

The Role of Zoning in the Socio-Cultural Evolution of An
Ethnic
Neighbourhood

by

Charles A.J. Gauthier

A thesis
presented to the University of Manitoba
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of City Planning
in
Department of City Planning

Winnipeg, Manitoba

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I have dedicated this thesis to the memory of Gilles Lortie, professor of geography at Le collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface, who was willing to spend hours on end discussing my research in spite of his bout with cancer. I will not soon forget his companionship, his willingness to share, and his outstanding abilities as an educator and researcher.

ABSTRACT

Amid the resurgence of the French culture in Canada during the late sixties, early seventies the francophone population within Central Saint Boniface was decreasing. Although the threat of assimilation always loomed nearby, the zoning policy adopted by the Saint Boniface City Council in the late fifties increased the chances of assimilation by permitting the construction of multiple-family units within the boundaries of its ethnic neighbourhood.

These dwelling units attracted, in numbers not previously experienced, non-francophones and a segment of the population which typically inhabits multiple-family housing. The occupants of these units were more mobile, less neighbourly, more apathetic towards community events, having different perceptions about the area, and preferring to shop, recreate and be entertained outside the neighbourhood.

This thesis examines the effects of zoning, in particular over-zoning, and the resulting land use patterns on an ethnic neighbourhood. To test the three hypotheses of this thesis a survey of three sample areas within Central Saint Boniface was conducted by personally interviewing homeowners and renters with a standardized bilingual questionnaire.

The first hypothesis--that the construction of multiple-family units increased the proportion of non-francophones to francophones--was proven to be true. The second hypothesis postulated that the occupants of the multiple-family units were different than the homeowners in both demographic make-up and community involvement, perceptions and preferences. The results supported the demographic differences, but not the other. The third hypothesis claimed that changing residential land use patterns affected the stability of the homeowners. On the first two indicators--mobility and home renovations--this hypothesis was proven to be false. On the last indicator--assimilation--it was proven that the rate of assimilation amongst the francophones is higher in a mixed land use area. This rate is largely attributable to the presence of the multiple-family housing and its occupants within Central Saint Boniface.

The conclusion of the thesis is that the re-zoning of Central Saint Boniface to control the construction of multiple-family units is not satisfactory. New approaches to land use controls, and new structures to administer these controls are needed if ethnic neighbourhoods are to be given an opportunity to thrive and prosper.

PREFACE

My entering the City Planning program was a twist of fate. During my undergraduate program I had aspired to enter law school, but became disillusioned as I neared the completion of my liberal arts program. The turning point was the final year of my undergraduate education.

Fascinated with political science I had placed too much emphasis on studying the senior levels of government. Out of interest and of the need to seek variety, I enrolled in an urban politics course. The least understood of all levels of government, it proved to be of interest to me. Nearing the completion of my arts program, I began to inquire about other academic pursuits I had in mind. Of the three programs I had submitted applications to, I was most interested in the City Planning one.

As a city planning student, the variety of courses I have completed greatly influenced both the choice of my thesis topic and the method I have undertaken the task. Professors Gerecke and Carvalho have given me an appetite for the theoretical aspects of planning and urban politics. Professor Rotoff's courses on neighbourhoods, actual planning projects, and design skills have proven instrumental in the selection of the thesis topic and the manner in which I have

studied the problem. More importantly, my soul searching while in the program was responsible for the selection of the topic.

As a French-Canadian, I have pondered the reasons why Saint Boniface has been declining as an ethnic neighbourhood. As an individual struggling to resist assimilation, I realised the strength of this powerful force. However, upon reading case studies of other ethnic communities declining due to other forces, I questioned if this might not be the case for Saint Boniface. The answers to these queries, I believe, have been addressed in this thesis. I now feel satisfied that I have had the opportunity to answer such questions within the confines of a thesis.

I would like to acknowledge and thank the following people:

1. My parents and brothers for their support and understanding during my seven years of post-secondary education.
2. My thesis committee of Basil Rotoff, Geoffrey Bargh and Rita Bienvenue. Your guidance and direction are deeply appreciated. I am especially indebted to Professor Rotoff for supporting a topic that was so controversial in its infant stage. A special thank-you to Professor Bienvenue who willingly accepted to read this thesis within a brief time-frame, but most of

all to Professor Gilles Lortie, to whom I have dedicated this thesis. As an original member of the thesis committee, he acted as an advisor when Professor Rotoff was on sabbatical last spring. He was instrumental in assisting me design the questionnaire, but more importantly he discussed the content of my thesis with me in great length and with limitless enthusiasm. It is my regret that his untimely death has robbed him of seeing the completion of this work which he so encouraged.

3. To my fellow students, I am appreciative of your support during the trying times I endured last year. I am especially grateful to you for "believing" in my topic when so many doubted.
4. To my fiancée, Joanne, for believing in me, for being a never-ending source of encouragement, and a true friend.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The women sat among the doomed things, turning them over and looking past them and back... No, there isn't room... How can we live without our lives? How will we know it's us without our past?

John Steinbeck, The Grapes of Wrath.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PURPOSE

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the notion that zoning plays a role in the socio-cultural evolution of ethnic neighbourhoods, and to propose better ways to zone ethnic neighbourhoods in order to preserve their flavour and demographic make-up.

In order to test the premise that zoning does affect ethnic neighbourhoods, a case study approach was undertaken. The selection of Central Saint Boniface as the study area was based on four reasons.

1. As an ethnic neighbourhood, its inhabitants are more cohesive than the ethnic groups in the North End. Central Saint Boniface is also the heart and soul of the francophone population and institutions, not only in Manitoba, but also western Canada.

2. As an inner-city neighbourhood, it has, and is experiencing the pressures of redevelopment.
3. The area had different residential zoning classifications which offered the opportunity to study the effects of each zoning upon a variety of characteristics.
4. The researcher had a prior knowledge and understanding of the neighbourhood.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEMS

A misconception many Winnipeggers adhere to is that Central Saint Boniface is a stronghold of the francophones. Although it retains its distinction as the largest francophone centre in western Canada, the percentage of francophones within the area has decreased since 1961. Paradoxically, the start of this decline began when the French culture in Canada was experiencing a resurgence.

In the late sixties, early seventies the resurgence in the French culture was largely due to events occurring across Canada. The election of Pierre Trudeau as prime minister, French President De Gaulle's cry of "Vive le Quebec libre", the hearings conducted by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the bilingualization of the federal civil service, and the enactment of the Official Languages Act gave hope to the francophones living within and outside of Quebec that they could survive amongst a sea of anglophones.

At home, these national events revived and gave birth to francophone organizations and events--la Société Franco-manitobaine, Les Danseurs de la rivière Rouge, Le Conseil Jeunesse Provincial, Le Cercle Molière, and Le Festival du Voyageur. In spite of this national and local cultural resurgence, the francophone population within Central Saint Boniface has decreased.

Simultaneous to this occurrence, the residential land use patterns and the demographic make-up of the neighbourhood were in transition. Between 1951 and 1981, the construction of single-family dwelling units was declining in favour of the construction of higher density multiple-family living units. The public policy at this period--in the form of a zoning by-law-- encouraged the construction of multiple-family dwelling units over the less land efficient single-family units.

The construction of new multiple-family dwelling units attracted, in numbers not experienced before, a non-francophone segment of the population into the district. This influx altered the demographic and linguistic make-up of the area.

The number of single and married persons, regardless of language spoken, fell as the widows and divorcees became more numerous during the thirty-year study period. The percentage of persons-not-in-family households, couples without

children, and single parent families increased over the same time frame. The actual number of renters increased. They were more mobile, less neighbourly, more apathetic to community involvement, having different perceptions about the neighbourhood, and preferring to shop, recreate and be entertained outside the neighbourhood. Lastly, the linguistic make-up of the area shifted in favour of the non-franco-phones.

Although a new public policy has been in effect since 1981, the results are less than expected. A reason for the policy's ineffectiveness is that the type of zoning used does not guarantee that other distortions in population types will not occur. A new approach to control land use coupled with a new structure to administer the regulations are needed if ethnic neighbourhoods are given a fair opportunity to thrive and prosper.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE HYPOTHESES

The three main hypotheses to be tested are:

1. The construction of infill apartment blocks and the conversion of low density residential uses to higher density ones within the "R4" district affected the population in favour of the non-francophones.
2. The construction of multiple-family units also introduced a different population characteristic within Central Saint Boniface, such as young singles or new-

ly married couples. These new residents are less committed to the neighbourhood and fare well-below the average in terms of community participation, neighbourliness, as well as local shopping, entertainment, recreation preferences, and perceptions about the area.

3. The changing residential land use patterns within the "R4" district have affected the stability of the residents in the lower-density use areas. It is suspected that higher mobility, a lack of home renovations, and a higher risk of assimilation are experienced by the homeowners within this zone.

1.4 ORIENTATION

This thesis is being written on the following premises:

1. Since the French culture is both a founding nation and part of the Canadian heritage, the French in Saint Boniface have a right to maintain their culture.
2. Since the maintenance of a culture might necessitate that its members live within a set of delineated boundaries, it is a right of these members to live in an ethnic neighbourhood. This is not to mean that members must live in this neighbourhood nor that non-members cannot.

3. Based on a firm belief in the merits of a plural and multicultural society, all ethnic neighbourhoods should be maintained if the members amongst their respective ethnic groups wish to live in them.

Accepting these premises, the thesis is approached from a social science and planning perspective. The thesis addresses the effects of zoning on the socio-cultural evolution of the French in Saint Boniface, on the residential land use patterns, and on the homeowners of the area. It does not intend to examine the effects of zoning on the non-residential aspects of the neighbourhood.¹

1.5 METHODOLOGY OF THE THESIS

The thesis is composed of four parts: theory, history, case study, and directives.

1. Theory: A literature search on assimilation, zoning, other land use controls, and community development form the theoretical concepts of the thesis. The literature on zoning and assimilation served to determine the role played by zoning, whereas the material on other land use controls and community development helped to formulate desirable planning interventions.

¹ For an examination of these issues refer to a case study done by Lawrence Bortoluzzi et. al. (city planning students' project), North-Centre St. Boniface Neighbourhood Study, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, Department of City Planning, 1973).

2. History: In relation to the third section of the thesis, it focused on the cultural history of Saint Boniface, as well as the evolution of zoning within the area. The necessary data was found at the City Archives, the University of Manitoba libraries, and La Société historique de Saint-Boniface.
3. Case Study: This section of the thesis sets out to test the theories put forth in the first two chapters and the hypotheses formulated in the sixth chapter by examining an ethnic neighbourhood. The mechanics of this process and the results of the study are part of this section.
4. Directives: The final section of the thesis is the result of a literature search on other land use controls and community development concepts. Desirable planning interventions to preserve and enhance the character of Saint Boniface were developed from this literature search.

1.6 SYNOPSIS OF THE CHAPTERS

Chapter Two is a theoretical examination of the sub-processes of assimilation and the reversal of this phenomenon called dissimilation. This chapter provides the framework to measure the extent of assimilation that has taken place within the study area.

Chapter Three traces the evolution of zoning from the law of nuisance and restrictive covenants to what it is today. After this discourse, the purposes of zoning are explored. The foci of this chapter, however, are the general and social effects of zoning on land uses and ethnic neighbourhoods respectively.

Chapter Four presents a brief cultural history of Saint Boniface with the intent to focus on the loss of local autonomy and numeric supremacy. The remainder of this chapter illustrates the transition of the area in terms of demographic and linguistic make-up, and residential land use patterns.

Chapter Five presents the evolution of zoning policy within Central Saint Boniface, with the intent of demonstrating to the reader that the policies have had detrimental effects on the land use patterns and other characteristics of the area.

Chapter Six outlines the methodology pursued in selecting the case study area and the sample areas. The chapter also describes the sample areas, the format of the questionnaire, the procedure used to administer the survey, and the analysis used to examine the raw data.

Chapter Seven discusses the survey results in relation to the theoretical concepts put forth in the first two chapters. The three hypotheses are also tested in this chapter.

Chapter Eight explores desirable planning interventions which might preserve and enhance the presence of franco-phones within Central Saint Boniface.

Chapter Nine is a summation of the main arguments and findings of the thesis, along with the proposed resolutions to the problems.

There are three appendices to this thesis. Appendix A is a sample of the questionnaire used to survey the residents. Appendix B is a summary table of selected survey results. Finally, the last appendix is a glossary of terms.

Chapter II

ASSIMILATION AND PLURALISM

This chapter discusses the processes of assimilation and dissimilation with the intent of illustrating that both processes are complex and reversible. The survival of an ethnic community is dependent upon the actions of both the individual and the strength of the ethnic institutions. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the benefits of each process to the democratic society. Overall, this chapter provides the theoretical framework for the case study of this thesis.

2.1 ASSIMILATION

In the late 1800's, early 1900's, the Anglo-Conformity Theory was in vogue. The American populace expected new immigrants to renounce their respective ancestral culture "in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group".²

At the beginning of this century, up until the mid-50's, the majority of Americans preached the ideas of the Melting Pot Theory. This theory envisaged "a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous

² Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.85.

American type".³ To achieve either end result, assimilation was the means to do so.

If one were to refer to a dictionary for the definition of assimilation it could be described as a process which "absorb(s) into the body or into a group, system or culture".⁴ A more descriptive definition can be found in a French dictionary:

Action de rendre semblable. Le fait d'aller du différent au semblable.⁵

This definition describes assimilation as a process where something different becomes like the rest.

These two definitions, however, do not account for the conflict that might arise between ethnic groups and the core society. The core society is the ethnic group that has "traditionally dominated the power and status system of the community".⁶ In Assimilation in American Life Milton Gordon agreed with Robert E. Park's definition of assimilation as:

the process or processes by which people of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence.⁷

³ Ibid., p.85.

⁴ Oxford American Dictionary, 1980 ed., s.v. "Assimilate."

⁵ Le Petit Robert, 1978 ed., s.v. "Assimilation."

⁶ Gordon, p.72.

⁷ Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 2, quoted in Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York:Oxford University Press, 1964), p.63.

Park's definition of assimilation does not account for the conflict that might be experienced or the unequal amounts of power that ethnic groups might have. In contrast, Milton Yinger describes assimilation as a process of boundary reduction which occurs when two or more cultural groups meet.⁸ This view implies that conflict and the unequal distribution of power exists amongst ethnic groups.

Working towards a less simple definition of assimilation, Yinger and Gordon describe it as a composition of sub-processes, which are interdependent but develop to varying degrees. Gordon lists seven sub-processes.

1. Cultural or behavioral assimilation involves a change in the cultural patterns to those of the host society.
2. Structural assimilation refers to the large-scale entrance into primary group associations of the host society.
3. Marital assimilation refers to large-scale intermarriage.
4. Identificational assimilation involves sharing a sense of peoplehood with members of the host society.
5. Attitude receptional assimilation refers to the absence of prejudice.
6. Behavioral receptional assimilation involves the absence of discrimination.
7. Civic assimilation includes the absence of value and power conflict.⁹

⁸ Milton Yinger, "Toward a Theory of Assimilation and Disassimilation", Ethnic and Racial Studies, 4, 3 (July 1981), p.249.

Yinger shortens his list to four sub-processes, which incorporates Gordon's lengthier one. The first one is acculturation, which corresponds to Gordon's first one. Yinger defines it as the "process of change toward greater cultural similarity brought about by contact between two or more groups".¹⁰ A member of an ethnic group is acculturated when he abandons his culture in exchange for the culture of the dominant group or the core society.

The meeting between the groups does not always mean that the "weak" group will abandon its culture. It might "add" the culture of the core society to its own heritage. This is called additive acculturation.¹¹

The second sub-process is social identification. This process occurs when a member of an ethnic group identifies with the new society--a society blended from different ethnic groups. Gordon's fourth, fifth and sixth sub-processes correspond to this one.

When individuals from different ethnic backgrounds participate in a set of shared interactions integration (or structural assimilation) has taken place.¹² Examples of this are intermarriages and primary group activities. This third

⁹ Gordon, p.71.

¹⁰ Yinger, p.251.

¹¹ Ibid., pp 251-253.

¹² Ibid., p.254.

sub-process is related to Gordon's second, third and seventh sub-processes.

The final sub-process is amalgamation. The intermarriage of people from different ethnic backgrounds might result in the procreation of an offspring. The biological assimilation of different cultures is the resulting child-- amalgamation.¹³

Of the sub-processes of assimilation, integration or structural assimilation is the most important.

Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow.¹⁴

Gordon emphasizes that it is not acculturation but rather structural assimilation (integration) that is the "keystone of the arch of assimilation".¹⁵

The price of (structural) assimilation ... is the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the evaporation of its distinctive values.¹⁶

¹³ Ibid., p.255.

¹⁴ Gordon, p.81.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.81.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.81.

2.2 DISSIMILATION

The theory that presently enjoys popularity is Cultural Pluralism. It promotes:

the preservation of the culture of the later immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society.¹⁷

The theory's historical antecedents have been traced to Horace Kallen, an American Jew and a Harvard educated philosopher. In 1915, he submitted a series of articles, which were published in a newspaper entitled The Nation. In "Democracy Versus the Melting-Pot" he rejected both the Anglo-Conformity and Melting Pot Theories.¹⁸

The objective of cultural pluralism is to maintain primary group ties across ethnic groups to a minimum, however, interaction with others at the secondary group level, such as in the political, economic and administrative spheres of society should occur.¹⁹

For cultural pluralism to be successful, various ethnic group structures must be maintained. The maintenance of these institutions and primary groups is referred to as structural pluralism.

The system of cultural pluralism (which ultimately depends on structural pluralism) has frequently been described as "cultural democracy" since it posits the right of ethnic groups in a democratic

¹⁷ Ibid., p.85.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.141.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.158.

society to maintain their communal identity and their own subcultural values.²⁰

For cultural pluralism to flourish, the process of assimilation must be reversed, either naturally or because of some human involvement. For example, a study of the Dutch in Kalamazoo, Michigan by Jackle and Wheeler revealed that the process of acculturation was slowed down, and reversed in some instances, when an influx of Dutch immigrants settled in the community. These immigrants had raised the degree of ethnocentricity amongst the Americans of Dutch ancestry.²¹

It must be remembered, however, that the sub-processes of assimilation affects individuals. An ethnic group, as a whole can be assimilated, however, this is considered to be the end-state of the process. Each member of an ethnic group is subject to the pressures of the process, and each one will react differently to them. The group might react against the potential loss of its members by adopting ways to persuade, coerce or influence each individual's decision to assimilate or not.²²

²⁰ Ibid., p.262.

²¹ John A. Jackle and James O. Wheeler, "The Changing Residential Structure of the Dutch Population in Kalamazoo, Michigan", Annals, (1968), p.459.

²² Yinger, pp 251-252.

Several authors have outlined strategies to minimize out-group contacts and maintain the primary groups of the ethnic communities. Raymond Breton is one researcher who has detailed such a course of action.

The ethnic group succeeds in holding its member's allegiance by preventing their contact with the native community. This is achieved by a process of substitution whereby ethnic institutions rather than those of the native community take hold in the immigrant's social life.²³

Religious institutions and an ethnic newspaper "have the greatest effect in keeping the immigrant's personal associations within the boundaries of the ethnic community".²⁴ The religious institutions are effective because the leaders of this institution are "advocates and preachers of a national ideology", and they encourage the formation of social and political societies based on ethnicity. The ethnic newspapers are also effective because they promote the national ideology, symbols, values, heroes, and achievements. It also interprets the events occurring in the country which might affect the well-being of the ethnic community.²⁵

The survival of these ethnic institutions can only be successful if an ethnic public exists to be served. The following conditions must be met if these entities are to

²³ Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants", The American Journal of Sociology, 70 (1964), p.199.

²⁴ Ibid., pp 200-201.

²⁵ Ibid., p.201.

flourish:

1. The more distinguishable the subject ethnic group is from the other groups the easier it will be to develop separate institutions.
2. The fewer financial resources available to the members of an ethnic group the more dependent they will be on local services and products.
3. An influx of immigrants will provide the institutions with a larger public.²⁶

This movement towards cultural pluralism is referred to as dissimilation. Dissimilation is the force "whereby intra-societal differences are maintained and created around sub-cultural groups".²⁷

2.3 ASSIMILATION OR DISSIMILATION

People view the forces of assimilation differently. Some believe assimilation can offer all members of society greater equality by weakening a source of discrimination-- ethnicity.²⁸ Those people who do not adhere to this school of thought believe that the existence of different ethnic groups fosters the survival of a democratic society.

Ethnic groups can be powerful centres of opposition to coercive states (and) can protect valuable cultural resources that are lost in a basically

²⁶ Ibid., p.204.

²⁷ Yinger, p.257.

²⁸ Ibid., p.260.

one-way assimilation process.²⁹

Others believe that dissimilation fosters:

an ethnic attachment (which) helps one preserve some sense of community, to know who one is, to overcome the feeling of being a "cipher" in an anonymous world.³⁰

Yinger believes ethnicity is useful "in the struggle for power, status and income" for people who cannot succeed on their own and believe that a "collective response has some chance of success".³¹

Regardless of one's choice of dissimilation or assimilation, the effects of both processes on ethnic neighbourhoods is certain. Sandra P. Schoenberg's study of two urban communities in St. Louis noted that social discrimination and the availability of work within an ethnic neighbourhood "fostered the growth of cohesive ethnic neighborhoods".³² With certain aspects of discrimination outlawed, i.e. segregation, she noted that many Blacks did not wish to live in Black-only neighbourhoods. The Italians, on the other hand, having established economic and political ties to the larger American society, wanted to live in and maintain their ethnic communities.³³

²⁹ Ibid., p.260.

³⁰ Ibid., p.258.

³¹ Ibid., p.259.

³² Sandra P. Schoenberg, "Community Stability and Decay in St. Louis: The Ethnic Factor in Two Urban Neighborhoods", Ethnicity 7 (1980), pp 404 and 405.

³³ Ibid., pp 416-418.

2.4 SUMMARY

Assimilation is a multi-dimensional process which affects individuals. Of the four sub-processes, structural assimilation (integration) is the keystone to total assimilation. When out-group contacts are minimized by maintaining and strengthening the primary groups, total assimilation may be prevented.

The social phenomenon of people returning to their ethnic ties is embodied in the theory of cultural pluralism and is referred to as the process of dissimilation. Whether assimilation or dissimilation is beneficial to a democratic society is still being disputed by their respective supporters.

Ethnic neighbourhoods were established in response to discrimination and other barriers set up by the core society. Ethnic institutions and primary groups served the needs and wants of their own. To some extent, these barriers have been dismantled for some groups, and members from these groups have chosen to assimilate. For those who wanted to resist assimilation, ethnic loyalties and economic power for ethnic communities have proven to be the ingredients for personal and group survival.

The next chapter explores the general effects of zoning with emphasis on the social impacts of this type of land use regulation. The historical antecedents of zoning will first

be traced so as to provide the reader with the reasons why this tool was so readily adopted and accepted by the "public".

Chapter III

THE GENERAL AND SOCIAL EFFECTS OF ZONING

This chapter discusses the evolution of zoning from the law of nuisance and restrictive covenants to a valid exercise by municipal governments. The zoning by-law was first introduced as an instrument to better the social environment, however, it quickly became used to protect private property. The prevalence of this purpose in the present zoning by-laws is responsible for several negative effects associated closely with it.

3.1 THE ORIGINS OF ZONING

The law of nuisance and restrictive covenants have both been touted as the forerunners to zoning.

Land use at common law was governed by the law of nuisance and restrictive covenants. Property owners since the 18th Century have been imposing restrictive covenants with land sold by them, with the object of protecting the value of the lands retained by them.³⁴

A nuisance in the law of torts is an "actionable wrong".³⁵

³⁴ Ian M. Rogers, Canadian Law of Planning and Zoning, (Toronto: The Carswell Company Limited, 1975), p.118.

³⁵ Readers' Digest Association, You and the Law, (Montreal: Readers' Digest Association, Canada Ltd., 1976), p.615.

Nuisances usually involve noise, vibration, smells, smoke and all kinds of pollution. (Nuisances)...involve some degree of interference with your guaranteed right to "quiet enjoyment" of your private property.³⁶

Nuisances are classed as either public or private. A private nuisance is an "unlawful interference with a person's use and enjoyment of his land".³⁷ A public nuisance is one "involving a widespread private nuisance or any situation where someone, not necessarily in connection with land use, is interfering with the comfort and convenience of the public".³⁸

The other forerunner to zoning is the restrictive covenant. It is a formal agreement or contract which binds the original purchaser of the land, and the subsequent land owners, to the clauses in the contract which will beneficially enhance the value of the land.³⁹

Both the law of nuisance and restrictive covenants have their respective drawbacks. Firstly, the law of nuisance requires the offended property owner to "prove that a nuisance was being carried on".⁴⁰ Secondly, although the original purchaser can be sued for damages if the restrictive cove-

³⁶ Ibid., p.617.

³⁷ Ibid., p.617.

³⁸ Cameron Harvey, An Introduction to Law and Local Government for University of Manitoba City Planning Students, (Winnipeg: The Faculty of Law, 1979), p.135.

³⁹ Ibid., pp 144c-147.

⁴⁰ Rogers, p.118.

nant contract is breached, the successors to the title can only be served with an injunction.⁴¹ As a land use control, the restrictive covenant necessitates the "continuing ability to enforce them".⁴²

In essence, both the law of nuisance and the restrictive covenant require the injured party, i.e. a landowner, to seek legal redress. The widespread enactment of zoning and other municipal by-laws relieved property owners from seeking legal redress because the state assumed responsibility to monitor and control the urban environment.

3.2 DEFINITION OF ZONING

Zoning involves the most fundamental problem of social organization: the distribution of rights between the individual and the community. In this case the rights are property rights.⁴³

The regulatory device known as zoning has been defined in many different ways. Inundated by American literature on the topic, efforts were made to search for a Canadian definition of zoning. Ian M. Rogers defines it as a:

form of regulation of property by local governments. It is the division of a municipality into zones or areas and in each area either prohibiting certain uses and allowing all others or permitting the uses which may be carried on to the exclusion

⁴¹ Harvey, pp 144c-147.

⁴² Ibid., p.145.

⁴³ Donald H. Elliott, "Introduction", in The New Zoning: Legal, Administrative, and Economic Concepts and Techniques, ed. Norman Marcus and Marilyn W. Groves (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p.xix.

of all others.⁴⁴

The allocation of certain appropriate uses to a specific district is intended to create stability. The intrusion of prohibited uses into this district will "tend to impair the development and stability of the area for the appropriate uses".⁴⁵

The scope of the regulation includes controlling land use, and the erection and use of buildings. The underlying and often unstated principle in Canadian planning statutes is that the government has both the right and power to deprive the landowner's right--the right of private property--to use his property as he desires. This type of community control limits the "interest of landowners in securing the maximum value of their land".⁴⁶ The exercise of this prerogative is in the name of the "public" good.

3.3 THE BIRTH OF ZONING--THE AMERICAN AND CANADIAN EXPERIENCES

As early as the 1880's San Francisco used zoning to restrict Chinese laundries from expanding. Boston established building heights in 1904; five years later Los Angeles created seven industrial districts which were separate from the residential ones. In 1916, New York was the first city to

⁴⁴ Rogers, p.115.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p.115.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.115.

adopt a comprehensive zoning ordinance⁴⁷ which regulated building heights and bulk, and established setback requirements for the entire city. The ordinance, lobbied on behalf of the Protestant and German Jewish merchants on Fifth Avenue, was enacted to protect the "fashionable shopping district from the spread of garment factories owned by Russian and Polish Jews".⁴⁸

Throughout the early years, the validity of the zoning by-laws was tested in the American courts. In 1926 the Supreme Court ruled that zoning was a valid exercise of the police power and denied the plaintiff compensation as a result of the exercise. The now famous Euclid case provided the early planners with the legal backing to zone at will,⁴⁹ as long as the act was not discriminatory, i.e. spot zoning.

Canadian legislation was tested as early as 1883 in *Hodge v. The Queen*. This case involved the delegation of provincial power to a municipal institution. The court ruled in favour of The Queen stating that the province could "confide to a municipal institution or body of its own creation authority to make by-laws or regulations".⁵⁰ Although zoning

⁴⁷ David E. Ervin et. al., Land Use Control: Evaluating Economic and Political Effects, (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1977), p.63.

⁴⁸ Frank J. Popper, The Politics of Land-Use Reform, (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), p.55.

⁴⁹ Ervin et. al., p.64.

⁵⁰ J.B. Milner, Community Planning: A Casebook on Law and

legislation had not been enacted as early as 1883, the ruling had paved the way for its acceptance in the legal setting.

The initial grant of legislative authority in Ontario was to permit councils to prohibit and regulate nuisances and acts deemed by the council to be a nuisance. Subsequently in 1890 the power to control the location of offensive and noxious trades was conferred on councils by defining areas in which they could not be carried on.⁵¹

In 1904, Ontario cities were delegated the power to control the "location, erection and use of buildings for launderies, butcher shops, stores and manufactories".⁵²

Both the Canadian and American judicial systems had decided to support the concept which placed limitations on private property rights.

3.4 THE PURPOSE OF ZONING

The Canadian judicial system has defined the purpose of zoning in the Supreme Court of Canada ruling of the Johannesson v. West St. Paul (1951) case.

The municipality (can enact) by-laws in respect of certain areas and make those areas subject to prohibitions and restrictions designed to provide uniformity within those particular areas.⁵³

Administration, ed. J.B. Milner, (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1963), p.463.

⁵¹ Rogers, pp 118-119.

⁵² Ibid., p.119.

⁵³ Milner, p.469.

The key word in the decision is "uniformity". To seek uniformity for its own sake is not the purpose of zoning legislation, as the reader will discover.

The acceptance of zoning by those who would be the most affected--property owners--is well-documented by John Delafons, Richard Babcock and Nino Hason.⁵⁴ Zoning first emerged "as a response to conditions of the slums, unbearable congestion in downtown areas, and frantic land speculations around the fringe".⁵⁵ Zoning would:

help bring about decentralization and hence reduced congestion; could stabilize property values through the separation of incompatible users; and could provide unprecedented legal authority to carry out real planning schemes.⁵⁶

Of the literature reviewed, the second objective--the stabilization of property values through the separation of incompatible users-- was prevalent in the early zoning ordinances. Zoning in the mid- 1920's was being used to protect residential property values.

⁵⁴ For the views of these authors refer to John Delafons' Land-Use Controls in the United States, (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1969); Richard Babcock's The Zoning Game: Municipal Practices and Policies, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1966); and, Nino Hason's The Emergence and Development of Zoning Controls in North American Municipalities: A Critical Analysis, (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1977).

⁵⁵ Nino Hason, The Emergence and Development of Zoning Controls in North American Municipalities: A Critical Analysis, (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1977), p.6.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.6.

In the early decades of this century, the City of Toronto was composed of residential districts. The establishment of a district occurred at the request of its residents when "a perceived threat of change or a specific instance of land use development" affected their neighbourhood. The alderman for the area or City Council usually complied with the request. Upon being registered as a residential district, a list of residential restrictions was drawn. It included items such as lot size, the position of the building on the lot, the size and value of the dwelling, and the type of construction material to be used.⁵⁷

A residential district had power through the ballot box. A poll of nearby property owners by the Property Department "played an important role in determining the outcome" of an application to establish a prohibited use within the district.⁵⁸

Zoning in this form was a collective device used for individual benefit, rather than the collective benefit....⁵⁹

The restrictions were used to "maintain past environments, rather than to shape future ones".⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Peter W. Moore, "Zoning and Planning: The Toronto Experience, 1904- 1970", in The Usable Urban Past, ed. Alan F.J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1979), pp 322 & 324.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.324.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p.324.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.322.

The way in which zoning was structured in the early decades of its existence illustrates the purpose it had to fulfill. Districting, as it was called, was hierarchial, with residential on top and industrial on the bottom. Residential land uses were the preferred uses and hence could be established in any district. The least preferred industrial use was confined to its own district.⁶¹ This pyramidal structure of districting was designed to approximate uniformity for the "highest" land use--residential property--with the belief that other uses would induce an air of instability and subsequently reduce property values.

Thus far zoning has been described as an instrument which has at least maintained property values. In The Zoning Game, Richard Babcock puts forth two theories which explain the purpose of zoning. The planning theory views zoning as an instrument to implement "an overall municipal plan".⁶² The second is the property value theory which views zoning as a means of maximizing property values. How land is to be used is determined by the dynamics of the real estate market--the "proper" zoning of a parcel of land or a district is determined by the market forces.⁶³

⁶¹ Hason, pp 13-14.

⁶² Richard F. Babcock, The Zoning Game: Municipal Practices and Policies, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), p.121.

⁶³ Ibid., p.116.

Every piece of property should be used in the manner that will give it the greatest value (i.e. its "highest and best use") without causing a corresponding decrease in the value of other property. The zoning ordinance can achieve this goal by prohibiting the construction of "nuisances".⁶⁴

Babcock defines a nuisance as any land use which "unduly" lowers the value of neighbouring parcels of property. Zoning is implemented to protect the market from "imperfections" which might occur "in the natural operation of supply and demand".⁶⁵ The purpose of zoning since its inception has been the maintenance of property values by separating different uses from one another. The question is--who benefits from this uniformity?

3.5 ZONING IS MIDDLE-CLASS

Homeownership is viewed by Canadians, and for that matter by North Americans, as the desirable type of tenure which everyone strives for. The attainment of this goal necessitates that the homeowner's investment be protected from all harmful uses, either real or perceived. The R1 zone (see Appendix C. for definition) is the highest and best rating that can be bestowed on homeowners.

It even creeps into the "social" consciousness of the inhabitant, who might feel insulted if his land were rezoned from R2 to R3. Somehow a person living in an R2 zone is "better" than a person living in R3.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Ibid., p.117.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp 117-119.

⁶⁶ Milner, p.562.

If zoning has truly crept into the social consciousness of the homeowners, it is to their advantage to have their area or property zoned as R1.

If the "undesirable" land uses are restricted from a specific district, with the belief that they do represent relevant external effects, homeowners of single and two-family houses would pay more for the absence of those uses not like theirs. The elimination of these negative effects are reflected in increased land values.⁶⁷ With these facts in mind, since homeowners of single and two-family houses stand to lose the most from instability it would be logical to assume that they would be most involved in the zoning system.

The zoning system has been described as middle-class in style--a system which is used by a group of people to further their interests, be it financial or otherwise.

Current land use control policies--or the lack thereof--did not arise from happenstance. They persist because they serve the interests of politically active citizens. Local zoning ordinances, building codes, subdivision controls, and statutes on annexation and municipal incorporation have apparently served certain values and interests of citizens of above average SES (socio-economic status) well.⁶⁸

S.J. Makielski's examination of the zoning battles in New York revealed that "only a few were representative of the underprivileged, unpropertied, and the economically or so-

⁶⁷ Ervin et. al., p.93.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.54.

cially disadvantaged".⁶⁹ The involvement of the middle-class in the zoning system makes any land use decision a political one, instead of a planning one.⁷⁰ This is the case because zoning protects the interests of a propertied class instead of implementing the directives of a comprehensive plan.

The objective (of zoning) was to protect existing neighborhoods from the onslaught of diverse uses that would deteriorate property values.⁷¹

Since its inception, the "primary, if not exclusive, purpose in the 1920's was to protect the single-family district and that objective is foremost four decades later".⁷²

Although many writers agree that zoning is defensive and serves the purposes of a group of property owners, Daniel Mandelker believes this view is only applicable to the early zoning ordinances when development occurred on small lots. Urban development on large tracts of land especially assembled for such purposes occurred when changes in building methods were "stimulated by the greater accessibility induced by the automobile".⁷³

⁶⁹ S.J. Makielski, Jr. The Politics of Zoning: The New York Experience, (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1966), p.157.

⁷⁰ Bernard H. Siegan, Land Use Without Zoning, (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath & Co., 1972), p.222.

⁷¹ Ibid., p.152.

⁷² Babcock, p.6.

⁷³ Daniel Mandelker, "The Role of Zoning in Housing and Metropolitan Development", in Land Use Controls: Present Problems and Future Reform, ed. David Listokin (New Brunswick, New Jersey: The State University of New Jersey, 1974), p.41.

The objective of the zoning ordinance also changed with the times. Zoning could no longer be rightly justified to prevent land use incompatibilities within established neighborhoods. It was needed to control the location and pace of urban development in largely open territory.⁷⁴

Zoning was increasingly used as a method of implementing larger objectives based on a comprehensive plan.⁷⁵

3.6 SOME EFFECTS OF ZONING

Land use decisions are sensitive because they influence many other aspects of a community's life--e.g., population composition, environmental quality, recreational opportunity, and fiscal stability.⁷⁶

The zoning system is inherently conflict-ridden because it pits property owners with different interests against one another. These varied interests are presented at public meetings in the form of briefs and/or discussions. Although it need not be, land use decisions produce winners and losers.

In one situation the developer reaps a "windfall" return, and the neighbor does not receive protection. If the neighbor is protected, the developer suffers a "wipeout"....⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.41.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.41.

⁷⁶ Daniel R. Mandelker and Roger A. Cunningham, Planning and Control of Land Development, (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1979), p.51.

⁷⁷ Lane Kendig et. al., Performance Zoning, (Chicago, Illinois: The Planners Press, n.d.), p.11.

Stephen Demmings is more specific with his illustration. If one property is permitted an upzoning in order to construct a high-rise apartment, adjacent owners will "suffer an economic 'wipeout'". In addition to this "wipeout", the adjacent owners might suffer from the negative externalities associated with an apartment block on their street.⁷⁸ Mandelker and Cunningham believe that these living units interfere:

by their height and bulk with the free circulation of air and monopolizing the rays of the sun which otherwise would fall upon the smaller homes, and bringing, as their necessary accompaniments, the disturbing noises incident to increasing traffic and business, and the occupation, by means of moving and parking automobiles, of larger portions of the streets, thus detracting from their safety and depriving children of the privilege of quiet and open spaces for play, enjoyed by those in more favored localities--until, finally, the residential character of the neighborhood and its desirability as a place of detached residences are utterly destroyed.⁷⁹

Multiple-family units within single-family areas are viewed as incompatible not solely for aesthetic reasons, but because the occupants of these units are more transient than those living in single-family dwellings.⁸⁰ The temporary nature of the residence makes it difficult for people to identify with one another. This is further complicated by the

⁷⁸ Stephen Demmings, Transferable Development Rights: Preserving Low Density Structures in Downtown Winnipeg, (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Institute of Urban Studies, 1979), p.13.

⁷⁹ Mandelker and Cunningham, p.209.

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp 315 and 316.

fact that since these areas of high mobility contain a heterogeneous population, the young unmarried and the old retired do not seem to share too many interests in common.⁸¹

The opportunities for friendship and association on an informal level seem slight in a situation of diverse population types and impermanency.⁸²

A higher mobility rate also has psychological effects on the residents of the area. Neighbours "perceive" greater differences amongst themselves. Personal links are more difficult to establish because neighbours view one another as inhospitable and antipathetic.⁸³

Areas of high mobility tend to attract greater-than-ordinary proportions of "family-less households and childless couples". The very nature of these areas worries community organizations because they are constantly recruiting new members for those they lost to migration.⁸⁴

If, on the other hand, the zoning protects the residential character of an area and does not permit one property owner an upzoning request, then it excludes certain uses from specified districts, and in doing so it excludes certain types of housing and its potential inhabitants.⁸⁵

⁸¹ P.H. Rossi, Why Families Move, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), p.181.

⁸² Ibid., p.181.

⁸³ Ibid., p.39.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp 40 and 181.

⁸⁵ Siegan, p.88.

Exclusion is accomplished in two ways: First, directly by not permitting, or prohibiting, certain construction through location, area, or density restrictions; and second, indirectly by establishing requirements which increase costs, limiting the numbers of eligible buyers.⁸⁶

As a condition of a possible rezoning, local authorities can require expensive construction additions or design features which indirectly increase the construction costs of buildings.⁸⁷

If zoning does exclude certain housing types, and in effect certain classes of people from specified areas, then these people are the losers. If zoning does not restrict the type of housing to be constructed within single-family districts, then single-family dwellers would suffer a loss in property values, and would be the losers.

To test if zoning does exclude certain people from specific districts, it would be necessary to compare the building standards and the types of materials that must be used in the construction of a house within these specific districts and those regulations governing construction outside these zones. Expensive building materials and standards will increase construction costs and exclude certain people from becoming residents in these specific districts. To test if a different land use does affect the stability of the district and the property values of a homogeneous land

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.88.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.88.

use neighbourhood, a comparative case study approach would have to be undertaken. For example, a comparison of a single-family area invaded by a multiple-family unit with an area that has not been invaded.

In his study of the Boston SMSA, William J. Stull discovered that the value of the "typical" single-family dwelling "depended significantly upon community land use patterns".⁸⁸ As in any field of study there is evidence that points to the contrary. Steven Maser and his fellow researchers in their analysis of Monroe County, New York noted that several factors were responsible in affecting the price of land. The main determinant, however, was the precise location of the land in relation to important activities such as shopping centres and transit routes. The next important factor was "the uses to which neighboring parcels are put".⁸⁹

Regardless of the evidence, the decisions made by local authorities in respect to land must influence the value of the property. When a property owner wins the right to develop a parcel of land as he desires, its value has been artificially increased. This increment in value "is not the result of capital improvements", but in fact it is "a benefit

⁸⁸ William J. Stull, "Community Environment, Zoning, and the Market Value of Single-Family Homes", The Journal of Law and Economics, 18 (1975), p.552.

⁸⁹ Steven M. Maser et. al., "The Effects of Zoning and Externalities on the Price of Land: An Empirical Analysis of Monroe County, New York", The Journal of Law and Economics, 20 (1977), p.114.

granted by government".⁹⁰

In a traditional zoning system, the landowner alone benefits from the increased value; very little is passed on to the ultimate owner or renter.⁹¹

What is "passed on" to the neighbouring landowners might be a land use which does not complement theirs.

If, however, the local authorities prohibit a development on a specific site, then they have limited the land's potential and its value.⁹² In conclusion, land use decisions affect housing costs, property values and the composition of the neighbourhood.

3.7 THE EFFECTS OF ZONING ON ETHNIC NEIGHBOURHOODS

The amount of literature on the effects of zoning on either ethnic or non-ethnic neighbourhoods is minimal. Of the case studies that were reviewed, Joseph T. Manzo's piece is the best one to discuss.⁹³

⁹⁰ Kendig et. al., p.339.

⁹¹ Ibid., p.339.

⁹² John J. Costonis, Space Adrift: Landmark Preservation and the Marketplace, (Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1974), p.36.

⁹³ A brief article on Montreal's Chinatown is a Canadian example of the effects of zoning on ethnic neighbourhoods. It is called "Montreal's Chinatown Gasping for Breath" by Patrick G. Deoux, Forum, no.2, (May 1985): 1 & 7. Another American case study is Daniel F. Doeppers' article "The Globeville Neighborhood in Denver", The Geographical Review, 57 (1957): 506-522.

Manzo studied a Slavic neighbourhood in Kansas City, Kansas called Strawberry Hill, to discover the reasons that led to its decline. In the post-World War II years "a series of events...has worked toward the dispersal of Slavic population from their original settlement area".⁹⁴ Typical of older inner-city neighbourhoods Strawberry Hill "exude(s) a human scale and atmosphere often missing in more sterile suburbs". The major thoroughfares are dotted with small retail outlets and taverns. Also characteristic of the "Hill" is the high percentage of elderly persons and an increasing number of vacant houses.⁹⁵

Strawberry Hill was considered to be an excellent location in the mid-1940's for businesses and industries. It was close to a concentrated population, the banking facilities and other businesses in downtown Kansas City, and it was well served by the transportation routes. The local government, the zoning commission and large-scale commercial interests were also quick to notice these advantages.⁹⁶

The first large commercial interest to take note of the "Hill" was the supermarket chain stores. In the late 1940's, two such stores requested the necessary zoning changes and received them.

⁹⁴ Joseph T. Manzo, "The Role of External Factors in the Decline of the Strawberry Hill Neighborhood", Ethnicity, 7 (1980), p.47.

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp 49 and 50.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.50.

It appears the selection and savings available at the larger stores outweighed the opportunity to purchase traditional brand names and the benefit of buying on credit. These factors led to the demise of the ethnic stores.⁹⁷

The reduction in the number of ethnic stores forced the inhabitants of the "Hill" to go outside the neighbourhood to buy their necessities.⁹⁸

In the mid-1950's the plans to build an expressway through Strawberry Hill became reality near the end of this decade. Historic and architectural significant buildings were destroyed in the process; one hundred and twenty-five households became homeless at one fell swoop.⁹⁹

During the sixties, suburban shopping centres flourished at the expense of Kansas City's downtown. Zoning changes permitted the construction of a municipal parking lot which further reduced the size of the "Hill". As Manzo discovered, "the commission favored any change that would take place of the inefficient, land-using, single-family house". Within a twenty year period the number of single-family dwellings had been reduced by fifty percent.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Ibid., p.51.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p.51.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p.51.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp 52 and 53.

The next decade proved to be more of the same--zoning changes. The zoning commission rezoned the remainder of the "Hill" as appropriate for high-rise apartments. In fact, smaller apartments were erected. The renters of these units were ethnically mixed and had minimal personal investment in the neighbourhood. In an interview conducted by Manzo, some renters had attended church, but none held memberships in the community congregations or the social clubs.¹⁰¹ Social club numbers, religious attachment, and personal investment in Strawberry Hill were the indices which Manzo used to measure the amount of decline, if any, in ethnicity within the neighbourhood.¹⁰² Manzo reached the following conclusions.

The people living in these apartments tend to be transient and have no noticeable loyalty to the area.¹⁰³

The vacant houses were being purchased by low income people; the larger houses were purchased by absentee homeowners who then "carved" them up into apartments "with toilets in the hall and inadequate plumbing in the kitchens".¹⁰⁴

The dissolution of the zoning commission introduced a new species to be dealt with--the city planning department. Its views about the "Hill" were a carbon copy of the commis-

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p.53.

¹⁰² Ibid., p.50.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p.53.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p.53.

sion's--the single-family dwelling was an inefficient land use.

The city planners have recommended that the whole of Strawberry Hill be converted to multifamily, multi-density dwellings. Accordingly, the department will stand behind anyone seeking to invest in the construction of apartment buildings in the area.¹⁰⁵

Strawberry Hill has experienced a small, but steady flow of immigrants. This has increased the actual number of Croatians, but more importantly they have served as "models of traditional Croatian culture".¹⁰⁶

It is impossible to stop zoning change and to foresee the effects of supermarkets and shopping centers constructed thirty years apart and be able to do something about it. By itself, Slavic desire to maintain a neighborhood of primarily single-family residences does not seem strong enough to override the external forces that oppose it.¹⁰⁷

The Strawberry Hill study is a detailed example of how zoning and other external forces might lead an ethnic (or non-ethnic) community into decline. More importantly, it has pointed out that assimilation (an internal force) is not the sole force in operation against the stability of ethnic neighbourhoods.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p.53.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p.54.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p.54.

3.8 SUMMARY

The early zoning ordinances were used to protect property values against what the middle-class regarded as nuisances. The Fifth Avenue merchants in New York viewed the garment industries as nuisances. The fathers of San Francisco believed the Chinese laundries to be a source of nuisance.

The urban environment has matured significantly since the early years of zoning, but this regulatory device has not changed much. Certainly the by-laws have legally matured, and they serve other purposes, but zoning's foremost purpose is still the protection of property values. The pursuit of this objective has serious effects on the community and it fosters a winner-loser situation. The developer's right to make a profit from urban development, the homeowner's right to enjoy his property, and the community's obligation to provide opportunities for the less wealthy to live in pleasant environments are at odds with one another.

Exclusionary zoning is a result of middle-class homeowners who want to preserve what they have--their property values or the population composition. It has been ingrained in the social consciousness of North Americans that R1 is better than R2, et cetera. This belief fuels the debates on variances and on rezoning applications. People do not want an apartment block nearby for fear that it will change the neighbourhood and lower their property values. Whether these changes do occur or not is moot because if the people in the

district believe that their values will fall, then they probably will--some homeowners might not maintain their house in good repair because of this belief.

Finally, zoning has been identified as the prime cause of an ethnic neighbourhood's decline. This was proven by Manzo's extensive research into zoning changes and variances that had been granted over several decades. The changing land use patterns and demographic make-up of the area played a key role in undermining the cultural institutions of the neighbourhood. In his final analysis, he noted that regardless of the small but steady flow of Slavic immigrants, the external forces were too overpowering for the ethnic community to stay in Strawberry Hill.

The following chapter briefly examines the establishment of Saint Boniface and how it quickly became the home of the French. The events that led to the loss of French rights (education and language) and the power to control the development of Saint Boniface are also explored. The chapter concludes with an examination of how these historical events have changed Saint Boniface.

Chapter IV

A CULTURAL HISTORY OF SAINT BONIFACE

This chapter describes the establishment of Saint Boniface and how it swiftly became the home of the French. This chapter also describes how and why the French in Saint Boniface lost local autonomy and, in the end, their identity as a unique quarter within a heterogeneous city.

4.1 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SAINT BONIFACE

In the beginning, the Forks (the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers--refer to map 1) were mostly populated by the nomadic Métis and French voyageurs. In an attempt to colonize and civilize the prairies, Lord Selkirk established an agricultural colony on the west side of the Red River, where the present day Point Douglas is. After years of violence in the colony, Selkirk initiated a plan to obtain peace and civilization within the Red River settlement.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ For a more detailed history of the Red River settlement refer to: Lionel Dorje, Le Manitoba, reflets d'un passé (Saint Boniface: Les Editions du Blé, 1976); Arthur S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973); Desmond Morton, A Short History of Canada, (Edmonton: Friesen Printers, 1983).

Lord Selkirk was advised by Governor Semple that a Catholic priest should be dispatched to the Red River area to preach to the French-Canadians and the Métis.¹⁰⁹ The priests would be spiritual leaders to a turbulent population and could play a key role in diminishing the rivalry between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. If the priests could accomplish these difficult tasks, then the stability of the colony would occur more quickly.¹¹⁰

Lord Selkirk was so certain that his plan would work that he proposed to the bishop of Quebec, Monsignor Duplessis, that he would care for the needs and relocation costs of the chosen priests.¹¹¹ On July 16, 1818 Fathers Joseph Norbert Provencher and Sévère-Joseph-Nicolas Dumoulin arrived at Fort Douglas to establish a Catholic mission in the Red River valley.¹¹²

The Catholic missionaries had received every assistance for their enterprise. Lord Selkirk had promised a grant of land twenty miles square on the east side of the river, as an endowment for the mission.¹¹³

The land grant would also serve to convert the Métis into farmers.

¹⁰⁹ A.S. Morton, p.582.

¹¹⁰ Dorge, p.50.

¹¹¹ Ibid., pp 50 and 51.

¹¹² A.S. Morton, p.582.

¹¹³ Ibid., p.645.

Les missionnaires, pour assurer leur subsistance, mettraient leur terre en valeur en la faisant cultiver; de cette façon, ils démontreraient aux Métis les mérites de la culture du sol. Lord Selkirk entrevoyait déjà les résultats de la charge des missionnaires en faveur de la civilisation des Métis. En canalisant leurs croyances religieuses, les prêtres pacifieraient les Métis; en les pacifiant, ils transformeraient peut-être en cultivateurs et c'est ainsi que les Métis seraient civilisés.¹¹⁴

Father Provencher named the site of his mission Saint Boniface, in honour of the patron saint of the German soldiers in the De Meuron regiment who had settled near the Seine River.¹¹⁵

In 1818, a group of forty Quebec immigrants arrived to Saint Boniface.¹¹⁶

Durant ces années et les années suivantes, les Voyageurs se dirigèrent de plus en plus vers la Rivière-Rouge.¹¹⁷

By 1820, the number of French settlers who had arrived from lower Canada gave Saint Boniface the distinction of being known as "little Quebec".¹¹⁸ With the departure of the De Meuron mercenaries in 1826, Saint Boniface became more homogeneous as an ethnic community.

¹¹⁴ Dorge, p.51.

¹¹⁵ A.S. Morton, p.645.

¹¹⁶ Lionel Dorge, Introduction à l'étude des Franco-Manitobains, (Saint-Boniface: La Société historique de Saint-Boniface, 1973), p.11.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.11.

¹¹⁸ A.S. Morton, p.593.

4.2 THE MYTH OF CULTURAL DUALITY

Up until Manitoba's entry into Confederation, the franco-phone element had a powerful voice in the administration of the colony. Numerically, the francophones outnumbered the anglophones. In 1870, there were 558 Indians, 5,757 French Metis, 4,083 English Metis and 1,565 whites in the Red River settlement. Arthur Isaac Silver speculates that the "whites" category was 50% English (which included Scots and Irish settlers).¹¹⁹

The French were in a demographic position to have an equal, if not dominant, influence in the area.¹²⁰

With Confederation plans well underway, there was a greater interest in Upper Canada (Ontario) to "further plans for the development of the West".¹²¹ This interest sparked a wave of anglophone immigration from 1870 to 1890 into "French Manitoba".

The Ontario immigration had been almost the only movement into the province from 1871 to 1874, though there had, of course been some settlers from the Eastern Townships of Quebec, from the Maritimes, and the British Isles.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Arthur Isaac Silver, "French-Canadians and Prairie Settlement, 1870-1890", (M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1966), p.16.

¹²⁰ Leo Driedger, "Maintenance of Urban Ethnic Boundaries: the French in St. Boniface", The Sociological Quarterly, 20 (Winter 1979), p.92.

¹²¹ Saint Boniface, Manitoba, Canada: Centennial Year, 1967, pp 8 and 11.

¹²² W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p.159.

Ten years after Manitoba had entered Confederation, the English had obtained numeric supremacy within the province. The 1880 census lists 9,959 French and 38,285 English persons in the province. Within the next five years (1880-85), the French population had only increased by 12%, whereas the English population had increased by 100%.¹²³ To look at it another way, settlers from Ontario and British Isles contributed the "largest part of an estimated total of 11,500 immigrants in 1879, 18,000 in 1880, and 28,600 in 1881."¹²⁴

The consequence of this massive wave of anglophones to Manitoba was the francophones' loss of numeric supremacy and a threat to the principle of cultural duality.

Le principe de la dualité culturelle n'a pas tenu sous l'impact de l'immigration massive d'anglophones d'Ontario et les francophones n'ont pas attendu longtemps avant d'en subir les conséquences.¹²⁵

By the end of 1890, the upper legislative chamber (modelled after Quebec's) was eliminated, the legal use of the French language in the legislature and courts was abolished, and the separate school system was undermined. All these actions were carried out to satisfy the needs of the newcomers.

The lack of French-Canadian immigrants to the North-West in these two decades (1870-1890) left the way open for an overwhelming English majority to abolish those very laws (education in French and the use of French within the courts and

¹²³ Silver, pp 2 and 23.

¹²⁴ W.L. Morton, p.177.

¹²⁵ Gilles Lortie, "Francophonie et espace au Manitoba", Bulletin, 2 (December 1984), pp 8 and 9.

legislature) which might have been expected to help attract such an immigration.¹²⁶

4.3 THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA

Prior to the establishment of municipal institutions, the provincial government was the only effective administration.

As municipal institutions were established, the provincial government became less involved in the actual administration of municipal affairs.¹²⁷

Saint Boniface was slow to incorporate even when in 1870 its population outnumbered Winnipeg's. It finally became a municipality in 1883, and a city later in 1908.¹²⁸ The reason for this lack of interest in local organizations was due to the school question which necessitated a battle with the provincial government.¹²⁹

Educational policy was determined by the provincial government and the attention of the French in Manitoba was riveted to that policy and consequently to provincial politics by the Roman Catholic hierarchy.¹³⁰

The weak local leadership and weak ties to the local governmental institutions among the French can be attributed to the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church. These leaders were

¹²⁶ Silver, p.25.

¹²⁷ Ian Turnbull, "Local Autonomy and Municipal Reorganization: A Study of Ethnic Influence on the Local Politics of St. Boniface", (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1967), p.iii.

¹²⁸ Driedger, p.93.

¹²⁹ Turnbull, p.iii.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p.iii.

"instrumental in organizing ethnic political activity and directing it not toward civic issues but toward provincial educational policy and provincial politics".¹³¹

For the French the symbol of ethnic survival was not the city council or "home rule" but education.¹³²

At the turn of the century, a small group of anglophones settled in the southern part of Saint Boniface which became known as Norwood.¹³³

Their arrival marked the introduction of bilingualism in St. Boniface.¹³⁴

The original Norwood was bordered by Berry, Goulet, Horace and Eugenie streets. As more industries came to establish themselves in Saint Boniface, the predominantly English-speaking community grew.¹³⁵ It was not long afterwards that Norwood was annexed by Saint Boniface. The annexation was not contested by the English nor the French.¹³⁶

The highly organized English-speaking residents of Norwood established the Norwood Ratepayers Association in the early 1900's.¹³⁷ It petitioned the Saint Boniface city coun-

¹³¹ Ibid., p.6.

¹³² Ibid., p.6.

¹³³ Saint-Boniface, Manitoba, Canada: Centennial Year, p.17.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p.17.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p.17.

¹³⁶ Driedger, p.93.

¹³⁷ Turnbull, p.19.

cil continuously for extended municipal services and "Royal Commissions to investigate alleged irregularities in the management of city council". It had its members elect English councillors, who in turn pressed for a division of the English ward so that there was a possibility of electing more English members on the city council.¹³⁸

Before the turn of the century it was evident that the French no longer enjoyed a privileged position in regards to population and power. Turnbull finds it difficult to comprehend why the French did not "attempt to retain control of civic government by redefining the boundaries of the city in such a way as to exclude the growing non-French population".¹³⁹

As the non-French population of St. Boniface expanded, the French lost control of aldermanic seats and by 1924 of the office of the mayor. That the French did not attempt to retain control of municipal institutions is peculiar because it was evident by the early 1900's that these were the political institutions through which the French might perpetuate ethnic values.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Ibid., pp 19 and 20.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p.17.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp 17 and 18.

4.4 TOWARDS URBAN REORGANIZATION

In 1943, the creation of a regional planning agency called the Metropolitan Planning Commission assumed the responsibility to "prepare a regional master plan, to prepare reports and plans...and to offer advisory opinions on specific issues coming before any of the municipal councils."¹⁴¹ This regional agency soon became "the voice of a rejuvenated city reform movement"¹⁴² which strived to establish a metropolitan government.

These reformers believed that metropolitan government was necessary "because a region carved up into separate municipalities, each looking after its own self-interest, could not tackle problems of a regional character."¹⁴³

Metro would tackle those problems and provide solutions of benefit to the entire region, resisting all those 'special interests'-- whether they be municipalities, neighborhoods, or ethnic groups-- that tried to keep the region fragmented and make instrumental benefits the prime concern.¹⁴⁴

The City of Winnipeg preferred amalgamation over a metropolitan form of government, whereas the suburban municipalities opposed any change in the status quo.¹⁴⁵ The French in Saint Boniface were "initially unprepared to cope with the

¹⁴¹ Harold Kaplan, Reform, Planning, and City Politics, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p.501.

¹⁴² Ibid., p.501.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p.537.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p.537.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p.554.

movement to a metropolitan form of government" because of their preoccupation with education issues.¹⁴⁶

Because of this continuous threat to their right to educate their children in their own language, the Franco-Manitobans had focused their political activity on provincial affairs and had largely ignored civic issues and the development of local autonomy.¹⁴⁷

The Saint Boniface city councillors presented a brief to the Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission in 1959 opposing a metropolitan form of government based on "economic and functional arguments and made only brief reference to the city's cultural distinctiveness."¹⁴⁸

In addition to these factors, the Conservative government had wisely omitted the reorganization of the educational boundaries from the municipal reorganization issue,¹⁴⁹ so as to avoid a conflict with the French. It was hoped that this strategy would effectively minimize the amount of opposition to the municipal reorganization proposal.

The strategy appears to have worked as, initially at least, the opposition from the French Canadians to the municipal re-organization was weak, and disorganized, and mainly vocal.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Douglas Waddell, "The Origins and Development of Metro Winnipeg", in The Development of Urban Government in the Winnipeg Area, ed. P.H. Wichern (Winnipeg, 1970), p.33.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p.33.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.33.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p.34.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p.34.

Between the 1920's and the 1950's, non-political coalition provincial governments operated similar to municipal councils, "moved only by grass-roots democracy"--through referendums and consultation with the affected parties. For this reason the French in Saint Boniface were confident that upon receiving the recommendations from the Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission the provincial government would "seek unanimous approval of the municipalities before attempting to implement any major reorganization."¹⁵¹

When it appeared possible that metropolitan government would be implemented without a referendum or unanimous consent from the municipalities, as recommended by the Greater Winnipeg Investigating Commission, the opposition from St. Boniface became more vocal.¹⁵²

Although these outcries emphasized the cultural identity of Saint Boniface, the main arguments against metropolitan government still focused "on the question of which level of government could provide services more efficiently and most cheaply."¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Ibid., pp 33 and 34.

¹⁵² Ibid., p.34.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p.34.

4.5 METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

In 1960, a metropolitan form of government was superimposed on the twelve municipalities (refer to map 2). Political representation on the Metro Council was by direct election of ten candidates from "pie-shaped electoral districts, each wedge comprising both core and suburban municipalities."¹⁵⁴ This electoral district was the ideal way to "diffuse parochial attitudes",¹⁵⁵ but also proved to be instrumental in preventing "the French from returning an ethnic representative to the metropolitan council."¹⁵⁶

The manner in which the boundaries were drawn up proved to be against the French in Saint Boniface (refer to map 3).

The area of greatest French concentration in St. Boniface was included in what became Metropolitan Electoral Divisions 6 and 7. These Divisions also included the predominantly English speaking areas of East Kildonan, Transcona and Winnipeg.¹⁵⁷

The powers delegated to the new form of local government included "all those powers previously exercised by regional agencies" and jurisdiction over other regional-related issues such as:

The construction and improvement of highways, bridges, and arterial roads, traffic and parking regulations on arterial roads, regional parks,

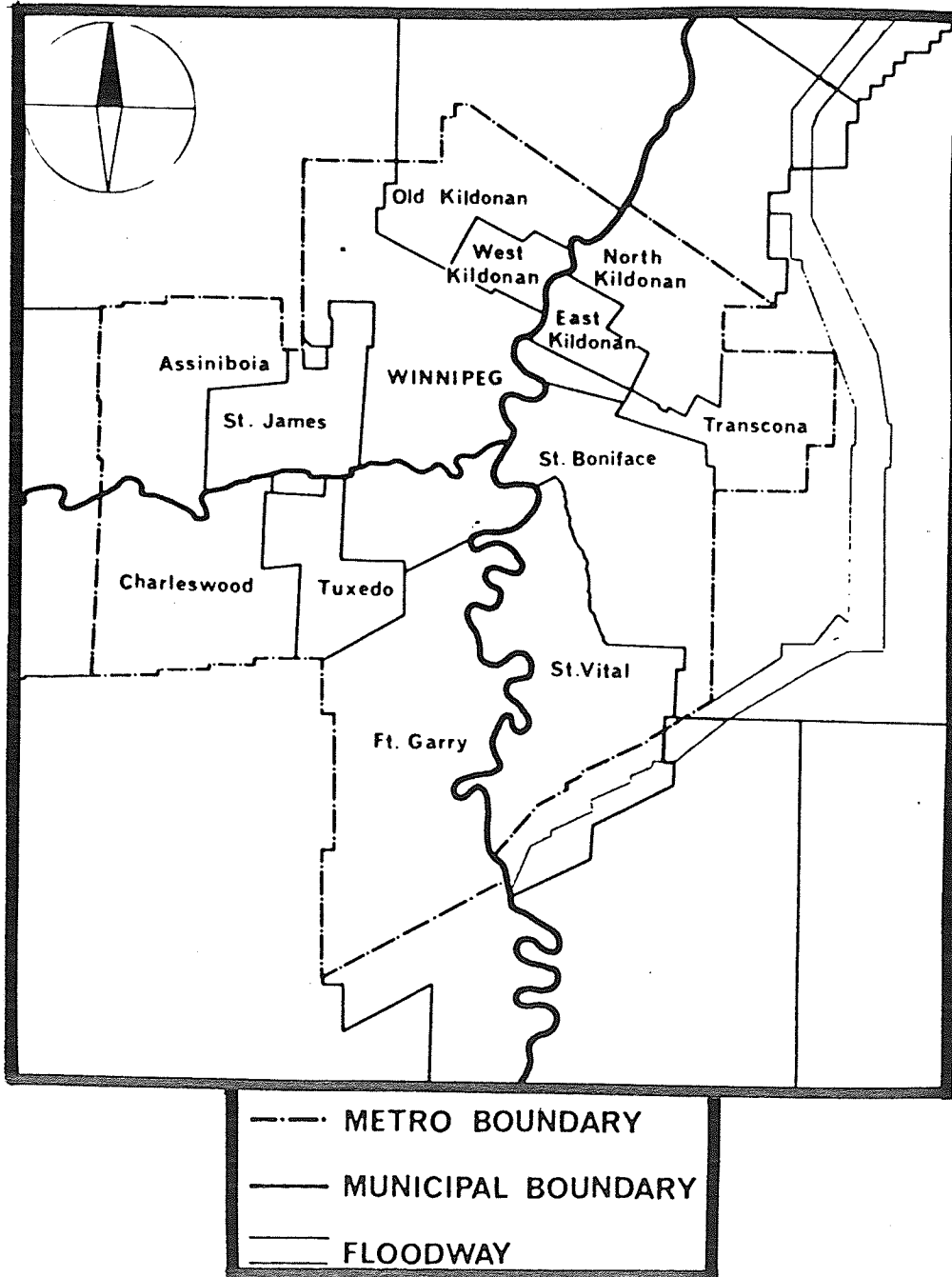
¹⁵⁴ Meyer Brownstone and Lionel D. Feldman, "Innovation and City Government: Winnipeg 1972", The Canadian Forum, (April 1972), p.28.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p.28.

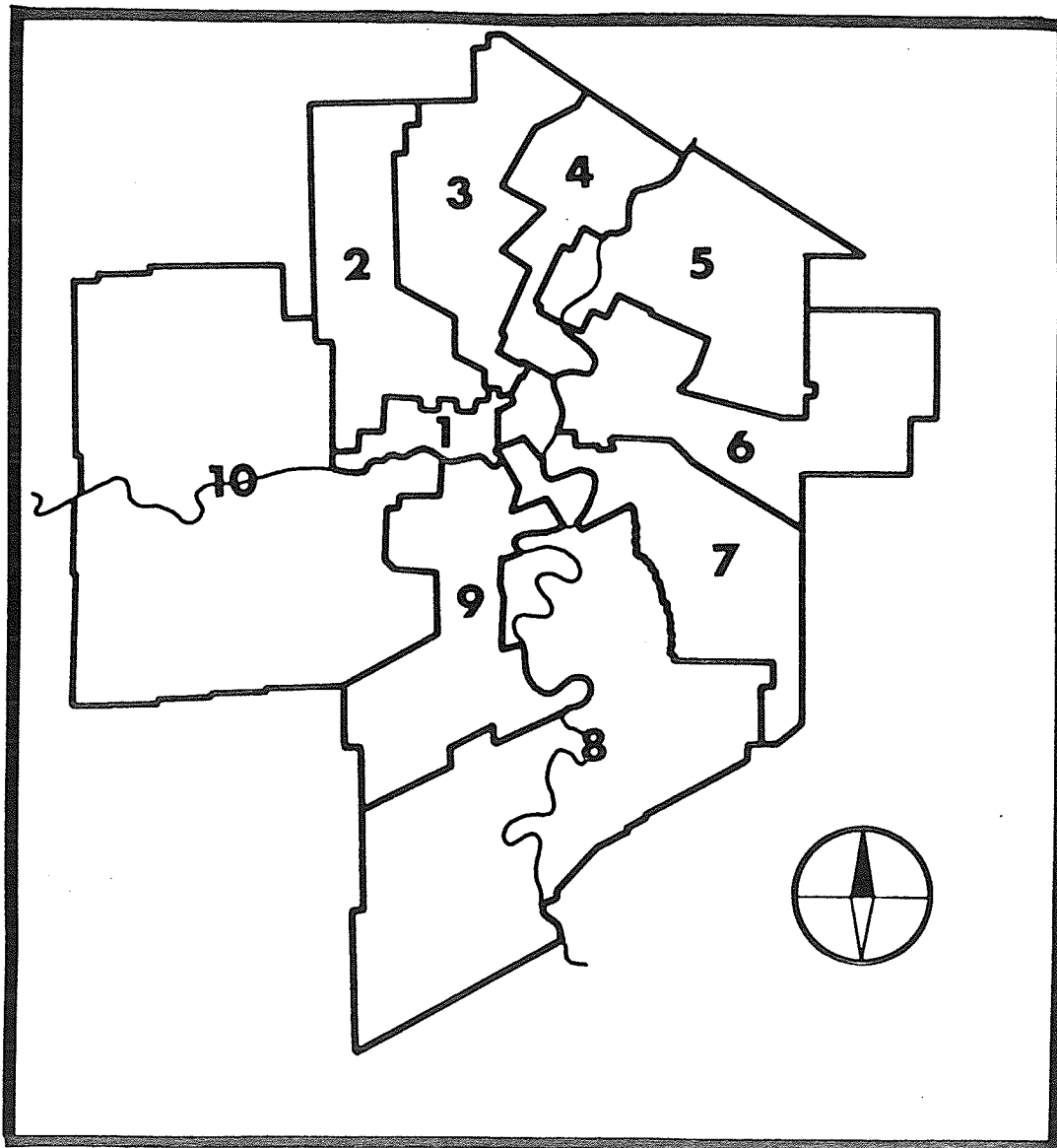
¹⁵⁶ Turnbull, p.115.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp 114 and 115.

Map 2: Boundaries of Metropolitan Winnipeg



Map 3: Electoral Boundaries of the Metropolitan Council



garbage disposal, flood protection, property assessment, land use control, the preparation of regional plans, and the definition of standards for building construction, property maintenance and occupancy.¹⁵⁸

The municipalities retained control over "education, housing and renewal, police, fire protection, public assistance, nonregional parks, and nonregional roads."¹⁵⁹ In essence, the municipalities had lost the power to control the development of their respective physical environments--land use controls, standards for building construction, and property maintenance and occupancy. For Saint Boniface, however, they were able to retain power over what they considered important--education.

Both the City of Winnipeg and the suburban municipalities opposed the metro government because the former wanted nothing less than amalgamation. The latter was angry over having lost jurisdiction over many issues it considered its own.¹⁶⁰

The municipal councils were alarmed at the speed with which metro assumed powers that, according to the Metro Act, could have been assumed more gradually. Moreover, metro's repeated attempts to augment its powers at the municipalities' expense convinced these councils that the very survival of the municipal political systems was at stake.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Kaplan, pp 528 and 529.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p.529.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp 554 and 555.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p.555.

By the end of the 1960's, the stringent division of powers between Metro and the municipalities "prevented either from making moves to meet poverty, bad housing, (and) community renewal."¹⁶² In addition, "the progress of the city was marred by constant bickering between the different levels of government."¹⁶³ In spite of these failures, Metro had shaped the attitudes of the people.

By 1970 Metro was so successful in making the case for areawide government that there was no question of returning to the pre-1960 era. With this perspective it can be argued that Metro was an evolutionary step on the way to unification.¹⁶⁴

4.6 UNICITY

At the public meetings prior to the creation of Unicity,¹⁶⁵ the councillors and the residents from Saint Boniface expressed their opposition to amalgamation. Although the loss of local identity was discussed in all the area municipalities, it "had greatest impact in St. Boniface, seen as the home of Manitoba's French-Canadians."¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Lloyd Axworthy, "Winnipeg: An Experiment in Innovation", The Canadian Forum, (May 1972), p.32.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p.32.

¹⁶⁴ Meyer Brownstone and T.J. Plunkett, Metropolitan Winnipeg: Politics and Reform of Local Government, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p.32.

¹⁶⁵ Unicity was not the official name of the new city structure, but a nickname generated by the press to distinguish between the "old" city and the "new" one.

¹⁶⁶ Brownstone and Plunkett, p.60.

Many citizens felt that St. Boniface, whose founding predated Winnipeg's by half a century, would cease to be autonomous.¹⁶⁷

These and other emotional appeals fell on deaf ears, and Unicity became reality in 1972.

Unicity...was designed to achieve political decentralization and increased citizen participation while centralizing area-wide administration, planning, and policymaking by amalgamating twelve municipalities and a Metropolitan Corporation into one urban government.¹⁶⁸

Of the decentralized aspects of Unicity, the community committees were established. The community committees are groupings of ward aldermen who perform a number of administrative functions and services "generally deemed to be essentially local in nature",¹⁶⁹ such as community clubs, local parks, playgrounds, libraries and recreational facilities.

The community committees first resembled the spatial context of the old municipalities so that the "move from the old system to the new (could occur) with minimum dislocation of pre-existing service patterns."¹⁷⁰ The similarities between the community committees and the old municipalities were only spatial because the municipalities were no longer

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p.60.

¹⁶⁸ P.H. Wichern, Evaluating Winnipeg's Unicity: Citizen Participation and Resident Advisory Groups, 1971-1984, (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1984), p.1.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p.30.

¹⁷⁰ Brownstone and Feldman, p.30.

legislative entities. In 1977, the spatial resemblance ended when the boundaries of the community committees were enlarged to include two previously separate municipalities, i.e. Saint Boniface and Saint Vital. The community committees and the old municipalities also differed in another manner. Although it appeared to have local autonomy regarding certain local issues, they in fact:

had no power to do anything--no authority to make any final decisions, no real control over events in the community--because city council and the central administration had taken over the power.¹⁷¹

For example, applications for a zoning variance must "proceed from community committee to environment committee to executive policy committee to council."¹⁷² In spite of the good intentions of the legislation, the local autonomy given to the community committees was soon assumed by the centralized bureaucracy. With the unification process completed, the City of Saint Boniface had ceased to exist. It had finally been stripped of all its powers to control the development within its boundaries. The only influence it would have on civic policies would be through its sole representative from Saint Boniface on City Council and on the community committee.

¹⁷¹ Committee of Review--City of Winnipeg Act, Report And Recommendations, (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, October 1976), p.87.

¹⁷² Ibid., p.115.

4.7 THE TRANSITION

While urban reorganization was undermining the local autonomy of Saint Boniface, a transition of Saint Boniface was well underway.

4.7.1 Physical Changes

4.7.1.1 Dwelling Types

As can be seen from table 1, by 1951 the apartment unit had attained the status of being the predominant dwelling type within Central Saint Boniface. This neighbourhood corresponds closely to census tract 50 for census years 1951 and 1961, and tract 116 for the subsequent census years. Although the apartment unit had only a slight majority, by 1971 the number of residents living within this type of living space had increased by 14.7%. Combined with the "other" category (which includes multiple dwelling types such as row housing) the non-single family units are still the predominant form of dwelling.

The trend within Greater Winnipeg, as one can note from table 2, was quite similar to Central Saint Boniface. Between 1961 and 1971 the apartment unit increased in popularity, however, it never attained a position of dominance as it did within Central Saint Boniface.

Since 1965, the dominant form of housing construction in Saint Boniface has been apartment buildings.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ John Campbell and Richard Kozak, St. Boniface Manitoba, (St. Boniface: n.p., 1971), p.19.

TABLE 1

Dwelling Types in Central Saint Boniface

	s. detached	s. attached	apartment	other*
1951	49.2%	---	50.8%	---
1961	50.9%	---	49.1%	---
1971	32.7%	3.5%	63.8%	---
1981	31.0%	3.8%	58.2%	7.0%

*denotes other types of multiple dwellings,
i.e row housing.

Source: Compiled from Census Canada statistics 1951-81.

TABLE 2

Dwelling Types in Winnipeg

	s. detached	s. attached	apartment	other*
1951	67.6%	---	32.4%	---
1961	74.1%	---	25.9%	---
1971	63.5%	4.9%	31.6%	---
1981	59.4%	7.7%	29.8%	3.1%

*denotes other types of multiple dwellings,
i.e. row housing.

Source: Compiled from Census Canada statistics 1951-81.

A study by the City of Winnipeg's Department of Environmental Planning concluded that:

Although Central St. Boniface has historically been composed of single-family housing, more apartment units are being constructed each year. Between 1971 and 1976, the area experienced an increase of 500 dwelling units. Yet, almost all of this additional housing consisted of apart-

ments....¹⁷⁴

The bulk of these multiple-family and apartment units are rental in character, hence it is not surprising to note the high percentage of renters within Central Saint Boniface (refer to table 3). The increase in the renting class over the thirty year period was 24.2%, whereas the city of Winnipeg's increase during the same period was only 2.4% .

TABLE 3

Renters In Central Saint Boniface and Winnipeg

	Central Saint Boniface	Winnipeg
1951	48.2%	38.8%
1961	51.4%	33.2%
1971	66.9%	40.9%
1981	72.4%	41.2%

Source: Compiled from Census Canada statistics 1951-81.

4.7.2 Demographic Changes

4.7.2.1 Marital Status

In comparison to the city of Winnipeg, Central Saint Boniface has a higher percentage of single persons, widows and divorcees. The only category which is below the city average

¹⁷⁴ Department of Environmental Planning, Central St. Boniface, (Winnipeg: n.p., March 1979), p.1.

is the married persons class (refer to table 4). Over a thirty year period within Central Saint Boniface, the number of single and married persons have decreased slightly, whereas the widowed and divorced persons have increased in number.

TABLE 4				
Marital Status For Central Saint Boniface and Winnipeg				
	Central Saint Boniface			
	single	married	widowed	divorced
1951	36.0%	55.2%	8.4%	0.3%
1961	35.0%	56.0%	9.0%	n/a
1971	37.3%	54.1%	8.6%	n/a
1981	34.6%	47.2%	14.8%	3.4%
	Winnipeg			
	single	married	widowed	divorced
1951	25.8%	66.5%	7.1%	0.6%
1961	24.2%	68.4%	7.4%	n/a
1971	27.7%	64.9%	7.4%	n/a
1981	28.1%	61.7%	7.2%	3.0%
Source: Compiled from Census Canada statistics 1951-81.				

4.7.2.2 Household Composition

Table 5 illustrates the higher incidence of persons not in families¹⁷⁵ within Central Saint Boniface. Winnipeg's aver-

¹⁷⁵ As defined by Census Canada in Population, Household and Family Characteristics by Census Tracts, Census Metropolitan Area of Winnipeg, 1971, (Ottawa: Supply and Ser-

age and Central Saint Boniface's percentage were at par in 1951, however, thirty years later Central Saint Boniface measured 22.2% higher than the average.

TABLE 5

Persons not in Families in Central Saint Boniface and
Winnipeg

	Central Saint Boniface	Winnipeg
1951	10.0%	10.1%
1961	16.4%	13.8%
1971	30.2%	21.8%
1981	53.0%	30.8%

Source: Compiled from Census Canada statistics 1951-81.

Over the thirty year period, persons not in families within Central Saint Boniface increased by 43%, with the largest increment occurring between 1971 and 1981 (22.8%). Central Saint Boniface is also overrepresented by lone parent families. The 1981 Census Canada figures reveals that 17% of the families in Central Saint Boniface are headed by a single parent, whereas only 13% of the families in Winnipeg are similar in kind.

vices Canada, 1971), persons not in families are "those living alone; those living with unrelated individuals and those living with relations but not in a husband-wife or parent-child relationship."

An examination of the number of children per family in both Central Saint Boniface and Winnipeg reveals that there are more couples without children and small families living within Central Saint Boniface, as can be seen from table 6.

TABLE 6
Children Per Family

Central Saint Boniface					
	No children	1-2 child.	3-4 child.	5 or more	
1951	32.8%	45.4%	16.2%	5.6%	
1961	32.5%	41.5%	17.6%	8.5%	
		ONE	TWO		
1971	39.0%	23.2%	17.8%	14.3%	5.7%
1981	45.5%	27.3%	16.0%	9.8%	1.4%
Winnipeg					
	No children	1-2 child.	3-4 child.	5 or more	
1951	37.1%	48.8%	12.1%	2.0%	
1961	32.5%	44.4%	19.1%	4.0%	
		ONE	TWO		
1971	34.0%	21.2%	21.5%	19.1%	4.2%
1981	34.5%	25.2%	25.0%	14.1%	1.2%

Source: Compiled from Census Canada statistics 1951-81.

After 1961, the number of families with more than two children within Central Saint Boniface decreased, whereas the

number of one-child families increased modestly since 1971. In 1981, the number of families with more than one child in Central Saint Boniface only represented 27.2% of the total families, while the city average was 40.3%. This trend would seem to indicate that couples with children still desire suburban life.

Une migration vers la banlieue est que celle-ci constitue un environnement plus propice à élever des enfants. On dira que les espaces de jeu y sont plus vastes, plus nombreux, moins dangereux, que les écoles sont meilleures, qu'il y a moins de pollution et de congestion, etc.¹⁷⁶

The suburbs are usually composed of single detached units, which provide a homeowner and his family with vast amounts of space and a backyard large enough so the playing children can be easily supervised.¹⁷⁷

As children grow older and spend more of their time outside the dwelling, the qualities of the exterior environment of the home become important to the family.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Pierre Cliche, Espace Social et Mobilité Résidentielle: Introduction à la géographie sociale de Québec, (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1980), p.25. For other works on the same research consult Donald Fredland's Residential Mobility and Home Purchase, (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Co., 1974), p.99; R.J. Johnston's "Some Tests of a Model of Intra-Urban Population Mobility: Melbourne, Australia", Urban Studies 6 (1969) and his Urban Residential Patterns, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971); and finally, P.H. Rossi's Why Families Move, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955).

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p.25.

¹⁷⁸ P.H. Rossi, Why Families Move, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), p.178.

4.7.2.3 Mobility

As can be seen from table 7, for census years 1951 to 1981, in comparison to the city of Winnipeg's average, Central Saint Boniface has had a slightly higher mobility rate. As in the city of Winnipeg, Central Saint Boniface's population mobility was declining up until 1981.

TABLE 7
Mobility in Central Saint Boniface and Winnipeg

	Central Saint Boniface	Winnipeg
1951	68.3%	60.8%
1961	48.0%	44.3%
1971	40.8%	36.2%
1981	52.9%	48.2%

Source: Compiled from Census Canada statistics 1951-81.

Population mobility can be categorized as consisting either migrants or non-migrants. Census Canada defines a migrant as follows.

Migrants are persons whose place of residence five years prior to the census was outside the municipality in which they were residing at the census date.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ Census Canada, Population, Household and Family Characteristics by Census Tracts, Census Metropolitan Area of Winnipeg, 1971, (Ottawa:Supply and Services Canada, 1971), no page number.

Using 1951 statistics, Driedger observed that intra-area mobility (non-migrants) within Saint Boniface was as high as seventy percent.¹⁸⁰ Intra-area mobility for Central Saint Boniface decreased to 51.7% in 1971, well below the city average (57.2%) and the 1951 level for Central Saint Boniface. Ten years later, intra-area mobility was higher than the city average, but minimally below the 1951 level (refer to table 8).

TABLE 8

Intra-Area Mobility

	Central Saint Boniface	Winnipeg
1971	51.7%	57.2%
1981	69.5%	69.0%

Source: Compiled from Census Canada statistics 1971-81.

The fact to note at this point is that Central Saint Boniface has had, since 1971, a higher mobility rate and, until 1981, a higher percentage of inter-area mobility (migrants) when compared to the City of Winnipeg average.

¹⁸⁰ Leo Driedger, "Ethnic Boundaries: A Comparison of Two Urban Neighbourhoods", Sociological and Social Research, 62, 2 (1977), p.202.

Pierre Cliche confirmed the conclusions of many researchers that migrants are, more often than not, young adults who have a relatively low income and tend to be renters.¹⁸¹ Renters also tend to be single persons (unmarried, widows and divorcees) and young families, either without children or with their first child.¹⁸² As noted earlier in this chapter, the Central Saint Boniface area is well represented by these groups.

Under most conditions, owner-occupants tend to be less footloose than tenants, and their relative permanence in an area may have considerable social significance compared with the alleged anonymity of tenants.¹⁸³

Cliche believed that on the average the renter's mobility rate was two to three times higher than the owner's rate.¹⁸⁴

4.7.3 Cultural Changes

4.7.3.1 The Ethnic Factor

People of French origin outnumber any other ethnic group within Central Saint Boniface. In fact, the percentage of French within the study area has increased slightly since 1951, as can be seen on table 9. The British group has slipped to third place in favour of the "other" ethnic group.

¹⁸¹ Pierre Cliche, p. 42.

¹⁸² Ibid., p.23.

¹⁸³ P.W. Cave, "Occupancy Duration and the Analysis of Residential Change", Urban Studies 6 (1969), p.60.

¹⁸⁴ Cliche, p.41.

TABLE 9

Ethnic Group Representation in Central Saint Boniface

	French	British	Other
1951	61.5%	20.7%	17.8%
1961	65.4%	17.3%	17.3%
1971	66.0%	18.3%	15.7%
1981	66.1%	16.0%	17.9%

Source: Compiled from Census Canada statistics 1951-81.

The largest increase in the number of people of French origin occurred prior to the apartment construction boom in Central Saint Boniface. After the 1961 census, the increase was modest--only 0.7% between 1961 and 1981.

4.7.3.2 The Process of Assimilation

Leo Driedger's study of two Winnipeg urban neighbourhoods revealed that the Franco-Manitobans living within Saint Boniface were more cohesive than the ethnic groups living in the North End. Unlike the latter, Saint Boniface is dominated by one ethnic group. The ethnic groups in both areas, however, "had a better chance of meeting a minority person than a British person".¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Driedger (1977), p.201.

In addition to a high rate of segregation, the ethnic groups in both areas scored high on the cultural identity factors. The French university students identified highest with their culture. The six indices of culture were religion, endogamy, language, organizations, parochial education and friends.¹⁸⁶

In light of Driedger's work, it is interesting to note that six years earlier two researchers believed that the hub of the francophone community, what is referred to as today as Old Saint Boniface (which includes both North And Central Saint Boniface), was waning.

There are signs the area is increasingly losing its Frenchness.¹⁸⁷

The cause of this ethno-cultural change has been attributed to the process of assimilation. A person of French origin who no longer regarded French as their mother tongue was considered assimilated.¹⁸⁸ Campbell and Kozak calculated the

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p.207.

¹⁸⁷ Campbell and Kozak, p.14.

¹⁸⁸ The percentage of people assimilated is calculated by subtracting the number of people who regarded French as their mother tongue from the number of people of French origin. The difference is then divided by the number of people of French origin, multiplied by one hundred to obtain the percentage of assimilated persons.

$$\frac{N_0 - N_1}{N_0} \times 100 = Ra$$

N_0 = Number of French by Origin

N_1 = Number of French by Language

Ra = Rate of Assimilation

percentage of people assimilated for Old Saint Boniface--census tracts 116 and 117--to be 2.7% in 1951 and 7.2% in 1961 (refer to map 4). Table 10 illustrates the percentage of people assimilated within Central Saint Boniface. The percentage in 1961 was not as high as Old Saint Boniface--2.35%. The subsequent census year, the percentage was the highest it has ever been--4.15%. In 1981, it had fallen below the 1961 level, measuring at 2.25%.

If the tendency to choose the language of the culture is any indication of assimilation, then the assimilation of the Franco-Manitobans is progressing rapidly.¹⁸⁹

Since the tendency in 1981 was to choose French as the mother tongue, at least within Central Saint Boniface, then the percentage of people assimilated has decreased since 1961. Although the percent of people assimilated within Central Saint Boniface has been reversed, the percentage of francophones within the area has dropped since 1961 (refer to table 11).

The largest loss of francophone representation occurred between 1961 and 1971--4.8% . The percentage of assimilated people increased by 1.8% between these two census years, hence leaving a 3.0% decrease explicable in terms of other forces.

¹⁸⁹ Campbell and Kozak, pp 14 and 15.

TABLE 10

Percentage of French Assimilated, 1961-81

	French by Origin	French by M.Tongue	Difference	%
1961	5096	4976	120	2.35
1971	4825	4625	200	4.15
1981	3550	3470	80	2.25

Source: Compiled from Census Canada statistics 1961-81.

TABLE 11

Linguistic Percentages, 1961-81

	francophones	anglophones	other
1961	63.7	26.5	9.8
1971	58.9	31.3	9.8
1981	56.4	35.4	8.2

Source: Compiled from Census Canada statistics 1961-81.

As the demographic characteristics have changed because of the abundant provision of rental units, it would also be logical to assume that the ethno-cultural character of Central Saint Boniface might have experienced changes due to the altering land use patterns. The difficulty arises in determining the extent or role the changing land use patterns played in the cultural evolution of Central Saint Boniface.

4.8 SUMMARY

In the beginning, the Forks were mostly populated by Metis and French voyageurs. In an attempt to colonize and civilize the prairies Lord Selkirk established an agricultural colony on the west side of the Red River, where the present day Point Douglas is. After years of violence in the colony, Selkirk initiated a plan to obtain peace and civilization within the Red River settlement.

Fathers Dumoulin and Provencher fulfilled Selkirk's wish, and a French settlement flourished on the east side of the Red River. The French enjoyed numeric supremacy prior to Manitoba's entry into Confederation, however, it never gained control of the legislative powers that were available to them. This shortsightedness was detrimental to the French culture.

With the beginning of the 1900's, the French continued to petition the provincial authorities for the reinstatement of their rights to be educated in French and to speak French in the provincial courts and legislature. At this time, the municipal institutions had begun to control the development within their respective boundaries.

Within a few decades, Saint Boniface became officially bilingual and the predominantly English-speaking Norwood area residents had made inroads into the corridors of power at the Saint Boniface city hall. The urban reorganization

of local government within the City of Winnipeg had failed to arouse the emotions of the majority of the French within Saint Boniface. This lack of protest led to the loss of local autonomy.

Partly as a result of historical changes, the urban reorganization process, and the loss of local autonomy Saint Boniface has also changed demographically. Renters became more numerous with respect to homeowners. In itself, the renter is highly mobile and noncommittal to the neighbourhood in which he resides. The effects of this class of residents on the area included psychological, social and community organizational problems.

The higher than average number of rental units also limited the type of person who could and would reside in it. This type of tenure favoured the young unmarried persons, the widows, the divorcees, small families and married couples with children.

Finally, the changed land use patterns and demographic make-up affected the ethno-cultural factor. Although Saint Boniface has lost some French people to assimilation, it is not possible to ignore the influence of the changing physical and social environment on the remaining francophones residing in Central Saint Boniface.

The next chapter will trace the history and evolution of zoning in Central Saint Boniface. The reasons for zoning the

residential sectors of the area differently will also be examined, as well as putting forth some preliminary observations on the effects of this on the neighbourhood characteristics.

Chapter V

THE EVOLUTION OF ZONING IN CENTRAL SAINT BONIFACE

This chapter deals with the history and evolution of land use controls within Central Saint Boniface. Used as a means to regulate what is built where and how, it was first embodied in building restriction by-laws and then a Town Planning Scheme. The land use control policy, which had been changing the residential land use patterns within Central Saint Boniface for the better part of this century, was rescinded in 1981. It was replaced with a new policy and direction for this ethnic neighbourhood.

5.1 EARLY LAND USE CONTROLS: LACK OF UNIFORMITY

Land use controls within Saint Boniface have their history in building restriction by-laws. Similar to a restrictive covenant, the city adopted and enacted a by-law dictating how land could be used, the placement and value of the building, and other details affecting the lot. By-Law Number 1810 dealt specifically with a tract of land in Norwood. This by-law regulated and controlled:

the number and size of lots therein, and the value, nature and use of the buildings to be erected thereon, and to establish the area within said streets as exclusively residential.¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ City of Saint Boniface By-law No. 1810, July 4, 1927.

The landowner or the purchaser of land would be aware of any restrictions because a caveat would be placed on the land title stating the building restrictions imposed by the city. The specifics of the restrictions varied from lot to lot, or from one tract of land to another. The inevitable result was that hundreds of by-laws regulated the use of land.¹⁹¹

In an attempt to consolidate the numerous building restriction by-laws into a uniform package, the Saint Boniface City Council adopted a Town Planning Scheme in November of 1928. It provided regulations for building use, land use, lot size, and the height and value of the structure.¹⁹² The Town Planning Scheme failed to provide uniformity because it complemented rather than replaced the building restriction by-laws.¹⁹³

Nineteen years later, a report submitted by The Metropolitan Planning Committee and The Winnipeg Town Planning Committee also noted the lack of uniformity in Saint Boniface's land use controls.

In the City of St. Boniface, separate by-laws covering specified areas provide regulation of land use, front yard depths, building size and building value. These provisions vary for each area.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ E. Lysak, Enforcement Officer for the City of Winnipeg, telephone interview, September 30, 1985.

¹⁹² The Saint Boniface Town Planning Scheme (1928).

¹⁹³ Lysak interview.

¹⁹⁴ The Metropolitan Planning Committee and The Winnipeg

In an attempt to provide uniform land use regulations, the two planning committees assessed the characteristics of Central Saint Boniface.

Before forwarding its zoning recommendations, the two committees paid "due regard for present zoning, existing conditions and sound zoning principles". The first sound zoning principle was that central areas or areas near major thoroughfares be zoned as "R3" (see Appendix C. for definition) districts.¹⁹⁵ The second principle addressed changing land use patterns.

If, in spite of two-family residential zoning, the land use map showed that an area contained a substantial number of apartments, or other multiple dwellings, consideration was given to zoning the area for apartment development.¹⁹⁶

At that time, Central Saint Boniface had a mixture of residential uses-- single-family, duplexes and apartment blocks.¹⁹⁷ The existing uses coupled with the sound zoning principles led to the recommendation that Central Saint Boniface be zoned as an "R3" district.¹⁹⁸

Town Planning Committee, Zoning for Greater Winnipeg, (Winnipeg:n.p.,1947), p.11.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., pp 22 and 27.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p.22.

¹⁹⁷ John Pelletier, interviewed at the Municipal Planning Branch of the Manitoba Government, Winnipeg, Manitoba, October 28, 1985. In the mid-1950's Pelletier worked on and co-authored the Saint Boniface Town Planning Scheme.

¹⁹⁸ The Metropolitan Planning Committee and The Winnipeg Town Planning Committee, p.34.

5.2 THE CHANGING LAND USE PATTERNS

Within Saint Boniface, requests for variances to the building restriction by-laws were heard solely by the City Property, Assessment and Building--Town Planning and Zoning Committee. Composed of aldermen, this committee had the power to grant variances. The decisions were ad hoc; similar cases were judged on their own merits without the principle of precedence being exercised.

Public opposition to the variance requests was never expressed. As evidenced by reviewing the minutes of the Committee meetings, an application was rarely turned down.

1. Permission to erect a sixteen-suite apartment block on the property at the corner of Marion Street and Kenny Street was granted on April 2, 1956.
2. Request to erect a fourteen-suite apartment block on a fifty foot lot at 210 Dollard Boulevard was tabled for further study on November 5, 1956. Permission was granted on December 17, 1956.¹⁹⁹

Approval to construct infill apartment blocks was much easier to obtain than approval to convert from one residential use to another. In one case, a property owner wanted to convert a single-family unit into a duplex.

Council is quite prepared to consider his application provided he produces the petition required of him ... and signed by the residents and owners in

¹⁹⁹ Saint Boniface City Clerk, Minutes of City Council and Committees, (Saint Boniface: n.p., 1956).

the district, signifying they are not objecting to the proposed conversion.²⁰⁰

This petition required the signatures of "at least three property owners on either side and at least six property owners in front of the property affected".²⁰¹

Infill apartment construction, more so than any other residential development within Central Saint Boniface, was sanctioned by the councillors because of certain beliefs they held about the area and the undeveloped land surrounding it. Fernand Marion, who was the secretary to the Saint Boniface City Council from the early 1950's till the formation of Unicity in 1972, remembered the discussions regarding the urbanization of Saint Boniface.

The heart of St. Boniface is only a ten to twelve minute walk from Portage and Main. We should concentrate people in the heart of St. Boniface and Winnipeg so as not to encroach on the arable lands.²⁰²

By increasing the densities in Central Saint Boniface, it would be easier to attract commercial ventures. Businesses dependent on large volumes of people to be viable would establish in the area because of its increased population.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Saint Boniface City Clerk, minutes of the City Property, Assessment a Building--Town Planning and Zoning Committee meeting held on April 15, 1957.

²⁰¹ Saint Boniface City Clerk, minutes of the City Property, Assessment and Building--Town Planning and Zoning Committee meeting held on May 21, 1957.

²⁰² Fernand Marion, interviewed at The City Of Winnipeg Archives, October 10, 1985.

²⁰³ Pelletier interview.

This philosophy and practice of concentrating people in the central areas of Greater Winnipeg was carried into the era of uniform land use regulations.

5.3 THE ERA OF UNIFORMITY

In the early 1950's, the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission began work on The Saint Boniface Town Planning Scheme. Based on the information it had compiled for its 1947 report, it concurred with its earlier recommendation that Central Saint Boniface be zoned for high-density residential use. The only deviation from the original recommendation was that the zoning be "R4" (see Appendix C. for definition) instead of "R3".²⁰⁴

It seemed appropriate that Central Saint Boniface be zoned "R4" because it was an older part of the city which was "changing from single to multiple-family use". This type of zoning would provide space for "all types of multiple-family dwellings and rooming or boarding houses".²⁰⁵ This zoning classification also provided flexibility, in the sense that a wide range of housing was permitted under the "R4" district. This flexibility appealed to the councillors.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ The Saint Boniface Town Planning Scheme (1957).

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p.42.

²⁰⁶ Pelletier interview.

Contrary to the 1947 report, however, some areas were zoned for low to medium density--Jeanne d'Arc, Louis Riel, Masson, Aulneau and Langevin streets north of Cathedral Avenue and two other pockets called Gaboury Place and Cabana Place (refer to map 5). These areas were fairly new at that time, and were developed as single-family residential sectors.²⁰⁷ Since their respective boundaries had not been invaded by high-density residential uses, it was logical to protect and maintain their low density characteristics.²⁰⁸ There is no documented evidence to prove that those homeowners petitioned for the protection of their land use.

The various zonings for Central Saint Boniface were made public. The Town Planning Scheme draft aroused very little interest because the citizens of this small city trusted their councillors and believed they would be taken care of.²⁰⁹ This is not to say that some citizens did not attend the public meetings that were held, however, the numbers were minimal. On June 4, 1957 two citizens expressed their views at a public meeting.

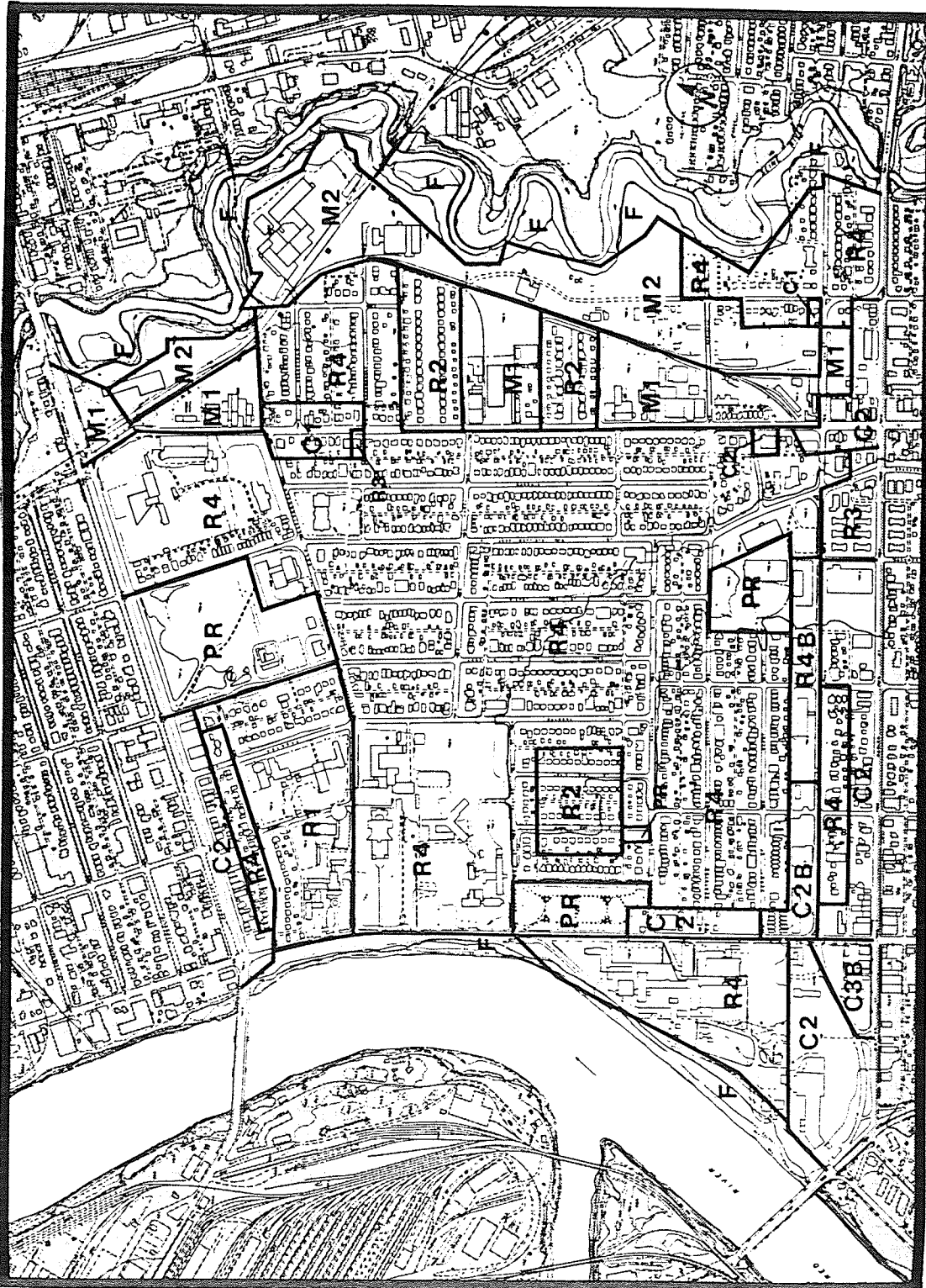
1. Mr. Henry Lane of 165 Masson Street, requesting that the north side of Masson be designated as an "R3" instead of "R1" as proposed.

²⁰⁷ Pelletier interview.

²⁰⁸ Marion interview.

²⁰⁹ Pelletier interview.

Map 5: Zoning Districts Before 1981



2. Mr. Norman Allan requesting that the properties located at 227-235 Des Meurons Street be designated at "R3" instead of "R2", in order to allow him to erect quadruplexes thereon.²¹⁰

These requests were forwarded to the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission for review. On October 2, 1957 it recommended that the properties be zoned "R4". The Council adopted the recommendation and publicized the changes in the local newspapers.²¹¹

The councillors adopted the Town Planning Scheme on November 25, 1957. It was forwarded to the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission for review, and sent to the Minister of Municipal Affairs for his approval. On July 14, 1958 the Saint Boniface City Council approved the final draft of the Town Planning Scheme and declared it would become effective on September 9, 1958.²¹²

²¹⁰ Saint Boniface City Clerk, Minutes of the Tenth Special Meeting of the Council of the City of Saint Boniface, June 4, 1957.

²¹¹ Saint Boniface City Clerk, Minutes of the Sixteenth Special Meeting of the Council of the City of Saint Boniface, October 2, 1957.

²¹² Pelletier interview.

5.4 AN EPIDEMIC OF VARIANCES

In accordance with the Town Planning Scheme, an Advisory Town Planning Commission was established. Two aldermen and five citizens chosen by Council served on this commission. Its duties were to investigate and report on development proposals, and rule on zoning matters. In cases of "practical difficulties, unnecessary hardships, or results inconsistent with the purpose of" the Town Planning Scheme, it had the authority to grant variances.²¹³

Extracts from the minutes of both the Council and the City Property, Assessment and Building Committee meetings illustrate how liberally variances were granted.

1. Permission granted on February 10, 1964 to Boniwood Development Ltd. to demolish the duplex at 150-152 Berry Street, and construct a 2 1/2 storey, nine suite apartment block.
2. Application submitted on January 9, 1967 to construct a five storey, forty suite apartment block on properties at 476-486 Aulneau Street. It was referred to the Advisory Town Planning Commission for review and recommendation. No opposition was expressed by the commission.

²¹³ The Saint Boniface Town Planning Scheme (1957), pp 12 and 49.

3. The Advisory Town Planning Commission did not object to the construction of a 2 1/2 storey, nine suite apartment unit at 424-426 Aulneau Street. The application was approved on February 13, 1967.
4. Permission was granted on December 23, 1968 to construct a 2 1/2 storey, eighteen suite apartment block at 522-526 Ritchot Street.
5. Permission was granted on December 9, 1968 for the construction of a 2 1/2 storey, eighteen suite apartment by London Construction Co. at 470-474 Aulneau Street.²¹⁴

Variations to the zoning by-law could also be attained without submitting an application.

A town planning scheme may be varied or revoked by a subsequent scheme prepared or adopted by a local authority, and approved by the minister in accordance with (The Town Planning) Act.²¹⁵

The Council's right to amend the Town Planning Scheme allowed them not to direct certain cases to the Advisory Town Planning Commission, for whatever reason.

For example, a proposed re-zoning of 355 and 359 Des Meurons Street from "R4" to "C2" (see Appendix C. for definition) aroused public attention in 1960. Rather than referring the issue to the commission, it was forwarded to the

²¹⁴ Saint Boniface City Clerk, minutes of the City Council and the City Property, Assessment and Building Committee meetings (1964-1968).

²¹⁵ City of Saint Boniface By-Law No. 4208, September 16, 1960.

city solicitor for his "interpretation of the by-law and regulations governing the re-zoning of such properties and as to the validity of the application for such re-zoning".²¹⁶

At a special public meeting representations were heard by various citizens opposing the change. After the delegations were completed, By-Law Number 4208, an amendment to the Town Planning Scheme, was read and the councillors voted for its approval or disapproval. The applicant, Mr. Larry Desjardins, a one-time councillor at the Saint Boniface City Council, had won the right to establish a funeral parlour amid a residential district.²¹⁷

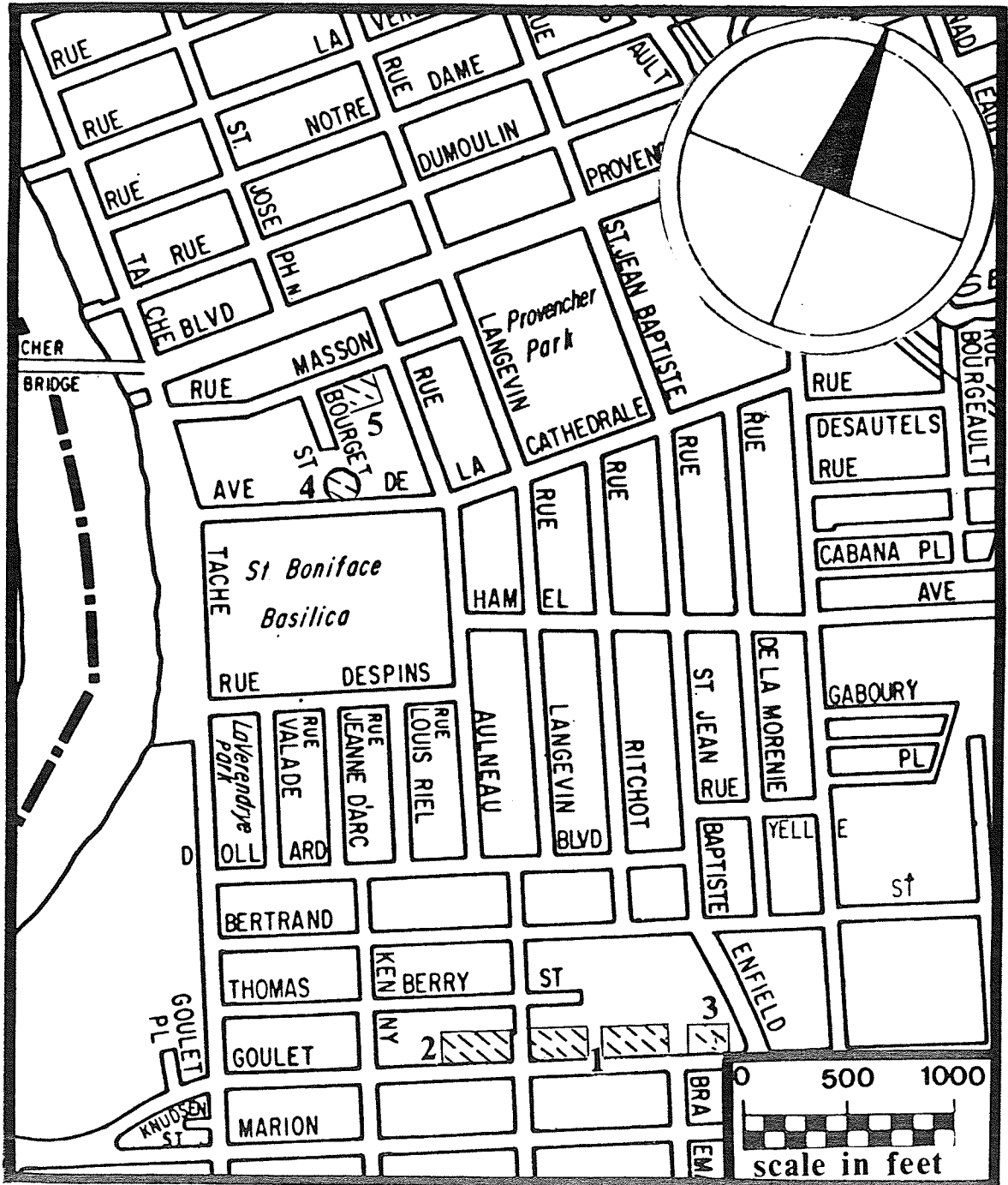
Other amendments to the Town Planning Scheme followed in the 1960's and 1970's. For example, within eight years the properties on the north side of Goulet Street, between Kenny Street and Enfield Crescent were re-zoned. On May 23, 1963 the land between Traverse and Braemar avenues was re-zoned from "C2" to "R4-B" (Multiple-Family Planned Building Group District).²¹⁸ Shortly afterwards, two six-storey twin apartment units--known today as the Eiffel Towers--were erected. (This building is indicated as number 1 on Map 6.).

²¹⁶ Saint Boniface City Clerk, minutes of the Council meeting held on September 12, 1960.

²¹⁷ Saint Boniface City Clerk, minutes of the Council meeting held on September 16, 1960.

²¹⁸ City of Saint Boniface By-Law No. 380, May 23, 1963.

Map 6: Sites of Apartment Block Construction



Three years later, the properties between Traverse Avenue and Kenny Street were re-zoned from "C2" to "R4-B" (see Appendix C. for definition). This resulted in the construction of a fifteen storey, 225-suite apartment situated at the north-west corner of Goulet and Traverse--known as the Chateau Guay Apartments (Number 2 on Map 6).²¹⁹

Other re-zoning applications to construct high-rise apartments within Central Saint Boniface followed. The majority of them was senior citizen apartment housing. In 1971, Council approved the construction of Columbus Manor, a ten-storey, 163-suite unit for the aged on the north side of Goulet, between Braemar and Enfield (Number 3 on Map 6).²²⁰ The "Chez Nous" senior citizen home--another high-rise situated on Cathedral Avenue--was erected after a re-zoning from "R1" to "R4-B" had been obtained (Number 4 on Map 6). In 1983, a parcel of land on the south side of Masson Street was re-zoned from "R1" to "R4-B" to permit the construction of yet another senior citizen apartment complex--"L'Accueil Colombien" (Number 5 on Map 6).²²¹

²¹⁹ Saint Boniface City Clerk, minutes of the Council meeting held on September 26, 1966.

²²⁰ Saint Boniface City Clerk, minutes of the Council meeting held on November 22, 1971.

²²¹ City of Saint Boniface By-Law No. 3388/83, February 2, 1983.

5.5 THE DECADE OF INNER-CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD REDEVELOPMENT

In 1973, the Department of Environmental Planning prepared The St. Boniface District Plan so as to provide "detailed planning proposals for the whole of the Metropolitan area".²²² The objectives of the District Plan were to:

1. Promote contiguous development.
2. Control suburban sprawl.
3. "Provide a guide for efficient, economical and desirable development".²²³

To achieve these objectives, multiple-family development was to be directed to those neighbourhoods which could accommodate an increase in population without disturbing the pockets of single-family homes.²²⁴ These targeted areas were labelled "transition areas". They are:

are formerly single-family residential areas which have been undergoing a change through the introduction of multiple-family uses. This transition stage is expected to continue through a process of private redevelopment through construction of multiple-family structures.²²⁵

Central Saint Boniface was identified as a transition area, characterized by two "transition zones". The first zone was bounded by Taché Avenue, Dollard Boulevard, Ritchot

²²² Department of Environmental Planning, The St. Boniface District Plan, (Winnipeg: n.p., 1973), p.i.

²²³ Ibid., pp ii and 1.

²²⁴ Ibid., p.11.

²²⁵ Ibid., p.12.

Street and the lane south of Berry Street (refer to map 7.). An analysis of the housing stock revealed that this zone had an above average number of poor to fair housing, beyond repair or feasible renovations.²²⁶

When renewal takes place in Transition Zone I, either by public or private means, the likely type of residential accommodation would be low-to-medium-density multiple-accommodation--either small apartment blocks or town house groups.²²⁷

These type of living units, it was believed, could house the staff and students at the Saint Boniface Hospital and the Saint Boniface College.²²⁸

The second transition zone was applicable to the remainder of Central Saint Boniface. The Department of Environmental Planning believed that multiple-family units, in the form of small apartment blocks, would continue to be constructed in the area. It recommended that this zone be rezoned "RM" (Planned Building Group). This re-classification would allow maximum flexibility "for the developer of an individual site while maintaining provision for adequate open-space and parking facilities".²²⁹ The other residential uses, especially the low-density ones, would be provided protection.

²²⁶ Ibid., p.25.

²²⁷ Ibid., p.25.

²²⁸ Ibid., p.25.

²²⁹ Ibid., p.26.

In these districts, density should be limited so that any development is compatible with adjoining single-family and two-family districts.²³⁰

The 1973 Department of Environmental Planning policy can be considered as a breakthrough because it advocated that only a small area experience an increase in density. In contrast to the 1958 policy, its aim was to preserve the majority of the better housing stock within Central Saint Boniface. The only drawback was that the zoning by-law was never amended to reflect these recommendations. The consequence of this inaction was that the over-zoning of Central Saint Boniface was allowed to continue until early into the next decade.

5.6 THE EFFECTS OF TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF OVER-ZONING

In 1979, the Department of Environmental Planning conducted an area characterization study of Central Saint Boniface. In addition to studying the changing demographic make-up, housing characteristics, and other features of the area, the study also speculated into the effects of over-zoning Central Saint Boniface.

Central Saint Boniface, like many older areas of the city surrounding the Downtown, is subject to redevelopment pressures for multiple-family uses.²³¹

²³⁰ Ibid., p.26.

²³¹ Department of Environmental Planning, Central Saint Boniface, (Winnipeg: n.p., 1979), no page number.

This pressure was attributable to the incompatibility between the over-zoned land, the existing uses, and the age and condition of the existing housing stock.²³²

The "R4" zoning legally permitted the construction of multiple-family units, rendering control over the changing land use patterns impossible. Only if the development was to differ significantly from the stated regulations was a variance required. The result was "erratic multiple-family redevelopment" and the fading-away of the low-density living units within Central Saint Boniface. The Department of Environmental Planning believed the "R4" zoning discouraged homeowners from preserving and rehabilitating their houses, thus encouraging "the premature removal of existing homes". The changing land use patterns created "uncertainties for local home owners with respect to land values and the potential for incompatible development".²³³

5.7 A CHANGE OF DIRECTION

In light of these negative effects attributable to the over-zoning of the area, the Department of Environmental Planning recommended that an amendment be made to the Town Planning Scheme. The new zoning classification was to permit multiple-family living units as a conditional use, thus "eliminat(ing) the possibility of incompatible development and si-

²³² Ibid., no page number.

²³³ Ibid., no page number.

multaneously reinforc(ing) neighbourhood stability".²³⁴

The replacement of multiple-family dwellings, and the change from single and two-family dwellings to multiple-family dwellings may be allowed as a conditional use, where such change will be compatible with the adjacent development.²³⁵

It was also recommended that public monies be spent to improve streets, watermains, etc. in order to "contribute toward reinforcing neighbourhood viability and stability".²³⁶

On November 5, 1981 the Town Planning Scheme was amended to include a Two-Family Transitional District, "R2-T" (see Appendix C. for definition). By-Law No. 3089/81 re-zoned a large portion of Central Saint Boniface from "R4" to "R2-T" (refer to map 8.).

The "R2-T" district is intended to provide land for residential uses including one-family, two-family and multiple-family dwellings in older areas of the City, which are developed predominantly with low density residential land uses, but which contain multiple-family dwellings.²³⁷

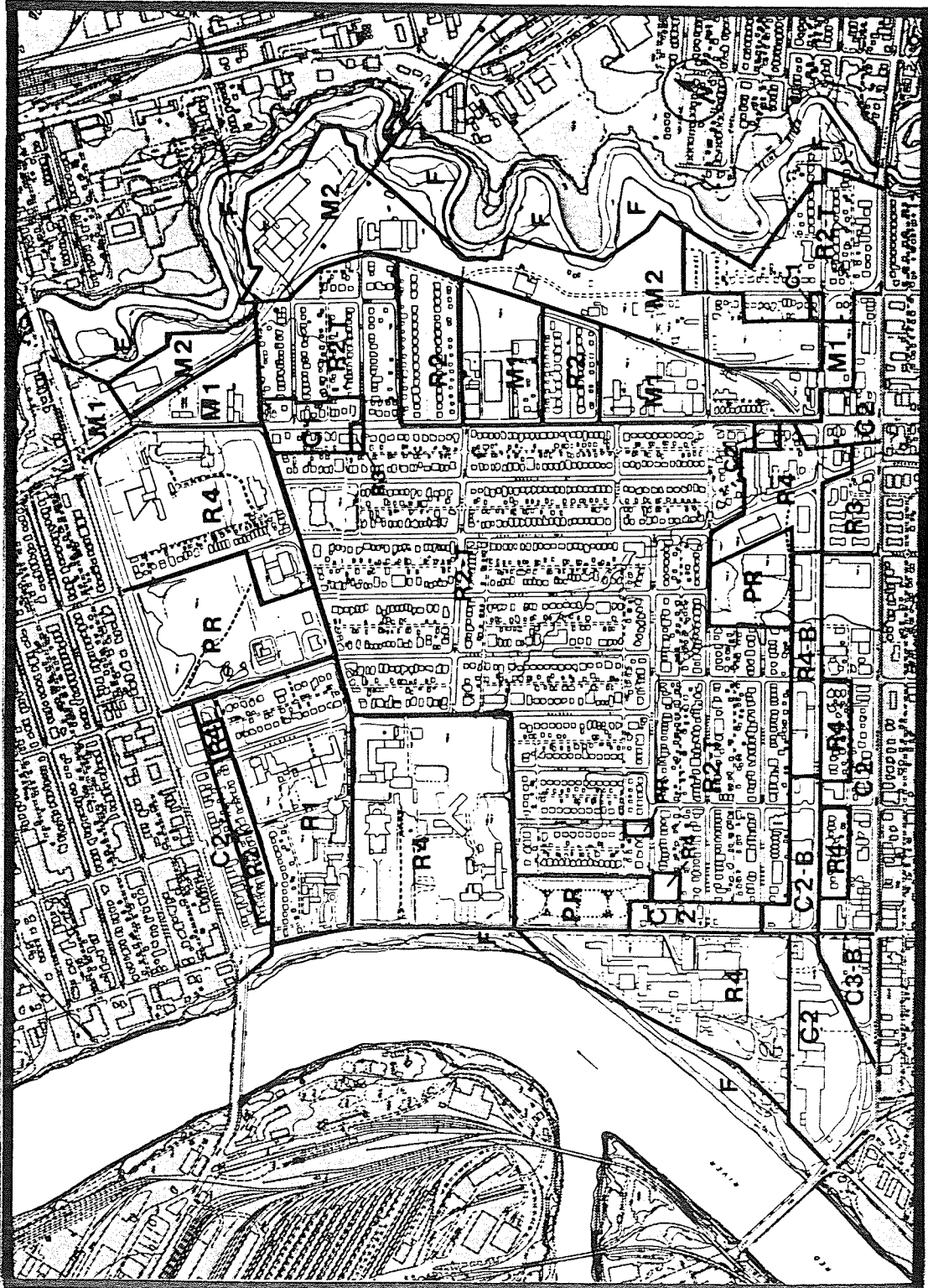
²³⁴ Ibid., no page number.

²³⁵ Ibid., no page number.

²³⁶ Ibid., no page number.

²³⁷ The Saint Boniface Town Planning Scheme (1981 amendment).

Map 8: Zoning Districts After 1980



5.8 SUMMARY

The residential land use patterns within Central Saint Boniface were being altered long before the enactment of the Town Planning Scheme (1957). The Saint Boniface City Council approved of and promoted the efforts to increase the population within the central areas of its own city. The Town Planning Scheme, in effect, perpetuated what had been going on for years--the replacement of low-density residential land uses with higher-density ones.

The effects of the over-zoning have been documented to be the premature replacement of the existing housing stock, instability, and decreasing land values. Twenty-three years of over-zoning came to an end in 1981 with the introduction of the "R2-T" District.

In the following chapter, the reader will be introduced to the methodological aspects of this research which were used to choose a study area, and to conduct a study of this area.

Chapter VI

THE DYNAMICS OF CENTRAL SAINT BONIFACE

As a means to test the three hypotheses of the thesis it was necessary to conduct a case study of an ethnic neighbourhood. This was achieved by canvassing the residents of the study area with a questionnaire. The ultimate objective of the research was to assess the role zoning plays in the socio-cultural evolution of ethnic neighbourhoods.

6.1 THE CASE STUDY

Central Saint Boniface was chosen as the case study for four reasons. Firstly, as an ethnic neighbourhood its inhabitants are more cohesive than the ethnic groups in the North End.²³⁸ It is also the hub of the francophone population within Manitoba, with the major ethnic institutions located within its boundaries.

Secondly, the study area is an inner-city neighbourhood experiencing the pressures of redevelopment. Not unlike similar neighbourhoods on the west side of the Red River, Central Saint Boniface has undergone changes in its land use patterns.

²³⁸ Driedger (1977), p.201.

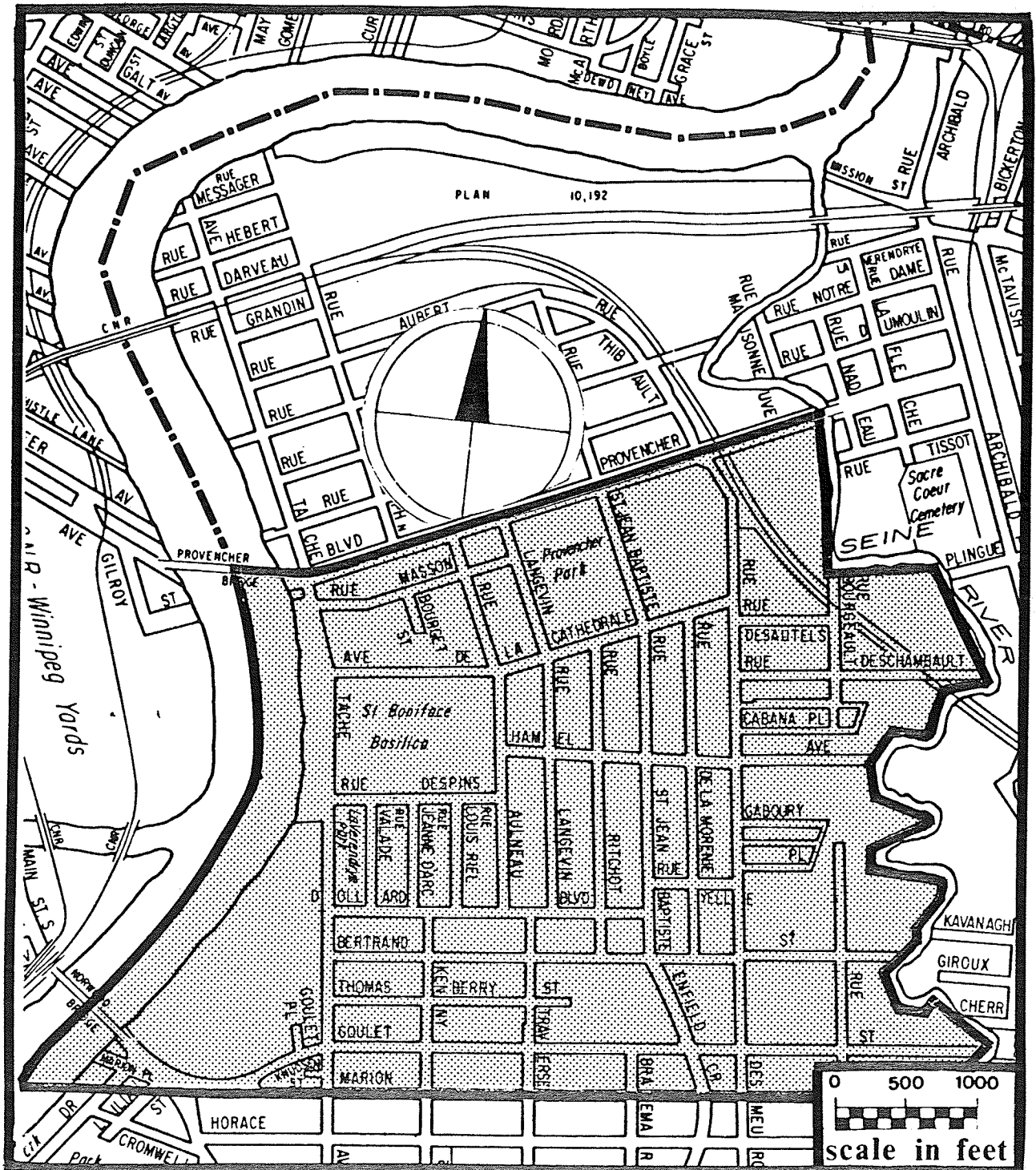
Thirdly, Central Saint Boniface had different zoning classifications which offered the opportunity to study the effects of each zone upon a variety of characteristics.

Fourthly, but certainly not the least of the four reasons, the researcher has first hand knowledge about Central Saint Boniface, and has been interested in the topic for some years.

6.2 THE STUDY AREA

The study area is situated on the east side of the Red River, half-a-mile from the corner of Portage and Main in downtown Winnipeg. Central Saint Boniface has definite boundaries which have been defined by the Department of Environmental Planning. It is bounded by Marion Street to the south, Provencher Boulevard to the north, the Seine River to the east, and the Red River to the west (refer to map 9.).

Map 9: Boundaries of the Study Area



6.3 THE SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE AREAS

A comprehensive study of Central Saint Boniface would not only be time-consuming, but would be unnecessary. A representative sample of the study area would suffice to test the validity of the theories put forth in the earlier chapters.

As noted in the previous chapter, until 1981, the three major residential zoning districts were "R1", "R2" and "R4". The researcher chose the sample areas according to these districts on the assumption that the effects of the "R4" district have lingered on in spite of the zoning change to "R2-T" in 1981. The questionnaire was designed to verify this assumption with questions such as type of dwelling, renovation projects, length of occupancy, etc.

The researcher had no choice in regards to the first sample area because there was only one "R1" district within Central Saint Boniface. This area will be referred to as Sample Area I.

Three "R2" districts exist within Central Saint Boniface. Two pockets zoned as "R2" (see Appendix C. for definition) are known as Gaboury Place and Cabana Place. The front lots in both of these areas are not divided by a street, but by a sidewalk. Another atypical feature of these developments is that they are flanked by industrial uses. They were excluded as sample areas in favour of an "R2" zone, recently re-zoned to "R2-T". This area is much more typical of the other sample areas, and was chosen as Sample Area II.

The Sample Area III is a mixture of residential uses and was chosen because it is representative of the "R4" district, and is not in close proximity to the other sample areas. Sample areas too close to one another may have had a mutual spill-over effect.

6.4 A DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE AREAS

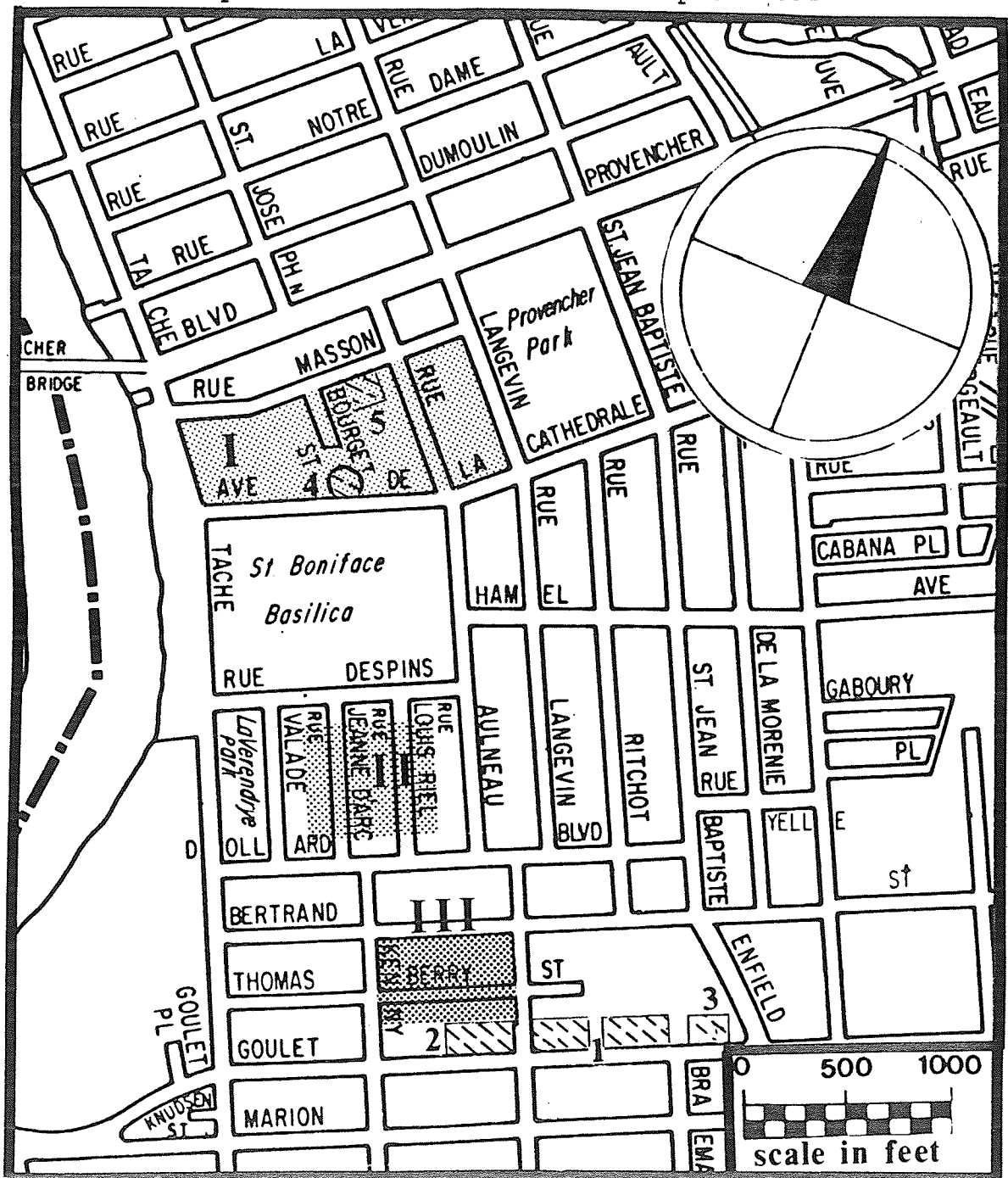
Sample Area I includes the south side of Masson Street between Aulneau Street and Taché Avenue, and Aulneau and Langevain streets between Cathedral Avenue and Provencher Boulevard (refer to map 10.). The 36 houses within the area are 1 1/2 to 2 storey structures, which were constructed between 1900 and 1949. The houses and the grounds are well-maintained. Only six houses within this sample area received a fair building condition rating from the Department of Environmental Planning.²³⁹

Sample Area II includes two short residential streets--Louis Riel and Jeanne d'Arc--bounded by Despins Street and Dollard Boulevard (refer to Map 10). These 46, post-WW II, one to two storey houses are in fair to good building condition.²⁴⁰ A few blocks from a main artery, Taché Avenue, this district can be described as a quiet neighbourhood.

²³⁹ Department of Environmental Planning (1979), map.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., map.

Map 10: Boundaries of the Sample Areas



Sample Area III is bounded by Kenny Street and Traverse Avenue, and includes both homeowners and renters on the south side of Bertrand Street and both sides of Thomas Berry Street (refer to Map 10). A mixture of residential uses can be found within this district--one 8 unit row-house, six small apartment blocks with a total of 53 units, and 41 one to two storey houses. As diverse as the mixture is, so is the age and building condition of the structures. Newer homes (post 1981) co-exist with houses that were constructed between 1900 and 1949. The majority of these residential buildings received a "fair" rating, with a minimal number of them rated as poor. The two to three storey apartment blocks date back from 1950 to 1966. Seven of the eight blocks rate "good" in terms of the condition of the buildings.²⁴¹

6.5 FORMAT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire is composed of seven parts.

1. General information such as age and sex of the respondent, marital status, number of children, employment status, ethnicity, etc.
2. Mobility patterns, tenure status, and information on maintenance and renovation costs incurred since occupancy of the home.
3. Neighbourliness and community participation.

²⁴¹ Ibid., map.

4. Shopping preferences.
5. Recreation and entertainment preferences.
6. Perceptions of Central Saint Boniface in terms of changes, and those forces responsible for these changes.
7. A comment section so as to allow the respondents to expand on any aspect the questionnaire addressed.²⁴²

6.6 PROCEDURE

During the month of May 1985, the principal wage earner or the spouse of the principal wage earner of each household within the three sample areas were personally interviewed with a standardized bilingual questionnaire. This personal approach was adopted because:

1. The researcher wanted to become more familiar with the sample areas.
2. The researcher could note items not detectable by a windshield survey or any other "impersonal" means of data collection.

All residences were visited in pursuit of a 100% sample.

²⁴² A copy of the questionnaire has been included in the Appendix A.

6.7 ANALYSIS AND THE TESTING OF THE HYPOTHESES

The computation and analysis of the raw data has been done using the Statistical Analysis System (SAS) in conjunction with the mainframe computer at the University of Manitoba.

The three hypotheses tested by the interpretation of the data were:

1. The construction of infill apartment blocks and the conversion of low density residential uses to higher density uses within the "R4" district increased the proportion of non-francophones to francophones.
2. The construction of multiple-family units also introduced a different segment of population within Central Saint Boniface, such as young singles or newly-married couples. These new residents are less committed to the neighbourhood and fare well-below the average in terms of community participation, shopping patterns and neighbourliness.
3. The changing residential land use patterns within the "R4" district have affected the stability of the population in the lower-density uses. It is suspect that higher mobility, a lack of home renovations, and a higher risk of assimilation are experienced by homeowners within this zone.

Although these three hypotheses dealt specifically with the "R4" district (Sample Area III), the data for the other

two sample areas were analyzed for comparative purposes. Questions such as the following were answered.

1. Are the "R1" and "R2" districts more stable than the "R4" zone?
2. Are community participation, neighbourliness, attachment to ethnicity, etc. higher in the "R1" and "R2" zones than in the "R4" district?
3. Have these zones retained a higher proportion of francophones than Sample Area III?

The evaluation of these ancilliary questions have permitted a corroboration of the hypotheses tested in this thesis.

6.8 SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to explain the selection of Central Saint Boniface as the case study. The three sample areas chosen for analysis were briefly described so as to acquaint the reader with the differences of each one. The details of the questionnaire--its format and the manner in which it was carried out--were also explained.

Chapter seven discusses the survey results, as well as testing the three hypotheses that were put forth in this chapter.

Chapter VII

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the results of the survey in relation to the theories dealt with in the previous chapters. A comparative approach amongst the three sample areas reveals their similarities and differences, and assists in testing the three hypotheses proposed in this thesis.

7.1 SAMPLE SIZE

The residents in the three sample areas were most responsive to answering the questionnaire (101 of the 184 households participated). 75% of the households in the first sample area (27 of 36 households) participated in the survey, 59% from the the second (27 of 46 households), and 46% from the last sample area (47 of 102 households).

There was concern that the residents in Sample Area III be representative of the true population residing within the boundaries of this area. In reality, the homeowners represent 40% of the total population (41 of 102 households), while the remainder lease their premises. In the sample population, the homeowners comprise 49% of the total surveyed (23 of 47 households).

7.2 DILUTION OF THE FRANCOPHONE BASE

It was postulated in the first hypothesis that the presence of multiple-family units in Sample Area III has increased the proportion of non-francophones to francophones. The majority of the tenants in the rental units are non-francophones (63% or 15 of 24 households). An examination of the homeowners in Sample Area III reveals that the majority are francophones (65% or 15 of 23 households).

As a unit, Sample Area III's francophone population only represents 53% of the total (25 of 47 households), slightly below the 1981 Central Saint Boniface percentage of 56%. Both Sample Areas I and II, which do not contain multiple-family units within their boundaries, are well-above the 1981 percentage of francophones within Central Saint Boniface with percentages of 78% (both 21 of 27 households). The presence of multiple-family dwellings in Sample Area III has increased the proportion of non-francophones to francophones within the area.

7.3 A NEW POPULATION

7.3.1 Demographics

As postulated in the second hypothesis, the multiple-family unit provides shelter for a particular segment of the population residing within Central Saint Boniface.

7.3.1.1 Age of the Respondent by Tenure Status

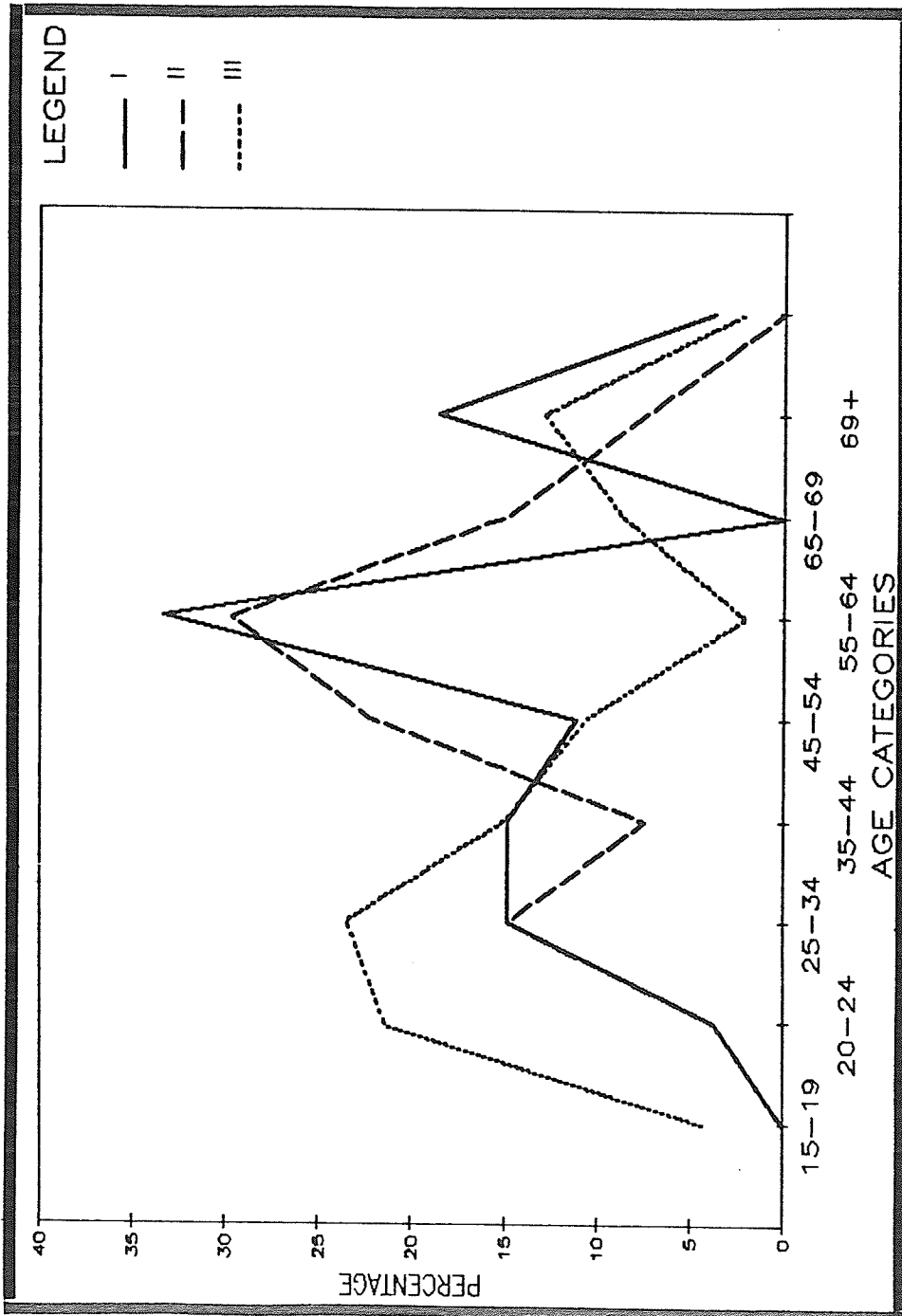
There are four types of dwelling units within Sample Area III. They are the single detached house, the duplex, the row house, and apartment blocks less than five stories in height. Considering the population under twenty-five years of age--26% of the area's population--the majority (67%) reside in multiple-family dwellings (row housing and apartment units). By examining the area's homeowners only, one notes that they represent the "older" age groups. As an area, the respondents living within Sample Area III are younger than their counterparts living within the other two sample districts (Refer to table 12 and map 11).

TABLE 12

Age Groups by Sample Areas

	I	II	III	owners	renters
15-19	0	0	4.3%	0	4.3%
20-24	3.7%	3.7%	21.3%	14.3%	28.3%
25-34	14.8%	14.8%	23.4%	17.9%	28.9%
35-44	14.8%	7.4%	14.9%	17.9%	11.9%
45-54	11.1%	22.2%	10.6%	17.9%	3.3%
55-64	33.3%	29.6%	2.1%	3.6%	0.6%
65-69	0	14.8%	8.5%	10.7%	6.3%
> 69	18.5%	7.4%	12.8%	17.9%	7.7%
n.r.	3.7%	0	2.1%	0	2.1%

Map 11: Plot of Age Groups by Sample Area



7.3.1.2 Marital Status by Tenure Status

Using marital status as a measure, multiple-family housing within Sample Area III is inhabited by the majority of single persons (56%), separated persons (100%), and divorcees (80%). A separate analysis of the homeowners in Sample Area III reveals that the percentage of married persons (57%) in this area exceeds the 1981 Central Saint Boniface average (47%) and approximates the 1981 Winnipeg average (62%).

The percentage of singles, divorcees, and separated persons amongst the homeowners in Sample Area III is lower than the area average as a whole, whereas the percentage of widows amongst the owners exceeds the area's percentage (Refer to table 13.)

TABLE 13

Marital Status by Sample Area

	I	II	III	owners	renters
married	77.8%	81.5%	40.4%	57.1%	23.7%
single	14.8%	7.4%	34.0%	25.0%	43.0%
widow	7.4%	3.7%	10.6%	14.3%	6.9%
separated	0	3.7%	4.3%	0	4.3%
divorced	0	3.7%	10.7%	3.6%	17.8%

In comparison to the other sample areas, Sample Area III has more widows, divorcees, separated persons, and singles. Married persons are more numerous in Sample Areas I and II, even to the extent that they surpass the Winnipeg and the Central Saint Boniface averages for 1981--62% and 47% respectively.

7.3.1.3 Married Respondents with Children

Of the three sample areas, the highest percentage of married respondents with children exists within Sample Area III (63%). This percentage also surpasses the 1981 Central Boniface average (55%). This area also has the lowest percentage of couples without children in comparison to the other two areas. A separate analysis of the married homeowners within Sample Area III reveals that they are less likely to be without children and less likely to have more than two children (Refer to table 14.)

TABLE 14

Children Per Married Couple by Sample Area

	I	II	III	owners	renters
none	42.9%	47.6%	36.8%	35.7%	37.9%
1-2	38.1%	52.4%	47.4%	50.0%	44.8%
3-4	14.3%	0	15.8%	14.3%	17.3%
5-6	4.7%	0	0	0	0

7.3.1.4 Occupation and Education

The occupants of the multiple-family units are not businessmen or in the upper echelons of corporate giants: 25% are labourers, 20% are professionals, and another 20% are unemployed. In comparison to the renters in Sample Area III, the largest portion of the homeowners in the same area (30%) are retirees, while 22% are unemployed. Of the employed homeowners in this district, the labourers (13%), professionals (9%), and technicians (9%) represent the largest groups (refer to table 15).

In comparison to the other sample areas, Sample Area III has a higher percentage of unemployed persons and a below average number of retirees. There are more professionals, businessmen, and upper management personnel in Sample Areas I and II than in the last district. Clerical employees, labourers, and technicians are more numerous in Sample Area III than in the other areas.

As can be seen from table 16, there are more renters than homeowners within Sample Area III who have attended a post-secondary institution. The reverse is true if one looks at the percentage of homeowners who have completed a university degree. Comparing the three sample areas, the respondents in Sample Area I are more educated than their counterparts. Sample Area III respondents ranked highest in the category of those who had attended a post-secondary non-university institution such as technical and nursing schools or community colleges.

TABLE 15
Occupations by Sample Area

	I	II	III	owners	renters
clerical	7.4%	3.7%	10.6%	4.3%	12.5%
professional	22.2%	26.0%	14.9%	8.7%	20.8%
labourer	11.1%	14.8%	19.1%	13.0%	25.0%
technician	7.4%	3.7%	8.5%	8.7%	8.3%
businessman	3.7%	3.7%	2.2%	4.3%	0
upper mgmt	3.7%	3.7%	2.2%	4.3%	0
real estate	0	3.7%	2.1%	0	4.2%
retired	37.0%	26.0%	19.2%	30.4%	8.3%
unemployed	3.8%	7.4%	21.2%	21.8%	20.8%
no response	3.7%	0	0	0	0

TABLE 16
Highest Education Level Attained by Sample Area

	I	II	III	owners	renters
< than grade 10	11.1%	18.5%	21.3%	30.4%	12.5%
grades 10-12	25.9%	33.3%	36.2%	26.1%	45.8%
post-second. non	14.8%	18.5%	27.7%	26.1%	29.2%
some university	7.4%	3.7%	6.4%	4.3%	8.3%
university degree	40.8%	18.5%	6.4%	8.7%	4.2%
no response	0	7.4%	2.0%	4.4%	0

7.3.1.5 Summary

In summary, the occupants of multiple-family units tend to be young and single, married couples without children, separated persons, and divorcees. This observation corresponds with Cliche's conclusions which were noted in Chapter IV. More often than not, the renters tend to be either labourers, professionals, or clerical employees. Although more renters have attended a post-secondary institution, less have obtained a degree at the university level.

Sample Areas I and II are what one may call "established" areas. The respondents tend to be advanced in age--55 to 64--, married, less likely to have children, are either retired or rank amongst the professionals, and have received the highest education. They are the elite of Saint Boniface.

7.3.2 Commitment, Attitudes and Preferences

The second part of the second hypothesis postulated that renters were less committed to the neighbourhood, fared well-below the average in terms of community participation and neighbourliness, had shopping, entertainment and recreation preferences different than those of the homeowners, and their perceptions about the neighbourhood were not similar to the homeowners'.

7.3.2.1 Membership

As Manzo revealed in his study of Strawberry Hill, renters were not members of community organizations. A study of Saint Boniface, census tracts 116 and 117, in 1971 by Campbell and Kozak came to a similar conclusion--that residents who lived in apartment blocks did not participate in local activities.²⁴³

Memberships in city-wide organizations is highest amongst homeowners within Sample Area III, however, the difference between this group and the renters is minimal--54% compared to 46%. Participation is highest in Sample Areas I and II, with 70% of the respondents in both districts involved in groups.

Involvement in local groups amongst the participating renters within Sample Area III is only at 17%. On the other hand, 46% of the Sample Area III homeowners involved with a group belong to a local organization. These two figures are dwindled by the high local involvement percentages in Sample Areas I and II: 95% of the Sample Area I participants and 69% of the participants in Sample Area II belong to a neighbourhood group.

²⁴³ Campbell and Kozak, p.19.

7.3.2.2 Neighbourliness

It was noted in Chapter III that renters know their neighbours less, and are less likely to form friendships in the neighbourhood because they do not share too much in common with others, or their tendency to move more often than homeowners prevents them from identifying with others.

The first assumption is true in this study. The renters in Sample Area III, in comparison to the homeowners, are least likely to know their neighbours--21% compared to 17% respectively. As a unit, 19% of the Sample Area III respondents do not know the people that live nearby. This is less likely to be the case in the the two other sample areas--only four percent of the respondents in both districts did not know their neighbours.

7.3.2.3 Proximity to Friends

Homeowners within Sample Area III are more apt to have their friends in the community than the renters are, however, this advantage is slight-- 52% compared to 46%. Respondents in Sample Areas I and II are the most likely to have the majority of their friends living within Saint Boniface-- 70% and 59% respectively--than the respondents in Sample Area III (49%).

7.3.2.4 Proximity to Family

The homeowners in Sample Area III are also more likely to have family in Saint Boniface than the renters are--39% compared to 38%. Of the three sample areas, the respondents in Sample Areas II and III are least probable to have relatives in the community--41% and 38% respectively. 63% of the respondents in Sample Area I have family in Saint Boniface.

7.3.2.5 Shopping Preferences

As can be seen from table 17, the shopping preferences between the renters and homeowners in Sample Area III differ very little.

	I	II	III	owners	renters
groceries	92.6%	84.6%	78.7%	73.9%	83.3%
hardware	40.7%	30.8%	34.0%	34.8%	33.3%
clothing	3.7%	0	4.3%	4.4%	4.2%
appliances	18.5%	15.4%	10.6%	13.0%	8.3%

The only significant difference is that more renters prefer to buy their groceries within the neighbourhood. An explanation for this might be that many do not own a vehicle to

shop elsewhere, or their lifestyle limits the amount of time they allocate to chores. Other than the fact that more respondents in Sample Area I prefer to purchase groceries and hardware locally, the shopping preferences amongst the areas do not differ greatly.

7.3.2.6 Recreation and Entertainment Preferences

The renters in Sample Area III prefer to recreate within the neighbourhood more so than the homeowners who reside in the same district--75% percent compared to 52%. There are more homeowners, however, who prefer to be entertained within the community--65% compared to 33% of the renters. This preference amongst renters is a reflection of the type of activities they are entertained by (movies, pub hopping, the singles scene), the lack of such services locally, and where the majority of them have friends--outside the neighbourhood.

In comparison, the majority of the respondents in Sample Area I (78%) recreate locally more so than those in the other two areas--62% for Sample Area II and 64% for Sample Area III. For entertainment, the respondents in Sample Area II stay within the community (69%), whereas only 44% of the Sample Area I and 49% of the Sample Area III respondents remain within the neighbourhood.

7.3.2.7 Perceptions

Another belief which is adhered to is that renters perceive neighbourhood characteristics differently than homeowners. All the respondents were asked if a number of neighbourhood characteristics had changed since their arrival to Saint Boniface. These characteristics are the number of families, apartments, francophones, houses, the variety of and number of stores, and the quality and quantity of municipal services. As can be seen from table 18, the majority of renters and homeowners agreed on all the characteristics except on whether the actual number of houses within Saint Boniface had changed.

TABLE 18

Perceptions by Sample Area

	I	II	III	owners	renters
families	i	i	i	i	i
apartments	i	i	i	i	i
francophones	i	*	*	*	*
# of stores	d	*	i	*	*
variety of stores	d	*	*	*	*
houses	*	*	i	divided	i
Q & Q of services	d	divided	*	*	*

i : increase

d : decrease

* : no change

divided : 50% believed there was no change,
remainder believed there was.

Upon examination of the perceptions of the majority of the respondents by sample area, all the respondents in the three sample areas agreed that the number of families and apartments had increased. Only the respondents in Sample Area I believed that the number of francophones within Saint Boniface had changed--in effect an increase.

Perhaps the respondents in this sample area knew some francophones who had returned to Central Saint Boniface, or there was a substantial number of francophones who had moved into this particular sample area. (In effect, there was a decrease in the number of francophones who had moved into the area.) The respondents in this sample area, during the survey, were quick to name newly-arrived francophone families within the district. It would appear that these respondents perceived neighbourhood characteristics better than their counterparts perhaps because as a group they have lived in the area longer than the others.

To the respondents living within the first sample area, the number and variety of stores had decreased. An understandable response if one considers the closure of several Provencher Boulevard businesses over the years. The respondents in the second district expressed no change in either characteristic. The respondents in the last area believed that the number, but not the variety of stores had increased. This is explained in light of the commercial strip development which continues to take place on Goulet Street.

Only the respondents in the third sample area believed the number of houses had increased. This belief is perhaps shaped by the fact that infill housing in this area has been occurring the most. While conducting the survey, the respondents were quick to point out the construction sites, or the nearly-completed houses within their area.

On the final characteristic, only the respondents in Sample Area I believed a decrease in the quality and quantity of municipal services had occurred. Prior to Unicity, the City of Saint Boniface was responsible for the delivery of these services. The residents in these middle-class residential pockets, such as Sample Area I, most probably could contact their councillor and demand better servicing. No doubt the delivery of the services after Unicity appeared substandard.

7.3.2.8 Reasons for Saint Boniface's Change in Character

The last segment of the questionnaire queried the respondents on their perception of the reasons why Saint Boniface had changed in character. Six reasons were supplied, and each respondent ranked it first, second, etc. Table 19 illustrates how many respondents ranked each reason in the first three positions. Within Sample Area III, the homeowners ranked "the construction of apartment blocks" more so than any other reason because they had either suffered from the presence of these living units--noise, pollution, or the

lack of adequate sunlight--or heard about their neighbours having suffered.

TABLE 19
Reasons Ranked by Sample Area

	I	II	III	owners	renters
Unicity	59%	37%	28%	22%	33%
thoroughfares	7%	26%	30%	22%	38%
apartments	19%	22%	28%	35%	21%
immigration	11%	15%	25%	17%	33%
outmigration	18%	0	20%	26%	13%
assimilation	51%	37%	20%	22%	17%

It is also important to know that the residents in this area have organized a group to protest any proposal for the construction of a tall apartment block in their vicinity. In comparison, the renters in this area chose one reason over the others--"major thoroughfares"--perhaps because their short residency in the area precludes them from providing a more adequate answer.

The majority of the respondents in Sample Areas I and II chose "the start of Unicity" and "the assimilation of the French". Unicity resulted in a loss of local autonomy, but more importantly to these respondents a forum to influence

the elected officials had disappeared. Perhaps the "assimilation" choice was predominant in these two sample areas because the respondents tended to be older francophones who remembered the time when Saint Boniface was French in character. The loss of this characteristic, to them, has been due to the loss of francophones to assimilation.

7.3.2.9 Summary

In summary, renters are less involved in local community organizations and neighbour relations, however, the homeowners they were compared to did not fare as well as their counterparts in the other sample areas. However, the first important point to remember is that the homeowners are more involved in local activities, as it was discovered by the Campbell and Kozak, and the Manzo studies. The second is that more homeowners know their neighbours, corresponding to what was discussed in theory.

The shopping preferences and the perceptions of the renters did not differ significantly from those of the homeowners. The renters preferred to be entertained outside of the neighbourhood, most probably where their friends were located--outside of the Saint Boniface area.

Of the three areas, the respondents in Sample Areas I and II tended to be more involved in local affairs, more neighbourly, more likely to have friends nearby, and most likely to assess the change in Saint Boniface's character to Unici-

ty and the assimilation of the French. On the remaining characteristics--perceptions, preferences, and proximity to family--the differences amongst the three areas were slight.

7.4 THE FACTORS OF INSTABILITY

The final hypothesis postulates that the changing land use patterns in Sample Area III have affected the stability of the lower-density uses and users. The measures of stability are the mobility rate, home renovations, and the number of francophones who are experiencing assimilation.

7.4.1 Mobility

As can be seen from table 20, between 1981 and 1985 the renters in all three sample areas were two to three times more mobile than the homeowners, corresponding to Cliche's observations noted in Chapter IV. The lowest renter-to-homeowner mobility rate exists in Sample Area III. The rate is much lower, in part, because of the high percentage of migrant homeowners.

The percentage of homeowners who have moved since 1981 is highest in Sample Area III. It is difficult to assess if the high percentage of mobile renters has influenced the mobility status of the homeowners. As noted earlier, the homeowners in this sample area are much younger than their counterparts elsewhere, and their mobility might be more as a result of a change in a person's life-cycle.

TABLE 20
Percentage of Mobility by Sample Area and Tenure

	I	II	III
homeowners	16%	29%	35%
renters	50%	100%	71%
rate	3.1	3.4	2.0

* 1981 is the base year
* percentages represent the number of respondents who have moved at least once in the period 1981-1985.

7.4.2 Home Renovations

As discussed in Chapter III and IV, the introduction of multiple-family dwellings in a previously single-family area or the possibility of such an occurrence happening can prove to be not only aesthetically unpleasant, but can lower land values and discourage homeowners from preserving and rehabilitating their houses. It is then logical to assume that a homeowner will not renovate his home if its value is falling or if the homeowner believes the value is decreasing.

The houses of the respondents in Sample Area I were largely constructed between 1921 and 1945 (67%), with the remainder erected between 1946 and 1960. 67% of the homes are in excellent condition. The majority of the homeowners (72%) have renovated their premises with 49% of them having incurred renovation costs exceeding \$7,000.00.

Most of the homes of the respondents in Sample Area II (67%) were erected between 1946 and 1960. 29% were built before 1945, while the remainder (4%) were constructed after 1960. The majority of these homes (56%) received a good building condition rating. 37% are in excellent condition and 7% are in fair condition. 71% of the respondents have renovated their homes with 40% of them having incurred over \$7,000.00 in renovation costs.

Finally, of the respondents' houses within Sample Area III, 39% of the houses were constructed before 1921, 26% were built between 1921 and 1945, 9% between 1946 and 1960, 4% between 1971 and 1975, 9% between 1976 and 1979, and 13% of the respondents were not certain when their house was constructed. Within the area, there are six apartment blocks less than five stories in height. In close proximity to this sample area, there are two apartment blocks which exceed five stories in height. All the apartment blocks were constructed between 1960 and 1970. The majority of the respondents' homes (49%) are in good condition, 30% are fair, while a small minority (15%) are in excellent condition. 78% of the owners have renovated their homes with 47% of them having incurred renovation expenses exceeding \$7,000.00.

Sample Area III has an aging housing stock which has been maintained and renovated throughout the years. There are more homeowners in this sample area who have renovated their

homes than in the other two districts. The percentage of these respondents who have incurred renovation costs over \$7,000.00 is only surpassed by the residents in Sample Area I.

The fact that multiple-family dwelling units have been erected in the area does not appear to have affected the homeowner's desire to renovate his home. Although several homeowners expressed negative comments about the higher density apartment complexes, most were more concerned about the nuisances they presented. Only those closest to the larger apartment blocks believed their property values were being negatively affected. In conclusion, if home renovations can be considered as a valid reflection of the homeowner's confidence in his property values, then the presence of multiple-family dwellings have had a minimal financial effect on the lower density uses in the area.

7.4.3 Assimilation

With a diverse linguistic make-up in the multiple-family units and within Sample Area III, the increased probability of contact between the ethnic groups translates into a higher risk of assimilation amongst the francophones in the area.

Using Campbell and Kozak's measure of assimilation, 9% of the respondents in Sample Area I have been assimilated. A little less than 9% of the Sample Area II respondents have

followed the same path, whereas only 4% of the respondents in the last area have been assimilated.

The Campbell and Kozak formula is simple, however, since it only uses loss of language as an indicator of assimilation, it is not an accurate measure of the process of assimilation. As noted in Chapter II, the process of assimilation is composed of four sub-processes. All four must be measured to determine the extent of assimilation amongst an ethnic group. The sub-processes are acculturation, social identification, integration (structural assimilation), and amalgamation.

7.4.3.1 Acculturation

The first sub-process, acculturation, is the process of change towards greater cultural similarity when two or more ethnic groups interact. This process is at its end-state when a member of an ethnic group abandons his culture in exchange for another.

The French language is an integral, if not the most important part of the French culture. As noted in Chapter IV, the French have fought, and continue to fight for the preservation of their culture by ensuring that the French language is restored to its past status--a language of the courts, legislature, and bureaucracies of the provincial government. The French language is the keystone to the survival of the French culture.

For a member to abandon the French language is equivalent to abandoning the culture. For purposes of analysis, a respondent of French Canadian ancestry who did not identify French as his mother tongue or who only uses the English language at home is considered acculturated. Within Sample Area III, 11 of the 24 renting households are headed by French Canadians, whereas 13 of the 23 homeowners are likewise. Within Sample Area III, there have been more French Canadian renters who have been acculturated than their counterparts owning homes-- 36% and zero respectively.

In Sample Areas I and II, 22 of the 27 households are headed by French Canadians, whereas in Sample Area III, regardless of tenure, only 24 of the 47 households are likewise. Of the three sample areas (regardless of tenure status), Sample Area II has the highest percentage of respondents acculturated (23%), followed by Sample Area III at 17%, and Sample Area I at 9% .

A phenomenon called additive acculturation, best described by Yinger, occurs when a member of an ethnic group "adds" another culture to his own, such as adopting the language of the host society. Within Sample Area III, 27% of the French Canadian renters use both English and French as their home languages, whereas all of the French Canadian homeowners use only French.

In comparing the three sample areas, 27% of the French Canadians in Sample Area II have added a culture to their own, 13% have done likewise in Sample Area III, while no one in the first sample area has followed suit. For the respondents in Sample Area I, the retention of their culture serves their purpose more than abandoning it or adding to it. As stated in Chapter II, ethnicity is useful in the struggle for power, status and income. As a French-Canadian living within Saint Boniface, they are the elite amongst their own people. Outside of this group they lose this status because of the number of people and the anonymity associated with urban societies.

7.4.3.2 Social Identification

The second Yinger sub-process is social identification. An individual who identifies himself as a member of a "new society", blended from a mixture of ethnic groups, is said to have committed the act of self-identification. For this analysis, a person whose mother tongue is French and who identifies his ancestry as Canadian is considered to have attained the end-state of the social identification process.

Within Sample Area III, francophone homeowners more so than francophone renters considered themselves Canadian--13% compared to none of the francophone renters. 8% of the francophone respondents in Sample Area III, regardless of tenure status, identified with this "new society" more so

than their counterparts in the other sample areas--5% in Sample Area I and none in Sample Area II.

7.4.3.3 Structural Assimilation

The next sub-process, integration (structural assimilation), is the process where individuals from different ethnic groups participate in a set of shared interactions. This sub-process includes primary groups which are not based on ethnicity, such as friendships, social cliques and intermarriages. Secondary group activity, such as neighbour relations and involvement in organizations, are also part of this process. Finally, civic assimilation is also part of this sub-process. It must be remembered that integration is viewed as "the keystone of the arch of assimilation".

An ethnic member intermarries when the spouse is not a member of the same ethnic group. (The fourth sub-process of assimilation, amalgamation, is the biological result of this union. In other words, if this couple has children, the two ethnicities of the parents have been passed on to their offspring--both the material and non-material cultures of the parents.) In this analysis, an intermarriage has occurred when a French Canadian whose mother tongue is French marries someone whose mother tongue is other than French.

Within Sample Area III, francophone renters have intermarried more so than the francophone homeowners--50% compared to 13%. Of the three sample areas, intermarriage

amongst francophone respondents is highest in Sample Area III at 27% (regardless of tenure status). It is at 13% in Sample Area II and at 7% in Sample Area I.

Secondary group activity between neighbours is impersonal, casual or formal, and non-intimate. The extent of structural assimilation based on secondary group activity was gauged by the language spoken by the francophone to their neighbours in all circumstances.

Within Sample Area III, more francophone renters addressed their neighbours in both English and French, while the majority of francophone homeowners spoke to their neighbours in French. Overall, francophone respondents in Sample Area I spoke to their neighbours in French more so than the two other areas. (Refer to table 21.)

TABLE 21

Secondary Group Activity by Sample Area

	I	II	III	owners	renters
French	100.0%	60.0%	50.0%	62.0%	28.5%
English	0	15.0%	15.0%	7.0%	28.5%
Both	0	25.0%	35.0%	31.0%	43.0%

Primary group activity amongst neighbours includes visits and outings because they are personal, intimate and the participants are face to face. It is interesting to note that within Sample Area III the francophone renters visited and "went out" more with their neighbours than the francophone homeowners--43% and 15% respectively. The extent of structural assimilation based on this activity was gauged in the same manner as in the case of the secondary group activity.

In primary group situations within Sample Area III, more francophone renters than francophone homeowners spoke only in French to their neighbours on outings or visits. A substantial percentage of francophone renters used only English in primary group activities, whereas their homeowning counterparts did not speak English at all. Half of the francophone homeowners used both official languages with their neighbours.

Of the three areas, francophone respondents in Sample Area I used French exclusively, while the majority of the Sample Area II francophone respondents addressed their neighbours in French. Only in Sample III did a significant percentage of francophone respondents address their neighbours only in English while participating in a primary group activity (refer to table 22).

TABLE 22

Primary Group Activity by Sample Area

	I	II	III	owners	renters
French	100.0%	75.0%	60.0%	50.0%	67.0%
English	0	0	20.0%	0	33.0%
Both	0	25.0%	20.0%	50.0%	0

Membership in an ethnic institution is also a measure of structural assimilation because such groups can be both primary and secondary group activities. To gauge structural assimilation based on membership, francophone respondents who answered that they belonged to an organization were asked if it was a French one. Those who did not belong to a single French group were considered structurally assimilated.

Within Sample Area III, 80% of the francophone renters and 17% of the francophone homeowners are structurally assimilated. Overall, the rate of structural assimilation based on involvement in an ethnic institution is highest in Sample Area III (46%). Only 8% of the francophone respondents in Sample Area II are structurally assimilated, while no francophone respondents in the first sample area are.

The final component of structural assimilation is what Milton Gordon refers to as civic assimilation--the absence of value and power conflict. A measure of this component is

how the francophones ranked "the start of Unicity" as a plausible reason for Saint Boniface's change in character. It is believed that Unicity stripped the francophones of local power and autonomy, and failure to rank it as a reason can lead one to suspect that a francophone respondent has been "civically" assimilated.

Within Sample Area III, more francophone renters than francophone homeowners are victims of civic assimilation--70% compared to 46%. Of the three sample areas, civic assimilation is highest in Sample Area III at 57%. 50% of the respondents in Sample Area II are civically assimilated, while 30% are likewise in the first sample area.

7.4.3.4 Summary

In summary,²⁴⁴ the French Canadian renters in Sample Area III have accultured more so than their counterparts who own homes. The francophone renters have intermarried and established more English-only primary and secondary groups than their homeowners. The renters are also less involved in French organizations, and have been civically assimilated more so than the homeowners. Of the the three areas, the francophone respondents in Sample Area III have experienced the sub-processes of assimilation the most, and the francophone respondents in Sample Area I the least.

²⁴⁴ A summary table of selected results of the case study is included in Appendix B.

The risk of assimilation amongst francophone renters living in multiple-family units is high because the opportunity for contact with non-francophones is greatest--six out of ten renters are non-francophones. Such contact is also possible for the francophone homeowner because the area's francophone percentage is lower than the other two districts. In Sample Area III, five out of ten residents are non-francophones. Compare this with almost eight out of ten residents in both Sample Areas I and II who are francophones.

The analysis of the four sub-processes of assimilation amongst the respondents in all three sample areas supports the hypothesis that the risk and reality of assimilation is highest amongst renters and homeowners in Sample Area III. The presence of multiple-family units has not only increased the proportion of non-francophones to francophones within Sample Area III, but the increased opportunity for contact between the linguistic groups has caused francophones to be assimilated into the host society.

7.5 MIGRATION

The migration of francophones to Central Saint Boniface (inter-area mobility) is of particular interest because it will help determine the role zoning played in the socio-cultural evolution of the neighbourhood. As stated in Chapter V, the majority of Central Saint Boniface was re-zoned in 1981. The new zoning permits the construction of multiple-family

dwellings only if they are compatible with lower density uses. Although the re-zoning only affected Sample Area III directly, it is necessary to compare the data of this area with the data from the two other areas in order to draw some conclusions.

7.5.1 Linguistic Characteristics

Of the homeowners in Sample Area III who have migrated to Central Saint Boniface since 1981, only 29% are francophones. Only 18% of the renters who have migrated to the area during the same period are francophones. Of the three areas, the highest percentage of migrant francophones exists in Sample Area II (80.0%), followed by Sample Area I at 25%. At 22% is Sample Area III--includes all respondents regardless of tenure status. It is interesting to note at this point that within Sample Area III, 60% of the non-francophone migrants who moved to the area after 1980 preferred to rent their premises, whereas only 50% of the francophone migrants had the same preference.

The above percentages mean very little unless they are expressed in either an increase or decrease in comparison to another period of time. In other words, is there a change in the mobility patterns (inter-area and intra-area mobility) of the francophones and the non-francophones between the pre-1981 and the post-1980 years?

Within Sample Area III, the number of francophone homeowners increased by 150%, while their non-francophone counterparts increased by 400%. The number of francophone renters rose by 300%, while the non-francophones renting their dwelling units increased in number by 500%. An examination of the type of dwellings that the new renting respondents in Sample Area III preferred to live in was quite revealing. The majority of both non-francophones and francophones resided in apartments less than five stories in height--70% and 50% respectively. The francophone renters (50%), however, preferred to rent a row housing unit or a single-family house more so than their non-francophone counterparts (30%).

The largest increase of francophones within the three sample areas was in Sample Area II (700%). This area only had a non-francophone increase of 200%. Sample Area I experienced a decrease in the number of francophones moving into the area (-72%), with an increase of non-francophones by 100%.

7.5.2 Demographic Characteristics

The other characteristics of the migrants, who have located to one of the three sample areas since 1981, is important to measure because a changing population has impacts on the neighbourhood.

7.5.2.1 Marital Status and Number of Children

Sample Areas I and II have largely attracted married couples with children. In Sample Area III, half of the homeowners are married while the remainder are single. The majority of the married ones have children. The recent renters are single, and those who are married are most likely to be without children.

7.5.2.2 Age

The bulk of the migrants to Sample Area I since 1981 are between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four (80%). In Sample Area II, 33% of the migrants are between twenty-five and thirty-four, another 33% are between forty-five and fifty-four, and the remainder is distributed amongst the other age groups.

Newly-arrived homeowners to Sample Area III are equally represented by three age categories--"20 to 24", "25 to 34", and "35 to 44"--with 25% apiece. The remaining 25% is attributable to those over forty-five years of age. Renters who have moved to the area after 1980 are largely composed of persons between the ages of twenty and thirty-four years of age (76%). As Pierre Cliche had discovered, the migrants are most often young renters.

7.5.2.3 Summary of the Migration Trends

In summary, the migration of the non-francophones into and within Central Saint Boniface surpassed the number of francophones doing likewise. Whereas Sample Areas I and II have largely attracted married couples with children, Sample Area III has been the haven for singles and married couples without children. This area also attracts a younger segment of the population who are represented in both the renting and homeowning categories.

The change in the zoning by-law has had a minimal effect on the neighbourhood because the non-conforming land uses are allowed to continue to co-exist alongside the conforming ones. The by-law ensures that any new housing or infill projects conform to the new regulations. Until the apartment blocks reach an advanced state of deterioration and must be replaced, these units will continue to attract a segment of the population that is different than those owning houses.

In the past, the zoning by-law facilitated the construction of multiple-family units which then attracted a different segment of the population to Central Saint Boniface. The 1981 zoning by-law will facilitate the construction of single-family dwellings, duplexes, and low-density multiple-family units. The progress of this process is dependent on how quickly the existing housing stock deteriorates, and the manner in which the by-law is enforced.

7.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The presence of multiple-family units within Central Saint Boniface provides housing for a segment of the population which differs from those living in single-family houses and duplexes--young, single persons, married couples without children, divorcees, and separated persons. Although the population in this sample area is diverse, the beliefs, perceptions, community involvement and preferences (shopping, entertainment, and recreation) between the renters and the homeowners differed minimally. The heterogeneous character of Sample Area III is in contrast to the homogeneous nature of the pockets of single-family homes, such as Sample Areas I and II.

Sample Areas I and II are largely composed of older married couples with and without children, and widows. The homogeneity of these pockets is also evident upon examination of the language spoken in the home and in the district. The high percentage of francophones in these areas is coupled with a low percentage of francophones having had experienced the sub-processes of assimilation.

In comparison, Sample Area III has the lowest percentage of francophones with the highest percentage of them having had experienced the four sub-processes of assimilation. The sub-processes of assimilation are at their highest in the multiple-family units where the proportion of francophones to non-francophones is the lowest.

The effects of the multiple-family dwelling on the property values of the lower-density uses appears to be slight. In fact, in spite of the theory that home renovations decline in areas where multiple-family housing and single-family housing co-exist, more homeowners in Sample Area III than in any other area renovated their houses. The percentage of owners in Sample Area III who incurred more than \$7,000.00 in carrying out the renovations was only exceeded by one other sample area.

A change of zoning policy, unfortunately, does not resolve problems immediately. The effects of the previous zoning by-law--apartment blocks-- will linger on for an unspecified period of time. The effects of the policy have not ceased and disappeared with the repealing of the zoning by-law. Non-francophones and a heterogeneous population will continue to migrate to the area because the type of housing they can afford or desire exists. The introduction of the "R2-T" zoning by-law can only influence future land use patterns, attempt to prevent incompatible land uses to spread, and protect those few pockets of homogeneity from heterogeneity.

In conclusion, the first hypothesis--that the construction of multiple-family units increased the proportion of non-francophones to francophones--was proven to be true. The second hypothesis postulated that the occupants of the multiple-family units were different than the homeowners in

both demographic make-up and community involvement, perceptions and preferences. The results supported the demographic differences, but not the other.

The third hypothesis claimed that the changing residential land use patterns affected the stability of the homeowners. On the first two indicators--mobility and home renovations-- this hypothesis was proven to be false. On the last indicator--assimilation-- it was proven that the rate of assimilation amongst the francophones is higher in a mixed land use area. This rate is largely attributable to the presence of the multiple-family housing and its occupants within Central Saint Boniface.

The next chapter in this thesis proposes desirable planning intervention to preserve, and perhaps enhance the presence of the francophones within Central Saint Boniface.

Chapter VIII

DIRECTIVES FOR THE PRESERVATION OF SAINT BONIFACE

The ultimate purpose of all planning work is to recommend decisions...to public or private agencies.

Hans Blumenfeld, The Modern Metropolis.

The thesis was approached from a socio-cultural viewpoint and a firm belief in the merits of a plural, multicultural society. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the presence of the multiple-family units, and the type of people who occupy these units, have adversely affected the homogeneous character of Central Saint Boniface.

In order to preserve and enhance the flavour and demographic make-up of this and other ethnic neighbourhoods, the content of this chapter deals with desirable planning interventions which can help to achieve these goals. The interventions fall into three classifications: design, zoning, and community development.

8.1 DIRECTIVE NUMBER ONE

That the City of Winnipeg adopt a sensitive infill policy in accordance with the principles outlined below.

8.1.1 Current Situation

As noted in the Chapter VII, several of the respondents in Sample Area III commented on the aesthetic deficiencies of apartment blocks in the district--i.e. the style of architecture, the construction materials, and bulk. These dwelling units were introduced into Central Saint Boniface as infill projects, according to the zoning by-law that existed at that time.

"Infill" refers to new housing development which adds to the stock of housing in mature residential neighbourhoods.²⁴⁵

The revised land use controls (R2-T district) applicable to Central Saint Boniface permit the construction of multiple-family units as a conditional use if they are "compatible with the adjacent development". Compatibility is defined as the "(capability) of living together" or the "(ability) to exist or be used together".²⁴⁶ Compatibility can only be achieved if the infill project is viewed as aesthetically acceptable in the eyes of the adjacent residents. The present by-law cannot guarantee compatibility unless it incorpo-

²⁴⁵ John Archer, New Housing in Existing Neighbourhoods: Advisory Document, (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1982), p.2.

²⁴⁶ Oxford American Dictionary, 1980 ed., s.v. "compatible".

rates the principles of "sensitive infill".

8.1.2 Principles of Sensitive Infill

"Sensitive infill" emphasizes that (infill) development should respect the physical character of a neighbourhood and be compatible with its social, economic, historical and cultural context.²⁴⁷

To achieve this "respect", infill projects are not generally higher than three or four stories in height. Larger housing projects are not acceptable because they tend to "dominate their immediate residential surroundings or create an internal environment separate from the neighbourhood".²⁴⁸

The way in which infill housing is accommodated into the context of its neighbourhood is the essential element of a sensitive approach to infill housing. Infill projects are small additions to an established fabric of buildings, services, and open spaces, and must take their places within existing networks of social, economic and political relationships.²⁴⁹

The fact that infill housing is a more complex form of development because of the possible effects on an area, a four-pronged feasibility study assessing the project is recommended.²⁵⁰ The study should include:

1. Identification of an infill development opportunity.

²⁴⁷ Archer, p.2.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p.2.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., p.33.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., p.24.

2. Development of the concept.
3. Assessment of impact.
4. Refinement of the analysis.²⁵¹

After a feasibility study has been undertaken, and it is found that the infill project would not deleteriously affect the neighbourhood, then the infill design must be drawn up according to the three factors of "sensitive infill" site planning: neighbourhood context, site layout, and project detail. Neighbourhood context is "the relation of the project to its immediate surrounding". This includes the style of architecture characterizing the neighbourhood, the scale and impact of the project to its surroundings, neighbourhood amenities (i.e. the view of the lake, mountains, etc.), street frontage, and existing buildings and uses.²⁵²

The second factor, site layout, is "the arrangement of housing units, parking, access and open spaces on the site". This accounts for the types of sites available (i.e. corner site, mid-block site, etc.), natural features (vegetation, soil conditions, etc.), parking, vehicle access, pedestrian access, communal space, building separation (for daylight, views, visual privacy, ventilation, and solar access), project identity, and setbacks.²⁵³

²⁵¹ Ibid., p.24.

²⁵² Ibid., pp 33, 35-47.

²⁵³ Ibid., pp 33, 48-72.

Finally, the third factor, project detail is concerned with "the immediate environment of individual housing units". Details such as the private outdoor living area, the unit identity, the unit entry, and the unit layout of the infill project are considered.²⁵⁴

8.1.3 Intended Result of the Directive

The principles and guidelines of "sensitive infill" are a desirable planning intervention for Central Saint Boniface. To date, the multiple-family infill projects undertaken in the neighbourhood have largely been "insensitive" to the adjacent land uses. Albeit all of the infill projects in Sample Area III are less than five stories in height, the homeowners have noted their un-aesthetic appearance and the "perceived" effects these dwelling units have had on their property values.

The adoption of the "sensitive infill" principles could alleviate such fears and criticisms by respecting the local architecture and spatial (height, size, and bulk) characteristics of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, design principles could be used to create "French" environments through the use of architecture.

Project identity could be achieved by adopting a traditional architectural style or by installing French signage in buildings--l'Accueil Colombien, which is a seniors'

²⁵⁴ Ibid., pp 33, 73-82.

apartment complex in Saint Boniface, has incorporated these ideas.

The unit layout of an interior space could be more attuned to the needs of an ethnic group, such as a large kitchen and dining room when the extended family visits. In effect, these techniques might prove useful in increasing the proportion of francophones to non-francophones within Central Saint Boniface.

8.1.4 Implementation Strategy

A sensitive infill policy should be incorporated into the existing zoning by-law, and should operate similarly to the height and bulk regulations. Such a policy should be initiated from within Central Saint Boniface, and be introduced at the community committee level in the form of a brief. It should proceed through the administration for review and advice.

If the councillors were to support such a policy, it would have a better chance to be enacted into law. This political route would be more fruitful because the politicians are the policy-makers, whereas the administration is, in theory, the implementation arm of government.

8.2 DIRECTIVE NUMBER TWO

That Saint Boniface be declared a conservation district and that a transferable development rights system be applicable to the area.

8.2.1 Current Situation

The 1981 re-zoning of the majority of Central Saint Boniface does protect the single-family component within the neighbourhood more so than its predecessor, however, the construction of multiple-family units has not been entirely prohibited. Nor has the new policy slowed down or reversed the process of neighbourhood decay, which is largely due to an aging housing stock.

8.2.2 The Conservation Strategy

The adoption of a "conservation strategy" could both protect and enhance the longevity of the existing housing stock.

The conservation strategy:

is an approach that is concerned with identification and positive utilization of our natural and built resources in a manner which will protect and enhance their longevity.²⁵⁵

In a neighbourhood context, conservation is "an organic, gradual and humane process" of neighbourhood change. The objective is to create a climate that will foster a process of "slow and incremental improvements to the existing housing

²⁵⁵ Sybil Frenette, Conservation: Strategies for Selected Older Neighbourhoods, (Winnipeg: The Institute of Urban Studies, August 1979), p.5.

stock and the social and physical infrastructure of a neighbourhood".²⁵⁶

8.2.3 Transferable Development Rights

Another planning strategy which not only protects but enhances the existing housing stock is the transferable development rights option. This is how it operates. The landowner's rights to develop to a maximum density, forfeited in the case of his land being designated as part of a preservation district, can be transferred to a designated transfer district. The transfer district is the recipient of the development rights whereas the preservation district is the grantor of development rights.

Briefly, the proposal would permit the owner of land in the transfer district to calculate the floor space now permitted by the new zoning regulations if high density were permitted. The potential floor space above that which is allowed under existing zoning would be expressed in terms of "development rights". The developer would then have to purchase development rights from among the owners of low density structures in the preservation district. Thus the developer can increase the size of structures in the transfer district (within limits), realize a greater return on his investment and achieve greater economies of scale, but only after returning to the community compensation in terms of the purchase of their development rights for his right to build to higher density.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ Ibid., pp 5 & 9.

²⁵⁷ Demmings, p.37.

The money paid to the low-density owners is used "to finance (the) rehabilitation of (their) low density structures".²⁵⁸ The amount paid to each property owner varies.

Property owners would be awarded compensation payments by the developer according to the degree to which they were affected by the externalities created by high density development. With increased lineal distance from the up zoned district the value of the rights would decline to zero.²⁵⁹

The transferable development rights scheme will partially compensate those property owners in the preservation district who were denied future capital gains by permitting them to sell their development rights to a developer in the transfer district, or to transfer their rights (noncash transfer) to the transfer district if they own land within this zone, or to receive cash for their development rights.²⁶⁰ Those who wish to maintain detached single-family homes are also partially compensated because they must now accept densities higher than they would want, however, the cash payments help to rehabilitate their homes.²⁶¹

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p.14.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p.38.

²⁶⁰ Refer to Ellis Gans' "Saving Valued Spaces and Places Through Development Rights Transfer" and Jared B. Schlaes' "Who Pays for Transferable Development Rights?" in The Transfer of Development Rights: A new technique of land use regulation, edited by Jerome G. Rose (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Centre for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 1975).

²⁶¹ Stephen Demmings, "Feasibility of a Development Rights Program as a Planning Tool for the Preservation of Low Density Structures in the Fort Rouge Area of Downtown Winnipeg", (Masters of City Planning Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), p.66.

8.2.4 Intended Result of the Directive

Both the conservation district and the transfer of development rights could protect and enhance the existing housing stock by redirecting high density development to a specified area--such as a transfer district. Primarily viewed as a tool "for the preservation of inner city neighbourhoods where the pressure for redevelopment is intense",²⁶² it can be used for societal purposes.

It is possible to use the (Transferable Development Rights) technique to achieve the affirmative objective of directing development to a specified area and regulating the timing of each type of development to fulfill community needs during the development process.²⁶³

Directing development to a transfer district could assist in minimizing the effects high density land uses have on lower-density ones, i.e. aesthetics, and the demographic and the linguistic characteristics. The higher density uses, along with their heterogeneous characteristics, could be segregated away from the homogeneous pockets, i.e. on the outskirts of the district.

Transferable development rights could also "determine the use of land and the design and density of all develop-

²⁶² Ibid., p.5.

²⁶³ Jerome G. Rose, "The Transfer of Development Rights: An interim review of an evolving concept", in The Transfer of Development Rights: A new technique of land use regulation, edited by Jerome G. Rose (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Centre for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 1975), p.17.

ment".²⁶⁴ In effect, the transferable development rights technique could be the means to achieve the objectives of a sensitive infill design policy. The use of sensitive infill principles and guidelines could help to minimize the negative effects associated with multiple-family uses, and assist in the creation of a development which could complement and enhance the character of the district.

8.2.5 Implementation Strategy

8.2.5.1 Conservation District

Firstly, Central Saint Boniface should be designated as a conservation district. Secondly, the City of Winnipeg should:

1. Downzone the lands to reflect the existing land use patterns.
2. Use the zoning by-law to regulate incompatibility.
3. Classify incompatible uses as non-conforming.
4. Create buffers between the incompatible uses and the conforming uses.
5. Adopt and enforce a maintenance of property and building by-law.
6. Acquire property when necessary.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ Ibid., p.12.

²⁶⁵ Frenette, p. 51.

In addition to these conditions, the city should also change its attitude regarding the "liberal" granting of variances.

Coupled with (downzoning) is a firm "holding the line" attitude when the individual rezoning applications are presented to city departments involved in the approval process and city council. In other words, allowing too many exceptions to be approved could potentially subvert the by-law.²⁶⁶

Projects not in accordance with the zoning by-law should require the applicant to "clearly show a beneficial effect and non-conflict situation to the existing neighbourhood", as is the case in the city of Regina.²⁶⁷

8.2.5.2 Transferable Development Rights

The City of Winnipeg could enact a transferable development rights ordinance under the present City of Winnipeg Act, but "the basic essential...is to obtain enabling legislation from the province".²⁶⁸

it is the province which has the ultimate authority to implement heritage legislation measures such as transfer of development rights and/or to delegate such responsibilities to municipalities.²⁶⁹

The Department of Urban Affairs could draft a Transferable Development Rights bill, and the responsible minister could present it to the legislature for discussion and hope-

²⁶⁶ Ibid., p.28.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p.28.

²⁶⁸ Demmings (1978), p.69.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., p.68.

fully subsequent approval and enactment. This act would "establish development rights transfer as a reality".²⁷⁰

Amendments would then have to be made to the Planning Act, the City of Winnipeg Act, relevant by-laws applicable to the affected area, in order to administer the scheme.²⁷¹

Demmings proposed that the "Planning Department of the City of Winnipeg be responsible for the administration of the Transferable Development Rights program and setting it in motion".²⁷²

8.3 DIRECTIVE NUMBER THREE

That a community development corporation operating within Saint Boniface be delegated authority to control land use and development.

8.3.1 Current Situation

The independence of a local council is more than a symbol of abstract notions about democracy to be used for practical objectives: it is often the symbol as well as the means of ethnic survival.²⁷³

In 1972, the City of Saint Boniface and its autonomous council became history, as did eleven other separate municipalities within Greater Winnipeg. Unicity, as it was nicknamed,

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p.69.

²⁷¹ Ibid., p.69.

²⁷² Ibid., p.69.

²⁷³ Ian Turnbull, "Local Autonomy and Municipal Reorganization: A study of ethnic influence on the local politics of St. Boniface", (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1967), p.3.

amalgamated twelve municipalities into one city, with one council. On several occasions it has been praised as a prototype, and it is not likely that it will be disbanded in the near future.

8.3.2 Community Development

To stimulate a renewed interest in Saint Boniface as a unique district within Unicity, the idea of community development comes to mind.

The major thrust of the (community) development system approach is to stimulate the creation at the community level to deal with problems that become evident at the community level.²⁷⁴

The vehicle within Canada and elsewhere in North America to exercise community development is called a Community Development Corporation. As the first two words in this name suggests, the corporation is concerned with the development of the community. It is also dedicated to fulfilling the basic needs of the community, whether they are human, financial, organizational, political, social or economic.²⁷⁵

To achieve these goals, the corporation is dependent on the voluntary participation of the members within the community, and possibly staff at a later stage. A board of directors, elected by the membership, provides direction for

²⁷⁴ P.D. Brodhead, Michael Decter and Ken Svenson, Community-Based Development: A development system for the 1980s, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1981), p.46.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p.14 Appendix.

staff and members. The board may establish special or standing committees to carry out designated tasks. In essence, the corporation exists for the community's benefit.

To satisfy the needs of the community, the corporation may undertake for-profit projects to accumulate funds for its not-for-profit ventures.

Unlike private enterprise...(community economic development) projects organize themselves around the social, economic and cultural problems of their respective communities.²⁷⁶

In addition to these well-known objectives of community development corporations, there have been innovations.

In San Diego, the city government delegates official land use planning responsibility to selected neighbourhood organizations that fulfill certain criteria of open membership and structure.²⁷⁷

This delegation of land use controls to neighbourhood groups must be exercised for the benefit of the community as a whole, "following a calm and deliberate consideration of the alternatives, and not because of the whims of either an articulate minority or even majority of the community".²⁷⁸

The regulatory aspect of the community development corporation, as in the San Diego example, might be difficult to achieve in Winnipeg because of the existence of the communi-

²⁷⁶ Susan Wismer and David Pell, Community Profit: Community-based economic development in Canada, (Toronto: IS FIVE Press, 1981), p.1.

²⁷⁷ Daniel R. Mandelker and Roger A. Cunningham, Planning and Control of Land Development, (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Ltd., 1979), p.55.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., p.58.

ty committees and the residents' advisory groups. However, both of these bodies have lost the minimal power they had allocated to them in 1972. The trend since 1972, with the creation of Unicity, has been the centralization of the administrative functions and the decision-making powers within the city.

Both centralization and the pre-1960 metropolitan form of government are unacceptable forms of local government. The latter because there was a duplication of services and disputes over the funding of regional projects; and the former because ethnic neighbourhoods have little control over events occurring within their boundaries.

Both City of Winnipeg Act Review Committees (1976 and 1985) believed that the community committees and the residents' advisory groups be given a real responsibility in the planning process--"the preparation of district plans and action area plans and in citizens advising their councillors on amendments to the development plan".²⁷⁹ The 1985 Review Committee stressed that community committees be given control over "local planning, local land use approvals, and local service decisions". In addition, the community committees should be "empowered to issue final variance and conditional use orders".²⁸⁰

²⁷⁹ Brownstone and Plunkett, p.136.

²⁸⁰ City of Winnipeg Act Review Committee, The Report of the City of Winnipeg Act Review Committee, (Unpublished manuscript, 1985), pp 54, 93.

In regards to the residents' advisory groups, the 1985 Review Committee seemed to favour the replacement of these groups because they are largely ignored by the councillors, and are ineffective in fostering citizen participation.²⁸¹ The Review Committee believed that:

other models of resident involvement should be examined and...urge(d) Councillors to give thought to the examples provided by other Canadian cities.... there may be merit in developing a strategy for resident involvement which taps the energy and creativity of the many groups that form around specific issues and neighbourhood interests rather than giving special status to one continuing group of advisors.²⁸²

The recommendations made by the 1985 Review Committee are a step towards better citizen participation, however, the San Diego experiment might not be copied in this city in the near future. It is imperative that the experiment, sooner or later, be duplicated if the French fact in Saint Boniface is to survive.

8.3.3 Intended Result of the Directive

Under community auspices, the land use controls are used to enforce "group welfare standards toward land use". The controls now serve a "collective will" instead of the interests of a few resourceful individuals,²⁸³ such as the middle-class.

²⁸¹ Wichern, pp 17, 26, 28, 31, 39.

²⁸² City of Winnipeg Act Review Committee (1985), p.236.

²⁸³ Sidney M. Willhelm, Urban Zoning and Land Use Theory, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), pp 118 and 119.

The fact that the community has control of its own fate is not the only benefit. The people in that community are involved in the process, and identify with the community they are working for.

The ability of communities to direct and control their own growth and development is often seen as a significant component of community identity.²⁸⁴

In relation to this thesis, community control can result in benefits for the francophone population. The local autonomy lost in the early 1970's with the enactment of Unicity can be reclaimed. In its new form, this autonomy and power resides in the hands of a community group, and not elected officials who are only interested in short-term gains. The end result will hopefully be a community which reflects the needs and wants of all its citizens.

8.3.4 Implementation Strategy

The French in St. Boniface...will be required to develop local groups and evolve symbols of local autonomy if increasing urbanization is not to result in ethnic assimilation.²⁸⁵

Almost twenty years after the above quote was written, such a group has emerged on the scene. Described as a community economic development corporation, Nouvelle Economie Urbaine Francophone, Inc. has been in operation since 1983.

²⁸⁴ K.B. Clark, Strengthening Our Communities: Urban growth vs community identity, (Edmonton: Edmonton Region Growth Studies Division, April 1976), p.5.

²⁸⁵ Turnbull, p.122.

Before any community development corporation can assume control over land use controls, it must demonstrate that it represents the community. If it does not adequately represent the community or permit citizen participation, then it must increase its ranks by undertaking a membership drive and allowing the members to assume an active role in the organization, i.e. sitting on committees, involved in the decision-making process, planning and executing community projects, etc.

Once a community development corporation has demonstrated that it represents the people of a community, it should petition the provincial government to delegate land use controls to it. This should include the zoning by-law with a sensitive infill component, and a maintenance of property and building by-law. The administration of the transferable development rights program should also be delegated from the City of Winnipeg to the corporation. If the program is not yet underway, then the province should implement it and delegate the responsibility to the corporation.

8.4 SUMMARY

The directives put forth in this chapter are designed to preserve and enhance the flavour and demographic make-up of Saint Boniface specifically. The sensitive infill policy, the conservation district and the transferable development rights can be used to preserve and rehabilitate the existing

housing stock, and ensure that any infill project does not "wipe out" these efforts. All three can also be used to attract more francophones into the area.

The third directive is designed to instill a sense of pride and community ownership. To achieve these feelings, control of the community's development must reside within the community. Unfortunately, the adoption of sensitive infill principles and guidelines, the creation of a conservation district, and the establishment of a transfer of development rights system depend on the willingness of civic/provincial/federal officials to do so, and the perseverance of the French in Saint Boniface to petition to have these incorporated into law. Failure by the French in Saint Boniface to pursue this set of recommendations or to explore others will allow land use patterns, and the fate of the French culture, to continue to be decided by outsiders.

Chapter IX

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to prove the following hypotheses:

1. The construction of infill apartment blocks and the conversion of low density residential uses to higher density ones within the "R4" district affected the population in favour of the non-francophones.
2. The construction of multiple-family units also introduced a different population characteristic within Central Saint Boniface, such as young singles or newly married couples. These new residents are less committed to the neighbourhood and fare well-below the average in terms of community participation, neighbourliness, as well as local shopping, entertainment, recreation preferences, and perceptions about the area.
3. The changing residential land use patterns within the "R4" district have affected the stability of the residents in the lower-density use areas. It is suspected that higher mobility, a lack of home renovations, and a higher risk of assimilation are experienced by the homeowners within this zone.

It was shown that there are many forces at work in an ethnic neighbourhood which can alter the structure, nature and composition of its fabric. These forces can be categorized as either internal or external. Assimilation is an internal force which operates within the ethnic community and is often suspect and blamed for the decline and disappearance of ethnic neighbourhoods. External forces, such as zoning, are often overlooked as being responsible for the displacement of ethnic members, for the acceleration of acculturation amongst the ethnic group, or for failing to provide "adequate" housing styles/types for the ethnic members.

Zoning as a land-use control determines the land use patterns, the type, bulk, the placement of dwelling units, and in effect the demographic composition of an area. Some researchers also contend that land use controls are responsible for the decline of ethnic neighbourhoods.

Public policy on Central Saint Boniface from the late fifties to the early eighties was intended to encourage the redevelopment of most of the district by replacing the single-family uses with medium to high-density residential uses. The means to achieve this end was the classification of the large part of Central Saint Boniface as an "R4" district. As a direct result of this public policy, apartments and townhouses were permitted to be constructed without a variance and citizen input. This thesis examined the role

zoning played in the socio-cultural evolution of Central Saint Boniface. To test the three hypotheses of this thesis, a study of this ethnic neighbourhood was designed and carried out.

The first hypothesis was proven to be true. The presence of multiple-family units in the "R4" district has increased the proportion of non-francophones to francophones within the area. The majority of the occupants of these units are non-francophones, whereas the majority of the homeowners are francophones.

The second hypothesis was partially true. The multiple-family unit does provide shelter for a particular segment of the population residing within Central Saint Boniface, such as young single persons, married couples without children, separated persons, and divorcees. The level of community involvement and neighbour relations, local shopping preferences, and perceptions about the neighbourhood amongst the homeowners and renters in the "R4" district do not differ significantly.

The third hypothesis was proven mostly false. The changing residential patterns within the "R4" district has not affected the rate of mobility, nor the rate of home renovations amongst the homeowners in this district when compared to the homeowners in the other residential zones--"R1" and "R2". On the last indicator, however, the presence of mul-

multiple-family units has not only increased the number of non-francophones in the area, but the risk and reality of assimilation amongst the francophones is highest in the area where contact with non-francophones is greatest. In this study, assimilation is at its highest in Sample Area III, where multiple-family units are largely occupied by non-francophones.

The aspects of the three hypotheses that were proven correct can be rectified by a number of directives for future action.

1. A sensitive infill policy can require that future infill projects respect the local architecture and be more attuned to the needs of the the French in Saint Boniface. If successful, it could increase the proportion of francophones to non-francophones within the neighbourhood.
2. Both the conservation district and the transferable development rights program can redirect high density development to the outskirts of the neighbourhood, hence protecting and enhancing the existing housing stock. These tools can also segregate the heterogeneous characteristics associated with multiple-family units away from the homogeneous pockets.
3. Finally, community control by a community development corporation can allow the French in Saint Boniface to plan and control the development of their neighbourhood.

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Appendix A
QUESTIONNAIRE

UN SONDAGE SUR
LES RESIDANTS
DE SAINT BONIFACE

A. INFORMATION GENERALE/GENERAL INFORMATION

1.a.Demeurez-vous seul/do you live alone? oui/yes ___

non/no ___

b.état matrimonial/marital status marié/married ___

célibataire/single ___

veuf/widow ___

séparé/separated ___

divorcé/divorced ___

autre/other ___

2.Sexe/sex

male/male ___

femelle/female ___

3.a.Groupe d'âge/age group

15-19 ___ 45-54 ___

20-24 ___ 55-64 ___

25-34 ___ 65-69 ___

35-44 ___ >69 ___

b.Groupe d'âge du conjoint/age group of cohabitant

15-19 ___ 45-54 ___

20-24 ___ 55-64 ___

25-34 ___ 65-69 ___

35-44 ___ >69 _____

4.a.Nombre d'enfants/number of children _____

b.Ages des enfants/ages of children

0-4 ___ 15-19 ___

5-9 ___ >19 ___

10-14 ___

5.La quelle catégorie d'instruction s'applique a votre cas/
which education category applies to you?

n'ayant pas atteint la 10 e année/less than grade 10 _____

10 e - 12 e année/grades 10-12 _____

postsecondaire non universitaire/post-secondary
non-university _____

formation universitaire partielle/some university _____

grade universitaire/university degree _____

autre/other _____

6.Etat d'emploi/employment status

temps-plein/fulltime _____

temps-partiel/parttime _____

saisonnier/seasonal _____

retirer/retired _____

sans emploi/unemployed _____

7.a.Type d'emploi/occupation _____

b. Quel est votre lieu de travail/where do you work?

St. Boniface ___ Parc Windsor ___ St. Vital ___

St. James ___ Fort Garry ___ Transcona ___ Centre Ville/DT ___

Autre/other _____

8.a. De quel groupe ethnique vous considerez membre/what ethnic group do you consider yourself a member of? _____

b. Quelle est votre langue maternelle/what is your mother tongue? _____

c. Quelle est la langue maternelle du conjoint/what is the cohabitant's mother tongue? _____

d. Quelle langue parlez-vous au foyer/what language is spoken in the home? _____

e. Quelle langue parlez-vous à vos enfants/what language do you speak to your children? _____

B. QUESTIONS SUR L'HABITATION/QUESTIONS REGARDING THE DWELLING

1.a. Est-ce que vous ou votre famille avez déménagé depuis 1976/ have you or your family moved since 1976? oui/yes ___

non/no ___

b. si oui, en quelle année/if yes, in which year? _____

c. de quel endroit/from where? St. Boniface ___ Parc Windsor ___

St. Vital ___ Lorette ___

St. Norbert ___ Ile-Des-Chenes ___

Southdale ___ St. Genevieve ___

St. Malo ___

autre/other _____

d. Pourquoi/why?

la maison/the house ___

la situation financière/the price ___

disponibilité de services et activités en Français/availability
of services and activities in french ___

proximité de la famille/proximity to family ___

autre/other _____

2.a. Mode d'occupation/type of tenure

propriétaire/owner ___

locataire/renter ___

b. durée d'occupation/length of occupancy

<1 an/year ___ 15-19 ___

1-2 ___ 20-24 ___

3-5 ___ 25-29 ___

6-10 ___ >30 ___

10-14 ___

c. si propriétaire, y a-t-il des locataires qui demeurent chez-
vous/if owner, do you have boarders residing in your home?

oui/yes ___

non/no ___

d. si oui, sont-ils de la parenté/if yes, are they related to

the family? oui/yes ___
 non/no ___

e. Quel lien/what is the relation? _____

3.a. Type de construction/dwelling type:

individuelle/single detached ___
 appartement/apartment =>5 ___
 duplex ___
 maison en rangée/row house ___
 appartement/apartment <5 ___

b. L'âge de la construction/age of structure

<1920 ___ 1971-75 ___
 1921-45 ___ 1976-79 ___
 1946-60 ___ 1980 ___
 1961-70 ___ 1981 ___
 autre/other ___

c. Qualité de condition structurale/quality of building condition

excellent ___
 bon/good ___
 moyen/fair ___
 piètre/poor ___

4.a. Est-ce que votre habitation a été renovée (additions incluses) depuis que vous residez à cette adresse/has your dwelling ever been renovated since you have lived here (includes additions) ?

oui/yes ___

non/no ___

b. si oui, en quelle année ces changements ont ils eu lieu/
if yes, in which year was the work done? _____

c. quelle était la nature des travaux/what was the nature
of the work done?

travaux de fondation/foundation work ___

travaux de plomberie/plumbing work ___

travaux d'électricité/electrical work ___

additions de pièces/rooms added ___

remplacement de fenêtres/replaced windows ___

isolation/insulation ___

peinture à l'extérieur/exterior painting ___

peinture à l'intérieur/interior painting ___

autre/other _____

d. coût approximatif/approximate cost _____

C. PARTICIPATION

1.a. Est-ce qu'il y a des membres de votre famille qui font
partie d'une association de Winnipeg ou de St. Boniface/are
you or any member of your family a member of an association
in Winnipeg or St. Boniface?

oui/yes ___

non/no ___

b. si oui, lequel/if yes, which one?

Le Centre Notre Dame ___
 Le Club LaVérendrye ___
 Union Nationale Française ___
 Conseil Jeunesse Provincial ___
 Fédération Culturelle des Canadiens Français ___
 Fédération Provinciale des Comités des Parents ___
 Société Franco-Manitobaine ___
 Le Cercle Molière ___
 autre/other _____

2.a. Jusqu'à quel point diriez que vous connaissez vos
voisins/to what extent do you know your neighbours?

très bien/very well ___

bien/well ___

un peu/a little ___

pas de tout/not at all ___

b. Quelle est la fréquence de vos rencontres avec eux/what
is the frequency of your encounters with them?

chaque jour/each day ___

4 fois par semaine/4 times a week ___

2 " " " /2 " " " ___

4 fois par mois/4 times a month ___

2 " " " /2 " " " ___

1 " " " /1 " " " ___

autre/other ___

c. Dans quelle circonstance s'effectuent ces rencontres/
in what circumstances do these encounters take place?

des sorties/outings _____

des visites/visits _____

des salutations/greetings _____

d. Quelle langue parlez-vous le plus souvent avec eux/what
language do you speak most often to them? _____

3.a. A quel endroit de la ville habite la plupart de vos amis/
where do most of your friends live?

St. Boniface __ Parc Windsor __ St. Norbert __ Norwood __

Centre Ville/DT __ St. Vital __ Southdale __

autre/other _____

b. A quel endroit de la ville habite la plupart de votre
parenté/where do most of your relatives live?

St. Boniface __ Parc Windsor __ St. Norbert __ Norwood __

Centre Ville/DT __ St. Vital __ Southdale __

autre/other _____

D. QUESTIONS SUR LES PREFERENCES DE MAGASINAGE/QUESTIONS ON
SHOPPING PREFERENCES

1. Dans quel endroit de la ville préférez-vous faire votre/
what part of the city do you prefer to buy:

St. B C.V./DT St. V Polo Park autre/other

épicerie/groceries? _____

quincailleries/hardware? _____

vêtements/clothing? _____

appareils électriques/
electrical appliances? _____

E. QUESTIONS SUR LES PREFERENCES DE RECREATION ET PLAISIR/

QUESTIONS ON RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT PREFERENCES

1.a. A quel endroit de la ville diriez que vous participer le plus souvent a des activités récréatives/where do most of your recreational activities take place? et vos enfants/and your children?

St. Boniface ___ ___ Parc Windsor ___ ___ Norwood ___ ___
St. Vital ___ ___ Southdale ___ ___ Centre Ville/DT ___ ___
autre/other _____

b. Quelle endroit de la ville diriez que vous aller le plus souvent pour du plaisir/where do you go most often for entertainment? et vos enfants/and your children?

St. Boniface ___ ___ Parc Windsor ___ ___ Norwood ___ ___
St. Vital ___ ___ Southdale ___ ___ Centre Ville/DT ___ ___
autre/other _____

F. QUESTIONS SUR LES PERCEPTIONS/QUESTIONS ON PERCEPTIONS

1.a. Depuis votre arrivée à St. Boniface pensez-vous que les caractéristiques suivantes ont changés, et donnez votre

réaction à ces changements/since your arrival to Saint Boniface have the following changed, and give your reaction to these changes.

oui	non	augmentation	diminution	change
yes	no	increase	decrease	(-) (+)

nombre de familles/

number of families _____

nombre de francophones/

number of francophones _____

nombre de maisons/

number of houses _____

nombre d'appartements/

number of apartments _____

nombre de magasins/

number of stores _____

variété de magasins/

variety of stores _____

quantité et qualité

des services municipales/

quantity & quality of

municipal services _____

- b. Selon vous quelles sont les raisons du changement du caractère de St. Boniface (placer vos choix par ordre de priorité)/what do you believe are the reasons for St. Boniface's change in character (rank your choices in order of priority) ?

routes de transport/major thoroughfares ____

début de l'Unicity/start of Unicity ____

construction d'appartements/construction of apartments ____

l'immigration d'autres groupes ethniques/immigration of other
ethnic groups ____

l'émigration des Français/out-migration of the French ____

l'assimilation des Français/assimilation of the French ____

autre/other _____

c. Est-ce que vous connaissez le type de zonage de l'endroit
dans quel vous demeurez actuellement/do you know the type
of zoning that applies to this area ?

oui/yes ____

non/no ____

G. COMMENTAIRES/COMMENTS

Appendix B
SUMMARY TABLE OF SELECTED RESULTS

TABLE 23

Summary Table of Selected Results

	SAMPLE AREA				
	I	II	III		
			H.	R.	TOT.
HYPOTHESIS I					
Francophones	78.0%	78.0%	64.0%	37.0%	53.0%
HYPOTHESIS II					
Age (Highest categories)					
55-64	33.3%	29.6%	3.6%	0.6%	2.1%
25-34	14.8%	14.8%	17.9%	28.9%	23.4%
Marital Status					
married	77.8%	81.5%	57.1%	23.7%	40.4%
single	14.8%	7.4%	25.0%	43.0%	34.0%
widow	7.4%	3.7%	14.3%	6.9%	10.6%
separated	0	3.7%	0	4.3%	4.3%
divorced	0	3.7%	3.6%	17.8%	10.7%
Childless Couples	42.9%	47.6%	35.7%	37.9%	36.8%
Occupation (Highest categories)					
retired	37.0%	26.0%	30.4%	8.3%	19.2%
professional	22.2%	26.0%	8.7%	20.8%	14.9%
labourer	11.1%	14.8%	13.0%	25.0%	19.1%
clerical	7.4%	3.7%	4.3%	12.5%	10.6%
unemployed	3.8%	7.4%	21.8%	20.8%	21.2%
Education					
less than grade 10	11.1%	18.5%	30.4%	12.5%	21.3%
post-secondary non- university	14.8%	18.5%	26.1%	29.2%	27.7%
university degree	40.8%	18.5%	8.7%	4.2%	6.4%
Commitment and Preferences					
Membership					
City-wide	70.0%	70.0%	54.0%	46.0%	50.0%
Neighbourhood	95.0%	69.0%	46.0%	17.0%	31.5%
Don't Know Neighbours	4.0%	4.0%	17.0%	21.0%	19.0%
Friends in Area	70.0%	59.0%	52.0%	46.0%	49.0%

	I	II	III		
			H.	R.	TOT.
HYPOTHESIS II (continued)					
Family in Area	63.0%	41.0%	39.0%	38.0%	38.0%
Shopping Preferences					
groceries	92.6%	84.6%	73.9%	83.3%	78.7%
hardware	40.7%	30.8%	34.8%	33.3%	34.0%
clothing	3.7%	0	4.4%	4.2%	4.3%
appliances	18.5%	15.4%	13.0%	8.3%	10.6%
Recreation in Area	78.0%	62.0%	52.0%	75.0%	64.0%
Entertain in Area	44.0%	69.0%	65.0%	33.0%	49.0%
HYPOTHESIS III					
Mobility					
renters	50.0%	100.0%			71.0%
homeowners	16.0%	29.0%			35.0%
Home Renovations	72.0%	71.0%	78.0%	-----	-----
Costs over \$7,000	49.0%	40.0%	47.0%	-----	-----
Assimilation (francophones only)					
acculturation	9.0%	23.0%	0	36.0%	9.0%
additive acculturation	0	27.0%	0	27.0%	13.0%
social identification	5.0%	0	13.0%	0	8.0%
Structural Assimilation					
intermarriage	7.0%	13.0%	13.0%	50.0%	27.0%
secondary group is					
French	100.0%	60.0%	62.0%	28.5%	50.0%
primary group is					
French	100.0%	75.0%	50.0%	67.0%	60.0%
involvement in a					
non-French					
organization	0	8.0%	17.0%	80.0%	46.0%
civic assimilation	30.0%	50.0%	46.0%	70.0%	57.0%

Appendix C
GLOSSARY OF TERMS

annexation: The process by which a municipality or other governing authority absorbs surrounding land and brings it under its jurisdiction.

building restrictions: Limitations on the erection of structures, on the material going into them, and on the way they are to be built. These may be codified, be written into deeds or other instruments, be statutory or contractual.

bulk regulations: Zoning or other regulations that, by controlling height, mass, density, and location of buildings, set a maximum limit on the intensity of development so as to provide proper light, air, and open space.

culture, material: The tangible product of the non-material culture of an ethnic group, such as a house, a ceremonial dress or food.

culture, non-material: A set of values, beliefs, norms, traditions and skills shared by an ethnic group.

C2: A zoning district which permits commercial uses serving both the day-to-day needs of persons living in adjoining residential areas, and general retail uses not con-

ducted on a day-to-day basis. It also includes all of the commercial uses usually found in central shopping districts.

downzoning: The rezoning of a parcel of land to a more restrictive zoning classification.

ethnic group: A collective of individuals with a shared feeling of peoplehood. These collectives can be differentiated by race, religion, national origin and nationality, or any combination of these.

ethnicity: Origins from the Greek word "ethnos", meaning "people" or "nation".

group, primary: Collection of persons, with whom the child is familiar with, which is personal, intimate, and usually face to face with the child. The child's family and his playmates are members of the primary group. This group informally socializes the child into the ethnic group.

group, secondary: Collection of persons which is impersonal, formal or casual, non-intimate, and segmentalized. The formal aspect of socialization occurs at this level. This group might include teachers and religious persons.

multiple dwelling: Generally a building composed of three or more dwelling units, usually having common access, service system, and use of land.

national origin: The origin of a person's ancestors. For example, if a child's parents are both from Italy, but he was born in Canada, then he is Italian by the fact that both of his parents and his parents' parents, etc. are from there. The child is Italian not because he was born in Italy, but because he has parents or other ancestors who were born in that country.

nationality: In the previous example, the child of the Italian couple is a Canadian by birth. The parents can become Canadians by applying for citizenship into this country. Both cases imply that these individuals belong to a country, and are recognized as being citizens of that country. Being Canadian means belonging to that country's list of citizens, and having certain duties (i.e. military service) and privileges (i.e. voting) to one's name.

nuisance: A nuisance is a kind of interference with a person's quiet enjoyment of his property--such as noise, vibration, smells and smoke. This interference, if limited to one person, is a private nuisance. A public nuisance is one that interferes with the comfort and convenience of the public, but it is not necessarily in connection with land use.

police power: The state's inherent right to regulate an individual's conduct or property to protect the health, safety, welfare, and morals of the community.

race: The differential concentration of gene frequencies responsible for traits which appear as physical manifestations such as skin colour or hair form. Examples of race are Caucasian, Negro and Mongoloid.

religion: A particular system of faith and worship such as Catholicism, Judaism and Protestantism.

restrictive covenant: A formal agreement or contract which binds the original purchaser of the land, and the subsequent land owners, to the clauses in the contract which will beneficially enhance the value of the land.

R1: A zoning district reserved primarily for single-family homes and land uses commonly associated with residential neighbourhoods, such as parks, day care facilities and institutional uses of a religious or educational nature.

R2: A zoning district permitting the development of two-family dwellings, as well as any use allowed in the R1 district.

R2-T: This zoning district is intended to regulate change in older low-density residential areas that are experiencing redevelopment to multiple-family land uses. The permitted uses in the R2-T district are identical to those in the R2 district.

R3: A zoning district reserved for multiple-family dwellings, apartment buildings and two-family dwellings only.

R4: A zoning district intended to accommodate the transition from low to medium density development in older neighbourhoods where such change appears to be suitable. All types of multiple-family residential development are permitted, as well as single-family and two-family dwellings, boarding and rooming houses, hotels and institutional uses.

R4B Planned Building Group: A zoning district which permits multiple-family dwellings at higher densities than the R4 district.

socialization: The act of non-material and material culture being passed down from one generation to the next by informal and formal ways of teaching and demonstrating.

standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA): As defined by the United States Bureau of Census in 1960, a county or group of contiguous counties that contains at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more; also contiguous counties essentially metropolitan in character and socially and economically integrated with the central city. In New England, the SMSA is defined on a town rather than county basis.

use: A planning term denoting the specific purpose for which land or a building is designed or occupied.

use, conditional: A use which, because of its unique characteristics, cannot be properly classified as a permit-

ted use in a district. Each zoning district contains a listing of authorized conditional uses. After consideration, in each case, of the impact of such use upon the neighbourhood and public need for such use, a conditional use may or may not be granted.

use, highest and best: The use of land to its maximum permissible development, one that will bring maximum profit to the owner. It is the use that would justify the highest payment for the land if offered for sale.

use, mixed: A variety of land uses in a section as distinguished from the isolated uses and planned separatism prescribed by many zoning ordinances.

use, non-conforming: A building or use that is inconsonant with a district's zoning regulations. If erected after the enactment of the ordinance it may be ordered removed. If in being before the enactment it may continue in use, but a new non-conforming or different non-conforming use may not be substituted. Nor is its extension or enlargement permissible if the ordinance so provides. Many ordinances permit the rebuilding of the non-conforming premises when destroyed by fire. Once the use is abandoned, however, the right to its restoration falls, and the future use of the premises must conform to the zoning.

variance: The granting of relief from the terms or conditions of a building or zoning law by a public agency vested with the power to authorize it.

zone, transition: A zoning designation intended to guide the orderly conversion of an area from one predominant use to another, usually residential to higher-density residential and commercial.

zoning: In general, the demarcation of a city by ordinance into zones and the establishment of regulations to govern the use of the land and the location, bulk, height, shape, use, and coverage of structures within each zone.

zoning, spot: The designation of an isolated parcel of land for a use classification harmful to or inconsonant with the use classification of the surrounding area so as to favour a particular owner.

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