Inner City Profiles and Processes of Change

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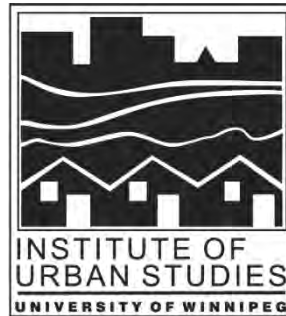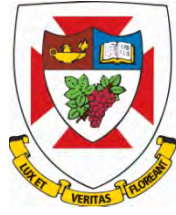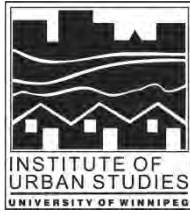
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The Institute of Urban Studies is an independent research arm of the University of Winnipeg. Since 1969, the IUS has been both an academic and an applied research centre, committed to examining urban development issues in a broad, non-partisan manner.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

INNER CITY PROFILES AND PROCESSES

OF CHANGE

Joyce Epstein and Christine McKee

Institute of Urban Studies
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INNER CITY PROFILES AND PROCESSES OF CHANGE

1. PURPOSE

Analysis and assessment of the inner city in Canadian cities by planners and academics is heavily based on the American experience. Comparatively little research has been undertaken, which analyses and conceptualises problems and strategies for Canadian inner city areas, even though they have unique characteristics and needs. An earlier review of literature on the inner city undertaken by a former Institute of Urban Studies researcher [1] illustrates this dilemma for Canadian researchers and policy-makers. His article is rich in illustrations from American authors such as Gans, Sternlieb, Ward, Boyce and Selley, but references relating the Canadian experience are sparse. A more recent article by McLemore et al, [2] shows that the situation has not greatly improved since then and suggests there are large gaps in our knowledge of inner city areas in Canadian cities, particularly in the prairie and maritime provinces. One of the main objectives of the seminar for which this paper has been prepared is to extend the body of knowledge available and stimulate discussion about the inner city in Canada, particularly in connection with Prairie cities such as Winnipeg.

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(1)   David Vincent ...   The Inner City .. A Winnipeg Example, in
                           L. Axworthy et al, "The Citizen and Neighbourhood
                           Renewal", Institute of Urban Studies, University
                           of Winnipeg, 1973

(2)   R. McLemore,   The Changing Canadian Inner City, Ministry of
       Carl Ass   State for Urban Affairs, June 1975.
       Peter Keilhofer

2. DEFINITION OF INNER CITY

The inner city is often defined in simply physical terms as the central core of urban areas and the residential and mixed areas surrounding this core. This provides a neat, spatial and geographically precise definition which provides a manageable focus and framework for organising information about the inner city. There are disadvantages in using this kind of spatial definition. These would include:

1. Inner city conditions may not be confined to this delineated geographical area and may appear in pockets outside the inner city area.

2. For particular cities such as Winnipeg, there has been no consensus about what area constitutes the inner city. As Vincent points out, "The former Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg determined both urban renewal and rehabilitation areas for the city but specified no inner city area as such, while the Social Service Audit referred to the area of greatest concentration of social problems as the Core Area of Winnipeg".[3] This lack of consensus makes it difficult to use directly comparable data in analysing inner city areas.

3. Also a spatial definition is essentially static. It does not convey an image of the dynamics of the inner city in terms of the people who live there, the kind of social and economic opportunities available to them, the kind of land use and housing stock, the pressures to which it is exposed and the patterns of in and out migration etc.

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(3)   op cit David Vincent - page 43.

Reg McLemore et al have developed a definition of the inner

city which recognises its special characteristics and the unique

pressures to which it is exposed. Their description of the inner

city[as generally the first part of the city to be developed,

characterised by aging housing stock and subject to pressure for

drastic change; in form, different from the rest of the city, a

dense, finely meshed mixture of land uses, served by narrow

congested streets or bisected by major transportation routes;

its location between the central business district and the suburbs,

and its function as a recreation area and first area of settlement

for new immigrants and in-migration from rural areas] fully

recognises the dynamic characteristics of inner city areas. In

operationalising their definition of the inner city, they use the

age of the housing stock as the index. They show that the area

that emerges when this index is used is a cluster of census tracts

around the centre of the city. They define the inner city as

those generally contiguous census tracts where the percentage of

housing built before 1946 is more than double the metropolitan

figure [4].

Winnipeg's inner city area, that part of the city centred by Main

Street, including major parts of the central business district and

X substantial portions of the lder living areas of central and north

Winnipeg has a wide diversity of people, a heterogeneity not .....

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(4)   op cit R. McLemore et al Page 2.
       (A tract which does not emerge but which is generally surrounded
        by other tracts which do emerge is included)

...... uncommon to inner cities of large metropolitan centres. Historically it is the area of first settlement in Winnipeg; commercially it is the central business district of Winnipeg; physically it is the oldest area of the city, diverse in building and housing types; socially it is the cultural centre for Winnipeg's population and is a gathering place for migrants and transients from a variety of ethnic backgrounds; economically, it is the location of the poorest people and many marginal businesses.

In defining the inner city for this paper, an amalgam of physical, social and administrative factors were used to delineate a particular geographical area. In addition, a boundary line which corresponded as closely as possible with Statistics Canada census tract boundaries was defined, in order to facilitate the easy use of Census statistics. The boundary of the inner city used for the purposes of this paper is illustrated in Map 1.

3. OUTLINE OF PAPER

This paper first describes the pressures and processes currently opperating in the inner city and attempts to identify some of the major planning and policy problems and responses which offset present conditions in the inner. .

city from the perspective of inner city residents. It examines the needs, aspirations, attitudes, problems and housing conditions of inner city residents and is based on a recent survey undertaken by I.U.S. The following section describes various Winnipeg scenarios of different types of inner city neighbourhoods which allow the heterogencity and sub-systems of particular areas to be examined.

Finally, this paper gives some preliminary consideration to the kind of policy responses which are required to deal with the problems and processes operating in the core area . This theme will be further developed by subsequent papers presented to this Seminar.

4. PRESSURES AND PROCESSES OPERATING IN THE INNER CITY

- A large proportion of housing stock in Winnipeg's inner city area is reaching a threshold in terms of age and condition. Approximately 85% of the housing stock was constructed before 1946, 70% being constructed before 1920. As a result, there exists significant pockets of deteriorated dwellings and a high rate of substandard housing. The 1971 Census rated only approximately 9% of the housing stock in good condition and more than 20% (22.7%) was rated as poor or very poor. In the inner city the ratio of tenant occupancy to owner occupancy is three to one and the rate of tenancy exceeds the outer city by 40%. [5]

- Because of new and rigorous municipal legislation, fire loss and development pressures, many housing units which in the past provided low cost accomodation for low income people have been lost to the housing market. A recent report by the Commissioner of the Environment states that 210 dwelling units were demolished because of by-law contraventions in 1976. In addition, fire accounted for the loss of 87 dwelling units in 1976 and 200 units in 1975. [6] However, the Manitoba Landlords Association estimated that by the end of 1976 800 - 1,000 units may have been taken off the market as a result of the Apartment Upgrading By-Law and the Maintenance and Occupancy By-Law. [7] Also, factors such as the approval by Centennial Community Committee of demolition orders for

(5) Axworthy et al, Core Area Report, I.U.S. 1976.
(6) Commissioner of the Environment ... Report to City Council, March 1977, reported in Winnipeg Free Press, Saturday, March 5,
(7) McKee et al, I.U.S. "Towards a Planning Strategy for Older Neighbourhoods, Policy Paper, January 1977.

a total of 1200 units during the 16 months ending December 1976,
suggest that loss of housing units from all causes is very great.[8]
Inner city areas have traditionally provided housing for varied population
groups including a significant number of low income people such as the
elderly, the new immigrant, the student, the young worker and the
single parent family. Under present policy arrangements, it seems
unlikely that alternative accommodation can be provided for these
groups without deep public subsidy. Also, there is likely to be a
significant gap between the number of units lost and the number of
units provided. For example, ₍Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation₎ project that in 1977, 932 units will be
built in the inner city for both families and elderly persons.

In addition, public housing ₍can₎ only offer one housing options to the
people displaced, and can deal only with the problems of the lowest
income ~~income~~ groups.

C. Older historic buildings often converted into multiple dwellings
have been demolished or are threatened with destruction and there seems
to be a general lack of interest and concern amongst public officials
and the private sector in conserving existing buildings.
In the case of older, historic buildings, it is not suggested that
these should be treated as a "sacred cow", but rather than offering
them as an automatic sacrifice to speculators and developers, there
should be mechanisms for delaying demolition until the merits of

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(8) A. Riegenstrief . .Address to United Church Winnipeg Presbytery, February 8,
     1977.
     This paper also estimated that 1,500 - 1,800 units of housing per year are
     currently being lost from all causes in the City of Winnipeg.

...of saving buildings in good structural condition and with features
of historical, architectural of aesthetic interest have been fully
investigated. In Winnipeg, a recently enacted by-law should provide
a useful tool to allow City Council to control the demolition process.

D. In and near the Central Business District, particularly in the
South downtown area, present activities indicate the replacement of
existing structures by more intensified land use . Demand for
residential land is modest but high for commercial property, particularly
along major arteries. A study of real estate sales for an eighteen
month period ending in December 1975, showed that land values are
some of the highest in the city.[9] Existing residential land use
is therefore being consistently encroached upon and the character and
shape of the area is changing in a spasmodic and ad hoc way.

E. The kind of new building that has taken place in the inner city
and is projected tends to indicate a pre-occupation amongst public
officials with new development and visual monoliths rather than
demonstrating concern for conserving existing buildings and aiming
at a balance between old and new. Examples of recent new building
includes the Convention Centre, the Osborne Street Bridge, the
Trizec Complex and a new Autopac Building. One of the few examples
of planning for a blend of old and new in redevelopment in the inner

(9) Rick Badger et al, The South Downtown Winnipeg Study, Dept. of City
Planning, University of Manitoba, May 1976.

city is the redevelopment of the Albert St. area which involves the conservation of aesthetically pleasing old frontages. However, this will mainly affect commercial rather than residential establishments.

F. In the field of transportation, although it is declared city policy to encourage the use of public transit, the city is envisaging the implementation of projects such as the Trizec development (one thousand additional parking stalls), the Bestlands proposal (one thousand parking units), Rupertsland Square (five hundred stalls) and the Winnipeg Library which is now completed providing 675 stalls.[10] Such increased provision for parking facilities can only accentuate the use of the automobile, produce a reduced demand for public transit and increase the already substantial congestion of inner city streets.

G. 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 $380,000,000.00. No major improvements to existing systems are included - i.e. no new inner city transportation

(10) ibid p. note 9.

...no new park developments and no improvements to the transit
system - only maintenance of existing service levels. This policy
will tend to contribute to the acceleration of decline in inner
city areas. Emphasis on suburban rather than inner city development
also tends to reflect inner core versus suburban rivalry in City
Council and the greater strength of the latter faction. Also, because
there is a virtually non-existent party structure in City Council,
polarisation tends to occur along geographical lines rather than
being based on group votes which represent and support particular
issues and philosophies.

Although the City of Winnipeg Act created an elaborate framework
to encourage public participation and grass roots involvement at
the Community Committee and Resident Advisory Group level, there
is little evidence that the needs and desires of inner city have
a major influence on current planning and recent Council decisions.
Issues such as the ban on overnight parking, aimed at expediting
the flow of traffic through inner city areas, affects inner city
residents much more drastically than outer city residents because
front driveways are unusual. This issue was greatly opposed by inner
city residents. However, the ban was supported by a majority of City
Council. The reader is referred to the following section for a study
of inner city needs and values.

I. A final problem which contributes to the process of decline in inner city areas is the lack of confidence and investment which the private sector is willing to offer in inner city areas. This is reflected by reluctance of some financial institutions to grant mortgages on older houses in some inner city areas, reluctance to allow loans for upgrading and rehabilitation, higher than market interest rates and in some cases, red-lining of particular 'high-risk' areas which effectively places an embargo on loan capital for particular areas.[11]

(11) a.   Marianne Bossen ... The Role of Private Financial Institutions in Older Winnipeg Neighbourhoods. (Unpublished) Consultant's Report, done for IUS, October, 1976.

   b.   Mortgage Loans Association of Manitoba - Results of Questionnaire to Member organisations - February 1976.

4. PROFILES OF THE INNER CITY

The examination of present pressures and processes operating in the inner city area of Winnipeg, presented above, suggest that some changes in policy direction are necessary if decline in the inner city is to be halted and its diversified residential and commercial role is to be preserved. However, any changes in policy direction should be based on a detailed knowledge of the inner city and its sub-systems. The next section of this paper therefore attempts to present a detailed profile of the inner city, based on a recent study undertaken by I.U.S. In this section, the term 'core area' is used synonymously with the term 'inner city'.

McLemore et al describes a general image of the inner city emerging from statistics collected from ten cities across Canada. It is summarised as follows:

> "The inner city population is older, poorer, less educated, more often unemployed, more mixed ethnically and composed of smaller households (and thus, probably fewer families) than the suburban population. The inner city housing stock, when compared to the suburbs tends to be apartments rather than single family houses, with smaller dwelling units, cheaper rents, and a greater proportion of tenants."[12]

To what extent does the data collected and analysed by I.U.S. in connection with Winnipeg mirror this image?

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12. op cit. p

HOUSING NEEDS AND ATTITUDES OF INNER CITY RESIDENTS - A PROFILE

During the summer of 1976, personal interviews were conducted with 393 residents[13] of the core area of Winnipeg, the area bounded roughly by Arlington Street, Church Avenue, and the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. This paper will present the findings of that portion of the interview that dealt with citizen attitudes, needs and information in the field of housing and neighbourhood conditions.

It has been said that the best way of finding out what people need is to ask them. This is only partially so. The data yielded by this process is interesting, at times provocative, and potentially useful, but must be interpreted with caution since, by the very nature of self reports, the researcher is getting a mix of "real" conditions, and social, psychological and cultural problems, no less real but demanding of different social service responses. By asking the residents what they like and dislike about their environment, what state of repair it is in, and what they know about it, we are learning something about actual housing conditions, but we are also, by inference, learning something about residents' needs, values, fears and expectations, both from what they say and what they don't say. The results of this survey, though non-definitive, suggest some program directions for the future in the inner city. The preceding section has delineated the external

13. Interviewees were selected by drawing every 50th address from Henderson's Directory in order to represent a random 2% sample of the area's households. This yielded 413 addresses, for which 393 completed interviews were obtained. The remaining 5% were dropped because of refusal of resident, because no one was home on three call-backs over a one-month period, or because the address was a vacant lot and incorrectly listed in the Directory.

development and planning pressures being brought to bear in the core, but, as it also pointed out, the needs and desires of inner city residents have so far had little impact on the many changes taking place in the core. The present effort should be viewed as an initial attempt to document internal needs and pressures, in order to develop a more balanced approach to the core.

I. The Sample Population

The demographic characteristics of residents of the core area of Winnipeg has been well documented in previous Institute reports.[14] The sample population of the present survey was found to correspond roughly with what is already known about the area population so only a brief description will be presented here. See Appendix for detailed findings.

The interviewees, as expected, represented a highly mixed ethnic group, including residents of British, French, German, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, Greek, Scandinavian, Portuguese, Indo-Pakistani, East European, West Indian, African and Canadian and Native Indian origin. Education and income were lower than for the city as a whole; incidence of single parent families, of senior citizens, and of immigrant groups was higher. In general, residential mobility in the core area is higher than that for the city as a whole, but there is also a sizeable portion (nearly one third) of long term residents, those who have lived at the same core area address for over ten years. Median length of residence for this group is 18 years. Median age of interview population was 30 years,

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14. In particular, Winnipeg's Core Area: An Assessment of Conditions Affecting Law Enforcement, IUS, 1975.

with a range of 15 to 92 years. A little over half (59%) the

interviewees were female.

Most (70%) of the interview population live in rented dwellings;

29% own their dwelling. Most (63%) live in some kind of multiple

dwelling unit -- apartment building, duplex, triplex or rooming house --

with 32% living in single detached housing. About half the renters paid

between $100 and $160 per month for rent, and about one quarter paid more.

Almost half the owner-occupiers valued their houses at between $20,000

and $29,999; 14% valued their houses at less than $20,000 and 33% at

$30,000 or moer. A fairly large proportion (19%) of owner-occupiers

rent part of their house out to others. Amongst owners and renters, 4%

reported they are landlords elsewhere.

II. Housing and Neighbourhood Attitudes for the Sample as a Whole

Residents were asked, on a completely open-ended basis, what it

is that they like about their present accommodation and the neighbourhood

in which it is situated. Respondents were permitted to give whatever and

as many answers as they wished. Of the 393 respondents, 37 or 9%, could

come up with nothing. Among the remaining 356 people, 662 responses were

produced, averaging about two responses per person.

The single most common response given emphasized the convenience

of living in the central city. This was phrased in various ways: about

30% (of all interviewees) said they liked being close to the centre of

the city, 30% referred to the easy access to the centre, and 35% mentioned

the desirability of being close to specific facilities.

These findings are consistent with those of other studies[15]
of central city residents of older neighbourhoods, where respondents
surveyed persistently cite the central location as the most liked
aspect of their living situation.

The next most popular amenity, accounting for 23% of the sample
population, was the people living in the neighbourhood. Responses
indicated that interviewees had friends or relatives in the area, or
that the people living in the area were in some way desirable as neighbours.
Although low costs undoubtedly play an important role in residents' being
in the core, only 15% of the interviewees pointed to a low rent or purchase
price as something they particularly liked about their accommodation, and
even fewer (11%) cited the dwelling unit itself, in terms of its physical
or aesthetic condition. This too is in keeping with other studies of
inner city areas, one of which[16] noted that "low rent is rarely mentioned
in discussing aspects of...the apartments that were sources of satisfaction
(but) that the neighbour relationship is of particular importance..."

Seven percent of respondents mentioned the quiet surroundings, 6%
safety from crime, 4% open spaces or greenery, and 4% cited longevity as
a factor ("I like it because I've lived here all my life", for example).

Residents were next asked to say what they dislike about their
accommodation or neighbourhood. Here, 115 persons (30%) could offer no
answer, and of the remaining interviewees, respondents averaged only

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15.

16. Fried and Gleicher, "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in
an Urban Slum", 1961.

about one response per person. In general, psychological research has shown that propie are much more aware of what is wrong with their environment than what is right with it. The fact that exactly the reverse occurred with this particular population, i.e. inner city residents with high social problem indicators, is of considerable interest and more will be said about it further down.

Unlike responses to the question of what is liked, there was no single strong common response to the question of what is disliked. Answers included, in descending order of frequency: the neighbours; the condition of other houses on the street; the condition of their own housing; fear of crime; poor city services; and the general urban condition: noise, dirt, traffic, crowding. Each of these responses was given by between 8 and 13% of the interviewees. In addition, 6% cited the lack of adequate increase in their property value, and 7% cited a variety of personal reasons, generally involving restrictions of freedom (can't have a cat, can't have parties, etc.).

Again, the fact that the aspect most disliked was the people of the neighbourhood is in keeping with survey studies of other inner city areas. It is usually immigrant groups that are specifically cited in this regard, and in Winnipeg this holds true. However in addition to resentment of immigrants, in Winnipeg there was a considerable amount of racial comment directed toward the Native population as well.

Also of interest is the finding that so few people (47 out of 393) volunteered dissatisfaction with the condition of their housing,

despite the fact, as mentioned in the previous section of this paper, that independent surveys of the area point to a high rate of substandard accommodation.

Although only 10% of residents named crime, or fear of crime, as a reason for disliking their neighbourhood, other findings to be discussed further down suggest that for this group of people, the effect is very marked. Twelve percent of residents had actually been victims of crime over the past year. About one quarter of residents view their neighbourhood as being more dangerous than other neighbourhoods in the city, with a strong tendency for those who had been victims of crime to be more fearful. In response to further direct questioning, about one third think their neighbourhood is getting worse, in terms of crime, compared to only 11% who feel it is getting better.

After the open-ended housing questions were concluded, residents were asked specifically if in their dwelling unit they had serious problems, slight problems, or no problems at all, with the following housing features: roof, exterior walls, structure or foundation, insulation, interior walls and ceilings, heating, plumbing, wiring, floor surfaces, or other feature. It was hoped that by calling the resident's attention to specific areas of housing need, one by one, more information could be elicited. And to some degree this was successful.[17] But 82 to 90% of respondents still answered "no problem"

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17. Of those who initially could name nothing about their house that they disliked, over one third were later able to identify problems in response to the interviewer's list.

in response to each item listed, even though the interviewers sometimes informally noted obvious and serious problems. Of the remaining 10 to 18% of respondents, most rated problems as "slight", with only about 2% citing serious problems for any given housing feature.

Interviewees were asked if they had ever heard of any of the following assisted repair programs: Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program, Winnipeg Home Improvement Program, and Manitoba Critical Home Repair. Only 13% had heard of RRAP, 28% had heard of WHIP and 13% had heard of MHRC. Of the 393 residents surveyed, only 12 (about 3% of the total sample and 9% of those who had heard of any assisted repair programs) had actually had assisted repair work done. By contrast, 35% of the sample had done their own, unassisted repair work over the past year, including roof, interior and exterior wall, door and window, plumbing, and heating repair work.

For those who had heard of any of the assisted repair programs, but had not used them, chief reason given was that repairs were not needed (by resident's own estimation). Other reasons given included: the particular repairs desired were not eligible under the program; resident's address was not covered by the program; would require too great an expense on the part of the resident; too complicated to get grant; and refused by program, with no reason given by resident.

In sum, then, findings suggest that what residents value in the Winnipeg core are its central location, mainly, and its people. The condition, appeal or cost of the dwelling unit itself does not appear to be a salient feature in evaluating their environment, for good or ill,

and in fact core area residents seem indifferent to housing conditions
and uninformed about housing programs.

III. Housing and Neighbourhood Attitudes for Selected Sub-Groups

1. Ethnic Origin[18]

The finding for the total core area sample that people were unable
to articulate what they dislike about their housing must be modified
somewhat by the ethnic analysis: Asians tended to be rather more vocal
about disliked features, followed by Europeans and Canadians, and finally
the least likely to voice dislikes were native Indians and blacks.

Sociologists[19] often speak of "repressed preferences" in a related
context, meaning that those who have been repressed by society, both
socially and economically, cannot formulate preferences effectively
because opportunities are perceived as impossible. Or, as Herbert Gans
states, "Class is the most sensitive index of people's ability to choose."
It provides a clue in understanding, at least partially, the apparent
inconsistency between substandard housing conditions on the one hand
and relative absence of overt resident dissatisfaction on the other.

Central location and personal relationships were valued by most
ethnic groups with certain notable exceptions. Black residents tended
to name "safety from crime" and "quiet" as like features of their
environment, while Indians named the low rent or purchase price of their

18. For purposes of analysis, the data on ethnic origin were collapsed
    across categories to yield the following distribution: Western
    European (183), Eastern European (84), Black (21), Asian (9),
    native Indian (20), and Canadian (57).

19. Notably, Eyles.

dwelling. Europeans and Canadians tended to voice greater concern over the condition of other houses on the street, which may reflect the status of these groups as property owners, with a correspondingly greater stake in the area. It may, in addition, represent a kind of euphemism for racial prejudice, its being possibly more acceptable to report to the interviewer "those people" let their house run down, rather than a more direct reference. Western Europeans tended to complain about crime more often than other groups. Although N's involved were small, the core area Asians interviewed overwhelmingly voiced dislike of the people living in the neighbourhood.

Familiarity with existing repair programs was higher for Europeans and Canadians (36% of whom had heard of RRAP, WHIP or MHRC) than for Indians, Blacks or Asians (10%). Not surprisingly, then, the users of assisted repair programs were Europeans and Canadians. However, substantial proportions (over 25%) of Blacks and native Indians had done their own unassisted repairs over the previous year, but no Asians reported doing any repairs, perhaps a further reflection of the great antipathy the latter group appear to have for the area. Informal knowledge of the core area by IUS staff suggests that the Asian residents are very strong in their view of the core area as merely a temporary home and leave for other areas as soon as possible.

2. Immigrant Status

In a related vein, data were analyzed by length of residence in Canada: born here, here for more than 5 years, or here for 5 years or less. As might be expected, findings suggest that recent immigrants are

the least critical, the worst informed and possibly the worst housed, while older immigrants and Canadian born residents are more aware, critical and informed. It is interesting also to note that older immigrants were the ones who tended to complain more about the people living in the area. But all the data in this section in particular must be interpreted with special caution because of the problems created by language difficulties and cultural barriers. Recent immigrants are both more unwilling and more unable to express their views, even though efforts were made to supply an interviewer who spoke the language of the resident.

3. Age of Respondent[20]

There were some rather clear differences in housing attitudes and needs which appeared along age lines. The 26-40 age group tended more often to be critical of their housing, concerned about property values, rent or purchase price, to be aware of assisted repair programs, to have done repairs, assisted or unassisted; in short a more pragmatic, aware and involved group. The oldest group, the over 60's, were least likely to have heard of assisted repair programs or to have had any repairs done, were more often uncritical of their own dwelling, complain less about anything; a more passive, less informed group. Does this passive, uncritical stance of older people mean they have better housing, or that they complain less? Indications from other sources are that the elderly generally have poorer quality housing and therefore more serious unmet needs.

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20. For purposes of analysis, age was collapsed across the following categories, each representing about one quarter of the sample: 15-25 years, 26-40 years, 41-59 years, and 60 years and over.

The middle-aged group, the 41-59's, voiced the most concern about crime, and the reason is clear enough -- this was the age group most likely to have been victims of crime over the previous year. This group also valued people more often (34% of 41-59's) than either the youngest age group or the oldest, both of whom shared a common and low (18%) tendency to cite neighbours as an environmental asset. The youngest group in addition shared with the oldest an appreciation for central location of core area dwellingsas well as an ignorance of assisted repair programs.

4. Level of Education

Although level of resident's education is apparently related to housing attites in a number of ways, there is at least a partial articulation factor operating here in that the lower the educational level, the less likely respondents could think of anything liked (but not disliked) about their environment. It is possible that those with less education are living in less likeable environments. It is also true, however, that the ability to articulate what is good and right about one's surroundings represents a fairly sophisticated level of critical analysis, because environmental features that are likely to impinge upon awareness are those that are wrong -- i.e. disliked -- not those that are right, and so the latter are more difficult to verbalize.

Nevertheless the findings still suggest differences in attitudes between those with lower and those with higher formal educations. For people with lower education, the neighbours living in the area are an important factor both in liking and disliking their accommodation. Low rent or purchase price is also a more valued feature of their housing

and high crime rate is a matter of concern. By contrast, those with higher education rarely mention the neighbours as a factor in their liking or disliking their housing, but stress instead its central location and safety from crime, and worry about the condition of other houses on the street.

Education is strikingly related to awareness of assisted repair programs, with 51% of university-educated residents having heard of some or all of the programs, 39% of high-school educated residents, 20% of junior high school educated residents, 17% of grade school educated residents and none of the residents who reported no education.

The residents with high school educations, the largest group, represent in some ways a singular population. These were the most vocal about what they disliked, the not-so-silent majority. Their chief complaints were that their core area property does not increase in value as much as property in other areas of the city, that the other houses on the street were not in good condition, and that the crime rate was too high. This group also were the most active in carrying out their own, unassisted, house repairs.

5. Income

The higher the total household income, the more residents were able to or wanted to articulate attitudes, both positive and negative, toward housing. Those with higher incomes (above $15,000) like the central location and safety from crime of their neighbourhoods; they tend to dislike the condition of other houses on the street, to fear

their property is not increasing in value, and to be dissatisfied
with city services. Interestingly, the higher the income, the more
apt people were to name low rent or purchase price as a liked feature
of their accommodation. This may reflect the high income earners'
propensity to talk more, but it may also be due to the proportionately
smaller bite that housing costs generally take out of high income
budgets than out of low income budgets.

The lower the income, the more likely were residents to cite
house condition as a reason either for liking or disliking their
accommodation. Middle household income groups ($10,000 - $14,999)
value friends and neighbours as important plus or minum features of a
neighbourhood. This income group was also most likely to do their own
repairs, and the next higher group ($15,000 - $19,999) were the most
likely to have heard ot the assisted repair programs, a disconcerting
discrepancy there.

6. Tenure

It is widely assumed that the high incidence of absentee landlords
is a major cause of deteriorated housing stock in the core, but little
support was found for this in the present survey. Differences in attitudes
toward housing and in estimation of house condition between owner-occupiers
and renters were found to be minimal or non-existent. For both groups,
house condition was of equal unimportance. There were differences between owners
and renters, but in other respects. Onwers seem to have more at stake in
the neighbourhood - - they are more concerned about the condition of other
houses on the street, about property values, and about the neighbours in the area.
Renters primarily want a central location in the city. Another IUS study in

1976, limited to 145 people in the Lord Selkirk area of the core, questioned residents on their intentions to move or remain in the neighbourhood, and found that 32% of renters planned to move in the coming year, more than half of whom expected the move to take them out of the neighbourhood, while only 8% of owners planned a move.

Owners were not significantly better informed about assisted repair programs (36%) than were renters (32%). However owners were considerably more active then renters (47% compared to 30% in carrying out their own unassisted repairs.

The finding that owners and renters do not differ in their feelings about their housing or in their estimation of its state of repair raises several questions. Is it that housing in the core is not significantly worse (or better) for renters than for owenrs? Or is it that housing is not perceived differently, that owenrs and renters alike feel pessimistic or indifferent to housing conditions? Discussion will return to these issues in the final section.

7. Number of Years at Address

There was a curious development in this section. Perhaps the most distinctive group to appear in any of the sub-population analyses arose here: those people, comprising nearly 10% of the sample, who could not answer the question of how long they had been living at their present address. Although we do not have information specifically on why they were unable to answer, it would appear based on the rest of the data that this is a group of highly mobile individuals who move so frequently that they cannot say how long they have been living at any particular address. They represent a

particularly rootless group, but one with definite opinions which distinguish them to a high degree from the rest of the core population. They value low rent, central location, and safety from crime, and are unconcerned about the neighbours one way or the other, or about the condition of other houses on the street. They are much more critical of city services and of their own housing, and are more aware of its condition, good or bad, than other residents in the core. They have not, for the most part, heard of any of the assisted repair programs nor have they done their own unassisted repairs.

Some of the data in this section tends to line up linearily, with the 'unable-to-answer' group at one end, followed by those who have lived at their present address 3 years or less, those who have lived there 4 to 10 years, and finally at the opposite end, the most stable group, those who have lived at the same address for 10 or more. Thus, for example, the most stable group are least likely to value low rent (or purchase price) in their housing, least concerned with central location, and most concerned with the neighbours, and with the condition of the neighbours' houses, with the other groups falling linearily in between.

8. <u>Household Composition</u>[21]

Single parent families with young children seem to be a somewhat
more involved and aware group, but possibly with more serious housing
problems. They tend to value a dwelling for its neighbouring residents
and closeness to needed facilities, and are concerned about the
condition of other houses on the street. Unlike households with two
parents and young children, single parents cannot point to open play
spaces and safety from cirme as neighbourhood amenities. Presumably
they do not have these amenities, while two-parent families do. They
identify serious housing repair problems more often than do other households
which may mean either that their housing is in worse condition or that
they are more attuned to problems than other people are, or both. Single
parent families are more knowledgeable about assisted repair programs
and are more active in doing their own repairs.

In general, households without children place greater value on
central location; those with children, on friends and neighbours. Single
adults living alone, especially, point out friends notably less often as a
reason for liking their accommodation. Only 16% of adults living alone
cite friends as a neighbourhood amenity compared to, for example, 35% of
the two-parent-with-children households. These findings closely parallel
those for age, reported above.

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21.   The data was divided into eight categories: single adult living alone
      (128); single parent family with younger (all under 18 years) children
      (30); single parent family with older children (18); two parents presen
      with younger children(88); two parents with older children husband
      and wife, no children (60); two or more roommates or unrelated adults
      (45); and extended families (4).

9. Cost of Housing

Information was analyzed separately for owners and renters.

Owners of less expensive housing (valued by the owner at less than $20,000)

view as assets their central location, their neighbours and their sense

of safety; owners of more expensive housing consider the house itself as the

prime asset. The onwers of cheaper houses are aware of more serious repair

needs with their homes, but are much less likely (36$) to have heard of

any of the assisted repair programs; owners of expensive homes, who identify

fewer needs and are thus presumably in less need of assisted repair programs,

are much more likely (60%) to have heard of these programs. Owners of more

expensive houses are also more ciritcal of the other houses on the street,

and of city services. But whatever the estimated value of the house, property

owners at every level are concerned about the lack of sufficient increase

in value in the core area, and express concern over undesirable neighbours.

Most (62%) owners of medium-priced houses ($20,000 - $29,999) had done

some unassisted repairs over the past year. Possible those with lower-

priced houses could not afford repairs, and those with higher-priced

houses did not need repairs. Or else neither of these groups felt committed

enough to the area to invest more money in their homes.

Among renters, few differences in housing attitudes appeared in

relation to various rent levels. Whatever the rent paid, all tend to

exhibit a general lack of attachment and indifference to the area and its

condition.   The group of renters (N=30) who pay very low rents, under $80 per

month, were less critical and more pleased with their housing than other

interviewees. Amount of rent paid is also unrelated to incidence and/or

perception of housing repair needs, with the exception that those paying

a middle-low amount ($80-100 per month) identified more serious repair

needs than those paying either more or less rent. This group are
also more dissatisfied with their house condition.

10. Neighbourhood Safety

Residents were asked several direct questions regarding their
view of their neighbourhood in terms of safety from crime. One question
asked core area residents to state how their neighbourhood compares with
others in the city - - much less dangerous, a little less dangerous, about
the same, a little more dangerous, or much more dangerous. Results
suggest that people's view of the safety of their neighbourhood is a
major factor in their evaluation of their environment and that, for those
who are in fear, that is one of the single, most important features of
their lives.

Specifically, those who perceive themselves to be living in
dangerous districts, comprising 26% of the total sample, tend not to
have friends in the area, complain they have no facilities near-by, dislike
their homes and the people in the area, complain about other urban ills
(noise, dirt, traffic, etc.) as well as crime and identify more serious
problems in the state of repair of their housing. Significantly, the only
positive aspect they name is the low rent or purchase price of their housing,
suggesting that they are where they are because that is what they can
afford, and cannot move out of the area. Those living in perceived
dangerous neighbourhoods present the most consistently negative profile of
any sub-group in the analysis.

Information to locate the survey respondents geographically is
available only for about one-quarter of the sample, unfortunately. No
reference has been made to this data thus far because of the small numbers

involved, and therefore its high ureliability. However because this
one variable - - how one feels about the safety of one's neighbourhood - -
seems to represent a whole host of urban feelings and (dis)satisfactions,
and because the nature of the variable begs the geographical question,
we can bery tentatively identify the core area neighbourhoods involved.
These vere: the North End (west of Main from the CPR tracks to Church
Avenue, but more expeically north of Burrows Avenue, and the sourtwestern
area of the core, from Portage Avenue to Notre Dame, between Balmoral
and Arlington. The people who feel they are living in dangerous
neighbourhoods tend to come from these areas and appear to have an extremely
bleak outlook of many other aspects of urban life, a predisposition which
does not bode well for urban rehabilitation prospects.

IV Discussion

The core area of Winnipeg has been steadily lsoing population. The
latest census figures show the decline continuing, with a further drop
of 16% from 1971 and a gain of 7% for the rest of the city. Social and
economic disparities between the core and the rest of Winnipeg continue
to grow, with the exodus apparently leaving behind an increasingly problem
-ridden group.

The results of the present study point to an inherent dilemma:
the core consists, on the one hand, of those with the least resources who
are most attached to the core but least prepared to improve it; and, on the
other hand, of those with the most resources, and most able to copy
but least inclined to do so. [22]

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22. Similar conclusions were reached in a study by Orbell and Uno,
     American Political Science Review, Vol, LXVI, June 1972, pp. 471-489.

The situation is far from totally hopeless. There are many sources from which Winnipeg's inner city residents derive satisfaction - - convenience, accessibility, diversity of services and facilities, social and kinship bonds - - with needs varying for different sub-groups, but these exist within an overriding context of pessimism and passivity. For many people the core will continue to be home. Others will leave as soon as possible, partly because of conditions in the core, partly because of fears and prejudices, partly because it is still the great national dream of the majority of the younger population[23] to own a single family detached house in the suburbs, and they will continue to pursue this dream at increasing ecnonomic hardship, sacrificing other needs in favor of home ownership.

But what of those who are more attached, whether by choice or chance, to the core? The availability of funds for rehabilitation is only one factor in the preservation of the inner city. The situation here is similar to that of other areas, for example in England where the take-up of grants for home improvement has been so low that the government is now conducting a national study of citizens' attitudes to housing to determine exactly what it is people want from their environment, rather than "official theories of what they ought to want"[24] The overriding factor is not the availability of funds, but the will or motivation of the people and their ability to cope. There is ample evidence in the present study that the Winnipeg core area

23. A recent (1974) survey places the figure at 75% of all 17-18 year olds nationally

24. From an article in the London Times, November 5, 1976, by D. Geddes.

provides valued amenities to people and fulfills their needs in a variety of ways, but the problems and unfulfilled needs - - substandard housing, crime, deterioration, etc . . . cannot be solved by government programs with a come-and-get-it approach. There are too many social, psychological and cultural reasons why people do not come and get it, so that the elderly, the less educated, the immigrants, the poor, and the other high needs groups continue to live in substandard conditions, unaware, uninvolved and unheard.

The people in this study want homes in neighbourhoods that are safe, convenient, friendly, and, undoubtedly, economical. The core still fulfills these needs, but with problems. The preservation of the core from destruction by external pressures requires increased awareness and involvement by the residents and increased government sensitivity to the diverse values, needs and problems of the population.

5. HETEROGENEITY OF INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS – SELECTED WINNIPEG SCENARIOS

Because a survey of the whole of the inner

city area does not reflect the special character of particular

neighbourhoods, this paper has attempted to produce various

scenarios of different types of inner city neighbourhoods.

McLemore et al describes four different types of inner city areas:

declining, stable, revitalizing and areas undergoing massive

redevelopment. [25]   The typology used by McKemore et al is similar

to the classification of neighbourhoods devised by H.U.D. in its

recent publication on the dynamics of neighbourhood change. [26]

However, the former model is more appropriate for describing types of

inner city neighbourhoods in Canadian cities and has been used to

organize and refine the material presented about Winnipeg. As with

most models, the typology is somewhat stereotyped and can only be used

as an illustrative tool for describing the heterogeneous nature of the

inner city. McLemore et al warn that most neighbourhoods will not

conform exactly to the four 'ideal types' and some areas may exhibit

characteristics of two or more types. The typology cannot, therefore,

be applied too literally but can be used to aid in the understanding of

the complexity of the inner city and points out four different patterns

of change occuring in inner city areas. Examples are included of

a declining area, a revitalising area and an area undergoing redevelopment.

Each scenario has been created from information collected directly or

indirectly by an I.U.S. staff member of under the supervision of IUS.

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(25) op cit., McLemore et al. A more detailed description of typology
      can be found in Appendix 1.

(26) James Mitchell . . .The Dynamics of Neighbourhood Change, H.U.D.
      December 1975,

An example of a stable area has not been written up as

I.U.S. has not made a direct study of a particular inner city

area which could be described as stable in McLemore's terms

This author however, uses North Point Douglas as an example of

this type of neighbourhood in his own study.

BALMORAL WEST - A Profile Of A Declining Area

The Institute of Urban Studies undertook a study of the
Balmoral West Area of Winnipeg during 1974 and 1975. The area
studied is bounded by Notre Dame to the North, Maryland to the
West, Portage Avenue to the South and Colony/Balmoral to the
East. It corresponds to Statistics Canada Census Tract 22.
Data used to indicate the forces of change working in Balmoral
West included 1956, 1961, 1966 and 1971 Census material and
original survey data collected by interview.

In many respects, the area is a classical example of a
declining area in McLemore's terms. The population of
Balmoral West is declining and in terms of occupational groups,
both males and females are concentrated in job categories which
have below average wages and require lower levels of education.
Although population is declining, the number of households is
increasing and there is a trend towards smaller households, an
exodus of young families from the area and a more than propor-
tionate concentration of young adults, singles and people over
55 years of age. The ethnic composition of Balmoral West has
changed considerably over the past decade with relative de-
clines in the number of people whose ancestry is from the
British Isles, Germany, the Netherlands, Scandinavia and
Eastern European countries. The number of people who are
Asiatic, Italian, Portuguese and Greek have increased in the
area. Balmoral West is also attracting many ethnic groups who
have recently arrived in Canada.

The degree of transiency in Balmoral West, measured by length of occupancy, has increased although there still remains a significant group of people (approximately 25%[27] of the population) who have lived in the area for more than ten years.

The number of tenant occupied dwellings in the area in relation to the number of owner occupied dwellings has increased, more than 81%[28] being tenant occupied in 1971. As in McLemore's stereotype, property values are comparatively low and are increasing at a much slower rate than the metro average. The housing stock in Balmoral West is quite old, 70% of the housing stock having been built before 1920.[29] A significant proportion of the residents interviewed in Balmoral West felt that the housing in the area was deteriorating. It was also indicated that properties of absentee landlords seemed to be deteriorating at a faster rate than those which are owner occupied, although this is not always the case. However, some rehabilitation of housing has been undertaken, notably by members of new immigrant groups in the area. Other environmental deficiencies of the area include a serious shortage of recreational space,[30] and increasing traffic volumes which involve air and noise pollution.

One major respect in which Balmoral West deviates from McLemore's stereotype of a declining area is in relation to the health of

_____

(27) (28) (29) ... 1971 Census data.

(30) ... 1966 ratio of recreational acreage per 1,000 population was less than one acre. However, public open space standards 8 acres of space per 1,000 population.
(City of Winnipeg, Parks and Systems Standards Study, 1969)

... of the area's commercial sector. Almost half the 137

businesses located in the area had been established there for

ten years or more and between 1967 and 1974 there was no

significant increase in the intention or desire of businesses

to move away from the area.[31]

One of the prime and most useful urban functions of Balmoral

West is that of meeting the critical housing needs of low

income groups, particular ethnic groups, the elderly, single

people and recent immigrants to Canada. Yet its very existence

as a residential neighbourhood is threatened by the pressures

and changes described above, and others related to its close

proximity to the downtown area; the prospect of major planning

interventions such as a proposed freeway and major roadworks

program; the expansion of particular establishments which are

located on the boundaries of Balmoral West such as the University

of Winnipeg, C.B.C. and Molson's Brewery; and the continuing decline

of its housing stock. What should be the future of Balmoral

West? What feasible interventions could be made to prevent

further decline? Should it be abandoned to the process of

natural change? Should its useful housing function be preserved

and how?

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(31) .. Downtown Economic Survey, 1967, 14.2% of businesses in area
        indicated intention to move. Commercial Survey 1974
        indicated 16.7% of businesses located in area intended to
        move.

FORT ROUGE - A REVITALIZING AREA

As an example of revitalizing inner city areas, we have chosen an area of Fort Rouge, closest to the Central Business District, the triangle bounded by the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, extending west along McMillan. As in any attempt tofit a real-life situation to a theoretical schemes, the description of this area as "revitalizing" is not completely accurate. For one thing, the term "revitalizing" implies some previous period of deterioration, and not all of this area can be said to have undergone deterioration. Furthermore, McLemore et al pointed out that, in more familiar terms, revitalizing has been given the name "whitepainting" and there is no area of Winnipeg where whitepainting is going on, at least not on a scale comparable to that found in, for example, Toronto's Cabbagetown. But in many important respects, developments in this area of Fort Rouge are very like Lemore's model characteristics of a revitalizing area:

- influx of upper middle-income households
- displacing low and moderate-income groups
- improving physical conditions through private rehabilitation
- rapidly rising housing and land costs
- considerable pressure for redevelopment, but controlled through influential community organizations and zoning.

- high proportion of home owners

- maintenance of a mix of family and non-

   family units

The revitalisation process is relatively recent, so changes
are not yet documented in census statistics. From 1951 to
1971, census data reflect a relatively stable, perhaps
modestly declining, but mostly unchanging area of
predominantly low-to-middle-income residents, with a
diversity of housing types ... rooming houses, single
detached, low-rise multiple ... and a diversity of population
types, including higher proportions of single, elderly,
ethnic, student and renter groups; an area described in a
report of the mid 1960's as "dormant".

Beginning in the mid 1960's, though, the nature of the
neighbourhood began to change with the growth of transport-
ation facilities, new high-rise residential construction,
and expanding commercial facilities. The process of change
accelerated in the 1970's and, with its proximity to down-
town, the area has become an increasingly desirable neighbour-
hood for those who want an urban life style.

Informal knowledge of the area shows an increase in family
and upper-middle-income households. Families with children
are moving into older single detached houses, previously

... occupied by elderly residents, and are often carrying out extensive physical rehabilitation. Older buildings, including converted rooming houses and small apartment buildings, are being demolished and replaced by new high-rise buildings, with a corresponding decrease in the number of dwelling units available to low-income groups.

The area now has the highest density of residential development in the entire city, but retains a good deal of its neighbourhood feel, though whatever remains is under heavy threat. A study of the River-Osborne area conducted by Institute Staff in 1973-1974[32] reveals some of the strengths, problems and pressures operating there.

The study population was of a highly self-selected sample of 389 persons[33] who were sufficiently interested in the area and in development of a district plan to attend a series of public meetings and workshops sponsored by a local planning group. Eighty- five percent of the sample were renters; 15% owner-occupiers. Most (77%) had no children; 11% had one child and 12% two or more children. About 10% earned over $16,000 per year in 1973, 67% earned $11,000 - $16,000 per year and 25% earned less than $11,000. Twenty percent

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32 . . East of Osborne District Planning Group Report, June 1975.

33 .. Of these, 266 were East-of-Osborne area residents and 123 were planning officials, politicians, students and other "visitors", mostly from the West-of-Osborne area, interested in the whole River-Osborne district.

..of the owner-occupiers had lived there less than five years. The area draws from all over the city, with 20% of sample residents coming from the inner core, 31% from the suburbs, 30% from outside Winnipeg, and the remaining 20% were from Fort Rouge. Almost half (45%) the sample said they moved to or lived in the Fort Rouge area for its prime location.

The study reveals that the area is now one of great attraction, cohesion and small-scale quality, but with growing pressures for change that could either revitalise or destroy the neighbourhood. There are many sources of urban satisfaction for the people of the area . . .questionnaire responses showed residents like the shops, the character of the residential buildings, the bus service, Fort Rouge Park, the people (almost half the respondents had four of more friends in the area) the diversity of the population, the dwelling units, themselves (size, layout, style and character), the large old trees, the river, and the scale (most - 77% - local residents walk to the shops on Osborne rather than go by car or bus and 18% walk to work). But the difficulties threaten. Many, especially the older residents of all ages complain of the traffic and noise; many voiced dislike of the deteriorated houses and a significant proportion complained of poor maintenance in their own apartment buildings. Residents also voiced concern over artificially inflated property values caused by new, high-rise construction.

The purpose of the study was to develop recommendations
into the District Plan By-Law Policy. The report generated
88 recommendations based on analysis of information obtained
from the sample population. The general thrust of all the
recommendations was to retain the area as a diverse, viable,
usable, pleasant and small-scale urban neighbourhood, that
would benefit from all the forces of revitalisation, but not
be destroyed by massive re-development.

Community organizations in the area have had limited success
in controlling re-zoning and redevelopment, but pressures are
often irresistable. One recommendation, for example, called
for abandonment of plans to widen Osborne Bridge, because
widening would generate even more noise and non-local traffic
in the area. The Bridge was widened anyway, the following
year.[34]

Local community groups have been successful in protecting
prime property from commercial development preserving river
bank land, keeping a city school operating, maintaining single-
family zoning ... in discrete instances, but with housing and
land costs mounting, the pressures for massive redevelopment
are increasing and it is probably fair to say that so far
community groups have lost more battles than they have won.

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34 .. The City commissioned an impact study prior to the construction of
the widened bridge. In their report, the authors of the study admit-
ted that the widening of the bridge would cause increased traffic
volume in the area which "may be regarded as adversely affecting the
residential character of the streets", but went on to offer vague
assurances that somewhere, some other (unidentified) street in the
city would benefit by having its traffic diverted into the River-
Osborne area, and so overall there is no increase in harm.

The area is now in the midst of change and the outcome
is far from certain. It is clear from the River-Osborne
study what the residents want ... a lively, diverse, and
livable neighbourhood, or, as the report stated "that all
uses non-compatible to the residential area ... shall not
be allowed to further encroach into existing residential
area". What they will get is still unknown.

THE SOUTH DOWNTOWN AREA - An Example of an
Area Undergoing Redevelopment

An example of an inner city area which closely resembles
McLemore's description of an area undergoing ~~massive~~ re-
development is the South/Downtown or Broadway/Assiniboia
area of Winnipeg.[35] The area is bounded by Graham Avenue
to the North, Osborne to the West, the Assiniboine River to
the South and Main Street to the East.[36]

Unlike the inner city as a whole, this area experienced a 9.1%
increase in population between 1966 and 1971. It is likely that
the population increase can be attributed to the construction of
senior citizens' homes and high rise apartment blocks. In addition,
there has been a change in population morphology i.e. a loss of family
units, leaving a preponderance of singles, young couples and the
elderly. Synonomously, 1971 Census data showed the education level
of residents of the study area is higher in all categories than
the outer city, and Metro Winnipeg figures show that there is a more
than proportionate rate of inter-urban migration and that there
is a more than proportionate percentage of the study area workforce
engaged in managerial/professional jobs.[37] These factors are
strongly predicted in McLemore's typology.

Housing conditions in the area are generally fair to good (77.7%)
(77.7%).

(35) .. Information for this profile has been drawn from The South
        Downtown Winnipeg Study, Rick Bodger, Steve Demmings, Ray Gainer,
        Ed Romanowski and Peter Traverso. Department of City Planning,
        University of Manitoba, May 1976.
(36) .. Vide Map 2.
(37) .. Vide Tables 1 and 2.

TABLE $\underset{\cdots\cdots}{(21)}$

	less than grade nine	9-13 no other training	9-13 with other training	University
Study Area	20.1%	43.1%	19.5%	17.1%
Outer City	38.0	37.1	13.2	11.8
Metro. Wpg.	39.7	36.3	12.8	11.2

TABLE $\underset{\cdots\cdots}{(22)}$OCCUPATION

	managerial professional	clerical sales/service	transp. manuf. labour	Others
Study Area	23.6%	35.4%	26.0%	5.9%
Outer City	20.2	34.0	33.0	6.9
Metro. Wpg.	18.8	33.1	34.6	7.2

The housing stock is predominantly composed of apartment
units (98.2% in 1971) and the form of tenure almost entirely
on rental (99.4% in 1971). One bedroom units account for the
most predominant type of apartment unit (45.6%) followed by
the bachelor unit (39.6%) with a token representation of two
bedrooms (13.6%) and three bedrooms (1.1%). The type of units
are closely related to the type of population living in the
area. Clearly, a family unit is seldom offered as a choice in
the study area. Housing costs cover a fairly wide range de-
pending on the type of unit, age of building and management

(21) (22) ... Source Rick Badger, et al.,The South Downtown Winnipeg
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of population living in the area. Clearly, a family unit is seldom
offered as a choice in the study area. Housing costs cover a fairly
wide range depending on the type of unit, age of building and
management policies.

In terms of land costs and uses, land values are amongst some
of the highest in the city. It is the most active downtown
area in terms of land purchases, proposals and present con-
struction. In the southern part of the study area, relatively
large tracts of open land represent demolition in preparation
for development. At present, demand for residential land is
modest, but demand within the commercial sector is high,
particularly along the major arteries. It is unlikely that
without municipal intervention the area will attract more
residential development, when cheaper land is available in
the suburbs. Present activities represent replacement of
existing structures by more intensified land use. This
process is encouraged by highly flexible zoning regulations.

There are three parks and one playground located in the
study area covering approximately ten acres. Like most inner city
areas, the area falls well below the standard adopted by the
City of Winnipeg of 10% of the gross land area in a community to be
set aside as public open space, for recreation and relaxation. It
is unlikely that the ratio will change under present arrangements
because of the high land and building acquisition costs and competing
land uses which warrant a 'better' use in the economic sense of the
word. Also, congestion on both arterial and subsidiary streets are
a major problem, particularly in the northern part of the study area.

Redevelopment in the study area has produced housing with
good access to the Central Business District for particular
segments of the urban population - singles, young couples,
other non-family households and the elderly. It has also
resulted in needed commercial and office space. The
process has been encouraged by flexible high density zoning
and the close access of the study area to the C.B.D.
However, it has also resulted in further encroachment to
residential areas, high density land use and the destruction
of large older single family houses (e.g. 11, Kennedy Street)
which characterised the area in the past, particularly the
Southern portion.

People who live in the area are concerned about traffic,
poor public transportation within the area, pollution, the
growth of parking lots (often being held until greater
speculative gains can be achieved), new building which
excludes family accomodation and includes too much badly
designed high rise building which creates shadow problems
for existing buildings and residents.

What development policies should be enacted by the City to
encourage or direct various types of development in the
area? What measures can be taken to control the escalating
cost of land? Should more family accomodation be encouraged?
Should some of the older, historic structures be preserved?
Should the City exert more control over bad design and site
location which cause problems for existing residents? How
can public transportation services for residents be improved?
Or should the area be abandoned to the vagaries of the market
system? It is hoped that some of these questions and those raised
by the other scenarios described above can be discussed and
examined during the present seminar.

6. FINAL REFELCTIONS

The neighbourhood scenarios described above indicate that although comprehensive planning is necessary, blanket policies cannot be applied to the City as a whole because the neighbourhood sub-systems in the inner city are extremely diversified. Policies should be sensitive and finely tuned to the needs of a particular area. Policy should be based on a careful and detailed analysis of need. For example, N.I.P. and R.R.A.P. has worked well in North Point Douglas but it is unlikely that it would be appropriate for Balmoral West which is characterised by a very large proportion of renters and a high level of transiency. Rehabilitation and convervation strategy throughthe vehicle of a city-non-profit housing corporation could, however, be highly effective.

This paper has attempted to briefly describe the process of change operating in the inner city and has offered macro and micro profiles of inner city areas. It has posed many questions about present policies being applied in the inner city and about future policies which might be applied. It is hoped that subsequent papers presented to this seminar will examine the strength and weaknesses of present policies and suggest innovative options which might be used to encourage the renewal of our older neighbourhoods.

The following tables present the demographic characteristics of the sample population in the survey, as well as the distribution of responses to the housing and neighbourhood questions.

TABLE NO.	TITLE
1	Age of Respondents
2	Ethnic Origin of Respondents
3	Sex of Respondents
4	Immigrant Status of Respondents
5	Marital Status of Respondents
6	Education of Respondents
7	Tenure of Respondents
8	Type of Dwelling Unit
9	Number of Years at Address
10	Household Composition
11	Persons per Household
12	Children per Household
13	Rent Paid by Respondents
14	Estimated Value of Respondent's Property
15	Household Income of Respondents
16	Sources of Housing & Neighbourhood Satisfaction
17	Sources of Housing & Neighbourhood Dissatisfaction
18	Respondents' Estimation of Dwelling Conditions
19	Number of Respondents Who Had Heard of Assisted Repair Programs
20	Respondents' Views of Neighbourhood Crime in Comparison with Other Neighbourhoods
21	Education of South Downtown Area Residents
22	Occupation of South Downtown Area Resident
MAP 1	Inner City Boundary

TABLE 1

AGE OF RESPONDENTS

Age	Frequency No.	%	Age	Frequency No.	%	Age	Frequency No.	%
15	2	0.5	41	2	0.5	66	2	0.5
16	2	0.5	42	3	0.7	67	6	1.5
17	2	0.5	43	3	0.7	68	5	1.2
18	9	2.2	44	5	1.2	69	5	1.2
20	13	3.3	45	8	2.0	70	4	1.0
21	14	3.5	46	5	1.2	71	1	0.2
22	10	2.5	48	4	1.0	72	6	1.5
23	14	3.5	49	5	1.2	73	2	0.5
24	13	3.3	50	7	1.7	74	3	0.7
25	14	3.5	51	2	0.5	75	5	1.2
26	7	1.7	52	8	2.0	76	6	1.5
27	17	4.3	53	1	0.2	77	5	1.2
28	9	2.2	54	5	1.2	78	5	1.2
29	9	2.2	55	5	1.2	80	3	0.7
30	8	2.0	56	2	0.5	81	1	0.2
31	8	2.0	57	4	1.0	82	2	0.5
32	5	1.2	58	5	1.2	83	1	0.2
33	5	1.2	59	2	0.5	85	2	0.5
34	4	1.0	60	16	4.0	86	1	0.2
35	12	3.0	61	4	1.0	89	1	0.2
37	3	0.7	62	5	1.2	90	1	0.2
38	6	1.5	63	5	1.2	91	1	0.2
39	1	0.2	64	4	1.0	92	1	0.2
40	8	2.0	65	14	3.5	NA	5	1.2
						TOTAL	393	100.0

TABLE 2

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF RESPONDENTS

ETHNIC ORIGIN	FREQUENCY No.	%	ETHNIC ORIGIN	FREQUENCY No.	%
British	100	25.4	Portuguese	2	0.5
French	19	4.8	E. European	84	21.3
German	25	6.3	West Indies	17	4.3
Italian	14	3.5	Native Indian	20	5.0
Chinese	5	1.2	African	4	1.0
Indo-Pakistani	3	0.7	Canadian	57	14.5
Japanese	1	0.2	Other	15	3.8
Greek	6	1.5	NA	4	1.0
Scandinavian	9	2.2			
Netherlands	8	2.0	TOTAL	393	100.0

TABLE 3

SEX OF RESPONDENTS

SEX	FREQUENCY No.	%
Male	162	41.2
Female	231	58.7
TOTAL	393	100.0

TABLE 4

IMMIGRANT STATUS OF RESPONDENTS

STATUS:	FREQUENCY No.	%
Born in Canada	272	69.2
Immigrated more than 5 years ago	97	24.6
Immigrated 5 years ago or less	21	5.3
Not born in Canada. No other Info.	3	0.7
	393	100.0

TABLE 5

MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS

MARITAL STATUS	FREQUENCY	
	NO.	%
Single	123	31.2
Married	164	41.7
Separated or Divorced	44	11.1
Widowed	59	15.0
NA	3	0.7
TOTAL	393	100.0

TABLE 6

EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS.

EDUCATION	FREQUENCY	
	No.	%
None	5	1.2
Grades 1 - 6	42	10.6
Grades 7 - 9	102	25.9
Grades 10 - 13	163	41.4
1 - 2 Years University	47	11.9
3 or more years Univ.	32	8.1
NA	2	0.5
TOTAL	393	100.0

TABLE 7

TENURE OF RESPONDENTS

TENURE	FREQUENCY	
	No.	%
Own	115	29.2
Rent	275	69.9
Other	3	0.7
TOTAL	393	100.0

TABLE 8

TYPE OF DWELLING UNIT

TYPE	FREQUENCY No.	%
single detached	126	32.0
duplex/triplex	47	11.9
multiple	190	48.3
rooming house	12	3.0
NA	18	4.5
TOTAL	393	100.0

TABLE 9

NUMBER OF YEARS AT ADDRESS

NUMBER OF YEARS	FREQUENCY No.	%
3 years or less	181	46.1
4 - 10 years	88	22.4
over 10 years	98	24.9
NA	26	6.6
TOTAL	393	100.0

TABLE 10

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

COMPOSITION	FREQUENCY	
	No.	%
Single adult	128	32.5
Single adult, young children	30	7.6
two adults, young children	88	22.3
Two adults, older children	20	5.0
Single adult, older children	18	4.5
Husband and wife	60	15.2
Roommates	45	11.4
Extended Family	4	1.0
TOTAL	393	100.0

TABLE 11

PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD

NUMBER OF PERSONS	FREQUENCY	
	NO.	%
1	128	32.5
2	120	30.5
3	55	13.9
4	46	11.7
5	22	5.5
6	12	3.0
7	7	1.7
8	3	0.7
TOTAL	393	100.0

TABLE 16

SOURCES OF HOUSING AND NEIGHBOURHOOD SATISFACTION

SOURCE	FREQUENCY	
	no.	% [1]
Low rent or purchase price	58	14.7
House condition or appearance	43	10.9
Close to City Centre	119	30.2
Easy access to City Centre	116	29.5
Close to facilities	139	35.3
Friends and neighbours	90	22.9
Safety from Crime	24	6.1
Quiet	27	6.8
Open spaces, greenery	16	4.0
Longevity	16	4.0
Other	14	3.5

TABLE 17

SOURCES OF HOUSING AND NEIGHBOURHOOD DISSATISFACTION

SOURCE	FREQUENCY	
	NO.	% [1]
House condition or appearance	47	11.9
Condition of other houses	50	12.7
Property does not increase in value	22	5.5
Poor City services	32	8.1
Crime	39	9.9
People or Neighbours	50	12.7
General Urban Conditions	33	8.3
Other	28	7.1

1. of 393 respondents

TABLE 20

RESPONDENTS' VIEW OF NEIGHBOURHOOD CRIME IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER NEIGHBOURHOODS

HOW NEIGHBOURHOOD COMPARES WITH OTHERS	FREQUENCY No.	%
Much less dangerous	27	6.8
A little less dangerous	86	21.8
About the same	124	31.5
A little more dangerous	78	19.8
Much more dangerous	24	6.1
Dont know	54	13.7
TOTAL	393	100.0

TABLE 21   EDUCATION OF SOUTH DOWNTOWN AREA RESIDENTS

	less than grade nine	9-13 no other training	9-13 with other training	University
Study area	20.1%	43.1%	19.5%	17.1%
Outer City	38.0	47.1	13.2	11.8
Metro Winniepg	39.7	36.3	12.8	11.2

TABLE 22   OCCUPATION OF SOUTH DOWNTOWN AREA RESIDENTS

	managerial professional	clerical sales/service	transp. manuf. labour	Others
Study area	23.6%	35.4%	26.0%	5.9%
Outer City	20.2	34.0	33.0	6.9
Metro Winnipeg	18.8	33.1	34.6	7.2