took place in the community whereas in 1976 54 property transactions occurred and 45 properties were sold in 1977 [63].

Instead, the problems of land acquisition are the result of the process of land acquisition undertaken in North St. Boniface although, as will be examined later on in this section, the activities of private developers did play some role. The major reason for the failure of the land acquisition program was the decision made by NIP staff to halt land acquisition procedures until the NIP resident committee was established and made decisions as to the future use of vacant land in North St. Boniface [64]. The result of this policy was to effectively delay deci-

[62] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, The City of Winnipeg, North St. Boniface Neighbourhood Improvement Program Progress Report 1975-1978 (Winnipeg, July 1978), p.39.

[63] Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation, WHAP Group, "1974 and 1975 Sales Data for Winnipeg" unpublished, 1977 computer printout and K. Smith, op.cit. for 1976 and 1977 data.

[64] Inter-Office Memorandum to Mr. J. Rogowski Land Surveys

sions for land acquisition until late winter of 1978, when the bulk of NIP potential land acquisitions were decided upon. By this time the real estate market had drastically changed due to a number of factors, in particular increasing property values and the fact that a number of private developers were being attracted to the neighbourhood.

The entrance of NIP into North St. Boniface had a tremendously buoyant effect on the community's real estate market, which had never declined to the point of many other inner city areas such as Centennial and North Point Douglas [65]. Although the real estate market in North St. Boniface was fairly stable in 1975 and 1976 (see p.107-108), prices rose sharply in 1977 and 1978 reflecting NIP activity in the area (see Table 56).

The point has already been made that RRAP was being used by real estate agents as a selling point for houses in North St. Boniface. This probably was a factor in pushing up house prices but there were other causes. The rezoning of the area greatly diminished the amount of R3 property in North St. Boniface putting a premium on land which could be redeveloped to a higher density. Another related factor was the fact that a building permit freeze which had been in effect in the community since 1974 was only lifted in the spring of 1978.

and Real Estate from Mr. R. Bickel NIP Planner Re: Property Acquisition North St. Boniface, March 24, 1977.

[65] Based on comparing real estate transactions in Centennial, North Point Douglas and North St. Boniface.

Table 56. Rise in House Prices: North St. Boniface
and Winnipeg

<u>Year</u>	<u>North St. Boniface*</u> (SFD's)	<u>Winnipeg**</u> (SFD's)
1976	\$23,466	\$39,600
Change	+\$4,771 or +20.3%	+\$3,400 or +8.6%
1977	\$28,237	\$43,000
Change	+\$4,603 or +16.3%	+\$700 or +1.6%
1978	\$32,840	\$43,700

Source: *North St. Boniface survey results and ** Canadian Real Estate Association Reporter June 1977, 1978 and 1979.

Therefore a pent-up demand for redeveloping property was unleashed on the community at the very time the City began negotiating for NIP property acquisition.

The rapid rise in prices which took place in 1977 and 1978 made the Land Surveys and Real Estate Department very reluctant to purchase property in the area, especially since city real estate agents had been used to paying well below market value in other NIP areas:

We have found that the lots are selling at approximately \$10,000 to \$12,000 for a narrow lot and approximately \$16,000 to \$18,000 for a 50' wide lot. These prices are very much in excess of our payments in all other NIP areas and, as such, the purchase of the subject lots may not now be desirable [66].

By waiting until the NIP resident committee decided on the future use of vacant land, real estate prices rose so sharply that land acquisition became expensive and difficult (i.e. there was competition for R3 property). The argument given by the community development worker for this decision was that it prevented property from being purchased which the resident committee had no desire to use for NIP funded social and recreation facilities or social housing. Unfortunately, this argument ignored the fact that during the district planning process, a great deal of resident participation had taken place, much of it concerning the

[66] Inter-Office Memorandum to R. Bickel Neighbourhood Improvement Branch from J.J. Rogowski Land Surveys and Real Estate Department Re: North St. Boniface Neighbourhood Improvement March 21, 1977.

future use of land in North St. Boniface. A proposed land use map had been drafted as part of the district plan specifying the future use of all parcels. Many opportunities were missed for potential park and housing projects when properties changed hands in 1976 and early 1977 [67].

The delay by the NIP Branch in acquiring land in North St. Boniface not only resulted in a large number of missed opportunities for land acquisition, but also caused a great deal of frustration among members of the resident committee, who could not develop parks and recreation facilities because there was little land available. An innovative land lease policy [68], developed by the NIP Branch for the disposal of land acquired for housing, could not be implemented because no such land had been acquired for housing.

Clearly the process of land acquisition should have been initiated as soon as North St. Boniface was designated as a NIP area. A NIP planner should have been assigned to work with the District Plans Branch and the Land Surveys and Real Estate Department to arrive at a list of potential property acquisitions. Early property acquisition would have speeded up implementation and allowed residents to plan for specific projects

[67] 7 properties subsequently desired by residents for NIP land acquisition changed hands in 1976 and early 1977.

[68] Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, "Provision of Vacant Sites for Family Housing Development within Neighbourhood Improvement Areas" in the minutes of the Committee on Environment April 17, 1978, p.40.

rather than concerning themselves with land acquisition. A large part of the reason for the failure of NIP in North St. Boniface is rooted in the land acquisition process in the neighbourhood.

The Planning Process Undertaken for
the Development of Parks and Recreation Facilities

In planning for the development of specific parks and recreation facilities, NIP planners in North St. Boniface assumed that the resident committee was representative of the views of the neighbourhood and, therefore, could articulate the needs and desires of the community. Such an assumption proved to be erroneous and led to a number of problems for the planning of projects in the neighbourhood. In order to explain these problems, it is necessary to outline the planning process followed by NIP staff to make decisions about parks and recreation projects. This planning process which was used in North St. Boniface will be contrasted with the process used to plan for parks and recreation facilities in Brooklands, another Winnipeg NIP area [69].

[69] I also was involved in the planning process which took place in the Brooklands NIP area and, therefore, feel that I have first hand knowledge of what took place in that neighbourhood.

The planning process in North St. Boniface

Very little pre-planning occurred in the area of parks and recreation before the establishment of the NIP resident committee in May, 1977. The survey, conducted in the summer of 1976 contained some very general questions on the attitudes toward parks (see Appendix C), which turned out to be of little use in detailed planning, and some information was available to planners on the size of existing parks and the facilities within them. Such pre-planning work can only be described as hopelessly inadequate for the task of deciding on what specific parks and recreation projects NIP funds should be spent on. Unfortunately this was the only information that NIP staff and the resident committee used to make their decisions on specific projects to be implemented by NIP.

The real process of deciding where and how funds would be spent began after the establishment of the resident committee. Soon after its first meeting, the committee decided to use a subcommittee approach to plan for the implementation of NIP (see p.162-164). The Parks and Recreation Subcommittee was formed on June 28, 1977 and held its first meeting on July 11, 1977. The original intention of the subcommittee approach was to broaden the base of the resident committee by recruiting outside volunteers to serve on each subcommittee. However, this goal was never really accomplished. Only 2 volunteers participated on the Parks and Recreation Subcommittee and they only did so after most of the detailed planning had already taken place[70]. Average

attendance for subcommittee meetings was four residents [71].

It was this subcommittee which undertook the planning of all parks and recreation projects for the North St. Boniface Neighbourhood. The method used to arrive at proposals for specific projects was brainstorming amongst participating residents and NIP staff. No attempt was made to further delineate community needs through additional surveys and no other meetings were held with any residents outside of the committee.

With an average of only four residents planning the parks and recreation projects for North St. Boniface, and using the small amount of information available, it is not surprising that many of the projects brought forward did not reflect the needs of the community. Children and teenagers, the greatest users of parks and recreation facilities were totally shut out of the process and were given no chance to participate in the planning or approval of specific projects. By not involving a wide cross-section of residents in parks planning and with little information on community needs, NIP staff were bound to arrive at less than optimal solutions for the deficiency of parks and recreation facilities in North St. Boniface.

[70] Minutes of the North St. Boniface Parks and Recreation Subcommittee Meetings.

[71] Ibid.

The planning process in Brooklands

The parks and recreation planning process described above can be contrasted with the process used in Brooklands for parks and recreation planning. Both neighbourhoods were operating under the same NIP administrative structure, had essentially the same staffing, the same kind of resident committee, i.e. elected by sector, and the same information available before the establishment of the resident committee. Unlike North St. Boniface NIP staff, the planners in Brooklands did not assume that the resident committee was representative of all the views in the community, nor did they assume that the committee could articulate the needs of Brooklands without a substantial input of information by staff. This enabled Brooklands NIP staff to introduce a parks and recreation planning process which ensured that all parts of the community would be heard from, and that decisions taken concerning specific projects would be made on the basis of as much information as possible, and after considering alternative parks and recreation projects.

At the second resident committee meeting (July, 1978), the residents decided to concentrate their efforts on the provision of parks and recreation facilities. However, instead of the sub-committee approach used in North St. Boniface, it was decided that meetings in the next few months would be devoted to parks and recreation planning. The advantages of such a strategy were several. All staff efforts could be directed toward getting information on parks and recreation needs and alternative facili-

ties. This approach also ensured that as many committee members as possible would be involved in the planning process.

A preliminary process was proposed at the next resident committee meeting. The strategy contained the following elements:

- at resident community meetings in August and September:
 - i. evaluate existing community facilities and programs
 - ii. present community needs as outlined in the 1977 survey
 - iii. present the constraints and costs of possible projects from information obtained from the Parks and Recreation Department and other sources.
- at a resident committee workshop to be held in October, 1978:
 - i. identify and prioritize projects
 - ii. identify a planning process applicable to the planning of specific projects [72].

This planning strategy was adopted by the resident committee and implementation was started at the next meeting.

Not content with traditional forms of parks and recreational planning, NIP planners also decided to expose committee members to non-traditional solutions to deficiencies in parks and recreation facilities [73]. This approach contrasted with North St.

 [72] Harry Finnigan, "Discussion Paper on Parks and Recreation Facilities in Brooklands" unpublished, Aug., 1978, p.13.

[73] Non-traditional solutions were obtained by attending workshops and soliciting material from CMHC on creative and adventure playgrounds, and obtaining information on projects

Boniface where non-traditional solutions were never fully explored or presented in any detail to the resident committee.

While the resident committee did identify and prioritize projects at the October workshop, they also recognized their own limitations for making such decisions:

It was noted that while there was some overlap between what the Committee thought and what the Brooklands residents as a whole think (as shown by the survey results), it is pretty obvious that the Committee will have to ask (or at least should ask) the residents for more specific input on specific projects [74].

Thus the commitment was made to go out into the community to solicit the opinions of Brookland's residents regarding the projects which had been identified by the resident committee and to receive suggestions for additional solutions to the parks and recreation deficiencies in the community. No such commitment was made in North St. Boniface and by ignoring the general population of the neighbourhood, projects were funded which did not meet the needs of the community.

In order to encourage the participation of the Brooklands community in the development of parks and recreation facilities, a planning process was formulated [75]. The process involved

implemented in other communities.

[74] Harry Finnigan and Greg Merner, "A Report on the Brooklands Parks and Recreation Workshop" unpublished, October, 1978, p.11.

[75] H. Finnigan and G. Merner, "Parks and Recreation Planning Process" unpublished, Dec., 1978.

three tasks:

- meeting with special interest groups in the community to obtain their feedback on issues/projects identified by the resident committee and to more readily ascertain target group needs. These groups included senior citizens, teenagers, custodians, recreation centre board of directors, teachers, school children, day care workers, school parent councils and the school board [76].
- administering a parks and recreation questionnaire to every household to obtain feedback on the suggestions for parks and recreation facilities that had been made by the resident committee at the October workshop [77].
- holding design-ins, (see Figure 10) for each existing tot lot to allow residents living within about a one block radius of the playground to come together and decide what improvements could be made to each tot lot [78].

From these meetings and survey, specific projects were formulated in March, 1979 and plans for several facilities (the tot lots and school yard) were drafted. Still it was felt that more public involvement was needed so a public meeting was held on April 15, 1979, and an innovative Cable TV/phone line program was shown during the last week of April [79].

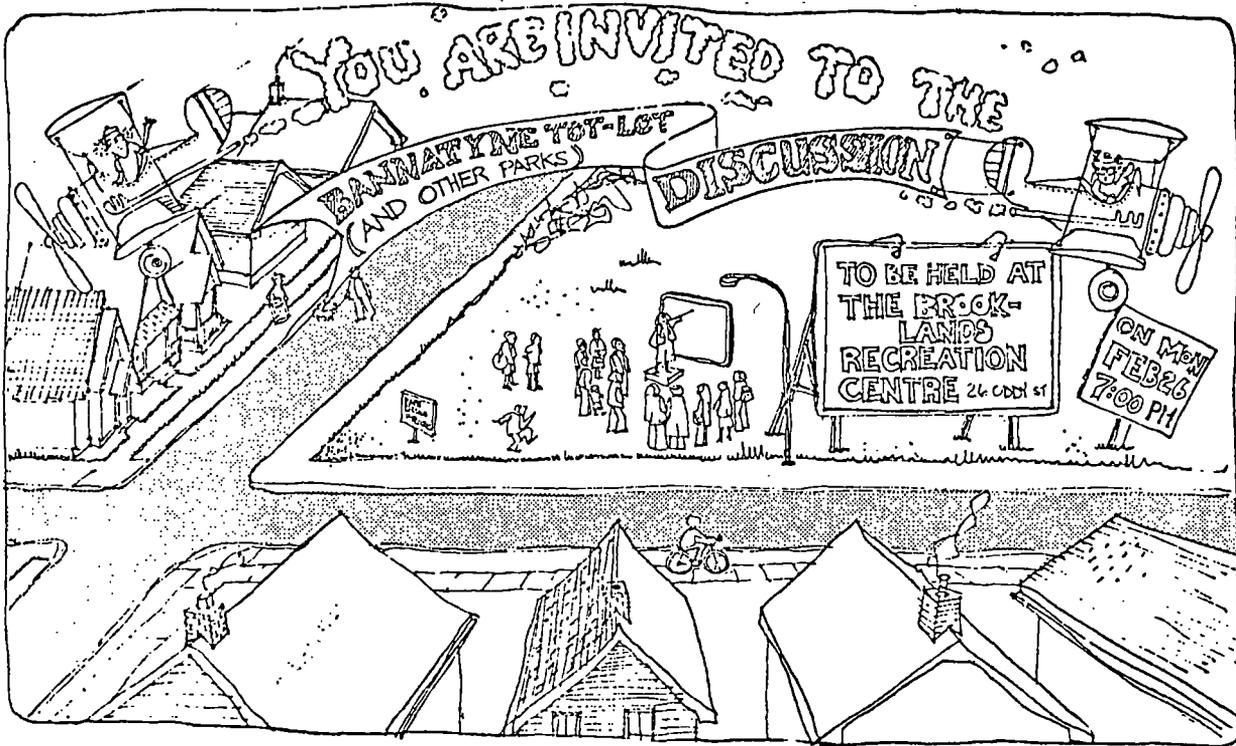
[76] H. Finnigan and G. Merner, "Brooklands Parks and Recreation Planning Process Phase 1: Meetings with Special Interest Groups in the Community" unpublished, March, 1979.

[77] H. Finnigan and G. Merner, "Brooklands Parks and Recreation Planning Process Phase 2: Parks and Recreation Survey Results" unpublished, March, 1979.

[78] H. Finnigan and G. Merner, "Brooklands Parks and Recreation Planning Process Phase 3: Design-Ins" unpublished, March, 1979.

[79] H. Finnigan and G. Merner, "Brooklands Parks and Recreation Planning Process Phase 4: Public Meeting and Community Television" unpublished, June, 1979.

Front



Back

BANNATYNE TOT-LOT MINI-QUESTIONNAIRE

A. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONS DO YOU THINK WOULD MAKE THE PARK MORE USABLE TO YOU AND YOUR FAMILY? PLEASE FILL THIS OUT AND BRING IT WITH YOU.

- THE PARK SHOULD BE RELOCATED TO A MORE FAVOURABLE SITE.
- BENCHES
- CRENTIVE PLAY EQUIPMENT
- LIGHTS
- PICNIC TABLES
- GARBAGE RECEPTACLE
- SPORTS FACILITY (EG HOOPS/SHOE PT)
- OTHER _____

B. WHERE WOULD YOU LOCATE THEM?

C. CITY OF WINNIPEG, NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT BRANCH
DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING

THIS DISCUSSION IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD EVENT THAT WILL ALLOW YOU TO PARTICIPATE IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF PARKS IN YOUR AREA!

THE ITEMS TO BE DISCUSSED INCLUDE:
BANNATYNE TOT LOT,
ERIC ST.,
PARKWAY
AND THE NEED FOR MORE OPEN SPACE

NO DESIGN ENTERPRISE NECESSARY!
NO PAYING OFFICERS!
JUST FUN!

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Note: Originals = 8 1/2" x 14"

The Brooklands NIP Resident Committee wanted to allow residents to have this further opportunity to comment on the plans so that it could be more certain that the decisions that were finally taken were ones which reflected the real needs of the community [80].

With all this input, the resident committee was then asked to approve the parks and recreation projects for implementation with NIP funds. The entire planning process had taken ten months, seven months longer than in North St. Boniface, but at the end firm decisions were made regarding specific proposals so that implementation could begin immediately. In addition these proposals reflected the needs of the entire community of Brooklands including children and teenagers, the greatest users of local recreation facilities.

The description of the parks and recreation planning process that took place in Brooklands illustrates what is possible to accomplish given the constraints of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in Winnipeg. By following a logical planning process, NIP staff ensured that the necessary information for parks and recreation planning would be collected, that non-traditional solutions to parks and recreation deficiencies would be explored and that a broad cross-section of the community would be involved in project planning. Such a process was totally lacking in North St. Boniface and explains why many of the projects proposed by the Parks and Recreation Subcommittee do not necessarily represent the needs of the neighbourhood. NIP staff in North St.

[80] Ibid, p.6.

Boniface had assumed that this subcommittee reflected the views of the rest of the community. When it was discovered that it did not, the entire rationale for deciding on projects to be implemented was called into question.

Conclusion

The five issues discussed above were chosen to illustrate the role planning played in the implementation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in North St. Boniface. The problems created by NIP outlined in the description of the issues reveals that planning played a relatively minor role in NIP implementation. It was often the lack of a planning strategy or planning process which created many of the implementation problems, and caused the negative impacts on the neighbourhood's existing problems.

The only problems which the program had a positive impact on were those problems associated with the physical environment. The zoning for high density and industrial uses has largely been eliminated, making it more difficult to redevelop the area, or to introduce noxious industrial uses. Municipal services have either been renewed or upgraded (see Appendix E) and these changes have had a stabilizing influence on the community.

In the area of housing, there has been little change in housing quality thus far, as very few units have been upgraded under RRAP. Owners have obtained some benefits because of the rapid rise in property values that occurred between 1976 and 1978

as a result of NIP activity in the area. There has also been some renewed interest expressed by private developers in North St. Boniface and they have erected a 5 unit townhousing project and a 10 unit walkup apartment. However, these are mainly one and two bedroom units which are not designed for families with children (i.e. no yard space for playing etc.).

NIP has not had a positive impact on the housing affordability problems of low income tenants. RRAP will likely result in higher rents for suites in the area and the enforcement of the M&O Bylaw will likely result in further low rental housing demolitions. Many low income tenants, especially those with social problems, will be forced out of the community to more expensive accomodation. In addition, the relocation of low income tenants, many of whom have added social problems, out of North St. Boniface will increase the shortage of low income rental accomodation in the inner city and add to housing affordability problems of the residents living there. Many problem families would be passed from North St. Boniface to other inner city neighbourhoods without any attempt being made to deal with the problems of those families. These inner city neighbourhoods have few, if any, resources to deal with these problem families and the conflict between them and established residents only leads to further destabilization of the area.

The elimination of the residential sector north of the CNR mainline, and the enforcement of the M&O Bylaw will ensure that the population of North St. Boniface will continue to decline.

Families with children are particularly affected by these actions and the outcome will likely mean fewer families for the neighbourhood and declining school enrolments for Tache school. The ramifications of closing Tache school for the community have already been discussed on p.96-98. Finally, there has been no attempt by NIP to concretely deal with the decrease in the use of French in the neighbourhood. The program has given some pride back to the French living in the neighbourhood, however, and planners have encouraged the residents to preserve the French character of the neighbourhood.

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program has also proved to be an outright failure in addressing the social and economic problems of the community, even though this was a major objective of the City of Winnipeg NIP Branch (see p.77). While it is true that many low income owners benefited from the program, its impact on low income tenants and residents living north of the highline was severe. More housing affordability problems were created and residents with social problems were forced out of the neighbourhood without any effort expended to deal with their problems. These "problem families" were viewed as undesirables by middle class homeowners who dominated the resident committee and it was felt that their presence would lead to further neighbourhood decline. The planners's assumption that the resident committee was representative of the neighbourhood as a whole led them to inadvertently form an alliance with owners to improve low income, problem families right out of the area. In some ways the

socio-economic impact of NIP in North St. Boniface was not greatly different from some urban renewal projects which preceded it. The elimination of the residential area north of the CNR mainline and the treatment of the residents living there was clearly not in keeping with the objectives of the program set out by the Federal Government and CMHC.

In terms of establishing a community identity, NIP staff made more headway. The resident committee was able to articulate the elements of North St. Boniface that made it a nice area to live in. Many residents who had never become involved in community affairs beforehand, found themselves involved in planning for the future of their neighbourhood. Beyond the resident committee, though, few people were touched by NIP community organization. At a general community meeting held in June, 1978, many of the residents who turned out, felt alienated by NIP and the resident committee the city had established. Instead of developing a broad based community organization, NIP in North St. Boniface had created an elite group of residents with few connections to the rest of the neighbourhood. It is highly unlikely that any permanent resident association will remain after NIP staff leave the area.

The reasons for the failure of NIP in North St. Boniface can be attributed to the type of planning process utilized, the administrative structure and the staffing of the local site office, the techniques used to elicit resident participation and outside influences, including the very nature of the Neighbourhood Im-

provement Program itself. These reasons will be elaborated upon in Chapter 7 and alternative methods of planning for the implementation of NIP in North St. Boniface will be suggested.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

In the previous two chapters I have evaluated the implementation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program in North St. Boniface. This evaluation has been undertaken bearing in mind the problems of the neighbourhood, the problems of the inner city and the influences on those problems. Many of the deficiencies in program delivery have been examined and recommendations for better methods have been made.

In this section the problems of implementing NIP in North St. Boniface will be summarized and alternative methods of program delivery which could have been used in the neighbourhood will be suggested. In addition, a summary of the value of the work for planners working at the neighbourhood level in Canada will be presented.

Summary of Problems Encountered in the Implementation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program

In order to summarize the problems of implementing NIP in North St. Boniface and to suggest alternatives to program delivery, it is useful to class the problems into five categories, based on whether they resulted from:

- the planning process
- staffing and the administrative structure
- techniques of resident participation
- outside influences
- the nature of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program itself.

The problems in each of these areas will now be discussed separately below.

The planning process

One of the major problems of implementing NIP was the planners' failure in understanding the relationships between the problems of neighbourhoods and those of the inner city in which the neighbourhoods were located. At the neighbourhood selection and budget formulation stage, no attempt was made to fit the new Neighbourhood Improvement Program into an overall strategy of dealing with the problems of the inner city of Winnipeg. Indeed, in 1974 when NIP areas were designated, the NIP Branch had little understanding of inner city problems. Without knowledge and information of the relationship between inner city and neighbourhood problems, the NIP Branch could not be certain that program funds would be directed to those areas most in need of revitalization efforts.

Any allocation of money to deal with neighbourhood decline has to recognize first, the factors which influence this decline and secondly, the solutions necessary to revitalize the area without making those groups (native people, low income tenants, single parent families) which can least afford to, bear the costs. Such an understanding can only be reached after a thorough study is made of the inner city, its neighbourhoods and the various groups living within them. The gathering and organizing of such information (much is already available) is crucial to making proper decisions about allocating resources to deal

with neighbourhood decline. In addition, an analytic framework is necessary in order to explain the interrelationships of inner city and neighbourhood problems and the influences which aggravate or ease these problems. The fact that NIP planners had a paucity of organized information about inner city and neighbourhood target groups and that they lacked an adequate analytic framework explains, in part, why many of their actions aggravated North St. Boniface's and the inner city's problems. In addition, many of the improvement projects proposed did not meet the needs of the community.

Another critical stage in the planning process for the implementation of NIP is the delineation of neighbourhood boundaries. In North St. Boniface, NIP Branch planners relied on lines which had been drawn under the old Urban Renewal Program. These boundaries, which were based solely on physical criteria (roads and rivers), ignored the social dimensions of the community. The result of this one dimensional approach was that many social facilities which served the community were located outside of the boundaries, and therefore ineligible for funding. Instead, boundary determination should be approached in a multi-dimensional fashion. Four elements can be used to arrive at the demarcations of a neighbourhood. These are:

- geographical boundaries;
- ethnic or cultural characteristics of the inhabitants;
- psychological unity among people who feel that they belong together; and

- concentrated use of an area's facilities for shopping, leisure and learning [1].

The use of such a multi-dimensional approach to community definition would ensure that the improvement of the entire neighbourhood can be undertaken rather than just dealing with a part of the community [2].

Other major problems in the planning process used to implement NIP in the neighbourhood were, the lack of information on the needs of the neighbourhood, an inadequate amount of land to implement projects and, good community organization, until the program was almost half way through implementation. There was a long time lag between the survey and its analysis, and community organization for NIP did not take place until a year after funding was approved by the Federal government. The process of land acquisition was started after the program was over two years old. An assessment of the problems and needs of the neighbourhood, land acquisition and community organization should have started as soon as North St. Boniface had been designated in January 1974, and certainly before the detailed planning of specific improvement projects began. Such a strategy would have taken into account the short time frame of NIP and would have acknowledged the importance of sound information, land and community organiza-

[1] S. Keller, The Urban Neighbourhood (New York, 1968), p.87.

[2] For a discussion of alternative methodologies which use all four elements in demarcating a neighbourhood, see S. Keller, op.cit., p.92-94.

tion to program delivery.

Finally, the lack of a firm and well thought out planning strategy for the development of specific improvement proposals hampered the success of NIP in North St. Boniface. No better illustration of this can be presented than the planning of parks and recreation facilities, which was described in Chapter 6. A planning strategy for dealing with specific projects must ensure that information for problem definition and needs assessment is available, that a variety of traditional and non-traditional solutions are explored and evaluated according to the needs and problems of the community, and that a broad cross-section of the community is involved in project planning, before the final decisions on where funds are to be allocated are made.

The impacts of any proposed improvement should not only be assessed by the residents of the area but also in relation to how well it deals with the problems of decline in the neighbourhood and which groups benefit and which pay the costs for such a project. This assessment should ensure that the proposed improvement benefits those sectors of the community that are most in need of revitalization.

Although any planning process taken within NIP has to be action-oriented, that does not mean that these actions cannot be assessed as to their impact on neighbourhood decline and target groups within the inner city, and after soliciting views from a broad cross-section of the community.

staff and the Administrative Structure

NIP planners in Winnipeg were fortunate enough to have gone through considerable pre-program planning before NIP, and were given a great deal of flexibility in program development and frontend funds to administer the program. In spite of this there were still problems in program delivery which were related to staffing and the administrative structure.

The primary problem in this area was the failure to recognize the crucial role of a full-time planner at the site office level in the implementation of the program. Many of the problems with program delivery in North St. Boniface, discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 (see especially p. 147-148), were due in part to the fact that there was no fulltime planner functioning in the site office until early 1978.

A fulltime planner is essential in order to develop a planning strategy for NIP implementation and to coordinate the efforts of other staff (inspectors, social workers, designers, etc.). The planner could also coordinate the neighbourhood problems assessment and needs assessment stage, land acquisition and other elements of the program. Unfortunately, NIP planners in the downtown office were too busy with NIP in Centennial and North Point Douglas to devote much time to the program in North St. Boniface and the program suffered as a result.

While NIP planners fully recognized the need for inter-department cooperation for NIP implementation by setting up the Civic Advisory Group, planners created many problems for program

delivery in North St. Boniface by not cooperating with the District Plans Branch within their own department. For example, there was a great deal of duplication of effort when the District planners organized the neighbourhood in 1974 and NIP planners organized it again in 1977. In addition, many mistakes were made in the rezoning of the community because of the lack of communication between the NIP Branch and the District Plans Branch. Such cooperation and communication would have lessened the workload of all planners concerned and would have resulted in better decisions regarding the improvement of the neighbourhood.

The decision not to hold field staff meetings between all NIP areas in the city so that North St. Boniface field staff could learn from the experiences of Centennial and North Point Douglas's Neighbourhood Improvement Programs resulted in the creation of many problems for NIP implementation in the neighbourhood. For example staff from these two neighbourhoods could have communicated the problems of M&O Bylaw enforcement and relocation to the North St. Boniface NIP staff. Instead staff were informed of activities in the other offices through planners working out of the downtown office. This resulted in many of the same mistakes being repeated in North St. Boniface (inadequate Program monitoring, i.e. interpreting the data, was also a major factor).

In summary, the hiring of a coordinator to work out of the site office should be the first step undertaken in program delivery. This coordinator should be responsible for developing

the planning strategy for program implementation and should coordinate the hiring of other experts in community renewal and direct their efforts. Every effort should be made to cooperate with other planning staff working downtown and out of the other site offices. This type of coordinated team approach is essential to the success of NIP in the community.

Techniques of Resident Participation

The primary problem of involving residents in the planning for neighbourhood improvement was the assumption by NIP staff that since the residents serving on the resident committee were elected, they were representative and could articulate the needs of the entire community. Unfortunately the resident committee was biased toward owners of a higher socio-economic status than the community as a whole and therefore could not articulate the needs of low income tenants. In addition childrens' and teenagers' views were also not represented on the committee and these were critical for parks and recreation planning. In order to overcome these problems, the views of a wide crosssection of the community should be obtained before improvement projects are decided upon and the impacts of such projects on the various groups in the community and the inner city should be understood. This would allow decisions to be made not only on the basis of resident committee feelings toward the project but also on the basis of the projects benefits and costs to those target groups most in need of the improvement. This method of involving residents does not assume that the community is composed of homo-

genous interests but has varied interests, some of which will be in conflict. Dealing with these conflicts is an important factor in improvement planning.

Another problem created by the techniques of resident participation used in North St. Boniface were related to the use of the subcommittee approach to plan for specific improvement projects in North St. Boniface. The use of subcommittees seriously undermined the team effort of NIP staff because only one staff person was involved in each subcommittee. Therefore staff lost touch with subcommittees they were not involved with and had no time to provide input into their decision making process. The committee approach used by Brooklands NIP staff described in Chapter 6 enables all staff to be involved in the planning process for specific improvements and allows more resources to be brought to bear on arriving at a solution to the needs of the neighbourhood. Although this approach involves a longer time frame (i.e. 10 months for parks and recreation, 10 months for housing, etc.), it is more likely that projects decided upon will meet the needs of the community.

Finally, it should go without saying that all residents who live within the boundaries of the NIP area should be involved in the improvement of their community. The decision to exclude the residents north of the highline from representation on the resident committee goes against the very philosophy of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program as outlined by the Federal government in 1973. As in the case of citizens in the old Urban

Renewal Program, the residents living north of the CNR Mainline had absolutely no say or knowledge about decisions concerning the future of their area.

What exactly was to be "renewed" and how not to mention what would happen to them as individuals and families were facts locked securely within the minds and filing cabinets of the bureaucracy [3].

This quote from the Hellyer Task Force which was examining the old Urban Renewal Program applies equally well to the plight of the residents north of the highline. Unfortunately the citizens committee formed in 1973 to lobby for the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, who believed that the "time when bulldozers and urban renewal were synonymous has come to an end" [4] were sadly mistaken.

Outside Influences

While Chapters 5 and 6 were devoted to evaluating and criticizing the role planning played in the implementation of NIP, it is important to remember that the economic and political context in which planners found themselves in was not very conducive to neighbourhood improvement. As discussed in Chapter 2, the private sector had left Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods in the hands of the public sector which has been reluctant to inter-

[3] Government of Canada, Report of the Federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development (Ottawa, January, 1969), p.14.

[4] Citizens' Committee for North St. Boniface, "Proposal for a Neighbourhood Improvement Program" unpublished, Nov. 21, 1973, p.3.

vene because of economic restraint and/or ideology.

Although many of the outside influences described in Chapter 2 which affect the problems of the neighbourhood and the inner city are beyond the control of neighbourhood planners, an understanding of them is essential for the successful implementation of the program. For example, if NIP planners had fully understood the problem of the declining inner city housing stock through increasing demolitions and its relationship to the housing affordability problems of low income tenants, they would not have proceeded with such a ruthless code enforcement policy in North St. Boniface (see p. 188-197).

Many of the outside influences listed in Chapter 2 contributed to the failure of NIP in North St. Boniface, but, perhaps, the most critical of these factors was the lack of recognition by the public sector in general and the City of Winnipeg in particular, of the seriousness of the decline of Winnipeg's inner city. The attitudes of the civic bureaucracy (at the commissioner level - see p.66) and politicians (particularly from ICEC - see p.69) that there was no inner city problem, prevented the municipality from developing any strategy on programs to deal with inner city decline. The policy towards housing adopted by City Council on December 20, 1978 illustrates this attitude (see Appendix B). Without a firm commitment by the municipality to deal with inner city problems, the decline of the inner city and the neighbourhoods which make it up is inevitable.

The Nature of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program Itself

Of course, many of the problems in the implementation of NIP in North St. Boniface were due to the very nature of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program. The lack of funds for operating expenses, the short time frame and the concentration on physical improvement all hindered the effectiveness of the program in tackling the problems of the neighbourhood. Prime among these problems, though was the assumption that a large influx of capital over a short time period would be enough to halt neighbourhood decline so that private market forces and already established government programs would be sufficient to ensure that no further decline would take place in the community. This theory is totally invalid for neighbourhoods located within Winnipeg's inner city since existing government programs and private market forces are accelerating neighbourhood decline rather than halting it. Unless the factors described in Chapters 1 and 2 are dealt with (and this impossible to do at the neighbourhood level) there is no reason to expect that NIP by itself can turn things around in Winnipeg's inner city.

To summarize then, NIP in North St. Boniface has fallen far short of the objectives set out for it by both the Federal government and the City of Winnipeg. While improving some of the amenities of the neighbourhood such as municipal services, and removing the threat of industrial and high density residential redevelopment through rezoning, the program has been an outright failure in terms of its other objectives. The efforts made

through RRAP have had only a marginal impact on upgrading housing condition (refer to Table 52) and increased code enforcement has led to the decline rather than the conservation of the housing stock.

It could be argued that the housing and living conditions of homeowners have improved somewhat due to rapidly rising house prices in the neighbourhood but this certainly isn't true in the case of low income tenants and single parent families. NIP has failed to solve, and, indeed, in many cases has aggravated the social and economic problems of low income residents of North St. Boniface, even though the City of Winnipeg specifically set out to solve these problems. The housing affordability problems of low income tenants were aggravated by increasing demolitions and rising rents. Problem families were forced out of the neighbourhood through NIP code enforcement. No attempt was made to deal with the problems of health, unemployment and poverty in the community.

The laudable objectives set down for NIP by both the Federal Government and the City of Winnipeg never reached fruition in this neighbourhood, at least. Unfortunately the new Federal program, announced after the termination of NIP in 1978, also concentrates funds on physical improvement and places little emphasis on solving the social and economic problems of the neighbourhood. It is, therefore, unlikely to have any better success than NIP in solving the problems of Winnipeg's inner city's deterioration and decline.

The Value of the Work

This master's degree project represents one of the first attempts to assess the role planning played in the implementation of a program by either public agencies or independent researchers in Canada. In undertaking such an assessment of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, it is hoped that this study has demonstrated that the success of a program as flexible as NIP, rests largely on an effective and well thought out implementation strategy.

In addition, the study has provided planners with an approach which may enable them to undertake the examination of inner city and neighbourhood problems. This will also be useful in uncovering the interrelationships between and influences upon neighbourhood and inner city decline. The project has also illustrated the specific type and range of data necessary to facilitate such an analysis. It is hoped that this part of the study will have further utility in providing planners with a method for examining the problems of other communities in which neighbourhood revitalization is contemplated.

APPENDIX A

TABLES 1-32:

PROFILE OF WINNIPEG'S INNER CITY

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Table 1. Growth in Working Age Population and Labour Force for Selected CMA's

<u>CMA</u>	<u>Average Annual Growth (1961-1971)</u>	
	<u>Working Age Population</u>	<u>Labour Force</u>
Calgary	4.2%	5.1%
Edmonton	4.5	5.4
Halifax	2.4	2.8
Montreal	3.2	3.2
Ottawa/Hull	4.1	4.7
Quebec	3.6	3.7
Regina	2.7	3.0
Saskatoon	3.3	4.3
Toronto	3.8	4.8
Vancouver	3.7	5.1
Winnipeg	1.8	2.4

Source: Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Plan Winnipeg. (Winnipeg, July, 1978), p.32.

Table 2. Average Annual Percentage Population Growth

<u>CMA's*</u>	<u>1956-1976</u>	<u>1966-1976</u>	<u>1971-1976</u>
Calgary	4.3%	3.2%	3.1%
Edmonton	3.6	2.7	2.2
Halifax	1.7	1.3	1.3
Montreal	2.1	0.9	0.5
Ottawa/Hull	3.1	2.4	2.2
Quebec	2.3	1.8	1.6
Regina	2.6	1.4	1.4
Saskatoon	3.1	1.5	1.3
Toronto	2.9	2.0	1.5
Vancouver	2.6	2.3	1.5
Winnipeg	1.6	1.1	0.9

*Population growth rates adjusted for any changes in the CMA boundaries over time.

Source: Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs,
Plan Winnipeg. (Winnipeg, July, 1978), p.27.

Table 3. Internal Migration and Immigration Ratios
Winnipeg 1966-1971*

In-migrants from the rest of Canada +	58,590
Out-migrants to the rest of Canada ++	67,455
Net migration with respect to the rest of Canada **	-8,865
In-migration ratio &	11.8
Out-migration ratio &&	13.3
Net migration ratio %	-1.7
Immigration ratio %%	4.7
Net migration and immigration ratio	3.0

* Based on the residence of the population aged five and over (1971) on June 1, 1966 and 1971. The migration of persons aged five to fourteen was assumed to be the same as that of the family head (or the household head for a non-family person).

+ Persons who stated in 1971 that they had resided in a municipality in Canada but outside the 1971 CMA boundary in 1966.

++ Persons who stated in 1971 that they had resided in a municipality included in the 1971 CMA in 1966, and resided outside that CMA but within Canada in 1971.

** In-migrants from the rest of Canada minus out-migrants to the rest of Canada.

& (In-migrants from the rest of Canada) (Population aged 5 and over in 1971) x 100.

&& (Out-migrants to the rest of Canada) (Population in 1966 according to 1971 boundaries) x 100.

‡ (Net migration with respect to the rest of Canada) (Population in 1966 according to 1971 boundaries) x 100.

‡‡ (Persons living outside Canada in 1966) / (Population in 1966 according to 1971 boundaries) x 100.

Source: F.I. Hill, Canadian Urban Trends Metropolitan Perspective Vol. 2. D.M. Ray, ed. (Toronto, 1976), p.7.

Table 4. Population Change 1941 to 1976

<u>Year</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Outer City*</u>	<u>Winnipeg CMA</u>
1941-1951	-4.0	+41.0	+18.0
1951-1961	-3.0	+61.0	+34.5
1961-1971	-12.5	+24.5	+13.5
1966-1976	-15.0	+20.5	+11.5
1961-1966	-10.5	+14.5	+7.0
1966-1971	-2.5	+9.0	+6.0
1971-1976	-13.0	+10.0	+5.0
1941-1976	-29.0	+213.0	+89.0

*Outer City refers to everything outside the inner city but still included in the Winnipeg CMA.

Source: L. Axworthy et al. Inner City Housing Study: Interim Report. (Winnipeg, Aug., 1978), p.19.

Table 5. Housing Cost Comparisons

<u>CMA</u>	<u>Royal Trust Survey</u> <u>June 1977</u>	<u>Average MLS Sale</u> <u>2nd Quarter 1977</u>
Montreal	\$40,000	\$41,200
Toronto	80,000	67,900
Vancouver	81,000	69,400
Winnipeg	56,000	43,000
Edmonton	71,000	65,100
Calgary	67,000	70,600
Ottawa	63,000	56,400

Source: Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Housing: A Background Paper on Phase I of the Winnipeg Housing Study. (Winnipeg, 1978), p.23.

Table 6. Employment Distribution by Community as a Percentage of Total Employment

<u>Area</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>
Old City of Winnipeg	71.4	61.4	47.0
St. Vital	4.5	5.2	6.4
St. Boniface	6.8	5.9	8.2
Transcona	1.7	2.7	3.7
East Kildonan	4.2	7.4	9.2
Fort Garry	1.4	2.8	4.8
Assiniboine Park	1.1	1.3	2.1
St. James-Assiniboine	5.9	8.3	12.8
West Kildonan	3.0	4.3	4.9
East St. Paul	-	0.4	0.5
West St. Paul	-	0.3	0.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1951, 1961, 1971.

Table 7. Family Formation 1966-1976

	<u># of Families</u>	<u>Change Total</u>	<u>(1966-71) %</u>	<u># of Families</u>	<u>Change Total</u>	<u>(1971-76) %</u>	<u># of Families</u>
Inner City	29,534	-1,639	-5.5	27,895	-4620	-16.5	23,275
Outer City	92,888	+12,077	+13.0	104,965	+14,175	+13.5	119,140*
Winnipeg CMA	122,422	+10,438	+8.5	132,860	+10,415	+7.8	143,275*

* Total adjusted to equal 1971 Winnipeg CMA boundaries.

Source: L. Axworthy, Inner City Housing Study: Interim Report.

(Winnipeg, Aug., 1978), p.1

Table 8. Non-Family Household Formation 1966-1976

	<u># of</u> <u>Hseholds</u>	<u>Change</u> <u>Total</u>	<u>1966-71</u> <u>%</u>	<u># of</u> <u>Hseholds</u>	<u>Change</u> <u>Total</u>	<u>1971-76</u> <u>%</u>	<u># of</u> <u>Hseholds</u>
Inner City	13,018	+6,487	+49.8	19,505	+3,185	+16.3	22,690
Outer City	11,882	+5,023	+42.3	16,905	+13,110	+77.6	30,015*
Winnipeg CMA	24,900	+11,510	+46.2	36,410	+16,295	+44.8	52,705*

* Total adjusted to equal 1971 Winnipeg CMA boundaries.

Source: Census of Canada, 1971 and 1976.

Table 9. Length of Occupancy - 1971

<u>Length of Occupancy</u>	<u>Inner City</u>		<u>Outer City</u>		<u>Winnipeg</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
Less than 1 year	12,385	26.8	21,250	17.6	33,635	20.2
1-2 years	8,235	17.8	18,480	15.3	26,715	16.1
3-5 years	6,325	13.7	18,780	15.6	25,105	15.1
6-10 years	5,905	12.7	19,780	16.4	25,685	15.5
More than 10 years	13,295	28.8	41,785	34.7	55,080	33.1

Source: L. Axworthy, op.cit. p.57.

Table 10. Cultural Differences Between Whites and Natives

<u>White</u>	<u>Indian-Eskimo</u>
Man dominates, exploits and controls nature	In harmony with nature
Future-oriented	Past and present oriented
Doing and activity oriented	Being-in-becoming
Individualistic	Collaborative (tribal)
Capitalistic (commercial)	Communitistic in the non-political sense (sharing)
Nationalistic	Communal
Human nature evil but perfectable	

The Indian values noted here are seen in the attitude to life on the reserve; it is "easy" and everyone knows everyone else. The contrasting urban society is seen as rigid. Everything from the houses to the job to the income is fixed. The urban society compels people to become aggressive, competitive and to fight if necessary. This is counter to the values of Indian migrants entering the city. This conflict in values maintains ethnic social boundaries and restricts Indian participation in the labour force. Thus, to date, Indian orientations have been a serious liability to new arrivals in urban centres.

Source: J.S. Frideres, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts. Scarborough, 1974), p.95-96.

Table 11a. Inner City* Average Employment Income as Compared to the Metropolitan Winnipeg Average

<u>Year</u>	<u>Male Ave. Wage</u>	<u>Comparison with Winnipeg</u>	<u>Female Ave. Wage</u>	<u>Comparison with Winnipeg</u>
1951	\$2,640	\$356 (11.9%) lower	\$1,456	\$158 (9.8%) lower
1961	\$3,568	\$1152 (24.4%) lower	\$2,106	\$263 (11.1%) lower
1971	\$5,536	\$2392 (30.2%) lower	\$3,108	\$397 (11.3%) lower

Table 11b. Percent Increase of Average Employment Income

	MALE		FEMALE	
	Inner City	Winnipeg	Inner City	Winnipeg
1951-1961	+35.1%	+57.4%	+44.6%	+46.8%
1961-1971	+55.2%	+68.0%	+47.6%	+47.9%

*This study does not include CT's 11, 12, 29, 44, 48, 116 & 117 in its inner city boundaries.

Source: L. Axworthy & P. Christie, Winnipeg's Core Area: An Assessment of Conditions Affecting Law Enforcement. (Winnipeg, 1975), p.24.

Table 12. Total Household Income - All Sources
(1978)

<u>Income</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Outer City</u>	<u>Winnipeg C.M.A.</u>
<\$5,000	21.1%	11.6%	13.9%
\$5,000-\$9,999	31.9%	17.4%	21.2%
\$10,000-14,999	19.7%	15.9%	16.4%
\$15,000-19,999	12.3%	17.3%	16.2%
\$20,000 plus	15.0%	37.6%	32.1%
Mean	\$11,371.84	\$17,390.01	\$15,904.90

Source: Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, op.cit.

Table 13. Age of Housing Stock - Selected Census
Metropolitan Areas

<u>C.M.A.</u>	<u>% Dwellings built before 1940 (1974)</u>
Montreal	27
Toronto	28
Ottawa/Hull	21
Winnipeg	38
Edmonton	12
Calgary	13
Vancouver	33

Source: Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Housing: A Background Paper on Phase 1 of the Winnipeg Housing Study (Winnipeg, 1978), p.22.

Table 14. Age of Dwelling Unit

<u>Age</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Outer City</u>	<u>Winnipeg</u>
Pre 1941	72.7%	25.7%	37.1%
1941-1960	21.0	38.2	34.0
1961-1977	6.4	36.1	28.8

Source: Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, op.cit. p.3.

Table 15. Proportion of Poor Quality Housing Stock:
Selected Census Metropolitan Areas

<u>C.M.A.</u>	<u>Poor Quality as</u> <u>% of Total Stock</u>	<u>Poor Quality as</u> <u>% of Rental Stock</u>
Montreal	15	20
Toronto	5	5
Ottawa/Hull	6	8
Winnipeg	13	16
Edmonton	5	8
Calgary	5	6
Vancouver	6	6

Source: Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Housing: A Background Paper on Phase 1 of the Winnipeg Housing Study (Winnipeg, 1978), p.22.

Table 16. Housing Condition

<u>Condition</u>	<u>Inner City</u>		<u>Outer City</u>	<u>Winnipeg CMA</u>	
	<u>1*</u>	<u>2**</u>	<u>1**</u>	<u>1+</u>	<u>2**</u>
Good	28.2			80.6	
Fair	48.2			3.6	
Fair/Good	76.4	69.4	88.1	84.2	83.7
Poor	21.5				
Very Poor	1.9				
Very Poor/Poor	23.4	30.6	11.9	15.7	16.3

* District Planning Division, City of Winnipeg Planning Department, Field Survey Notes, Feb., 1978. (Note: Census tracts 13, 14, 23, 24 and parts of 15, 22 and 25 are not included as they are downtown areas and the housing condition information was not available).

+ CMHC, 1974 Survey of Housing Units: Study Area #23 Winnipeg (Ottawa, 1975).

** Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, Some Preliminary Results of the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg's 1978 Survey of Housing Conditions (Winnipeg, 1978), p.6.

Table 17. Number of Interior Defects to Unit

<u># Defects</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Outer City</u>	<u>Winnipeg CMA</u>
0-1	62.2%	87.7%	81.3%
2 or more	37.8%	12.3%	18.7%

Table 18. Occupant's Perception of State of Housing Repair

<u>Perception</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Outer City</u>	<u>Winnipeg CMA</u>
No repairs required	23.3%	34.4%	31.9%
Minor repairs	57.5%	60.0%	59.1%
Major repairs	19.2%	5.6%	9.0%

Table 19. Expenditure on Maintenance and Repair of Housing

<u>Amount</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Outer City</u>	<u>Winnipeg CMA</u>
\$0	58.7%	49.5%	52.2%
\$1-500	27.4%	26.6%	26.7%
\$501 plus	13.9%	23.6%	20.9%

Source: Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, op.cit.

Table 20. Composition of Dwelling Stock - 1976

<u>Housing Type</u>	<u>Inner City</u>		<u>Outer City</u>		<u>Winnipeg CMA</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
Single Detached	13,195	29.0	99,918	67.4	113,113	58.4
Single Attached	6,900	15.2	12,130	8.1	19,030	9.8
Apartment	26,535	58.4	34,725	23.4	61,260	31.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1976.

Table 21. Number of Bedrooms in Housing Units (All Dwelling Types)

<u>Number of Bedrooms</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Outer City</u>	<u>Winnipeg CMA</u>
Bachelor or 1 bedroom	39.9%	18.2%	23.9%
2 Bedroom	32.4%	30.8%	30.9%
3 Bedroom	15.8%	37.6%	32.3%
4 or more Bedrooms	11.9%	13.5%	13.1%

Source: Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, op.cit., p.3.

Table 22. Inner City Building Permit Starts - Jan.1,
1972 - June 1, 1978

<u>Year</u>	<u>Single Family Dwellings</u>	<u>Apartment Units*</u>	<u>Duplex, Triplex Fourplex</u>
1972	12	1,322	16
1973	5	740	12
1974	14	261	8
1975	11	96	22
1976	21	432	158
1977	8	987	102
1978	8	690	28
TOTAL	79	4,528	346

*Apartment Units in all following discussions are considered to be multiple family dwellings containing 5 or more units.

Table 23. Inner City Housing Demolitions Jan. 1, 1972 - June 1, 1978

<u>Year</u>	<u>Single Family</u>	<u>Apartments</u>		<u>Duplex, Triplex,</u>
	<u>Dwellings</u>	<u>Buildings</u>	<u>Units</u>	<u>Fourplex</u>
1972	77	1	6	33
1973	88	3	29	95
1974	59	7	123	42
1975	79	7	58	73
1976	119	7	284	133
1977	111	15	257	93
1978	69	4	59	54
Total	603	44	816	523

Source: L. Axworthy, op.cit.

Table 24. Owner/Tenant Occupied Dwellings

<u>Dwellings</u>	<u>Inner City</u>		<u>Outer City</u>		<u>Winnipeg</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%</u>
1. 1966						
Occupied	41,506		102,204		143,710	
Owner-Occupied	14,412	34.7	76,595	74.9	91,007	63.3
Tenant-Occupied	27,095	65.2	25,608	25.0	52,703	36.6
2. 1971						
Occupied	46,432		120,048		166,480	
Owner-Occupied	13,955	30.0	84,420	70.3	98,375	59.1
Tenant-Occupied	32,485	70.0	35,620	29.6	68,105	40.9
3. 1976						
Occupied	45,370		148,055		193,425	
Owner-Occupied	13,480	29.7	99,390	67.1	112,870	58.3
Tenant-Occupied	31,900	70.3	48,595	32.8	80,495	41.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1966, 1971 and 1976.

Table 25. Total Shelter Costs* for Tenants - 1977

<u>Monthly Shelter Cost</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Outer City</u>	<u>Winnipeg C.M.A.</u>
<\$150	42.8%	15.3%	23.9%
\$150-199	40.9%	35.9%	36.6%
\$200 plus	16.3%	48.8%	39.5%
Average	\$162.22	\$225.31	\$207.10

* Total Shelter Costs for tenants include rent and utility payments and are based upon current prices adjusted for 1977/78 increases.

Table 26. Percentage of Household Income Spent on Shelter by Tenants - 1977

<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Outer City</u>	<u>Winnipeg C.M.A.</u>
<26	57.7	63.4	61.3
26-35	15.4	12.3	13.4
36 plus	25.6	20.4	22.2

Source: Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, op.cit.

Table 27. Vacancy Rates in Inner City Apartment Blocks - October 1977

<u>Year of Construction</u>	<u>% Rate</u>
1880-1900	0.8
1901-1910	2.1
1911-1920	1.7
1921-1930	0.2
1931-1940	0.5
1941-1950	0.7
1951-1955	1.0
1956-1960	0.6
1961-1965	0.3
1966-1970	0.5
1971-1975	5.7
1976-1977	21.8

Source: CMHC, Semi-Annual Vacancy Survey, October, 1977.

Table 28. Total Shelter Cost for Owners in 1977

<u>Monthly Shelter Cost</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Outer City</u>	<u>Winnipeg</u>
<\$150	55.2%	42.5%	45.0%
\$150-199	17.9%	20.8%	20.1%
\$200 plus	26.9%	36.8%	34.9%
Average	\$161.30	\$204.64	\$195.93

Table 29. Percentage of Household Income Spent on Shelter by Owners in 1977

<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Outer City</u>	<u>Winnipeg</u>
<26	80.1%	83.5%	82.7%
26-35	9.1%	10.3%	10.1%
>35	10.7%	6.2%	7.2%

* Total Shelter Cost for owners includes mortgage payments, taxes and utilities but excludes repairs and maintenance. It is based on current prices but adjusted backwards to take into account recent price rises.

Source: Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, op.cit.

Table 30. Presence of Mice/Vermin Etc.

	Inner City	Outer City	Winnipeg C.M.A.
Present	14.9%	5.0%	7.4%
Absent	85.1%	95.0%	92.6%

Table 31. Occupant's Perception of Neighbourhood Safety (risk of being robbed or assaulted)

<u>Neighbourhood Safety</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Outer City</u>	<u>Winnipeg C.M.A.</u>
Safe	64.1%	87.2%	81.5%
Dangerous	35.8%	12.8%	18.5%

Table 32. Household Accessibility to Neighbourhood Facilities *

<u>Accessibility</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Outer City</u>	<u>Winnipeg C.M.A.</u>
High	66.3%	42.2%	48.4%
Medium	26.0%	37.3%	34.3%
Low	7.7%	20.5%	17.3%

* Household accessibility to neighbourhood amenities is the sum of the product of the distance of each neighbourhood facility times the number of household members using that facility. It, therefore, represents a weighted distance-to-facilities measure of accessibility.

Source: Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, op.cit

APPENDIX B

Copy of the Guidelines Adopted by Winnipeg
City Council with Respect to the Involvement
of the City of Winnipeg in the Provision of Housing

Respectfully to the Mayor and Councillors:

Your Committee on Environment submits the following Report and
findings, namely:-

Adoption of Guidelines with
respect to the involvement of
The City of Winnipeg in the
provision of Housing. File EX.

1. Your Committee submits with a recommendation for approval and
adoption, the following guidelines with respect to the involvement of the City
of Winnipeg in the provision of housing, being generally a support role, and
no involvement in the construction of new housing or reconstruction of
existing dwelling units, namely:-

GUIDELINES FOR HOUSING INVOLVEMENT BY THE CITY OF WINNIPEG

Co-ordination of planning control, building standards, occupancy
standards, and resources of various existing municipal departments,
other governments and agencies and the private sector.

Reduction of incentives for involvement by the private sector which
is presently winding down building activity, either by tax concessions,
development bonus rights, or by seed money grants for the implemen-
tation of innovative programs.

Relaxation of existing regulations and procedures where possible
that are presently counterproductive and discourage private develop-
ment and investment.

General support of private non-profit housing groups through such
means as long-term leasing of surplus City-owned land at attractive
rates in order to assist them in achieving economic project rents.

Maximum utilization of N.H.A. Neighbourhood Improvement Programs,
C.R.A.P. Programs, and community service grant monies, within the
present administrative capacity of the City, and where senior
governments will guarantee their portion of funding for the agreed
term of the project.

Eliminate the activity of the City's non-profit housing corporation,
which at best would provide only a very nominal contribution to the
housing stock, and for which the economics of their involvement are
extremely questionable.

Encourage senior levels of government to employ their legislative
authority to create incentives in the following areas:

-) for home owners on fixed incomes to maintain their present
homes;
-) to assist first time purchasers of homes;
-) amend rent control legislation to allow pass through of
costs resulting from upgrading orders as rent increases;

the Committee on Environment, dated December 11th, 1978.

amend Income Tax Act to allow capital cost allowance taken on rehabilitation and upgrading costs to be offset against other income;
encourage the expansion of the R.R.A.P. Program to more effectively deal with apartment rehabilitation;
amend Landlord and Tenant Act to allow for a 90 day eviction notice where buildings are to be closed or demolished voluntarily by the owner;
the City should petition the Province for enabling legislation to institute an Anti-Demolition Control By-law.

urage senior levels of government to utilize their greater financial resources in the provision of housing for:

senior citizens;
single parent families;
low income families.

tion of zoning and land use controls designed to allow flexibility on types, densities and occupancies of housing in response to specific requests.

of City-owned surplus lots for infill housing, experimental housing and socially-assisted housing for low income families.

inue the monitoring and inspection programs already implemented in the City under its maintenance and upgrading by-laws.

The monies available to the City come from the limited property Taxes collected from property were originally intended for services, although that has altered somewhat in recent years. In any event, the growth of taxation income through assessment increases is severely limited, and is expected to decrease over the next ten years.

We are involved in a period of restraint, with cut-backs in levels of service most certain if a no mill rate increase objective is to be attained. The mandate is to provide, in the first instance, basic services to its tax-payers, which is becoming increasingly more difficult each year with rising costs. New programs, albeit nominal in nature in their introduction, will be increasing demands on available resources presently directed toward the basic service provision and other existing programs.

Both Federal and Provincial Governments have some assistance programs in the housing area that Municipalities may take advantage of, but current trends indicate that senior government policies indicate that cut-backs in those areas are being and/or already implemented. In fact, it has been the experience in the past that many assistance programs are implemented in the short-term by the Provincial Government, and once the municipal program is functioning well, the funding is cut off leaving the whole burden on the property taxpayer, and the Municipal Government unable to deliver the built-up community expect-

ADOPTED
BY COUNCIL

DEC 20 1978

APPENDIX C

Methodology of the 1976 North St. Boniface Survey

During the summer of 1976, before the author was employed with the City of Winnipeg's Neighbourhood Improvement Branch, a survey was prepared by NIP staff to gather some basic information about the residents of the neighbourhood. A copy of the survey is enclosed in this appendix. Two university students were hired to conduct the door-to-door survey and to inform the residents about the NIP and RRAP programs. The questionnaire was administered in an interview format to ensure a high response rate and accurate answers. The duration of the interview varied anywhere from twenty to forty minutes and it was conducted very informally. Households were contacted more than once if no one was at home at the time of the first visit, and if a name could be obtained, a further contact was made by telephone if no one could be reached on the second visit.

The survey was completed at the end of the summer and results were roughly tabulated into frequency distributions using a code developed by the survey designer. A 70% response rate was obtained for North St. Boniface, but the rate varied by the question (not all the households were asked the attitudinal questions). Unfortunately no format was devised to ensure that the head of the household always answered the questions; it was assumed that any member of the household would be representative of the household views.

After the results were roughly tabulated in August of 1976 nothing was done with the survey until May 1977 when it was decided to computerize the results in order to do a more in depth

analysis of the data. It was at this point that the author joined the staff working in North St. Boniface. There were several problems which had to be overcome before the data could be computerized. No up-to-date base map had been prepared which listed all the dwelling units in the neighbourhood, so the total number of dwelling units in North St. Boniface was impossible to determine. City of Winnipeg survey maps, assessment rolls and a field survey of the neighbourhood (sometimes two single family dwellings were found on one lot) were used to obtain every dwelling unit, commercial establishment, industry and vacant parcel of land and each was given an address code. Since none of the questionnaire data was coded in a way that could be used by SPSS or that would provide meaningful results, the author was forced to hire the same two students who had administered the questionnaire to go back to the original questionnaires and recode the data onto general input data forms which were drawn up. It was at this point that Blisshen's socio-economic index was used to classify all of the residents' occupations as well as that of the head of the household. The main reason for doing this was that the income data of individuals was coded into groups directly on the questionnaire, so that no household income data could be obtained. Building condition, type of landlord, land assessment, building assessment, a land use code, property value, zoning category and whether or not the unit had been repaired or was undergoing repairs under RRAP were added to the questionnaire data at this time. Assessment rolls, a building condition and zoning

map, real estate multiple listings summary sheets and RRAP files were used to obtain this information.

After the data had been coded onto the general input data forms it was punched onto computer cards (4 cards for each case, 965 cases). The data was then analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences and results were obtained in March of 1978. The enormous time lag between the administration of the survey and its analysis was due to improper survey design and coding techniques. Much time was wasted recoding the data from the questionnaire for a second time. By the time the results of the questionnaire had been fully analyzed the implementation process of NIP in North St. Boniface had already been operating for a year and the projects for expending NIP funds had already been largely decided upon. Therefore, the survey really had a limited utility for the implementation of NIP.

There were many problems with the questions on the survey. The attitudinal questions proved to be of limited utility since the questions were of a very general nature, were not scaled in any way and no trade-offs were necessary before a need could be declared. When a no response was encountered at a dwelling unit, the type of dwelling unit was not coded, so a field survey had to be conducted to obtain a 100% sample of dwelling units. Certain important questions were left out of the questionnaire and unimportant questions were included. Since there was no pre-testing, issues that NIP staff thought would be important were included and others were left out. For example, no information was col-

lected on resident's perception of neighbourhood safety or the amount of crime and vandalism in the community. No information was obtained on the importance residents placed on Tache school, or which schools children were presently attending or would be attending. These would have provided planners with a great deal of useful information to help them to focus on issues relevant to the community before resident meetings were held. The questionnaire was not administered in any systematic way. Even though a 70% response rate was obtained, the survey was owner biased and overrepresented elderly households. Fortunately, through the SPSS computer program, the author was able to weight the responses to ensure that the survey was representative of the community as a whole.

A lot of money was wasted in analyzing the survey because not enough time was spent on survey design, on an adequate coding format, developing a systematic method of surveying the neighbourhood and on pre-testing. Unfortunately many of the same mistakes were repeated in the summer of 1977 when the Brooklands neighbourhood improvement area was surveyed using an almost identical questionnaire.

CITY OF WINNIPEG
DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING
NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM
NORTH ST. BONIFACE SURVEY

OPERATOR _____
 DATE OF INTERVIEW _____
 REASON FOR NON-INTERVIEW _____

BLOCK FACE NO. _____

HOUSEHOLD NO. _____

STREET _____

CODING SPECIFICATIONS	CODE
-----------------------	------

HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD? Enter yrs..01-98 _____

Refusal....00 _____

HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED AT THIS ADDRESS? Enter yrs..01-98 _____

Refusal....00 _____

DO YOU WISH TO a) REMAIN IN THIS AREA? Remain..... 1 _____

b) MOVE TO ANOTHER AREA? Move..... 2 _____

Refusal or No Opinion. 0 _____

HOW MANY OF YOUR RELATIVES LIVE IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD? A lot..... 1 _____

A few..... 2 _____

None..... 9 _____

Refusal.... 0 _____

HOW MANY OF YOUR FRIENDS LIVE IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD? A lot..... 1 _____

A few..... 2 _____

None..... 9 _____

Refusal.... 0 _____

NOT ASK

DWELLING TYPE

a) SINGLE FAMILY - DETACHED a)..... 1 _____

b) SINGLE ATTACHED - DUPLEX b)..... 2 _____

c) ROW OR TOWNHOUSE c)..... 3 _____

d) APARTMENT UNIT d)..... 4 _____

e) DWELLING AND BUSINESS COMBINED e)..... 5 _____

f) CONVERTED - ROOMING HOUSE f)..... 6 _____

CODING SPECIFICATIONS	CODE
a)..... 1	_____
b)..... 2	_____
c)..... 3	_____
d)..... 9	_____
Refusal.... 0	_____
a)..... 1	_____
b)..... 2	_____
c)..... 3	_____
d)..... 4	_____
e)..... 5	_____
f)..... 9	_____
Refusal.... 0	_____
Yes..... 1	_____
No..... 9	_____
Refusal.... 0	_____
Yes..... 1	_____
No..... 9	_____
Refusal.... 0	_____
Yes..... 1	_____
No..... 9	_____
Refusal.... 0	_____
Yes..... 1	_____
No..... 9	_____
Refusal.... 0	_____
Rent..001-998	_____
Refusal...000	_____
Free Rent.999	_____

HAVE ANY OBJECTIONS TO
PUBLIC HOUSING
CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING
PRIVATE AND PUBLIC MIX
NO PREFERENCE

TENANTS ONLY (QUESTIONS 13-15)

IMPROVEMENTS, IF ANY, WOULD YOU LIKE TO
MAKE IN YOUR HOUSE?

STRUCTURE (e.g., foundations, roof, stairs,
walls, floors)
HEATING (e.g., furnace, electric heating
units)
ELECTRICITY (e.g., wiring, switches,
plugs, breakers)
PLUMBING (e.g., fixtures, pipes)
OTHER
NONE

DO YOU HEARD OF THE HOME REPAIR PROGRAM
OR THE RESIDENTIAL REHABILITATION ASSISTANCE
PROGRAM (R.R.A.P.)?

DO YOU LIKE TO HAVE SOMEONE COME TO
WORK ON THE R.R.A.P. PROGRAM TO YOU?

TENANTS ONLY (Questions 16-20)

ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH YOUR LIVING QUARTERS?

YES
NO
DO YOUR LIVING QUARTERS NEED ANY
IMPROVEMENTS?
YES
NO

HOW MUCH RENT DO YOU PAY MONTHLY?

	CODING SPECIFICATIONS	CODE
YOUR RENT PAYMENT INCLUDE		
PARKING	a)..... 1	_____
HYDRO	b)..... 2	_____
HEAT	c)..... 3	_____
WATER	d)..... 4	_____
LAUNDRY FACILITIES	e)..... 5	_____
	None..... 9	_____
	Refusal.... 0	_____
DO YOU LIKE TO SEE A GREATER MIX OF AGE GROUPS IN THIS BUILDING?		
	Yes..... 1	_____
	No..... 9	_____
	Refusal.... 0	_____
DO YOU THINK THAT THE FOLLOWING MUNICIPAL SERVICE IMPROVEMENTS ARE NEEDED IN THIS AREA?		
STREET PAVING	Yes.....1 - 7	_____
LANE PAVING	No..... 9	_____
CURBS AND SIDEWALKS	Refusal.... 0	_____
STREET AND LANE LIGHTING		_____
BOULEVARDS		_____
STORM SEWERS		_____
SANITARY SEWERS		_____
ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH THE LEVEL OF THE FOLLOWING MUNICIPAL SERVICES IN THIS AREA?		
GARBAGE COLLECTION	a)..... 1	_____
SNOW CLEARANCE	b)..... 2	_____
SPRING AND SUMMER CLEAN-UP	c)..... 3	_____
STREET REPAIRS (POTHOLE)	d)..... 4	_____
	None..... 9	_____
	Refusal.... 0	_____
WHERE DO YOU GO TO USE PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS?		
INSIDE THE N.I.P. AREA	a)..... 1	_____
OUTSIDE THE N.I.P. AREA	b)..... 2	_____
	No place... 9	_____
	Refusal.... 0	_____
IS THERE A NEED FOR MORE PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS IN THIS AREA?		
	Yes..... 1	_____
	No..... 9	_____
	Refusal.... 0	_____

CODING SPECIFICATIONS	CODE
-----------------------	------

T'D

IF YES INDICATE TYPE

a) Tot-Lot (with play equipment for children under 6 years)

b) Playgrounds - hockey, baseball, tennis

c) Quiet Park - benches

a).....	1	_____
b).....	2	_____
c).....	3	_____
No Preference.	9	_____
Refusal....	0	_____

DO YOU THINK SHOULD HAPPEN AT WHITTIER PARK?

(IF PARK, WHAT TYPE?)

DOES THIS AREA NEED MORE SHOPS AND STORES SUCH

a) FOOD STORES

b) FURNITURE STORES

c) CLOTHING STORES

d) DRUG STORES

e) BARBER/HAIRDRESSER

f) HARDWARE STORES

g) LAUNDROMAT

OTHER _____

a).....	1	_____
b).....	2	_____
c).....	3	_____
d).....	4	_____
e).....	5	_____
f).....	6	_____
g).....	7	_____
None.....	9	_____
Refusal....	0	_____

ARE YOU DISTURBED BY THE LOCATION OF ANY OF THESE INDUSTRIES IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD?

IF YES

LIST _____

Yes.....	1	_____
No.....	9	_____
Refusal....	0	_____

WHY?

a) APPEARANCE

b) NOISE

c) AIR POLLUTION

d) TRUCK TRAFFIC GENERATED

e) RAILWAY TRAFFIC

a).....	1	_____
b).....	2	_____
c).....	3	_____
d).....	4	_____
e).....	5	_____
Refusal....	0	_____
None.....	9	_____

ARE THERE TRAFFIC PROBLEMS IN THIS AREA?

IF YES

ELABORATE _____

CODING
SPECIFICATIONS

CODE

Yes..... 1
No..... 9
Refusal.... 0

IS THERE A NEED FOR SOME FORM OF PUBLIC
TRANSPORTATION IN THIS AREA?

Yes..... 1
No..... 9
Refusal.... 0

DO YOU OR MEMBERS OF YOUR FAMILY OWN A CAR?
HOW MANY IN HOUSEHOLD? _____

Yes..... 1
No..... 9
Refusal.... 0
Number..01-08

IS THERE A NEED FOR ANY SOCIAL FACILITIES
IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD?

- (e.g.) a) DAY CARE CENTRE
b) TEEN DROP-IN CENTRE
c) SENIOR CITIZENS' ACTIVITY CENTRE
d) COMMUNITY HEALTH SERVICE CENTRE

a)..... 1
b)..... 2
c)..... 3
d)..... 4
None..... 9
Refusal.... 0

HAVE YOU OR ANY MEMBERS OF YOUR FAMILY (WHILE
LIVING IN THIS AREA) EVER RECEIVED ANY SERVICE
FROM:

- a) CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY
b) VICTORIAN ORDER OF NURSES
c) PUBLIC HEALTH NURSES
d) OUT-PATIENTS' DEPT. OF THE ST. BONIFACE
HOSPITAL
e) PROVINCIAL OR CITY WELFARE DEPARTMENT

a)..... 1
b)..... 2
c)..... 3
d)..... 4
e)..... 5
None..... 9
Refusal.... 0

I OR ANY MEMBERS OF YOUR FAMILY HAVE
 PROBLEMS WHICH YOU NEED ASSISTANCE WITH?
 CHILD CARE
 CARE FOR THE AGED
 HEALTH CARE
 FAMILY PROBLEM RESOLUTION
 EMPLOYMENT
 PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

CODING SPECIFICATIONS	CODE
a)..... 1	_____
b)..... 2	_____
c)..... 3	_____
d)..... 4	_____
e)..... 5	_____
f)..... 6	_____
None..... 9	_____
Refusal.... 0	_____
RESIDENTS' NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT COMMITTEE WAS FORMED IN THIS AREA, WOULD YOU BE INTERESTED IN BEING A MEMBER OF IT?	
Yes..... 1	_____
No..... 9	_____
Refusal.... 0	_____

APPENDIX D

Tables 33-47:

PROFILE OF THE NORTH ST. BONIFACE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Table 35. Non-Family Household Formation 1971-1976

	<u>No. of Non-Family</u>	<u>Change</u>	<u>No. of Non-Family</u>
	<u>Households</u>		<u>Households</u>
	<u>1971</u>	<u>1971-1976</u>	<u>1976</u>
North St. Boniface	230	+20.9%	278
Inner City	19,505	+16.3%	22,690
Winnipeg	36,410	+44.8%	52,705
Outer City	16,905	+77.6%	30,015

Source: Same as Table 34.

Table 36. Age of Household Head

<u>Age of Household</u>	<u>North St. Boniface</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Winnipeg</u>
<u>Head</u>	<u>(1976*)</u>	<u>(1978**)</u>	<u>(1978**)</u>
	(%)	(%)	(%)
Under 25	13.5	19.9	12.5
25-34	19.4	25.0	22.8
35-44	15.1	10.7	15.8
45-54	14.3	11.4	13.0
55-64	20.0	14.4	16.8
Over 65	17.6	18.7	19.2

* From the North St. Boniface survey results.

** Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, op.cit., p.3.

Table 37. Length of Occupancy

<u>Length of Occupancy</u>	<u>North St.</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Winnipeg</u>
	<u>Boniface</u>		
	1976	1971	1971
Less than 1 year	7.4%	26.8%	20.2%
1-2 years	33.6%	17.8%	16.1%
3-5 years	16.3%	13.7%	15.1%
6-10 years	11.6%	12.7%	15.5%
More than 10 years	31.4%	28.8%	33.1%

Source: North St. Boniface survey results and L. Axworthy, op.cit., p.57.

Table 38. Total Household Income - All Sources

<u>Income</u>	<u>North St.</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Winnipeg</u>
	<u>Boniface</u>		<u>C.M.A.</u>
	1977	1978	1978
<\$5,000	21.2	21.1	13.9
\$5,000-9,999	22.7	31.9	21.2
\$10,000-14,999	26.2	19.7	16.4
\$15,000-19,999	16.5	12.3	16.2
\$20,000 plus	13.4	15.0	32.1

Source: North St. Boniface and Brooklands survey results and Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, op.cit.

Table 39. North St. Boniface Socio-Economic Status

<u>Socio-Economic Status</u>	<u>Males*</u>	<u>Females*</u>	<u>Total*</u>	<u>Household Heads*</u>
Self-Employed	6.8	2.2	5.2	6.0
>60.0	6.6	6.0	6.4	8.4
50.0-59.9	6.6	23.4	12.5	10.4
40.0-49.9	12.7	14.7	13.4	12.5
30.0-39.9	25.5	23.8	24.9	25.7
<30.0	41.8	29.9	37.6	37.0

* Included those persons who were 15 years of age and over and who were employed.

**Heads were defined as parent who was earning the highest income.

Source: North St. Boniface Survey results, 1976.

Table 40. North St. Boniface Socio-Economic Status

<u>Socio-Economic Status</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>Tenant Occupied Heads</u>	
	<u>Household Heads (%)</u>	<u>Young Couples (%)</u>	<u>Young Couples & Children (%)</u>
Self-Employed & >60.0	14.4	9.5	9.1
50.0-59.9	10.4	4.8	9.1
40.0-49.9	12.5	14.3	12.1
30.0-39.9	25.7	42.9	12.1
<30.0	37.0	28.6	57.6

Source: North St. Boniface Survey results, 1976.

Table 41. Housing Condition

<u>Condition</u>	<u>North St. Boniface*</u> Sept. 1975	<u>Inner City**</u> Feb. 1978	<u>Winnipeg C.M.A.+</u> 1974
Good	30.3%	28.2%	80.6%
Fair	44.7%	48.7%	3.6%
Poor	22.2%	21.5%	
Very Poor	2.8%	1.9%	
Poor/Very Poor	25.0%	23.4%	15.7%

Source: *District Planning Division, City of Winnipeg Planning Department, Building Condition Map, Sept., 1975 and North St. Boniface Survey results, 1976.

**District Planning Division, City of Winnipeg Planning Department, Field Survey Notes, Feb., 1978 (Note: Census tracts 13, 14, 23, 24 and parts of 15, 22 and 25 are not included as they are downtown areas and the housing condition information was not available).

+CMHC, 1974 Survey of Housing Units: Study Area 23 Winnipeg (Ottawa, 1975).

Table 42. Composition of the Dwelling Stock - 1976

<u>Housing Type</u>	<u>North St. Boniface</u> (%)	<u>Inner City</u> (%)	<u>Winnipeg</u> (%)
Single Detached	46.0	29.9	58.4
Single Attached	15.5	15.2	9.8
Apartment	38.5	58.4	31.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1976 and special request to Census of Canada for 1976 data on North St. Boniface.

Table 43. North St. Boniface Housing Type - 1976

<u>Housing Type</u>	<u>% of buildings</u>	<u>% of units</u>
Single Detached	77.0	47.1
Single Detached (converted)	13.0	25.4
Duplex	3.0	2.8
Apartment	7.0	24.6

Source: North St. Boniface survey results, 1976.

Table 44. Owner/Tenant Occupied Dwellings

Dwellings	<u>North St. Boniface</u>	<u>Inner City</u>	<u>Winnipeg</u>
<u>1. 1971</u>			
Owner Occupied	48.2	30.0	59.1
Tenant Occupied	51.8	70.0	40.9
<u>2. 1976</u>			
Owner Occupied	47.2	29.7	58.3
Tenant Occupied	52.8	70.3	41.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1971 and 1976 (North St. Boniface data was obtained by special request).

Table 45. Total Shelter Costs* for Tenants

<u>Monthly Shelter Cost</u>	<u>North St. Boniface</u> 1976 (%)	<u>Inner City</u> 1977 (%)	<u>Winnipeg</u> 1977 (%)
<\$150	53.7	42.8	23.9
\$150-199	28.8	40.9	36.6
>\$200	17.5	16.3	39.5
Average	\$138	\$162	\$207

*Total Shelter Costs includes rent and utility payments.

Source: North St. Boniface Survey results, 1976 and Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, op.cit.

Table 46. Total Shelter Cost for Tenants - 1976 -
North St. Boniface

<u>Monthly</u>	<u>Absentee Owned</u> <u>Dwellings*</u> (%)	<u>Community Owned</u> <u>Dwellings**</u> (%)	<u>Resident Owned</u> <u>Buildings+</u> (%)
< \$100	19.4	2.9	34.5
\$100 - \$149	26.3	57.1	38.2
\$150 - \$199	33.9	28.6	14.5
> \$200	20.4	11.5	12.8

* absentee is defined as owners who reside outside the NIP boundaries.

**community is defined as owners who reside inside the boundaries of the neighbourhood but not inside the same building.

+ resident is defined as owners who reside in the same building.

Source: North St. Boniface survey results, 1976.

Table 47. Incidence of Low Income - 1971 - Economic Families +

<u>Area</u>	<u>Low Income</u> ** (%)
North St. Boniface *	28.6
Inner City	28.6
Winnipeg	17.0

* the percentage of low income economic families is assumed to be identical for North St. Boniface and Census Tract 117, a slightly larger area (this is a conservative assumption).

**low income is defined as occurring when families have to spend more than 70% of their income on food, shelter and clothing.

+ economic family is defined as a group of 2 or more persons living together and related by blood, marriage or adoption regardless of the degree of relationship.

Statistics Canada, Statistics on Low Income Families. Census of Canada Special Bulletin 93-773, 1971.

APPENDIX E

North St. Boniface Concept Plan

Submitted as a Supplement to
Application Implementation Stage
Neighbourhood Improvement Program



**STATEMENT TO APPLICATION
IDENTIFICATION STAGE
NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM**

**SUPPLÉMENT À UNE DEMANDE
STADE DE LA MISE EN OEUVRE
PROGRAMME D'AMÉLIORATION DES QUARTIERS**

Additional sources of data or records to assist in the identification of improvement needs should be used to provide the requested information.

1. En vue d'aider à la formulation des besoins en améliorations, des données ou des documents provenant de diverses sources, devraient être utilisés pour fournir les renseignements demandés ici.

Attach separate sheets if space provided is insufficient.

2. Veuillez annexer des feuilles supplémentaires si l'espace fourni est insuffisant.

GENERAL/ GÉNÉRALITÉS

CITY/MUNICIPALITÉ: Winnipeg		<table border="1"> <tr> <td colspan="2">FOR CMHC USE ONLY RÉSERVÉ À LA SCHL</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">CMHC ACCOUNT NO./NO DU COMPTE SCHL:</td> </tr> </table>		FOR CMHC USE ONLY RÉSERVÉ À LA SCHL		CMHC ACCOUNT NO./NO DU COMPTE SCHL:	
FOR CMHC USE ONLY RÉSERVÉ À LA SCHL							
CMHC ACCOUNT NO./NO DU COMPTE SCHL:							
PROJECT NAME/NOM DU PROJET: North Saint Boniface							
TOTAL POPULATION/POPULATION MUNICIPALE: 10,725 (1976)	AVERAGE MUNICIPAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME: REVENU MOYEN DES MÉNAGES DANS LA MUNICIPALITÉ: \$9,382.00 (1971)	DATE OF APPLICATION: DATE DE LA DEMANDE	DAY/J. MO./M. YR /A. 2 3 0 3 7 8				

DESIGNATED NEIGHBOURHOOD (Existing conditions)/QUARTIER DÉSIGNÉ (Caractéristiques actuelles)

DESCRIPTION (INCLUDE BOUNDARIES, ATTACH MAP)/DESCRIPTION (Y COMPRIS LES LIMITES, ANNEXER CARTE GÉOGRAPHIQUE):
 North St. Boniface Neighbourhood Improvement Area is located approximately one mile north of the centre of Winnipeg. To the north it is bounded by the CNR mainline*, to the south by Provencher Boulevard, to the east by Archibald Street, and to the west by the Assiniboine River (see attached map). Over the years, North St. Boniface has developed as a residential neighbourhood with a relatively large number of industries located in the north-west quadrant.
 Since the signing of the original agreement, the City of Winnipeg has redefined the northern boundary of the North St. Boniface N.I.P. area to exclude the area north of the mainline. This area has been designated to be developed as a regional (continued)

AREA R.A.Q.	POPULATION/POPULATION: 2,174 (1976)	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS/NOMBRE DE MÉNAGES 905 (1971)
----------------	--	--

TYPE/MODE D'OCCUPATION

TYPE OF DWELLINGS GENRE DE LOGEMENT		NUMBER OF UNITS NOMBRE DE LOGEMENTS	Estimated housing conditions/Conditions estimatives des hab.	
OWNER-OCCUPIED OCCUPÉ PAR LE PROPRIÉTAIRE	425	REHABILITATION/RESTAURATION NOT REQUIRED NON REQUISE	564	
TENANT-OCCUPIED OCCUPÉ PAR UN LOCATAIRE	480	REQUIRED REQUISE	320	
TOTAL NO. OF UNITS NBRE TOTAL DE LOGEMENTS	905	BEYOND REHABILITATION NON RESTAURABLE	21	
		TOTAL NO. OF UNITS NBRE TOTAL DE LOGEMENTS	905	

REMARQUE:

A household consists of a person or group of persons occupying one dwelling. It usually consists of a family with or without lodgers, employees, etc. However, it may also consist of two or more families sharing a dwelling, or a group of unrelated persons or one person living alone. This definition is employed by Statistics Canada and is used throughout the rest of this form.

Un ménage signifie une personne ou un groupe de personnes occupant un même logement. Il se compose ordinairement d'un groupe familial, avec ou sans chambreurs, employés, etc.. Il peut aussi se composer de deux familles ou plus partageant le même logement, d'un groupe de personnes non apparentées ou d'une personne seule. Cette définition est celle qu'utilise Statistique Canada et elle est d'application tout au long de cette formule.

ON OF NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT PLAN/DESCRIPTION DU PLAN D'AMÉLIORATION DU QUARTIER

OBJECTIVES, NEEDS AND PRIORITIES/DÉCRIRE LES OBJECTIFS DU PLAN, LES BESOINS ET LES PRIORITÉS:

toration and continued development of North St. Boniface as a residential community the preservation of existing housing together with a program of redevelopment ing to housing, parks and recreation, transportation, industry, commercial, al and community services, have been enunciated by the local residents to be their goals for the neighbourhood improvement plan.

idents have identified the following major needs and priorities to be implemented neighbourhood improvements:

ued on another Sheet).

S TO SECURE INTENDED LAND USE AND RESIDENTIAL DENSITY PATTERNS OF THE NIP AREA:

PLANS POUR ASSURER L'UTILISATION PROJÉTÉE DU TERRAIN ET LES NORMES DE DENSITÉS RÉSIDENIELLES DE LA ZONE P.A.Q.:

ary 21st, 1976, the City of Winnipeg prepared and passed bylaw Number 965/75, the St. Boniface District Plan which secured the intended land use of the N.I.P. area (attached copy). Presently, zoning bylaws are being prepared and have been passed City of Winnipeg to implement the land use outlined in the District Plan and to the residential densities of the N.I.P. area (see attached copies).

IDENT INVOLVEMENT: (INCLUDE LIST OF ACTIVITIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF RESIDENT PARTICIPANTS)

ARTICIPATION DES RÉSIDANTS: (INCLUDE UNE LISTE DES ACTIVITÉS ET DES RESPONSABILITÉS AUXQUELLES LES RÉSIDANTS PRENDRONT PART).

ovember 1976 to May 1977, N.I.P. staff organized sector meetings throughout the area. In order to maximize resident organization, staff chose to organize small, al meetings rather than mass meetings. North St. Boniface was divided into five s (see attached map) which contained approximately 120 to 150 households. An initial g in each sector was conducted to explain to the residents of North St. Boniface the ourhood Improvement Program. A month later, a second meeting was called to elicit he residents the concerns and the dreams that they would like to see (continued)

BREAKDOWN/RÉPARTITION DE L'USAGE DES TERRAINS

NET LAND USE (NEAREST 1/2 ACRE) BY TYPE (EXCLUDE STREETS) UTILISATION NETTE DU TERRAIN (1/2 ACRE PRÈS) PAR CATÉGORIES (À L'EXCLUSION DES RUES)	PRESENT LAND USE (BEFORE NIP PLAN) UTILISATION ACTUELLE DU TERRAIN (AVANT LE PLAN P.A.Q.)		PROPOSED LAND USE (IN NIP PLAN) UTILISATION PROPOSÉE DU TERRAIN (SELON LE PLAN P.A.Q.)	
	ACRES	% TOTAL % DU TOTAL	ACRES	% TOTAL % DU TOTAL
	93.0	47.3	113.0	57.5
OPEN SPACE ESPACES VERTS	2.5	1.3	27.5	14.0
AL NEL	7.0	3.6	3.5	1.8
COMMERCIAL AND RESIDENTIAL COMMERCIAL	1.5	.8	.5	0.1
	32.0	16.3	6.5	3.3
	6.0	2.5	8.0	4.1
OPEN AND GARAGES) OUVERT (À CIEL OUVERT ET GARAGES)	1.0	1.0	0	0.0
	32.0	16.3	32.0	16.3
CANTS (IFY)	6.0	3.0	0	0.0
DISER)	16.5	8.4	5.5	2.8
TOTAL	196.5	100%	196.5	100%

EXISTING RESIDENTIAL DWELLING UNITS TO BE ACQUIRED:
HABITATIONS EXISTANTES À ACQUÉRIR:

16

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS TO BE DISPLACED:
NOMBRE DE MÉNAGES À DÉPLACER:

15

LAND AND CLEARANCE ESTIMATE (IF APPLICABLE)
ESTIMATION DE LA TERRE ET DÉBLAIEMENT ESTIMATIFS (S'IL Y A LIEU)

MUNICIPAL SERVICES
SERVICES MUNICIPAUX

LAND TO BE CLEARED (BÂTI À DÉBLAYER (UTILISATION ACTUELLE))	ESTIMATED NO. OF ACRES NBRE EST. D'ACRES	PROPOSED LAND RE-USE RÉUTILISATION PROPO- SÉE DU TERRAIN
Residential	1.30A	Residential
Parks & Open Space	.14A	Parks & Open Space
Parks & Open Space	.45A	Parks & Open Space
Residential	6.73A	Residential

TYPE/CATÉGORIE	EXISTING (TO BE IMPROVED) EXISTANT (À ÊTRE AMÉLIORÉ)	NEW (TO BE INSTALLED) NOUVEAU (À ÊTRE INSTALLÉ)
WATER AQUEDUC	SEE ATTACHED SHEETS	
SEWERAGE EGOUTS		
STREET LIGHTING ÉCLAIRAGE DES RUES		
ROADS RUES		
SIDEWALKS TROTTOIRS		
HYDRO ÉLECTRICITÉ		
GAS GAZ		
OTHER (SPECIFY) AUTRES (PRÉCISER)		

RECREATIONAL FACILITIES/INSTALLATIONS SOCIALES ET RÉCRÉATIVES

IMPROVEMENTS TO EXISTING FACILITIES/ÉNUMÉRER LES AMÉLIORATIONS À EFFECTUER AUX INSTALLATIONS EXISTANTES:

Location of the rear of 212 Dumoulin, an old firehall to be used as a senior center.

Location of 212 Dumoulin as a N.I.P. site office.

Playground equipment and baseball diamond in Notre Dame East Park.

Plants and landscaping corner of Archibald/Provencher.

FACILITIES TO BE CONSTRUCTED/ÉNUMÉRER LES NOUVELLES INSTALLATIONS À CONSTRUIRE:

Bicycle path for pedestrian/cyclist over the Seine River.

Recreative playground at the north east corner of LaVerendrye & St.Jean Baptiste.

Play lot at the south west corner of Notre Dame & St.Joseph.

Play area and cyclist/pedestrian path along the Manitoba Hydro's transmission lines cut-off-way from Tache to Thibault.

Play beds and benches with path in triangle lots along Thibault.

Play courts.

Senior hockey-size ice rink.

Children's wading pool.

Play room/club house. - Outdoor swimming pool.

HOUSING PROGRAM (if applicable)/PROGRAMME DE RELOGEMENT (s'il y a lieu)

Details of financial assistance to be made available to:

Les détails de l'aide financière devant être mise à la disposition des:

PRINCIPALES:

Costs: Moving costs
Disturbance allowance, payable on a one-time basis usually after each situation has been assessed through the Social Development Planner.

PRINCIPALES:

Sale of property should cover rehousing costs.

IS TO COMPLEMENT NIP/RRAP/PROGRAMMES COMPLÉMENTAIRES AU P.A.Q./P.A.R.E.L.

ams by type (below) which will or could be utilized to complement the NIP/RRAP for this project.
(ci-après), par genre, les programmes qui vont ou qui pourront être utilisés comme compléments au P.A.Q./P.A.R.E.L.
nt à ce projet.

FÉDÉRAUX

nal Housing Act programs: Non-profit Housing Assistance, Assisted Rental Program,
ipal Incentive Grants, Land Assembly Assistance, Municipal Infrastructure Program,
rnative Housing Assistance, Assisted Home Ownership program. Canada Manpower
ams: Canada Works, Young Canada Works, LEAP, DREE Riverbank Acquisition.

PROVINCIAUX

oba Housing and Renewal Programs: Rent Supplement, Public Housing, Critical
Repair Program, Provincial AHOP Assistance.

MUNICIPAUX

al Works in various Department
bank acquisition

statement on future stability of neighbourhood in
land uses and densities. Specify any existing or
public or private development plans other than
RRAP which will have a major impact on NIP area.

*Fournir un énoncé sur la stabilité future du quartier en ce
qui concerne l'utilisation des terrains et les densités.
Préciser tous les plans d'aménagement existants ou
éventuels, du secteur public ou privé, autres que le
P.A.Q. et le P.A.R.E.L., qui exerceront une influence
majeure sur la zone P.A.Q.*

neighbourhood has been stabilized by the attached district bylaws and zoning
aws. We are unaware at this time of any existing or potential public or
vate development plans other than N.I.P. and R.R.A.P. which will have a
or impact on the N.I.P. area.

ATTACH THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS:

- of the minimum building standards by-law.
- olution or by-law authorizing submission of this
ation.
- nce of provincial approval of this application.

VEUILLEZ ANNEXER LES DOCUMENTS SUIVANTS:

1. Un exemplaire du règlement sur les normes minimales
d'occupation et d'entretien des immeubles résidentiels.
2. Une résolution ou un règlement autorisant la soumission
de la présente demande.
3. Une pièce justifiant l'approbation de la présente
demande par la province.

Designated Neighbourhood (Continued)

ark and transportation corridor. (See attached District Plan).

Outline Plan Objectives, Needs and Priorities (Continued)

1) A Municipal Service Program

North St. Boniface was serviced at the beginning of the twentieth century. Many of the streets, backlanes, and sidewalks have never been paved or the existing paving has deteriorated to the point where it should be replaced. The area is serviced by a combined storm and sanitary sewer and ditch system which in recent years has been inadequate in providing drainage during rainstorms.

2) Removal of CNR Spurlines and Residential Development of Vacant and Industrial Lands

In relation to its area, North St. Boniface has a rather small residential sector. In order to improve present levels of public transportation, commercial and social services, the residents have identified the urgent need to increase the population of the area. The strategy they have chosen is to redevelop vacant and industrial areas into cooperative or private housing. This strategy is two-fold in that it intends to remove CNR spur tracks and those industries which have blighted the area with untidy outdoor storage, deteriorating buildings, poorly organized parking and truck traffic -- elements presently discouraging the residential development of North St. Boniface.

3) Senior Citizen Housing

Two hundred forty senior citizens live in North St. Boniface. A group of them especially widowers, are finding the upkeep of their houses more and more difficult; others are living in inadequate rental accommodation. These seniors are interested in moving into senior citizen housing, but they are reluctant to leave friends and familiar surroundings to move into units outside the area. For these reasons, the residents have underlined the need for senior citizen housing to be constructed in North St. Boniface.

4) Development of Social and Recreational Facilities

North St. Boniface is grossly deficient of developed parks. With the exception of three small tot lots, the residents of the area are wholly dependent on developed parks located outside of their community or on undeveloped and under utilized lands lying along the Seine and Red Rivers.

There are plans at the municipal level to develop the banks of the Seine River as a linear park from its mouth in North St. Boniface to the outskirts of the City. The residents have decided to focus N.I.P. funds on developing a local park system implementing a few of the Seine River proposals which would benefit them the most.

Their first major project is the construction of a pedestrian/cyclist bridge to link the two parts of the community presently separated by the Seine River. This bridge will provide access to the following recreational facilities the residents would like to see developed on both sides of the river:

) Development of Social and Recreational Facilities (Cont'd)

new playground equipment and baseball diamond on the existing park, east of the Seine River, purchase and development of two tot lots in the area of west of the Seine River and south of the CNR mainline, the development of a pedestrian/cyclist path through the whole neighbourhood using Manitoba Hydro's transmission lines right-of-way and city-owned properties along Thibault, the development of a small recreation complex with tennis court, hockey ice rink, wading and outdoor swimming pool, etc., either on the west side of the Seine River, or north of Tache School.

North St. Boniface, although considered to be a separate neighbourhood, is part of a larger community in terms of community services. In fact, none of the services for this larger community are located within the sector described by the boundaries of this project. As a result, the residents of North St. Boniface must go outside of their neighbourhood in order to satisfy their needs.

Presently, the residents feel no strong desire to duplicate community services in North St. Boniface. But as Provencher Boulevard's traffic load increases, the residents are looking at providing services within the community for the elderly and the very young -- those whose trips across Provencher are seen to be dangerous. One service for which the residents have expressed a need is the provision of a senior citizen centre at the rear of 212 Dumoulin, an old firehall.

Rehabilitation, and the attendant redevelopment of portions of this area, will undoubtedly cause the population of this area to increase thereby increasing the need for community services. At that point in time, the residents have identified the following services to be provided: day care centre, community education centre, and neighbourhood recreation and cultural facilities. Possible sites to house these services would be 212 Dumoulin or a site north of Tache School.

5) A Program of Boulevard Planting

Portions of North St. Boniface have well treed boulevards which greatly enhance the appearance of the area. Other portions are completely barren. A program of boulevard planting, after the municipal services have been renewed, have been proposed by the residents of North St. Boniface.

6) Need for more Commercial Services and Public Transportation

Provencher Boulevard, at one time, functioned as a regional shopping area for the northerly sector of St. Boniface. However, because of importance assumed by Marion-Goulet as a major component of the regional street system, and the introduction of several new shops along these right-of-ways, the status of Provencher has been reduced almost to that of a local shopping district. The residents of North St. Boniface would like to see the revitalization of the commercial sector of Provencher Boulevard with the establishment of a badly needed drug store, hardware store, food store, woman's clothing store, and post office east of the Seine.

North St. Boniface has developed as an isolated residential/industrial enclave separated from the remainder of the community by major thoroughfares. As a result, the area is relatively free of all except local traffic. Although the relationship tends to separate the two types of traffic, it is not conducive to the provision of services such

Need for more Commercial Services and Public Transportation (Cont'd)

as public transportation. Public transportation within the neighbourhood along Tache, LaVerendrye, and Langevin Streets, was cited as a need by the residents west of the Seine River, and better scheduling of the Archibald bus was cited by the residents east of the Seine.

Describe Resident Involvement (Cont'd)

developed for the North St. Boniface N.I.P. area. At a third meeting, each sector elected five residents to sit on a N.I.P. Resident Committee.

The Resident Committee has formulated their responsibilities and activities as follows:

-) to formulate with N.I.P. staff, planning proposals which reflect the concerns and needs of the whole neighbourhood.
-) to ensure that all interested residents are allowed to debate, advise, and vote on proposals through meetings and/or surveys.
-) to ensure that all residents of the area are being informed of planning proposals, decided projects, and implementation strategies, process through distribution of literature and/or word of mouth.

The Resident Committee meets regularly twice a month and their meetings are open to the community at large.

After their election, the N.I.P. Resident Committee formed seven sub-committees: Executive, Parks/Recreation/Social, Housing, Industrial/Commercial, Information, Municipal Services, Senior Citizen, to develop the various elements of the N.I.P. These sub-committees consist of two or three resident committee members and other residents at large.

rth St. Boniface Municipal Services Program

The following is an outline of the existing Municipal services to be improved and those to be newly installed which will be financed through the rth St. Boniface Neighbourhood Improvement Program, City of Winnipeg's Capital Works Budget, and City of Winnipeg's Local Improvement (see attached financing schedule).

The Municipal Services Program will be undertaken in three phases as shown on the attached maps.

PHASE I (East of The Seine River)

Installation of land drainage sewers and replacement of watermain on Dumoulin (\$177,000) - Winter 1976-1977.

Reconstruction of Street and sidewalks and lane regarding (\$577,000) - Summer 1977.

This work completes the upgrading of municipal services in the Phase I area, all chargeable to N.I.P. funds.

PHASE II (Between Tache and Langevin)

Renewal of combined sewers as wastewater sewer only; financed by City funds (\$335,200); to be undertaken during Winter 1977-1978.

Renewal of watermain (\$180,450); financed by N.I.P. funds to be undertaken during Winter 1977-1978.

Installation of land drainage sewers (\$667,750); financed by N.I.P. funds - to be undertaken during Winter 1977-1978.

Installation of concrete pavements on St. Joseph and Langevin proposed to be done as Local Improvements (\$456,000); to be undertaken during the Summer of 1978.

Regrading of lanes proposed to be financed by N.I.P. funds (\$13,000) and undertaken during the Summer of 1978.

Reconstruction of pavements on LaVerendrye; proposed to be financed by City funds (\$205,000) and undertaken during the Summer of 1978.

Reconstruction of pavement, tentatively on Notre Dame; proposed to be financed by N.I.P. (\$169,000) and undertaken during the Summer of 1978.

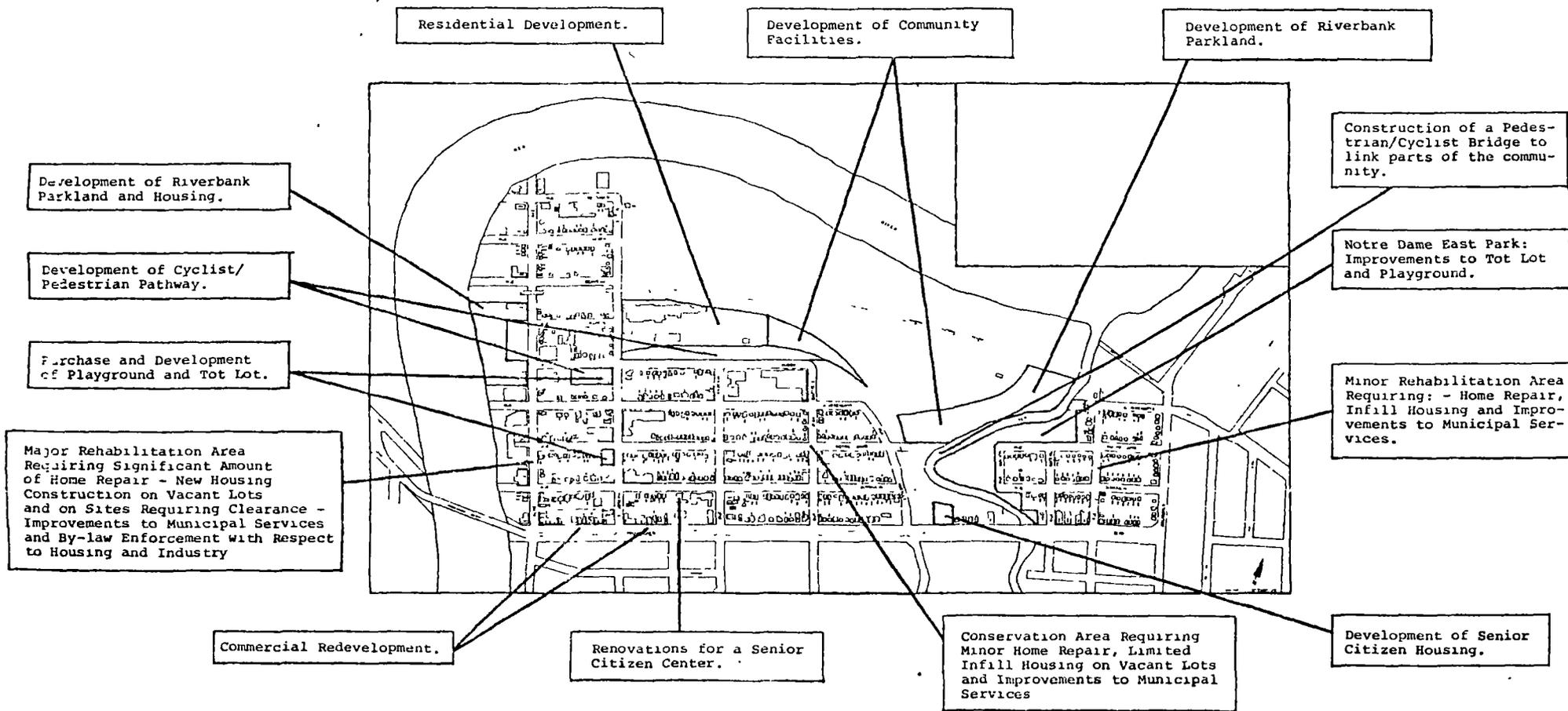
Reconstruction of remaining pavements, proposed to be financed by City funds (\$250,000) to be undertaken during 1979.

PHASE III (Between Langevin and the Seine River)

Installation of Land drainage sewers, proposed to be financed by City funds (\$196,500), by N.I.P. funds (\$115,100), and by utilization of surplus funds in 1976 City appropriation for combined sewer renewals in Phase II (\$102,600), to be undertaken in 1978.

Renewal of watermain, to be financed by N.I.P. funds (\$50,700), proposed to be undertaken in 1978.

Reconstruction of pavements, renewal of combined sewers as wastewater sewers, and minor lane regrading, proposed to be financed by City funds, with possibly some Local Improvement pavements (\$1,040,000 in 1978 dollars), to be undertaken from 1979-1982.



CONCEPT PLAN

FINANCING SCHEDULE
NORTH ST. BONIFACE N.I.P. AREA

	<u>N.I.P.</u>	<u>CITY AT LARGE</u>	<u>CITY LOCAL IMPROVEMENTS</u>
<u>PHASE I</u>			
Land Drainage Sewers	\$ 177,000		
Watermain			
Streets, Walks, & Lanes	<u>577,000</u>		
	\$ 754,000		
 <u>PHASE II</u>			
Land Drainage Sewers	\$ 667,750		
Wastewater Sewers		\$ 335,200	
Watermain	180,450		
Streets, Walks, & Lanes	<u>182,000</u>	<u>455,000</u>	<u>\$ 456,000</u>
	\$1,030,200	\$ 790,200	\$ 456,000
 <u>PHASE III</u>			
Land Drainage Sewers	\$ 115,100	\$ 299,100	
Wastewater Sewers		249,600	
Watermain	50,700		
Streets, Walks, & Lanes	<u> </u>	<u>557,050</u>	<u>\$ 233,350</u>
	\$ 165,800	\$1,105,750	\$ 233,350
 TOTAL THREE PHASES	 <u>\$1,950,000</u>	 <u>\$1,895,950</u>	 <u>\$ 689,350</u>
 GRAND TOTAL	 - <u><u>\$4,535,300</u></u>		

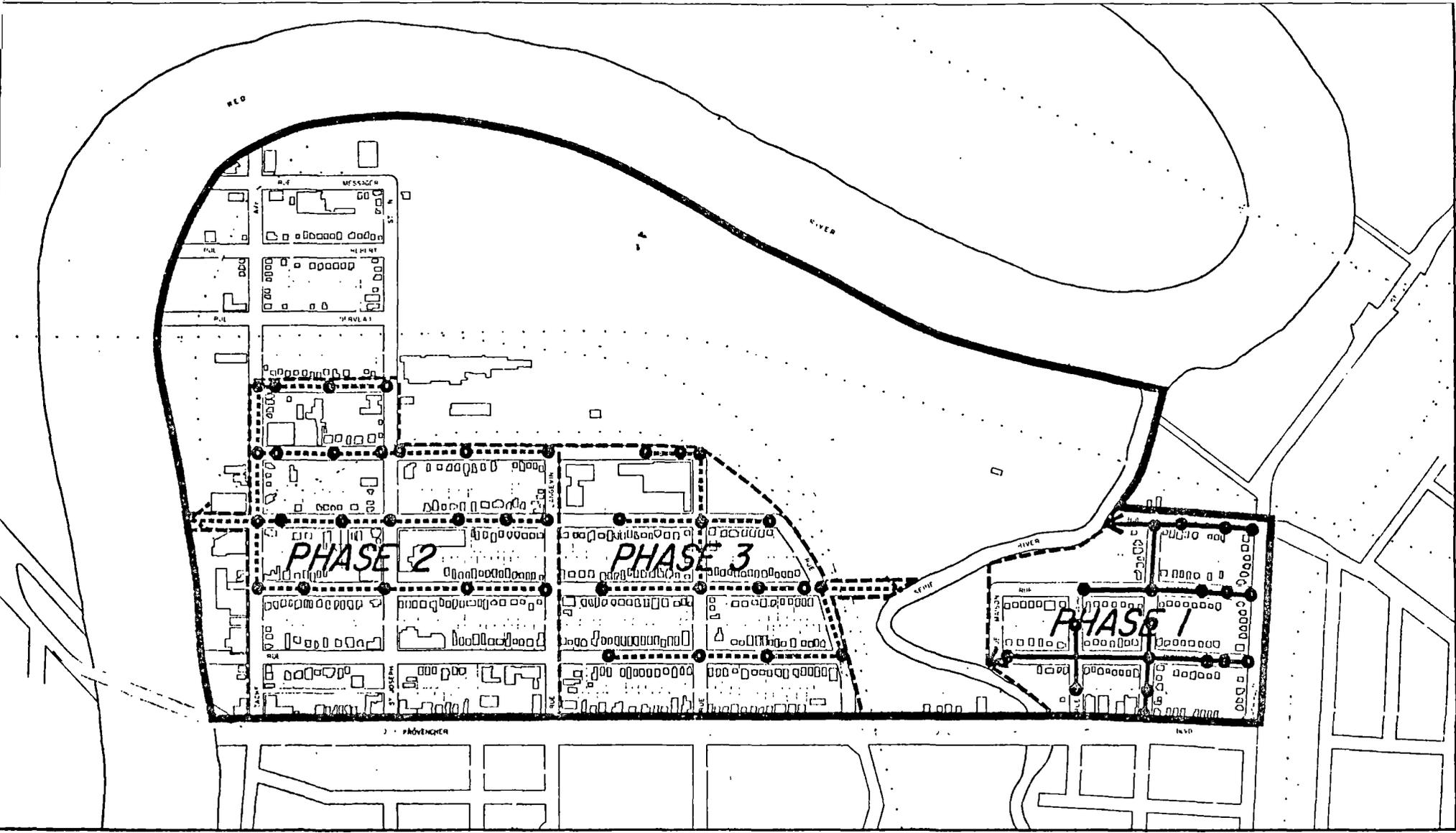
Phase II (between Tache and Langevin)

-Renewal of combined sewers as wastewater sewer only; financed by City funds; to be undertaken during Winter 1977-78	\$335,200
-Renewal of watermains; financed by N.I.P. funds; to be undertaken during Winter 1977-78	\$180,450
-Installation of land drainage sewers; financed by N.I.P. funds; to be undertaken during Winter 1977-78	\$667,750
-Installation of concrete pavements on St. Joseph and Langevin proposed to be done as Local Improvements; to be undertaken during the Summer of 1979	\$456,000
-Regrading of lanes; proposed to be financed by N.I.P. funds; to be undertaken during the Summer of 1979	\$ 13,000
-Reconstruction of pavements on LaVerendrye; proposed to be financed by City funds; to be undertaken during the Summer of 1979	\$205,000
-Reconstruction of pavement, tentatively on Notre Dame; to be financed by N.I.P.; to be undertaken during the Summer of 1979	\$169,000
-Reconstruction of remaining pavements; proposed to be financed by City funds; to be undertaken during 1981 - 82	\$250,000
	<hr/>
	\$2,762,250

The following is the proposal for Phase III - the area between Langevin and the Seine River.

Phase III (between Langevin and the Seine River)

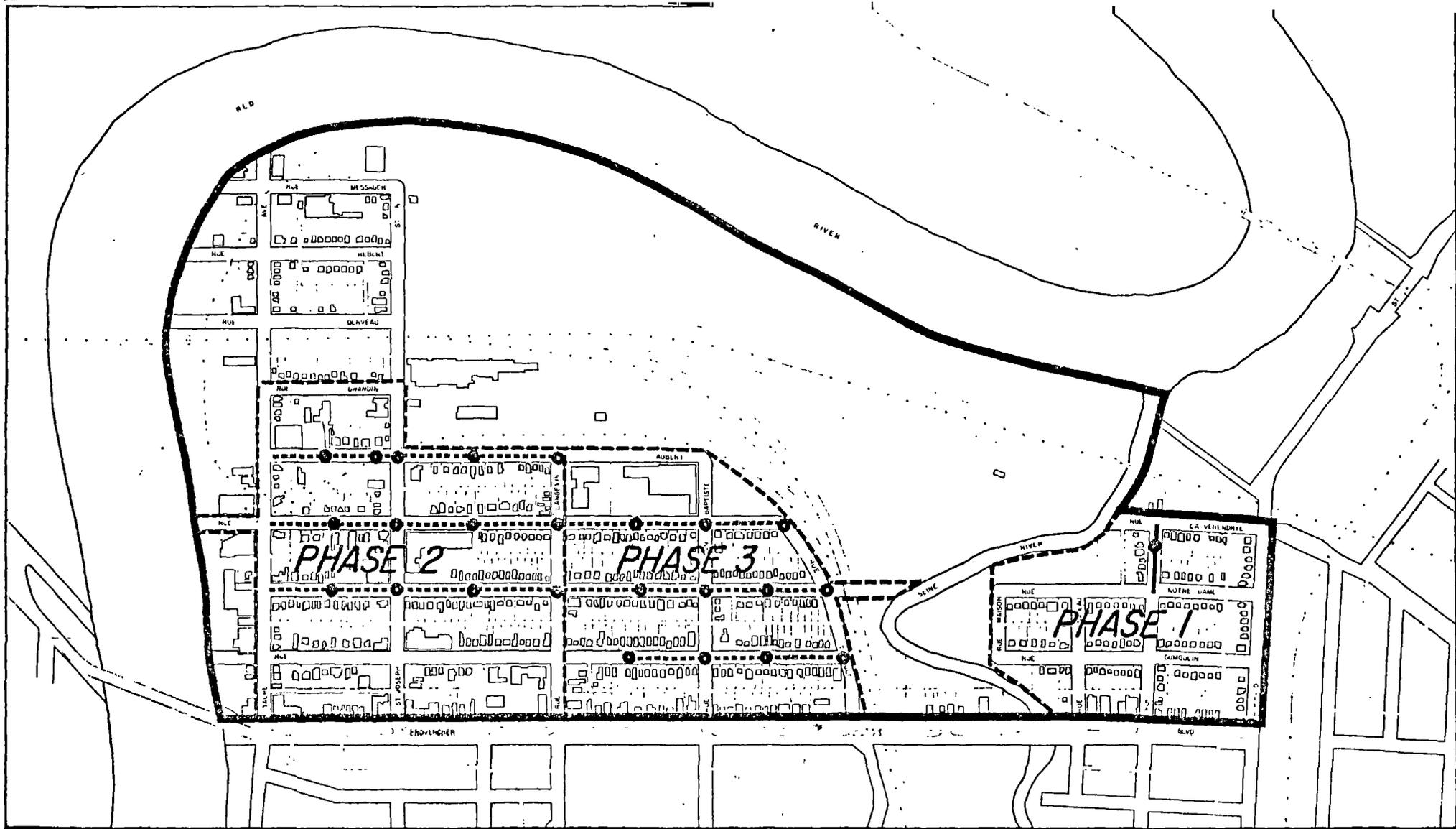
-Installation of land drainage sewers; proposed to be financed by City funds	\$196,500
proposed to be financed by N.I.P. funds and by utilization of surplus funds in 1976 City appropriation for combined sewer renewals in Phase II; to be undertaken during winter 1978 - 79	\$115,100
-Renewal of watermain to be financed by N.I.P. funds proposed to be undertaken during winter 1978 - 79	\$102,600
-Reconstruction of pavements, renewal of combined sewers as wastewater sewers, and minor lane regrading; proposed to be financed by City funds, with possibly some Local Improvement pavements; to be undertaken from 1979-1980	\$ 50,700
	\$1,040,000
	<hr/>
	\$1,504,900



LAND DRAINAGE SEWER

———— COMPLETED AS OF SEPT. 7, 1977

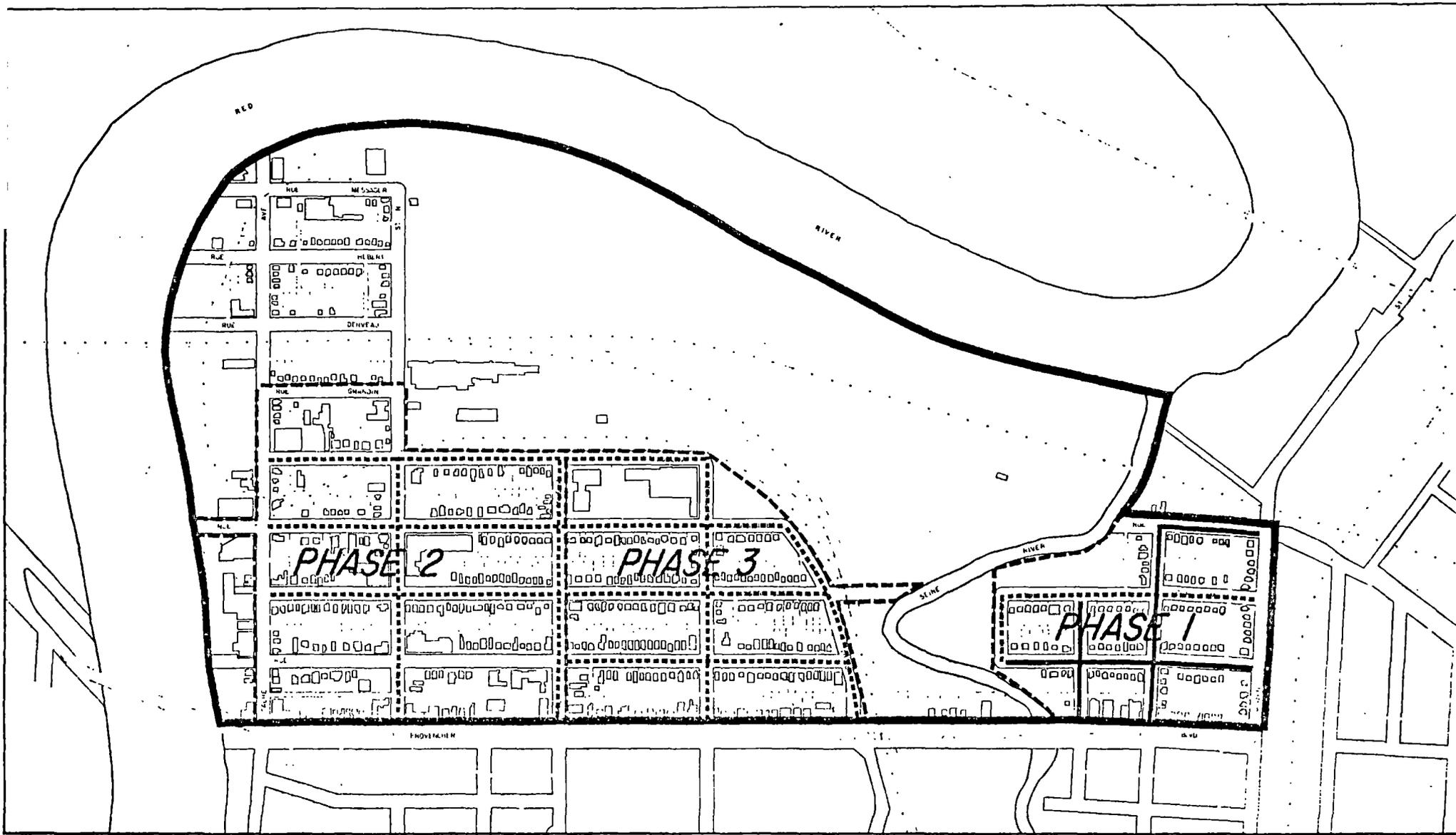
..... TO BE CONSTRUCTED



WASTE WATER SEWER

—●— COMPLETED AS OF SEPT. 7, 1977

- - -●- - - TO BE CONSTRUCTED



PAVEMENT

———— COMPLETED AS OF SEPT. 7, 1977

----- TO BE CONSTRUCTED

