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A SURVEY OF TWO DOWN TOWN  
AREAS IN THE CITY OF WINNIPEG

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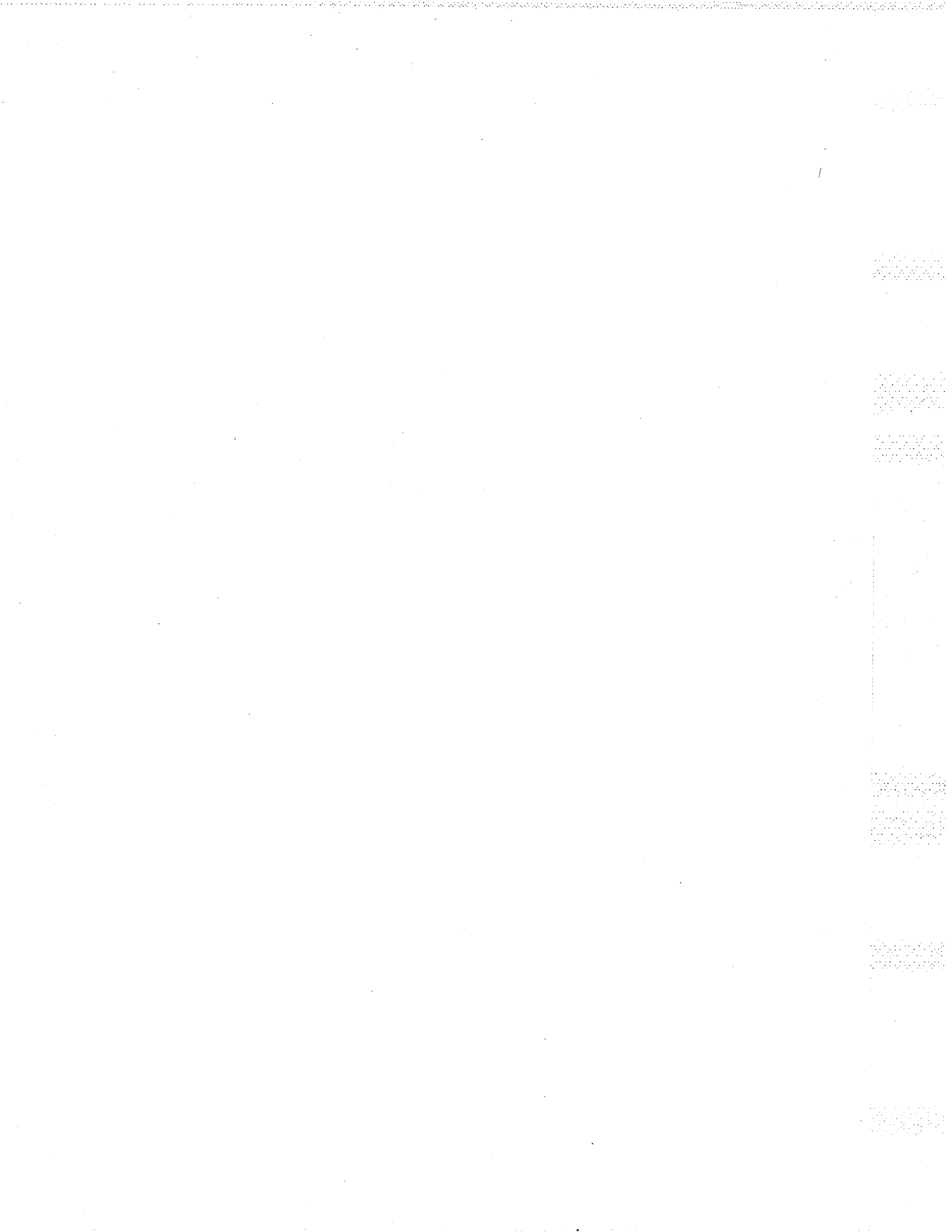
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## PREFACE

This survey attempts to present an integrated picture of two areas on the periphery of the central business district of the City of Winnipeg. The United Church Presbytery had expressed concern that the programs of their downtown Churches were no longer adequately serving the needs of the fluctuating population surrounding them, and based on this concern, a preliminary survey of all the downtown United Churches of Winnipeg was made in 1958. However, it was felt that a more complete study of the areas surrounding the Westminster United and Augustine United Churches respectively, should be undertaken, in order to gain a more comprehensive picture of the changes that were taking place, and thus to attempt to predict the future trends and needs in each area.

This study was undertaken by the second year post-graduate class in the School of Social Work, University of Manitoba, as a group research project in partial completion of the requirements for the Master's Degree in Social Work. Each of the 12 students undertook an individual study of one aspect of the total survey. Individual reports on these separate topics were written, and are available, on request, at the School of Social Work. This report is an amalgamated and condensed version of these 12 individual studies.

Although the limitation of space prevents our making detailed acknowledgements, we wish to express here our gratitude to all those who have helped us by their suggestions, criticisms, offers of source material and general assistance.

Special thanks are due to Mr. J. Pelletier and other staff members of the Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater Winnipeg, for the many hours of assistance and research they so generously provided.

In addition, may we mention the various social agencies and municipal

and provincial government departments who made their records and offices available to us, and the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg in particular for providing facilities and personnel for printing copies of this report.

Mention should also be made of the ministers and the congregations of the Westminster United and the Augustine United churches, who not only placed their records and offices at our disposal, but also provided volunteer personnel to aid in certain aspects of the study.

No acknowledgement of assistance would be complete without an expression of deep appreciation to our faculty thesis advisors, Professors M. Roger, M. Robbins and B. Hill, without whose assistance this project could not have been completed.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE .....	ii
LIST OF TABLES .....	vi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	viii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION .....	1
Physical Characteristics	
Population Characteristics	
Social Problems	
Leisure Time Activities	
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE .....	11
Physical Characteristics	
Population Characteristics	
Social Problems	
Leisure Time Activities	
III. METHOD .....	30
Physical Characteristics	
Population Characteristics	
Social Problems	
Leisure Time Activities	
IV. ANALYSIS .....	51
Physical Characteristics	
History	
Land Use	
Types and Conditions of Buildings	
Population Characteristics	
Demographic Characteristics	
Mobility	
Social Problems	
Child Neglect	
Infant Mortality	
Juvenile Delinquency	
Economic Dependency	
Leisure Time Activities	
Westminster Area	
Augustine Area	

Chapter	Page
V. CONCLUSIONS .....	108
The Westminster Area	
The Augustine Area	
Leisure Time Activities in the Two Areas	
General Conclusions	
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	120
APPENDIXES .....	128
I. GENERAL LAND USE CLASSIFICATIONS	
II. WINDSHIELD SURVEY: CHECK LIST OF DEFICIENCY ITEMS	
III. SUMMARY OF ZONING REGULATIONS	
IV. MAPS	

## LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	1958 Land Use by Categories for the Augustine Area .....	65
2.	Changes in Land Use by Categories for the Augustine Area, 1930-1958 .....	67
3.	1958 Land Use by Categories for the Westminster Area....	68
4.	Changes in Land Use by Categories for the Westminster Area, 1930-1958 .....	69
5.	Multiple Occupancy in Dwellings .....	72
6.	Quality of Housing by Windshield Survey .....	73
7.	Population in Westminster and Augustine Areas, and in Winnipeg in the Years 1951 and 1956 .....	74
8.	Population by Sex in Westminster and Augustine Areas, and in Winnipeg for the Years 1951 - 1956 .....	75
9.	Population by Age in Westminster and Augustine Areas, and in Winnipeg for the Years 1951 - 1956 .....	76
10.	Population by Age Groups in Westminster and Augustine Areas, and Winnipeg in 1951 and 1956 .....	78
11.	Population by Marital Status in Westminster and Augustine Areas, and Winnipeg in the years 1951 and 1956 .....	79
12.	Average Size of Families in Westminster and Augustine Areas as Compared with Those of Winnipeg and Canada for the Years 1951 - 1956 .....	81
13.	Families by Number of Children in Westminster and Augus- tine Areas, and in Winnipeg in 1951 and 1956 .....	82
14.	Occupations in Westminster and Augustine Areas, and in Winnipeg in 1951 and 1956 .....	83
15.	Religious Denomination in Westminster and Augustine Areas in 1951 and 1956 .....	85
16.	Distribution of Population by Ethnic Origin in West- minster and Augustine Areas, and in Winnipeg in 1951..	87

Table		Page
17.	Percentage Distribution of the Population by Ethnic Origin in Westminster and Augustine Areas in 1951 and 1958 .....	88
18.	Rates of General Mobility for Westminster, Augustine Areas, and City of Winnipeg .....	89
19.	Outward Mobility for the Year 1957-1958 .....	90
20.	Direction of Mobility Out of the Area as Related to Change in Status for the Year 1957-1958 .....	91
21.	Distribution of Individuals by Age and Sex in the Westminster Area .....	99
22.	Income and Earnings of Head of Household for 1958 in the Westminster Area .....	100
23.	Participation in Leisure Time Activities by Category, Marital Status, and Sex (Westminster Area) .....	101
24.	Distribution of Individuals by Sex and Age in the (Augustine Area) .....	104
25.	Income and Earnings of Head of Household for 1958 (Augustine Area) .....	104
26.	Participation in Leisure Time Activities by Category, Marital Status, and Sex (Augustine Area) .....	105



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

(Will be found in Appendix IV)

Map

1. Zoning - Westminster Area.
2. Zoning - Augustine Area.
3. Land Use - Westminster Area.
4. Land Use - Augustine Area.
5. Quality of Housing by Windshield Survey - Westminster Area.
6. Quality of Housing by Windshield Survey - Augustine Area.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Over any period of years a city changes; the population increases or decreases in number and varies in composition; new houses are built, old houses are torn down, new industries and commercial enterprises appear, while others disappear. Such change is pervasive and inevitable. However, it is not a simple phenomenon; change in a city's structure does not take place in any uniform manner. It may occur quite dramatically in a sudden spurt of growth in an area, as a large housing development is built and families move in to form a new community. On the other hand, older districts of the city may appear to be almost static with little change in their outward appearance over many years.

This study is concerned with two such older areas of the city of Winnipeg. It was made by second year students in the School of Social Work, University of Manitoba, and arose out of interest aroused by some preliminary study done by the United Church of Canada. The Presbytery became concerned with the problem of how the down-town churches might better serve the people living in their immediate vicinity, because an earlier study had shown that a large proportion of the members resided at some distance from the individual churches.<sup>1</sup> It was realized that the churches knew very little about the people living in the areas adjacent to the church buildings, and that such knowledge was necessary to

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<sup>1</sup>United Church of Canada. Winnipeg Presbytery. Report of the Down Town Survey Committee of Winnipeg Presbytery, June 18, 1958, p. 40.

any kind of planning for the creation of new programs to serve them.

This type of study has generally been the field of sociologists. However, it is also of interest to social work which has traditionally been concerned with the relationship between man and his environment, and with the effects on the individual of environmental strains and stresses.

The two areas to be studied comprise two census tracts used by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for the purposes of census enumeration and analysis in the city of Winnipeg. They are tracts #34 and #38 and their respective boundaries are:

Tract #34: Starting from a point at Canora and Portage southerly along the centre of Canors Street extended to the Assiniboine River. Then easterly along the Assiniboine to a point where the centre line of Cornish Avenue, if extended, would intersect. Thence northeasterly along the centre line of Cornish to the intersection with Sherbrook Street and northerly along the centre line of Sherbrook to the corner of Sherbrook and Portage Avenue. Westerly along the centre line of Portage to the point of origin.

Tract #38: From the Osborne Street bridge along the Assiniboine River easterly to its junction with the Red River. Along the Red River southwesterly to Mulvey Avenue and along the centre line of Mulvey westerly to Osborne Street and then along the centre line of Osborne Street northerly to the point of origin.

As will be seen, Census Tract #34 forms part of the area immediately surrounding Westminster United Church while Census Tract #38 forms part of that surrounding Augustine. Thus, for easier identi-

fication, Census Tract #34 will henceforth be referred to as the Westminster area and Census Tract #38 as the Augustine area.

The study began from the hypothesis that these are areas in transition. The reference here is to the sociological theory that a city grows outward in concentric circles grouped around a central business district which forms the core.<sup>2</sup> The original residential districts surrounding this central business zone gradually change as the business district expands and encroaches upon them. These residential areas become less desirable and gradually deteriorate into slums or blighted areas. The original residents generally move away and are replaced by persons in the lower income groups, who are thus subject to economic strains and stresses as well as those of deteriorating and overcrowded housing. Furthermore, this later population tends to be made up of people, who are either on their way up or on their way down the scale of socio-economic status, and their residence in the area tends to be short because they move elsewhere as soon as conditions permit or require as the case may be. In other words areas in transition tend to have a mobile population.

The study was therefore designed to determine whether the usual characteristics of deteriorating areas were present in either the Westminster or the Augustine area and, if so, to what degree. Characteristics of these areas were grouped into four main classes: (1) Physical Characteristics, (2) Population Characteristics (3) the occurrence of Social Problems, and (4) Leisure Time Activities of the residents. The study

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<sup>2</sup>Ernest W. Burgess, "Growth of the City", The City, pp. 47-62.

thus had these four lines of enquiry, and the particular focus of each is detailed below.

### Physical Characteristics

The Physical characteristics of these two areas were studied over the period of 1941 to 1958. To do this, a number of segments in the continuum of development over this period of years was selected and used to describe the characteristics of the areas and to identify any trends in development that might be apparent. The areas were not compared to other areas in the city, but instead compared to themselves at these various points in the continuum.

Some further explanation of the term 'physical characteristics' would make the scope of this section of the study clearer. Without attempting a complete enumeration this term may be seen as indicating such items as geographical features, types and conditions of buildings and houses, land use and building use, zoning regulations, land values and assessments, traffic patterns, types of industry and commercial enterprises, and the location of parks, playgrounds and schools. In addition a general survey of the history of the areas, prior to 1940 was also included in this section. Particular reference was made here to the economic and social development of the tracts.

Stemming from the hypothesis of the study as a whole, certain questions about the physical characteristics were suggested:

(1) What was the original character of each of these areas? Had they changed, and if so, was this in the direction of deterioration?

(2) Was there mixed land use, I.E. were there various types of residential buildings combined with various commercial and industrial uses?

(3) What were the types and conditions of dwellings within these areas? Were they being used differently to what they were in the beginning? Was there a trend to multiple housing? Was the condition of dwellings deteriorating?

(4) Did main traffic arteries traverse residential areas?

#### Population Characteristics

That aspect of our study which was concerned with the characteristics of the people resident in the Westminster and Augustine areas had two objectives: namely: a study of certain demographical characteristics and a study of the mobility of the population.

The demographical characteristics which were analyzed and compared with those of Winnipeg proper included: sex, age, marital status, ethnic groups, occupation, employment and religious affiliation. The last named was not related to the hypothesis, but rather was considered as an enquiry of interest to the churches who requested the study. In so far as the remainder were concerned, it was considered that characteristics of areas in transition would be found if the composition of the population included higher proportions of those groups attracted by lower cost housing--childless married couples, young single adults, older persons on limited incomes, persons with occupations in the lower income ranges and, fairly recently arrived immigrants. The data concerned were mainly gathered from the Dominion Census for 1951 and 1956, from the Provincial Voter's Lists and, from a survey carried out in connection with the study of the leisure-time activities of the residents of the areas.

Mobility refers to the movement of the population; and the modern urban community is characterized by a fairly high degree of mobility. Much of this movement normally involves daily journeying from home to

school, to shop, to employment and to recreation. Recurring movement of this type makes a direct contribution to the maintenance of the established community structure. However movement involving change of residence generally disrupts the organization of social and economic relationships. This may be either an attribute or a liability to the community, depending upon the amount and the nature of the mobility.

The movement of the people in each area was examined for two separate one-year periods within the past decade, in order to establish whether the rate was increasing and whether it was higher than that for Winnipeg proper. The years 1951 and 1958 were selected for reasons that will be dealt with in Chapter III. Data respecting general mobility was obtained from the 1951 Dominion Census. Sources of data for a study of movement to and from areas of higher and lower status were: Henderson's Directory for 1957 and 1958, the Greater Winnipeg Telephone Directory for 1958 and material obtained from the Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater Winnipeg.

In other words two types of mobility were studied: general mobility, or the movement of people into and out of the two areas, and, vertical mobility, in which the movement resulted in a change of status for the individual or family concerned.

#### Social Problems

The third aspect of the study sought to determine the incidence of social problems in each of the Westminster and Augustine areas in the years 1955 to 1957 inclusive. Areas in transition tend to produce social problems at a rate higher than the average rate for the neighborhoods making up a total urban area. Thus a measure of the incidence of social problems can add to the knowledge of the characteristics of urban areas.

The study was confined to the incidence of those problems on which data could be obtained in the limited time available. These were the problems of child neglect, infant mortality, juvenile delinquency and economic dependency.

An attempt was made to measure the occurrence of these problems by measuring the demand for the services of the agencies established to deal with and to treat these problems. Specifically, the attempt was to measure that part of this demand which originated in each of the areas under study. Rating techniques were then used to compare this demand with that which originated in Greater Winnipeg with respect to juvenile delinquency, and in Winnipeg proper with respect to the other problems.

Both child neglect and juvenile delinquency have legal definitions outlined in statutes. The term "neglected" describes a state or condition in which a child may be found, and the various conditions which constitute neglect are defined in the Child Welfare Act.<sup>3</sup> Where a child under eighteen years of age is found in one of these conditions he may be removed from the custody of his parents, whereupon, a court hearing must be held to determine whether he is neglected within the meaning of the statute, and whether the right to his guardianship should be removed from his parents.

Infant mortality is universally measured by the number of deaths of infants under one year of age occurring per 1,000 live births in a given area over a given period of time. An infant mortality rate for each of the Westminster and Augustine areas and for Winnipeg proper was computed for the three year period 1955-57, on the basis of the data obtained from the Public Health Department of the City of Winnipeg.

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<sup>3</sup>Manitoba, Revised Statutes, 1954, Chapter 35.



According to the Juvenile Delinquents' Act, a juvenile delinquent is a boy or girl over seven and under the age of eighteen who is convicted of an offence under the Criminal Code, or under a provincial statute, or municipal by-law.<sup>4</sup> When he has been charged with an offence, the juvenile, of course, must appear in court so that it may be determined whether he actually committed the offence and, if so, what disposition is indicated.

The objective determination both of neglect and of delinquency then is made at a court hearing, and this was used by the research team, as the basis of the measure of the incidence of these two problems. The area of origin of the court hearing was determined by the address of the child involved. It should be noted that in the instance of both neglect and delinquency, court cases rather than individual children, were counted.

Economic dependency results when an individual must depend upon someone else to provide the basic necessities of life. In our society, the provision of these necessities to individuals in need, has come to be a function chiefly of government agencies, and the study of the incidence of dependency used the records of two such agencies--the Public Welfare Department of the City of Winnipeg and, the Mothers' Allowances Branch of the Manitoba Department of Health and Public Welfare. In the former instance, those cases registered in the Confidential Exchange<sup>5</sup> were counted, and the street address section of the Exchange was used to determine the number of cases which originated in the two areas under study. In the second instance, applications for Mothers' Allowances were counted, and the area of origin determined by the address given on the application.

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<sup>4</sup>Canada, STATUTES, 1929, Chapter 46.

<sup>5</sup>So that duplication of effort may be prevented, all cases referred to social agencies in the Greater Winnipeg area are registered in the Confidential Exchange, both alphabetically by name and by street address.

### Leisure Time Activities

The use of leisure time was studied because of the commonly accepted belief that "leisure is a part of life, and learning how to put it to the most satisfying use is part of learning how to live."<sup>6</sup> We attempted to examine whether the types of leisure time activities preferred by the individual<sup>7</sup> living in the area, indicated that there was a level of social participation similar to that found in an area in transition. The use of leisure time may bring a great contribution to positive and joyful living or, may result in artificiality or deterioration of community life. For this reason, we were interested in how the individuals living in the area spent their leisure time.

Today, leisure is a part of life and, increasingly, tends to gain a central rather than a peripheral place in the entire structure of human living. Also, participation in organized activities indicates an individual's involvement in the community which, in turn, may be an indication of community social organization or disorganization. It has been found that individuals, living in areas of transition, use their leisure time somewhat differently than individuals in other areas. In the transition areas, individuals participate to a lesser degree in organized community activities. The study of a community, without including the use made of leisure time would therefore, be incomplete, and would provide a distorted picture of community life.

For the purpose of this study we have defined leisure time as that time not spent in the pursuit of the major role in life. Major role refers

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<sup>6</sup>C. Gilbert Wrenn and D.L. Harley, Time on Their Hands.

<sup>7</sup>The term "individuals", in the section of this study devoted to leisure time; refers to all persons five years of age and over.

to that part of an individual's life which is directed toward meeting the body's physical needs, i.e. eating, sleeping, and meeting his or her most important responsibilities, including caring for children. Childrens' major role was considered to be, attending school and performing the household duties required of them by their parents.

The method of directly interviewing a random sample of the individuals through the use of a schedule was employed to obtain data leading to an answer to the question: Do the types and frequency of the individuals' leisure time activities indicate that the area in which they live is in transition? More specifically: Do the individuals show a lesser degree of participation in formally organized community activities than in the less informal types?

Chapter II deals with background material related to this study. In it there is a discussion of related studies which have been made on various characteristics of areas in transition, that helped shape the approach taken here.

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## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The profession of Social Work has traditionally been interested in problems which arise in the area of the relationship between man and his environment.

Social work has as its goal to help people to live in social concord with others. Its function therefore, involves the treatment of problems, personal or social, that hinder or prevent a person remaining in, or becoming adapted to, the social order in which he lives. The treatment of these problems calls for services geared to meet the specific demands of each problem for a solution.

Thus social work research in the area of the occurrence of social problems, has usually been to try to establish the extent to which the occurrence of problems may be an index of the need for social services.

With regard to social problems, sociologists have studied the occurrence of these to learn what this may show about man's functioning in different environments, and thus, to what extent they may be indices of a particular type of environment.

It seemed important to know what relationship existed between the physical structure of a city-area and its population, the occurrence of social problems and the use of leisure time. We therefore relied heavily on sociological studies of city areas and their characteristics.

It appeared that the deteriorating area in a city had its own geographical location, and, where such an area was found, the characteristics and mobility of its population also were peculiar to it. Social problems

such as: child neglect, infant mortality, juvenile delinquency, and economic dependency, were found to be valid measures to determine the transitory character of an area. Use of leisure time also had its ties with such areas.

### Physical Characteristics

Several theories have been advanced to describe the growth of a city and to indicate how various zones developed in relation to its growth.

Attempts have been made to describe the locations and shapes of residential areas of the city as ideal spatial patterns. The best known of these attempts - the concentric zone hypothesis of Burgess - pictures certain types of population areas as having typical locations in respective zones that center in the central business district.,. A second general explanation (by Hoyt) known as the sector theory, attempts to explain not the original location of population areas, but the shape of their growth and their later location as the city expands; this explanation rests almost entirely on impersonal sifting and sorting into income categories. A third general description starts from the assumption that several areas of commercial and industrial dominance occur within the metropolis and that the distribution of residential areas cannot be understood apart from the influence of these dominant centers.<sup>1</sup>

"The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community" as developed by McKenzie<sup>2</sup>, is an approach to which the study is closely associated, particularly in regard to his concept of human ecology.

McKenzie defines human ecology as:

A study of the spatial and temporal relations of human beings as affected by the selective, distributive, and accomodative forces of the environment. Human ecology is fundamentally interested in the effect of position (his italics), in both time and space, upon human institutions and human behaviour.<sup>3</sup>

For the purposes of the study then, the theory which seems to be most meaningful, and which is an elaboration of McKenzie's concept, is that of E.W. Burgess. Burgess worked out a systematic concept of the ecological distribution and succession of natural areas in urban communities, at least as seen in most American cities.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>James A. Quinn, Urban Sociology, pp. 115-116.

<sup>2</sup>R.D. McKenzie, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community", The City, pp. 63-79.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, pp. 63-64.

<sup>4</sup>E.W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project", The City, pp. 47-62,

Burgess' theory is concerned with "the radial character of city growth, or the tendency of a community to outward expansion from its center."<sup>5</sup> Various other factors that affect the spatial distribution of residences must also be taken into account, but the theoretical zones outlined by Burgess should be examined briefly first.

There are 5 basic zones described, but only the first three are of primary concern, since the two areas under study border on the theoretical zone I, and apparently have some characteristics of zone II and some of zone III. As outlined by Burgess in Smith and White, they are:

Zone I - The Central Business District is located at the hearts of the city as the focus of its commercial, social, and civic life. It includes the downtown retail district and the headquarters of economic, social, civic, and political life. "Encircling this area of work and play is the less well-known wholesale business district with its 'market', and its warehouses, and storage buildings."

Zone II - The Zone in Transition - surrounding the central business district are areas of residential deterioration caused by the encroaching of business and industry from Zone I. This may therefore be called a zone in transition, with a factory district for its inner belt and an outer ring of retrogressing neighborhoods of first settlement immigrant colonies, of rooming-house districts, of homeless men areas, of resorts of gambling, bootlegging, sexual vice and of breeding places of crime.

Zone III - The Zone of independent workingmen's homes - this third broad urban ring is, in Chicago, as well as in other northern industrial cities, largely constituted by neighborhoods of second immigrant settlement. Its residents are those who desire to live near but not too close to their work. In Chicago, it is a housing area neither of tenements, apartments, nor of single dwellings; its boundaries have been roughly determined by the plotting of the two flat dwelling, generally of frame construction, with the owner living on the lower floor with a tenant on the other.<sup>6</sup>

According to Zorbaugh:

The concentric circles, or zones, represent the typical structure of a modern commercial and industrial city, of course, no city quite conforms to this ideal scheme. Physical barriers such as rivers, lakes, rises of land, and the like may modify the growth and structure of the city... Railroads, with their belts of industry, cut through this generalized

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<sup>5</sup> E.W. Burgess, "Urban Areas", Chicago, An Experiment in Social Science Research, p. 113.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, pp. 114-115.

scheme, breaking the city up into sections, and lines of local transportation, along the more travelled of which grow up retail business streets, further modify the structure of the city.

The structure of the individual city, then, while always exhibiting the generalized zones described before, is built about this framework of transportation, business organization and industry, park and boulevard systems, and topographical features. All these tend to break up the city into numerous smaller areas, which we may call Natural Areas, in that they are an unplanned, natural product of the cities' growth.<sup>7</sup>

Topography is a chief factor in complicating the zonal pattern of urban formation and has special significance for the study. Natural barriers, such as rivers, at once modify the scheme of concentric circles and may prevent to a degree the free movement of business, industry, and population. In Winnipeg, for instance, Zone II would be more of a semi-circle than a full circle and extends more to the north and east of the central business district than it does to the south and west. The Augustine area would ordinarily be part of Zone II, were it not that the river has acted as a natural barrier.

Because a description of a zone in transition that could be strictly comparable to the areas under study could not be found, reports of various community studies of other major cities were read, with a view to finding some descriptions and criteria which could also be applied to the areas under study. In the many studies, it was found that the criteria used to determine whether an area was blighted or deteriorated were essentially the same.

As put forth in the Montreal study, they state:

A residential section can depreciate for several reasons; however, the main factors more definitely establishing the degree of deterioration of any one district are: age of buildings, sanitary conditions of dwellings, absence of community services, and traffic.<sup>8</sup>

The Vancouver study<sup>9</sup> lists quality of housing as another criterion and

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<sup>7</sup>Harvey W. Zorbaugh, The Gold Coast and the Slum, p. 231.

<sup>8</sup>City of Montreal, Proposed Redevelopment of a Blighted Residential Area and Construction of Low Rental Housing, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup>City of Vancouver Planning Dept., Vancouver Redevelopment Study,

adds that incompatible land uses are a further indication of blight. Their statement that "one of the most conspicuous defects of early unregulated growth in a city is the conglomeration of different land uses usually found on the fringe of its central core,"<sup>10</sup> is directly applicable to the Augustine area.

The Vancouver study also concerns itself with some description of areas on the fringe of an actual slum and delineates the factors that contribute to deterioration. They contend that:

Areas that are liable to deterioration over the next twenty years are characterized by housing that is predominantly old and of fair quality with a scattering throughout of visibly blighted structures. Besides the adverse effect of such structures on neighboring properties, certain features of the environment and of the site layout may threaten the stability of an area. Evidence of deterioration, both actual and potential, was observed most frequently in association with:

- (a) Excessive crowding of structures on the land resulting from narrow lot frontages.
- (b) An unsatisfactory subdivision pattern for the area or certain unfavorable topographical features such as poorly drained land or houses, below grade level.
- (c) Conversions of single family dwellings to multiple occupancy.
- (d) The lack, or unsuitable location of basic neighborhood facilities, such as schools, shopping centres, parks and playgrounds.<sup>11</sup>

Armed with these facts, the study of the two areas was given direction and focus. On this basis, the characteristics of the areas could be more readily determined, and some idea could be gained of the direction which their growth is taking.

#### Population Characteristics

The literature on the demographic characteristics of population and its residential location within a city is very rich, as the history of surveys of population distribution, and of social surveys in general, goes even further back than our Christian era. Countless systematic social investigations were

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid, p. 25,

<sup>11</sup>Ibid, p. 28.



made through the ages in various parts of the world. A series of surveys on a smaller or greater scale was also undertaken in a variety of American and Canadian communities. Particularly during the last several decades, interest in studies of the community in all its aspects received renewed impetus. This development occurred as a result of complicated social problems following World War I, economic depression in the 1930's, then World War II, and postwar readjustment of families, individuals, and social and economic institutions.

Several authors have made an attempt to determine the residential distribution of people within a city, and to describe the characteristics of a population living in a deteriorating area. More fully, however, the characteristics of the area in deterioration or in transition, at least as far as the demographic characteristics of the people is concerned, were outlined by Queen and Thomas in their book "The City".<sup>12</sup>

According to these authors, the people living in an area in transition have low and irregular incomes. They are largely unskilled labourers, though some are ill-paid white collar workers and others make their living by unconventional means. Employed women and unemployed men are relatively more numerous than in most parts of the city. Dependency rates are high. Other features that characterize the population of this area are a sex ratio with many more males than females; a small percentage of children; many old men but a predominance of young unmarried adults. Sociologically, the area in transition is characterized by large numbers of unattached individuals.

Occupations include day labourers, domestic servants, clerks, waitresses, artists, young men and women who have just started out for themselves, "bohemians", old residents in the city, and recent arrivals from other countries.

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<sup>12</sup>Stuart A. Queen and Lewis F. Thomas, The City, pp. 339-347.

As for social groups, families are relatively few, small, and quite varied, frequently broken by desertion; there are few children or none and great numbers of divorced and deserted people.

Heterogeneity also marks the area in transition, and the population is highly mobile. This area is also characterized by a relatively high percentage of people belonging to minority ethnic groups. This statement is based on the fact that, by and large, the immigrants are of low socio-economic status and, therefore, many of them have to be satisfied, at least temporarily, with the lowest possible standard of living. Consequently, they settle in living quarters with minimum rentals. This low rent can only be provided by a deteriorating area which has been abandoned by people of a higher economic class.

But it is also true that many other factors besides purely economic forces determine the people's choice of residence. These other forces are psychological and often play a significant, or even deciding, role in spatial distribution of people. Social and cultural factors, and ethnic prejudice certainly are other forces that should be considered in an attempt to understand the distribution of people within the city. Due to these factors, many of the population belonging to minority ethnic groups, are retained within an environment, or tend to gravitate to areas populated by others of similar race, culture, or social status, even after they have become differentiated with regard to occupation, income or economic status.

In other words, there is no one simple formula to determine the distribution of people, as human behaviour is a result of an interplay of various external as well as internal forces.

Any study of the population in a particular area may be strictly demographic (age, sex, origin), social (education, religious, marital status), or economic (income, rental value of home, occupation). Information about the demographic composition of population is obviously most important in understanding many aspects of the organization of community life.

The ratio of the sexes affects social and economic conditions in a variety of ways. Obviously, if there are more males than females of marital age, there will generally be a smaller proportion of married men than in a population where there is an excess of females. A high proportion of males means more workers available for heavy work. The sex ratio is also an important factor in determining the death rate of any population, as women generally have a lower death rate than men at most ages.

With only a few exceptions, every population has persons of all ages in it, but most communities differ from one another to a greater or lesser extent in their age composition. If the differences are large enough, they affect the social and economic conditions in a variety of ways. It is obvious that when such differences in age composition exist, they will help to account for many other differences in social conditions.

Differences between areas as to marital status of the inhabitants are substantial, and like all other characteristics, they change from one district to another. The demographic significance of the differences in marital condition is to be found chiefly in their effect on birth and mortality rates. Both males and females who are married have lower death rates than single, widowed, and divorced persons of the same sex. Marital status also has its direct and indirect consequences on likelihood of children being born, housing needs, recreation patterns, as well as on future needs for public utilities, school facilities and others.

Among all the social attributes of a group within an area, occupation is one of prime importance. A person's occupation will determine to a large degree his status in society, and will affect his whole family. It has been generally recognized that an area which has a high incidence of persons with low status occupations, such as labourers, is generally deteriorating, and vice-versa.

There was a time when religious affiliation was a person's most important distinguishing characteristics. Although they may have changed to a large degree, the religious composition of the population is still of optimum importance.

Religious influences become inextricably interwoven with other cultural patterns and thus may exert great influence over behaviour even though there may be little awareness on the part of individuals of the operation of religious motives as such.<sup>13</sup>

The ethnic affiliations of the people also become matters of prime importance. Where there are language groups they are almost certain to be distinguished from one another by certain other cultural characteristics, such as religious beliefs, marriage customs, habits and so forth, which make it difficult to weld together all the groups living within a given area. Each foreign-born group brought with it certain customs and traditions which tend to create at least a temporary barrier between it and the people already here. Diversity of origin tends to create diversity of outlook on many political and social questions.

Another factor in helping to understand many social problems in a particular area, is the rate of mobility of its population. Gist and Halbert<sup>14</sup> stated that urban areas presenting social problems in an exaggerated form are frequently areas of excessive residential mobility. A number of studies on this topic have emphasized the positive relationship

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<sup>13</sup> Warren S. Thompson, Population Problems, p. 113.

<sup>14</sup> Noel P. Gist and L.A. Halbert, Urban Society, p. 272.

between a high rate of residential mobility and a lowering of social and economic standards in a community. In areas of the city where the movement in and out and the rate of residential change is relatively low, neighborhood life still exists with much of its traditional vigour. People are residentially established and thus have time to develop interest in, and relationships with, those who live near them. Mutual concern over school, church, recreation and cultural advantages, all draw groups together, and community activity develops and is sustained.

However, when mobility increases beyond moderate bounds, there develops a widening in the divergence of occupations, social activities and interests. Neighborhood life tends to decline because individuals and families have not sufficient time to become established and to develop mutual interest in their neighbors or the community. In areas where there is a high rate of residential mobility, neighborhood life all but disappears. An excessive amount of mobility is frequently linked with social problems.

There are available at the present time a number of fairly exhaustive systematic studies of various cities. These studies would all appear to indicate that there is a positive relationship between the socio-economic status of the individual and his residential location within the city; that low rental units tend to be concentrated toward the centre of the city, whereas high rental units tend to be concentrated toward the periphery of the city, and that the area adjacent to the central business district is populated almost entirely by the people of the lowest socio-economic level.

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All these studies would also indicate that, among other factors, there is a positive relationship between a high rate of residential mobility and proximity to the central business zone, multi-family dwellings, decrease in social and economic status, and deterioration of a neighborhood.

### Social Problems

Some sociologists use the term "personal disorganization" to describe the types of problems, the occurrence of which we sought to study.<sup>15</sup> Personal disorganization both contributes to, and reflects, social disorganization. The latter results when individuals do not abide by the traditionally recognized patterns of behaviour pertaining to the role in which they are presumably functioning. Social disorganization is seen as the natural consequence, as well as the natural condition, of social change.

More recently, sociologists view social change normal, and some of its results may be better social conditions than those that preceded it. These sociologists prefer to think of problems, resulting from behaviour that is at variance with established cultural norms, as problems of deviant behaviour.<sup>16</sup>

Sociological studies of deviant behaviour, which have included the spot-mapping of deviants by place of residence, have revealed that, on the whole, certain types tend to be concentrated in specific urban areas.

Rates of conventional crime, juvenile delinquency, mental illness in general and schizophrenia in particular, suicide, prostitution, vegeancy, dependency, illegitimacy, and infant mortality, have all been found to vary with the areas of the city.

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<sup>15</sup>See, e.g., Ernest Mowrer, Disorganization: Personal and Social, p. 26.

<sup>16</sup>John F. Cuber, Sociology: A Synopsis of Principles, p. 83.

The highest rates occur in those areas which are in transition, and, proceeding outward from these areas, the rates of occurrence become significantly lower.

Thus the rate of deviant behaviour can be an index of the degree to which other phenomena found in areas in transition are present.<sup>17</sup>

Social workers, in seeking to find an index which would measure the need for social services, have also tended to study the rate of occurrence of similar problems of deviant behaviour.

One such index is based on the occurrence of crime, delinquency, divorce, mental disease, mental deficiency, neglect and illegitimacy.<sup>18</sup>

A study of need in Cleveland used another sort of index based on the factors: average monthly rental, population density, visiting nurse cases, rates of new cases of Tuberculosis, infant mortality, sub-standard housing, over-crowded housing, child neglect and dependency, juvenile delinquency, private family service cases, and relief cases.<sup>19</sup>

It appeared logical to assume, then, that those urban areas where the incidence of deviant behaviour was the highest, would also be those with the greatest need for health and welfare services and thus, those where the greatest demand for these services would originate.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 83 See also James A. Quinn, Human Ecology, pp. 402-403.

<sup>18</sup> Community Chests and Councils of America, Social Breakdown: An Outline of Procedures for Compiling Social Breakdown Data.

<sup>19</sup> Virginia White, Measuring Social Need, p. 4.

### Child Neglect

Neglectful parents suffering from a great deal of insecurity and having had parents who were poor examples of adequate parental functioning, are poorly equipped to function adequately in the many roles required by our society, such as those of: marital partner, parent, breadwinner, housewife, and so on.

Families with neglectful parents, therefore, are often beset by other problems including economic dependency, marital difficulties and problems which cause them to become offenders under the criminal law.

Thus, one would expect that areas which produce a high rate of these other problems, will also produce a high rate of child neglect.

None of the sociological studies consulted, had used child neglect, as an index of social problems. However, to the extent that it is an index of family disintegration, it would seem that it would conform to the pattern of spatial distribution of this phenomenon.

The foremost researcher in this field appears to have been Mowrer who studied, along with other phenomena, the spatial distribution of family disintegration in Chicago in the period 1929-1935.<sup>20</sup>

He used divorce and non-support as his indices of family disintegration. He found that the rate was highest in those areas which were most highly urbanized, hotel and boarding-house districts, and the more congested apartment areas.<sup>21</sup> Illegitimacy was also one of the phenomena

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<sup>20</sup> Mowrer, op. cit., pp. 474-517.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 517.



studied by Mowrer. He found that the rate in the Loop area was comparatively high.

The study involving the measure of need for welfare services in Cleveland, which has already been referred to (above, page...), included child neglect, as computed on the basis of the number of cases heard in Juvenile Court per 1,000 households in the area, ranged from a high of 30 for the central area to a low of 0.5 for a peripheral area. It followed the pattern of most of the other factors which tended to occur at higher rates in the Central and Downtown areas.

### Infant Mortality

In the report of his study of Seattle, Calvin Schmid says:

To many students in the field of public health, infant mortality is considered to be "one of the most sensitive indices of the healthfulness of environment" as well as of social welfare.<sup>22</sup>

In his study, Schmid spot-mapped the occurrence of various phenomena including the incidence of infant mortality. A comparison of Schmid's maps for infant mortality rates and his maps for age of dwelling units, shows some relationship between infant mortality, age of housing and density of dwelling units.

On the whole, those census tracts with the highest percentage of dwellings over twenty five years of age and with the highest percentage of dwellings with over 1.51 persons per room, tended to be the census tracts with the highest infant mortality rates.<sup>23</sup>

White, in her study quoted under child neglect above, found a high correlation between infant mortality and child neglect.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Calvin Schmid, Social Trends in Seattle, p.198. The quotations mark are Schmid's

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 200, 219, 220 and 240.

<sup>24</sup>White, op. cit., pp. 34-36.

Juvenile Delinquency.

Juvenile Delinquency is generally considered to be a social problem. We think of it as a deviation from normal social patterns. The breaking of the social code is indicative of a conflict between the person and this code. It is a conflict between personal standards developed through identification with "code-bearers", e.g. parents, teachers, group leaders, religious leaders, etc., on the one hand, and the group standards of society on the other.

There are several social factors that influence the social personality. Is the environment a determining factor in the occurrence of juvenile delinquency?

From a sociological point of view, it is true that certain environments present so many incitements to deviation from socially accepted standards, that some people will almost inevitably succumb.

Is the environment a cause of deviant social behaviour?

Herbert A. Bloch and Frank T. Flynn in: "Delinquency, The Juvenile Offender in America Today", refer to a statement made by Dr. Bernhard Glueck: "..an environmental factor may never be accepted as a cause until it becomes a motive".<sup>25</sup>

We may interpret this as meaning that the environment is not a contributing factor of delinquency unless, through the inter-action between the personality of the delinquent and the environment as an outer impulse, the impulse is transformed into a motive for delinquent behaviour.

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<sup>25</sup> Herbert A. Bloch and Frank T. Flynn, Delinquency: The Juvenile Offender in America Today, p. 72.

In the culmination of their ten years of intensive research on the causal factors of delinquency, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck concluded that the character of the family situation had more to do with creating delinquency than residence in a slum area, or exposure to "conflicting cultures", or membership in a large family.

If the neighborhood, and especially the deteriorating neighborhood, was a causative factor, the incidence of delinquency should be disproportionate to all other neighborhoods. However, we find that many children living in such a neighborhood do not become delinquent. Although the deteriorating neighborhood may not be a causative factor, it seems to gather families from which juvenile delinquent behaviour more readily emanates. The child in such a family seems to be too weak to withstand the clashing of the adverse and disorganizing environment with its personality, and reacts with delinquent behaviour.

Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, in their classical study "Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas", found that the higher rates of juvenile delinquency occurred in the inner zones of the city and were lower in the outer zones.

Other studies made respecting the geographical distribution of juvenile delinquency in urban areas, all bear out the fact that the incidence of juvenile delinquency is highest in the areas of the "low neighborhood", or areas in transition.

#### Economic Dependency

Researchers have devoted efforts to the study of economic dependency as an expression of economic need in relation to other community social problems.

Shaw and McKay, in their study on juvenile delinquency, also used the relief rate as a measure of economic level and found a high correlation between the rate of juvenile delinquency and the percentages of families on relief. Supported by their findings in several cities, they concluded that the percentages of families on relief was perhaps the most satisfactory index available of the relative economic levels of areas.<sup>26</sup> They found that most of the areas with low rates of dependency are on the periphery of the city and that the areas with high rates of dependency are near the city's centre.

Bowers, in his study on the ecological patterning of Rochester, found that there was a high correlation coefficient between the percentage of families on relief and male juvenile delinquency, child neglect, foreign born, population density, size of family, birth rate, death rate and tuberculosis rate.<sup>27</sup>

In general, previous research has tended to show that financially dependent families, or families on relief, tend to concentrate more in areas where juvenile delinquency and other forms of social maladjustment are prevalent.

None of the previous research has been able to show direct cause-effect relationships. Rather, the picture is of relative concentration of a number of social problems in arbitrarily chosen areas, many of which are on the periphery of the down-town areas in American cities.

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<sup>26</sup> Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, p. 274.

<sup>27</sup> Raymond V. Bowers, "Ecological Patterning of Rochester", American Sociological Review, p. 183.

### Leisure Time Activities

With the increasing amount of leisure time that has resulted from present day automation, there has developed an increasing interest in studying the uses made of leisure time. Researchers have been interested mainly in determining patterns of leisure time activities among the various status groups in society, and there appear to be definite patterns of leisure time activities for the various status groups. The use of leisure appears to be a function of class position.

From observing the society in which we live, it appears that explicit recognition is given to the assumption that active participation by members of groups is essential to the achievement of the group ends, if not to group survival itself.

Stuart A. Queen reported on a study of social participation which made three assumptions concerning individual involvement in the community.<sup>28</sup> The first was that the maintenance of a neighborhood or a community as a social group is closely related to the active participation of the citizens of that area. Following from this is the belief that there is a wide range of differences in social participation and that persons whose degree of participation is high are especially important for the survival and success of many groups and institutions. Thirdly, and most significantly, is the assumption that areas in which social participation languishes are also those in which indices of social disorganization are high. These three assumptions, when considered as a whole suggest that

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<sup>28</sup>Stuart A. Queen, "Social Participation in Relation to Social Disorganization", American Sociological Review.

social disorganization which occurs in areas in transition is inversely related to the degree of participation and involvement of the citizens in their community life. The greater the participation and involvement the less there is of social disorganization, and the less there is of participation and involvement the greater the social disorganization.

Leonard Reissman<sup>29</sup> concluded from a study he conducted that the middle class citizens of our society had a higher degree of participation and involvement in the community. The middle class citizen was more active in formal organizations, attended church more frequently, and had more social contacts outside the kinship groups.

A study conducted by H. Macdonald, C. McGuire, and R.J. Havighurst<sup>30</sup> on the relation between leisure activities and the socioeconomic status of children, revealed that the use of leisure time is a learned phenomenon. There was little differentiation of activities between the different status groups of the younger child but differentiation increased as age increased. The differentiation was in the direction of the pattern of activities for their parents and the status group in which the family was situated.

The use of leisure, then, is learned and is an indication of healthy or unhealthy social organization. Active participation and involvement in formally organized activities suggests a healthy condition of social organization and produces leaders for the future. Little participation by citizens in such activities suggests an unhealthy state of social organization and fails to provide leaders for the future.

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<sup>29</sup>Leonard Reissman, "Class, Leisure, and Social Participation", American Sociological Review, pp. 76-84.

<sup>30</sup>H. Macdonald, C. McGuire and R.J. Havighurst, "Leisure Activities and the Socioeconomic Status of Children". American Journal of Sociology.

## Chapter III

### METHOD

As has already been explained in Chapter I, this study was broken down into 4 broad categories for the purpose of studying a number of selected characteristics of 2 census tracts. These 4 categories:

(1) Physical Characteristics (2) Population Characteristics (3) Social Problems, and (4) Leisure Time Activities, required very different kinds of information. Therefore, the nature of the data sought, and the methods used to collect them, were different, and are outlined in four separate sections. There are also specific sub-sections, dealing with sources, definitions and limitations pertaining to the particular methods of study.

#### Physical Characteristics

The object of this section was to present a history of the development of these 2 areas in 1940, and to study the land use and the types and conditions of the buildings over the period 1941 to 1958. To do this, a number of segments in the continuum of development over this period was selected and these cross-sections were used to describe the characteristics of the areas and to identify any trends in development that were apparent. The areas were not compared to any other areas in the city, so that data was not gathered for the city as a whole. However, some general history of the city was obtained, to serve as background.

The hypothesis of the study was that these areas are in transition.

Having established what are the criteria of transition, these criteria indicated a number of subquestions which needed to be answered by data collection, before the hypothesis could be proved or disproved.

In studying the physical characteristics of these areas, answers were needed to such questions as: Have the categories and proportions of land use undergone any change, and is there a trend toward more mixed land use? Are the areas criss-crossed by heavily travelled arterial and transit routes? Does their accessibility to the central business district render them vulnerable to encroachment by commerce and industry as well as multiple-housing for a transient population? Has there been a trend from single family residences to multiple occupancy? Are there any evidences of deterioration in the conditions of housing? Has there been a trend to fewer owner-occupied houses?

Historical research also encompassed the above questions, although the material was necessarily qualitative rather than quantitative, since specific data was not available. It was also concerned with such questions as: When were the areas first settled and for what reason? In what way did the economic and areal growth of the city as a whole effect the growth of the areas? Were there any visible signs of change in these areas prior to 1940?

Stemming from the subquestions pertaining to the physical characteristics of the areas in the period 1941-1958, material was gathered in the following main areas:

- (1) the amount and proportion of land use in each of the seven major land use categories.

- (2) the types of streets and transit routes.



- (3) the numbers and types of buildings
- (4) The range of assessments of dwellings
- (5) the amount of multiple occupancy
- (6) the number of dwellings occupied by the owner.
- (7) the quality of the dwellings in the areas
- (8) the zoning regulations

Each of these categories was seen as offering some degree of evidence towards proving or disproving the hypothesis. Each was connected with the various criteria of deterioration mentioned in Chapter II.

#### General Limitations

There were certain limitations which were immediately apparent at the beginning of the study. Some of the material was simply not available for past years and only current data could be gathered. This was particularly true in gathering historical material, where it became apparent immediately that no histories had been written of the two areas specifically, nor were they referred to very often in histories of Winnipeg or Manitoba, except in a very general way. This was also true of the study of physical characteristics in the last period studied. Only current data was available for questions #4, #7, and #8 (Listed on Page 32). For question #1 on land use, the only land use maps available were from 1958 and 1930, although it had been hoped that maps could be found from the 1940's.

There were more specific limitations discovered as data was collected and these are described in more detail under the eight sections following.

(1) Land Use

The basic source of information, with reference to land use, was the Greater Winnipeg Metropolitan Commission's Land Use Atlas which is kept up to date (1958). For the purposes of comparison, an earlier land use map was also sought but the only two found were 1956 and 1930 maps. The 1956 map was considered too recent from the standpoint of showing change, so that the 1930 map was selected for comparison with the 1958 map. This 1930 map had been compiled in that year by the City Surveyor's Office on the base of a 1914 map. The different categories of land use were computed from both maps in square feet and were then converted into acres for analysis of the data. The information concerning current land use was reproduced for this report (see maps).

The General Land Use Classifications used in this report were taken from the Metropolitan Planning Commission's "Guide to the Use of Color in Land Use Mapping."<sup>1</sup> (See Appendix I).

A number of adjustments had to be made to make the 1930 data conform to the categories referred to above. The map was considered obsolete, the color scheme for the land use classifications was different from that used in 1958, and there was no key to the use of the colors on the map. With the help of members of staff of the Greater Winnipeg Metropolitan Planning Commission, categories as represented on this map were tentatively identified. A further verification was made by comparing all the categories in the map with Hendersons' Directory for 1930. The category "residential" was broken down only into two sub-categories, one of single, two, three and four family dwellings, and the other of multiple or apartment dwellings.

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<sup>1</sup>Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater Winnipeg, Guide to the Use of Color in Land Use Mapping.

Hospitals and Nursing Homes, Churches, clubs, lodges, and public buildings were grouped together to form one sub-category.

As can be seen from the preceding information, there was the possibility of subjective judgement in calculating from this source material. However, the margin of error is thought to be slight, and for purposes of this report, was not expected to be so large as to invalidate the use of results for practical comparative purposes.

Area of land occupied by streets and alleys was also calculated from the 1958 map. The base map of the current atlas showed streets and alleys in existence prior to the building of the Mid-Town Bridge and Donald Street South. Therefore, it could be used for calculating the area occupied in 1930 as well.

## (2) Types of Streets

A survey of streets was made from the 1958 land use map and also from personal observation during a "windshield survey" referred to later in this chapter.

Streets were classified according to the function they perform as suggested in the Toronto Urban Renewal Study.<sup>2</sup> These classifications are:

- (a) Major through streets, bypassing residential areas, some carrying buses and light trucks, others designed for heavy trucking.
- (b) Residential access streets: these fall between the classification of major through streets, and circulation routes, and are used primarily to get into the residential area from a major thoroughfare.

- (c) Circulation routes within residential areas; considered as those streets which give access to the houses.

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<sup>2</sup>City of Toronto, Urban Renewal: A Study of the City of Toronto, 1956.

(3) The Numbers and Types of Buildings, and

(4) The Range of Assessments of Dwellings

There were a number of sources from which the data for #3 could be collected. The City of Winnipeg Assessment Rolls were selected as the most reliable source for this, and also because it could be recorded simultaneously with the data on assessments.

The coding system used in the Assessment Rolls, allowed a breakdown of dwellings into six categories as well as various commercial, industrial and other uses.

The data on assessments was recorded from the rolls for every structure in the two areas and then arranged in the tabular forms presented in the next chapter.

Unfortunately, at the time this survey was carried out, the new 1959 assessments, although prepared, were not yet available for public use. There may be, therefore, the occasional new building (particularly apartment blocks) not yet listed in the 1958 rolls. There would also be some down-grading of the building assessments to allow for depreciation.

It was not possible to obtain assessments from an earlier year for comparison.

(5) Multiple Occupancy, and

(6) Owner-Occupied Dwellings

Hendersons' Directories were selected as the best source for this data. Every block in the areas was surveyed for the years 1938, 1946, and 1958, and the owner-occupied and multiple-occupied dwellings enumerated. (The 1948 Directory did not indicate owner-occupancy, so that the 1946 Directory had to be used). Owner-occupied dwellings were identified in the Directories by an asterick. Multiple-occupied dwellings were defined by the research team as follows:

- a) those where more than one householder was recorded as living at the same address;
- b) those where two or more suites were listed under the same address, but excluding apartment blocks (which were distinguished by the fact that a block name preceded the list of suites);
- c) those addresses ending in one half as, for example, 398 $\frac{1}{2}$  River Avenue.

Although there were grounds for doubt as to the reliability of the material in the Directories, they offered the only readily available source for this data. Thus the data obtained can only be regarded as roughly indicating the trends in development.

#### (7) Quality of the Dwellings

This required setting up special survey procedures which were largely based on criteria laid down in the Vancouver study.<sup>3</sup> All dwellings (excluding apartment blocks) were covered by a "windshield survey", carried out by a team of 3 persons.

This survey - commonly referred to as a "windshield check" because it is carried out by car -- has been used in a number of cities and, despite its obvious limitations, has proved sufficiently reliable in the light of subsequent more detailed inspections to justify its use as a first measurement of housing quality.<sup>4</sup>

Four quality grades, based upon the degree of maintenance and state of repair, were distinguished in appraising each structure:

**GOOD:** Generally acceptable structures, not necessarily the most modern or fully up to standard, but still essentially free from any form of deterioration.

**FAIR:** Mediocre structures; no serious structural deficiencies but indifferent maintenance and state of repair.

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<sup>3</sup>City of Vancouver Planning Dept., Vancouver Redevelopment Study,

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p.22.

POOR: Structures which are either old, or of poor quality construction, or both, and showing evidence of disrepair.

VERY POOR: Serious structural deficiencies or marked dilapidation, or both.

The above standards, taken from the Vancouver study, were used as the initial basis for judgement of each structure. In borderline cases, reference was made to a list of deficiency items (see Appendix II) which specified the particular factors present in substandard housing.

This type of survey has very definite limitations. Firstly, although standards were set up, the judgements themselves were subjective. Houses can fall in the borderline between two categories and may be rated differently by different observers. Secondly, the judgements were based entirely on external appearances and did not take into account such factors as the quality of the interior, the adequacy or inadequacy of sanitary facilities, the amount of room-space per person and so on. Despite these limitations, this type of survey did give quick, comprehensive, though rough, measurement of the degree of blight or deterioration in the areas studied.

#### (8) Zoning

This data was obtained from information available at the Greater Winnipeg Metropolitan Planning Commission and is presented and discussed in the following chapter. A summary of Zoning regulations will be found in Appendix III.

#### History

Available books and articles on history of Manitoba and of Winnipeg were perused but yielded little material, because the areas in question were rarely mentioned specifically, since they were very much a part of the city as a whole.

Material concerning their early history was obtained from Hosse's<sup>5</sup> thesis on the areal growth of Winnipeg, and Bellan's<sup>6</sup> dissertation helped to fill in the background economic development of the city as a whole. Old newspapers and magazines on file at the Provincial Archives helped to fill some of the gaps, as did the annual reports of both Augustine and Westminster Churches.

A major problem arose in finding historical material on these areas after they had been settled and stabilized, i.e., between the wars. Time did not permit a thorough study of newspaper files which, as a cursory perusal indicated, would in any event, have yielded little.

Consequently, personal interviews were used, as an alternative method. Both Mrs. C. Horsburgh, who had attended Augustine Church for many years, and Dr. G. Pincock, who was raised in the Westminster area, were very helpful in that they were astute observers of their respective areas. Time did not permit seeing other long-term residents who would surely have been helpful.

Some data was obtained from the Greater Winnipeg Transit Commission and the City of Winnipeg Engineering Dept.

#### Population Characteristics

This section was divided into five sub-sections: 1. General composition of the population. 2. Occupation 3. Religion 4. Ethnic origin, and 5. Mobility. It was assumed that the two areas studied were areas in transition, and progressing towards a state of deterioration. It was expected that certain phenomena would be evident in each of the sub-sections. Since

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<sup>5</sup>Hosse, Hans, The Areal Growth and Functional Development of Winnipeg from 1870 to 1913.

<sup>6</sup>Bellan, Reuben C., The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Centre.

areas in transition are characterized by a large number of persons in the 20-30 age group, a low number of infants and children, an increase in the number of old persons, and an increase in the number of single and divorced persons, it was expected that these phenomena would be evident in the analysis. Similarly, it was expected that there would be a large number of persons of low status employment. A high rate of mobility was also expected.

Besides these questions related directly to areas in transition, it was felt that it would be useful to obtain information about the composition of the area as to ethnic origin and religion.

This section, where possible, attempted to relate data from one year to data from another year. The span was between 1951 and 1958, although in some instances data could not be obtained for a year later than 1956.

#### General Composition

This sub-section included such things as the number of persons residing in the areas, marital status, the number of families, age, sex and the number of children in families.

The primary source of data for this sub-section was obtained from the 1951<sup>7</sup> and the 1956<sup>8</sup> census of Canada. It was felt that definitions of terms used should coincide with those of the census. Definitions were used as follows:

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<sup>7</sup>Canada: Dominion Bureau of Vital Statistics. Ninth Census of Canada: 1951. Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts, Winnipeg.

<sup>8</sup>Canada: Dominion Bureau of Vital Statistics. Tenth Census of Canada: 1956. Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts, Winnipeg.



Age: Classifications by age groups were based on a definition which specified completed years of age at the last birthday prior to June 1, 1951, or June 1, 1956.

Marital Status: Family, as defined by the census consists of husband and wife, (with or without children who have never married) or a parent with one or more children never married, living together in the same dwelling. Adopted children and step children have the same status as natural children, in fact, a family may comprise a man or woman living with a child under their guardianship or ward under 21 years of age.

Unmarried sons and daughters under 25 years of age, living with their parents, are classed as children. Unmarried sons and daughters 25 years of age and over living with their parents are counted as family members but not as children.

Since this data was obtained from the census, the same limitations would apply, namely, that of the accuracy of the information obtained from the respondents.

Occupation: In obtaining material dealing with occupations, it was found that the census was an insufficient source of data, as the 1956 census did not deal with occupations. A 1958 "Urban Preliminary List of Voters" was obtained from the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, Legislative Buildings, Winnipeg, which listed the occupations of the persons therein.

Since the voters lists included only persons of voting age, persons under 21 years of age, and others who were ineligible to vote were not included. This exclusion would have an affect upon the accuracy of analysis.

The Census of Canada for 1951 lists ten broad categories of occupations. These are:

Proprietary and managerial	construction
professional	transportation and communication
clerical	service
primary	personal
manufacturing and mechanical	labourers

Since some of the occupations registered in the voters list did not clearly fall within any of the categories defined in the census, it was necessary to choose arbitrarily the correct category, similarly with occupations which were vague and/or indefinite. This limitation would further increase the possibility of error in the analysis.

Religion: The 1951 census had information related to the religious composition of the areas, but as there was no information available for later years, a questionnaire was used to obtain this information for 1958.

The census divided the religious denominations into ten categories: Baptist, Church of England, Greek Orthodox, Jewish, Lutheran, Mennonite, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Ukrainian Greek Catholic, and "other".

The fact that the sample taken was only 5% of the population, might tend to distort the accuracy of the result obtained. The questionnaire used is described in more detail in another part of this chapter.

Ethnic origin: For purposes of this study, a person's ethnic origin is traced through his father. Whenever possible, the origin of the person was established by asking the language spoken by the person or his parental ancestors when he first came to this continent.

Since there is no information regarding ethnic origin in the 1956 census, in order to secure information which could be compared to 1951, the sampling method was used. It was then possible to compare the ethnic origins of the population for the years 1951, and 1958. Since the sample taken was small, a certain degree of error could be expected.

**Mobility:** It was decided to use the 1951 Census categories as a basis for ascertaining general mobility for the years 1950-1951, and to compile similar data from another available source for the years 1957-1958. For the year 1957-1958, a sample was taken from Henderson's Directories for those years, and this sample was used in combination with zoning maps of the two areas in order to estimate the mobility in each area. Mobility involving a change in social or economic level was referred to as vertical mobility, while a residential move between zones of equal status was referred to as horizontal mobility.

Six zoning categories were used.<sup>9</sup> These were - first class residential areas, second class residential area, multi-family dwellings, and three categories which permitted commercial and industrial use in increasing degrees.

It was necessary to assume that when a householder moved into a zone with a higher rating, he improved his status, although there may be individual instances where this would not apply.

The 1951 census was the source of material used to estimate the incoming general mobility for the year 1950-1951. For the year 1957-1958, a sample of every tenth household was taken from Henderson's Directory to determine the rate of mobility in the area during the year.

A fairly large portion of the sample had to be dropped from the final computation of vertical mobility due to the fact that it was not possible to follow all movement outside the area, as some of the names chosen for 1957 did not appear in the 1958 Directory. In addition, Henderson's Directories do not list the boarders and roomers in the households, and this group is known to be highly mobile in any population.

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<sup>9</sup>Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater Winnipeg, Zoning Regulations, 1958.

In conclusion, the study of the characteristics of the people was based on the assumption that the two areas were in transition, and that certain phenomena characteristic of an area of transition would be evident.

#### Social Problems

A study of the occurrence of social problems within Census Tracts Nos. 34 and 38 was selected as one of the methods of the larger study, the purpose being to determine whether the occurrence of social problems in these areas was sufficient to support the hypothesis that these are areas in transition. Data were gathered from a number of social agencies as to the frequency of occurrence of certain social problems. For purposes of comparison, rates of occurrence of social problems were computed for each Census tract and for the larger area of the City. The particular social problems selected for study and analysis were as follows - child neglect, infant mortality, juvenile delinquency and economic dependency.

#### Child Neglect

The purpose of the legal provisions dealing with child neglect is to assure minimum standards of child care with regard to the life, health and morality of the children of the province. In general, a neglected child is one whose parents are unwilling or unable to provide adequate care of maintenance for him.

In order to determine the number of cases in which a Court Order was made involving neglect of children, Winnipeg Juvenile Court Dockets were examined for each of the months March, July and November of the years, 1955, 1956 and 1957. The nature of the Order was noted, as was also the child's status with regard to legitimacy.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Children of common-law unions were to be considered "born in wedlock".

In order to learn whether the number of cases in the sample being studied appeared to be typical, total numbers of neglect cases brought to court were secured from annual reports of the Children's Aid Society for the years 1955, 1956, and 1957.

The findings were rated on the basis of numbers of neglect cases per 1,000 children, 19 years and under, in each census tract according to the 1956 census. These rates were then compared with the rate of neglect in Winnipeg proper established on the same basis.

Because child neglect can also be a measure of illegitimacy, rates were also computed on the basis of the numbers of neglected children who were born out of wedlock per 1,000 unmarried women 15 years of age and over.

#### Infant Mortality

Infant mortality rates were computed on the basis of data from the Health Department of the City of Winnipeg. Unfortunately, these statistics are kept on the basis of Statistical Districts each of which contains at least two census tracts. Thus the figures secured may not be accurately representative of the two census tracts under study.

Rates of infant mortality were secured for each statistical district and for Winnipeg proper, for the years 1955 to 1957 inclusive, on the basis of the number of infant deaths occurring per 1,000 live births.

#### Juvenile Delinquency

Selected data were secured from the Winnipeg Juvenile Court dockets. The larger area studies was Greater Winnipeg excluding St. Boniface, Transcona, Charleswood, and Assiniboia. The time period for the study was the months of March, July and November of the years 1955, 1956 and 1957.

A juvenile delinquent was defined as any child under the age of 18 years, residing in Greater Winnipeg at the time of appearance, who appeared in Winnipeg Juvenile Court on a formal charge or charges at a date within the time period studied, and was adjudged delinquent and in which a disposition was made. Excluded from the study were cases in which no formal charge was laid, breaches of the Manitoba Highway Traffic Act and of the Game and Fish regulations, and cases involving children residing in child care institutions, children appearing for release from probation, and wards of a Children's Aid Society or of the Director of Public Welfare appearing on charges of unmanageability.

For each delinquent child, data was recorded with regard to age, sex, nature of the offence, and the disposition made. Delinquency rates were established on the basis of number of delinquents in the age group 10 to 14 per 1,000 children of the same age in the population according to the 1956 census. For the age group 15 to 18, it was impossible to establish a refined rate, so a crude rate was established on the basis of numbers of 15 to 18 year old delinquents per 1,000 children age 15 to 19 years of age, according to the 1956 census. Delinquency rates for the census tracts were then compared with rates established for the remainder of Greater Winnipeg.

Further analysis of data on delinquency was made on the basis of seriousness of offence. The various kinds of offences were broken down into 15 categories and judgements were made as to the relative seriousness of the offences. Only single-offence cases were selected for this part of the study.

Dispositions of the cases were analyzed as to the frequency of the various types of disposition under the following categories: 1, probation, 2. fine, 3. commitment to an institution.

Economic Dependency

In order to determine whether the census tracts have had higher rates of economic dependency than has Winnipeg proper, data were secured from the City of Winnipeg Public Welfare Department, and from the Manitoba Division of Public Welfare and compared with those of the City as a whole.

The City Welfare Department registrations of applications and enquiries for assistance were examined and tabulated for the years 1955 to 1957 inclusive. Rates of registrations were then computed for the census tracts and for Winnipeg proper on the basis of numbers of registrations per 1,000 persons in the population according to the 1956 census. In tabulating data regarding applicants within the census tracts, applicants resident in nursing homes were not included.

The data from the Manitoba Division of Public Welfare dealt with Mother's Allowance applications. Applications for Mothers' Allowance were tabulated for the years 1955 to 1957 inclusive, and rates of application for the census tracts and for Winnipeg proper were computed on the basis of numbers of applications per 1,000 families having one or more children 14 years of age or under.

Because of the very small figures secured from a study of Mothers' Allowance applications, numbers of recipients of Mothers' Allowance were studied for the months January 1955 and December 1957. Rates of recipients were established on the basis of number of recipients per 1,000 families having at least one child, 14 years of age and under. Comparison of the mean rates of recipients were then made with the rate in Winnipeg proper.

### Leisure Time Activities

The study of leisure time activities of people living in the areas is divided into three parts. The first part investigated the leisure time activities of children 5 to 19 years of age, the second one was concerned with activities of single individuals, 20 years of age and over, the last with leisure time of married individuals.

Time allowed study of only two of the many aspects of leisure time which might have been examined. The first related to the types of leisure time activities that people in the areas were engaged in, while the second one was concerned with determining the frequency of people's participation in these activities. The assumption was that people living in an area in transition would show, on one hand, a greater interest in informal, non-social leisure time activities and, on the other hand, less frequent participation in formal, social activities provided by the community.

A schedule, consisting of two categories of questions, was chosen as a means of securing required information. The first category was intended to obtain personal identifying data, while the second group of questions sought answers relating to the types of people's leisure time activities as well as to the frequency of their participation in these activities. Individuals 15 years of age and over were interviewed directly, while information about leisure time activities of children 5 to 14 years of age was obtained from their parents.<sup>11</sup>

A five per cent sample of the population was chosen from a list of households drawn from Henderson's Directory. All the persons living in a household were to be interviewed. In both areas 123 households were chosen to be interviewed, but only 86 calls could be completed.

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<sup>11</sup>The cards and sheet of instructions used by volunteer interviewers are available at the School of Social Work, University of Manitoba.



Questions concerned with people's leisure time activities, were arranged in an order which represented five different types. Frequencies were adapted to activities which in some types of leisure time activities were different for the children 5 to 14 years of age and for individuals 15 years and over. However, the small numbers of children 5 to 14 years of age and of those 15 to 19 years made it useless to analyze these two age groups separately. Consequently, the leisure time activities of all the children 5 to 19 years of age were analyzed as a whole. Four units of frequency were used: never, rarely, frequently, and very often.

Other questions were aimed at determining hours spent in part time employment, and in finding what people in the areas would like to do that they did not do at the time when the study was conducted.

Leisure permeated many aspects of living and some activities could be classified as both leisure time activities and activities essential to living. In this study the definition of leisure time did not include eating habits, and playing with one's own children as leisure time activities. Furthermore, many types of pursuits commonly regarded as leisure time activities might mean work or even laborious tasks for some individuals. Also, some type of activity might be either work or recreation to a given individual depending on his feelings, and conditions of a particular situation.

The nature of the leisure time of children under five years of age and those persons living in institutions is such that a separate study would be required and they are therefore not included.

#### Definitions

"Leisure Time" - the time not spent in the pursuit of the major role in life.

Major role is that part of a person's life which is directed towards meeting the body's physical needs, i.e., eating, sleeping and meeting his most important responsibilities, including caring for the children. A child's major role is considered to be attending school and performing the household duties required from him by his parents.

"Child" - for the purpose of this study all single persons 19 years of age and under are considered to be children.

"Single" - any person 20 years of age and over who is not married.

"Married" - any persons who are living together and considered themselves married to each other.

Besides the above definitions, accepted for the purpose of this study, a few more as formulated in the Census of Canada were used. The latter related to such terms as household, household head, earnings, ethnic origin, etc.

#### Limitations

The greatest limitation resulted from using a five per cent sample of households, which brought fewer returns than expected.

Time available for revising the schedule, as well as for instructing and training volunteers in its use was limited.

A great part of information obtained from parents may have reflected their subjective attitude towards children's need for leisure time, as well as their superficial knowledge about children's participation in leisure time activities.

Attention must be also drawn to the fact that the study was conducted during the winter months and, as a result, the interviewed persons might have reported their recent activities and those most enjoyed, without making any greater effort to recall their summer time activities.

The lack of any report on people's socially unaccepted or illegal activities in their leisure time, made for a not entirely complete picture of people's leisure time activities.

Finally, the fact that the interviewers called on the people in the areas at different times of the day could also be considered as a factor which could influence their feelings and responses.

In conclusion, each of the four sections used quite different methods, but had a common goal, in that they sought information about the people, their environment, and their way of life. Since these appeared to be the most significant factors in determining whether or not these were areas in transition, data was gathered with regard to physical characteristics, population characteristics, social problems, and leisure time activities. These data were presented and analyzed in Chapter IV. Chapter V presents conclusions which were arrived at both from the individual findings and from the findings viewed as a whole.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS

#### Physical Characteristics

##### History

Since the two areas under study were, and are, an integral part of the City of Winnipeg, their growth and development were directly affected by the historic development of the city as a whole.

Winnipeg's early development dates back to the fur trading days when several forts were built within the vicinity of the junction of the two rivers. The Augustine area is in the district called Fort Rouge, which is named after the fort built on the south side of the Assiniboine River in 1736 by La Verendrye.<sup>1</sup> This fort was abandoned later, was used again briefly, but was eventually demolished. A second fort, called Fort Garry, was built on the north side of the Assiniboine River almost directly across from Fort Rouge. The Main Street Bridge nearby was called the Bridge of the Old Forts and is still called by this name on present-day land-use maps.<sup>2</sup>

Winnipeg grew very slowly in those early years, for many reasons. One major factor was that the Hudson Bay Company owned and kept in reserve much of the land in what is now downtown Winnipeg and along the river. Therefore, what settlement occurred was of necessity forced northwards along Main Street, and Notre Dame Avenue was considered the

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<sup>1</sup>Mary Hislop, The Streets of Winnipeg, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>This was noted in the Fire Underwriters' Atlas, when the land-use map was being compiled.

second major commercial artery. Another factor was that Selkirk was originally earmarked to become the major centre in the Province. The new trans-continental railroad was supposed to run through Selkirk since Winnipeg was prone to floods and was considered a poor risk. Track laying was actually begun and one line was completed to Selkirk when Winnipeg succeeded in having the plans changed through the manoeuvres of some very influential individuals. It is said that in the land boom which followed, the Hudson Bay made a million dollar profit through the sale of some of its reserve land.<sup>3</sup> However, the Assiniboine lots, which took up all the land between Portage Avenue and the Assiniboine River westwards toward St. James, were not subdivided until the second land boom twenty years later.

It is interesting to note that Portage Avenue did not develop as the major commercial artery until the beginning of this century, when it usurped the role that Notre Dame Avenue was expected to play. In 1841, it was known as the Great Highway and by 1872, a regular stage-coach was operating between Winnipeg and Portage La Prairie.<sup>4</sup> But in the 1870's, it was still little more than a cart track which cut across the Assiniboine lots.

There was little land in urban use. Commercial buildings were found only as far west as Smith Street, the third street west

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<sup>3</sup>Reuben C. Bellan, "The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Centre."

<sup>4</sup>Hans Hosse, "The Areal Growth and Functional Development of Winnipeg from 1870 to 1913", p. 37.

from Main Street. It was again the Hudson's Bay Company which blocked the development here, as it kept the largest part of the land, through which Portage Road (now Portage Avenue) ran, as reserve.<sup>5</sup>

But although Portage Avenue itself did not develop until later, it did contribute, during this period, to the development of the west end and St. James. During the 1870's, as residential areas expanded, street cars and bicycle paths were developed which, in turn, contributed to further expansion. The first horse-drawn streetcar was introduced in Winnipeg in 1882<sup>6</sup> and one route was on Portage Road.

Special bicycle paths were constructed on Portage Avenue from Main Street to Deer Lodge, on both sides of the streetcar tracks.<sup>7</sup>

which were meant to be used for pleasure trips, but soon tended to be used as a convenient means for residents to get to their place of work.

This tendency may represent one of the reasons for the more rapid settlement along and near Portage Avenue in comparison with other parts of the city.<sup>8</sup>

In 1873, Winnipeg was incorporated as a city and extended its boundaries far beyond the actually built-up portion which comprised only a small fraction of its political extent.

The political limits of the newly incorporated city extended far into the surrounding prairies... To the east and south the Red and Assiniboine Rivers formed the city's boundaries; the western limits ran along present-day Maryland Street, Notre Dame Avenue, and McPhillips Street.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup>Interview with Mr. Davis, Public Information Officer, Greater Winnipeg Transit Commission, March 31, 1959.

<sup>7</sup>Hosé, op.cit., p. 113.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid. p. 76.

At the time of incorporation, Maryland Street, which formed part of the western boundary, was actually named Boundary Street and was changed years later to its present name.

Winnipeg enjoyed a brief land boom during the 1880's following the news that it was to become the gateway to the west by virtue of the new railroad. Consequently, land speculators flooded the city, new settlers arrived and real estate prices nearly trebled. As a result, the city extended its political and administrative boundaries almost to where they are today. In early 1882, Fort Rouge was taken into the city and some of the Hudson Bay river lots were divided and sold. In the same year, the city limits were extended north to present-day Kitchener and Luxton Avenues; south to present-day Wilkes Avenue, Waverley Street, and Parker Avenue to the Red River; and west to Keewatin and St. James Streets. In particular, the new districts opened up were Fort Rouge and Armstrong's Point where many better-class homes were built. As Hosse' points out:

The more attractive lots for residential purposes were now along the Assiniboine River, in Fort Rouge, on streets adjoining Portage Avenue west of Colony Street, and along the northern part of Main Street with the streets branching off to the east and west. The better class residences were still on the former Hudson's Bay Company reserve, close to the Assiniboine River. But there was already a trend towards River Avenue in Fort Rouge, and particularly towards Armstrong's Point where many exclusive residences were built. The middle-class residential district expanded east and west of the northern part of Main Street.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid, p. 118.

In 1891, Winnipeg's first electric street railway was instituted on River Avenue<sup>11</sup> and early in 1893, the city council appointed the first Parks Board, chaired by Mr. Drewry.

Land for four parks was bought in that first year of 1893 - Fort Rouge Park (first called Assiniboine) on River Avenue... In the next year the Parks Board acquired...St. James Park (on Portage at Home Street).<sup>12</sup>

Growth was slow but steady during the next decade.

The population of the city was still under 34,000 in 1893; there were practically no buildings west of Sherbrook Street... The apartment block phase of city life had not commenced; the Winnipeg Electric Railway had only ten cars in operation, and Sunday street cars were not even being thought about; asphalt pavements, granolithic walks and boulevards were not known.<sup>13</sup>

During the period from 1897 to 1913, Winnipeg enjoyed marked prosperity and became world-renowned as a centre of economic growth and expansion. Major industries and businesses established themselves in the city and immigration reached heroic proportions. "The volume of construction in 1905 was greater than in any North American city of comparable size"<sup>14</sup> and Winnipeg became known as a 'hustling' city. In 1906, there was another real estate boom, when the plan to build the Grand Trunk Railway through Winnipeg was made public. Property values increased about 35%. Population nearly trebled, increasing from 38,500 in 1895 to 115,000 in 1907.

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<sup>11</sup>Interview with Mr. Hart Bowsfield, Provincial Archivist, Feb. 1959.

<sup>12</sup>The Winnipeg Tribune (Special Edition) "Sixty Years of Progress, 1890-1950", Feb. 18, 1950.

<sup>13</sup>Westminster Church, Forty-Fifth Year: A History, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup>Bellan, op.cit., p. 135.



Large scale construction activity became necessary to house the expanding population and economy, to replace buildings which had been flimsily constructed during the 1881 boom, and to replace the numerous buildings destroyed in the not infrequent fires... The rate of residential construction never fully matched the pace at which population grew, and Winnipeg experienced a chronic housing shortage for more than a decade.<sup>15</sup>

The newspapers of that period were brimming with pride and optimism about the future of the city and predicted that it would be the greatest city in Canada, if not of the continent. Its rate of growth was far greater than that of Toronto or Montreal. "In 1910, when the decade opened, Winnipeg was advancing so rapidly that it was dubbed 'the Chicago of Canada'."<sup>16</sup> Predictions were being made that Winnipeg's population would surpass one million by 1920.

This continued for the next few years and construction activity rose again in 1911 and in 1912. During one year, 1912, 71 apartment blocks were built in the city. But the boom had reached its zenith. By 1913, rents were so high that many apartment blocks stood empty as people moved to cheaper quarters or doubled up. Money was tighter and more restricted during the war years, and Winnipeg's population shrank, as a large number of men entered the forces and many went east or south to the U.S. There was still a housing shortage in 1919, but, in the next two decades, Winnipeg was engulfed in a period of stagnation. During the minor depression of 1920-1924, many wholesalers bankrupted or closed up. Throughout the city, many mortgages could not be met and

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid, p. 134.

<sup>16</sup>The Winnipeg Tribune, op.cit.,

property was offered for sale at one third of its actual value. Rents were forced down as suites stood empty. However, retail and factory trades continued to flourish. Population growth came to a virtual standstill as during the 1920's, it increased by only 5,000 while emigration continued. The depression years were as hard in Winnipeg as elsewhere and business felt the pinch, particularly, as the farmers were hard hit. It is only during the last decade and a half that Winnipeg has begun again to fulfill the promise of the early years.

As will be seen further on, the two areas studied were a product of Winnipeg's early boom years. Thus, it would be appropriate to consider their development individually.

#### The Augustine Area (Tract 38)

Of the two, this area developed earlier and was directly affected by the first land boom as well as the second. As previously mentioned, Fort Rouge was taken into the city in 1882. Some of the wealthiest and most prominent families in Winnipeg built homes along the south side of the Assiniboine River as the Broadway - Colony Street area filled up. Part of the reason for this jump across the river was the fact that the Hudson Bay owned the property extending westward. Aside from the expense of unavailability of the land, there was also much resentment of the Company and its policies. Consequently, many substantial homes were built along Mayfair Avenue, River Avenue and Roselyn Road on both sides of Osborn Street. Eventually the better-class neighborhood continued to expand along Wellington Crescent and into River Heights. It is probably that this growth, south-westward,

occurred because of the desirability of river frontage, and, the Red River frontage was blocked off by the railroad yards. Accompanying the railroad there was the usual narrow belt of industry, so that the streets south of River Avenue were less desirable as residential areas for the wealthier group. Consequently, the Augustine area was fairly sharply divided with large, first-class homes built north of Stradbroke Avenue along the river, and middle-class, single-family dwellings built south of River Avenue.<sup>17</sup>

It is interesting to note some of the descriptions of the area written during that period. In the Northwest magazine in 1888, one reads:

A fringe of forest extends along the southern bank of the Assiniboine, and under the shade of oaks and alders many of the well-to-do citizens have built attractive houses, with lawns extending back to the steep declivity that descends to the river. This suburb is called Fort Rouge, from an old-time trading post that once stood there. A paved street leads through it from the lower to the upper bridge, and forms the popular evening drive.<sup>18</sup>

Another interesting note from the same period, gleaned from the Augustine Church anniversary report, describes the approach to the home of one of its founders, Chief Justice Thomas Wardlaw Taylor. It was located on the Assiniboine River at Wardlaw and Wellington Crescent and was "reached by an interesting, winding path through the woods".<sup>19</sup>

Incidentally, Wardlaw Avenue was named after the Chief Justice.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Interview with Mrs. C. Horsburgh, Augustine Church secretary, March, 1959.

<sup>18</sup>The Northwest, illustrated monthly magazine (St. Paul and Minneapolis: Oct., 1888), pp. 15-16.

<sup>19</sup>Augustine Church, Fortieth Anniversary Report, 1887-1927.

<sup>20</sup>Mary Hislop, The Streets of Winnipeg, p. 31. - It should be noted that in this book and elsewhere, the name is spelled Wardlow. No explanation for this variation could be found.

River Avenue was a main artery, even in those early years, as it was the only through street connecting the Osborne and Main Street bridges. As has already been pointed out, it was one of the few street railway routes in the city. The first electric streetcar was installed on this route.

The First Augustine Church was built on the present site in 1887. The total cost of the original corner lot and building was \$2,062.71. The two lots adjoining on Royal Street were purchased, in 1892 and the Church was enlarged.<sup>21</sup> As the area grew so did the Church, and this growth occurred rapidly.

When in 1897 the city replaced the privately owned Main Street Bridge (across the Assiniboine River) by a more modern and wider structure, this improvement was felt not only in Norwood, but far more in Fort Rouge. The eastern part of River Avenue and Spadina (today Stradbroke) Avenue with their many streets branching off became built upon.<sup>22</sup>

By now, the Augustine Church had outgrown even its enlarged premises and plans for a new Church began to be discussed. Mr. J.H.G. Russell was appointed architect, the corner-stone was laid by Lady McMillan in 1903, and the new present-day Church was dedicated in 1904. The edifice and furnishings cost \$60,000 states the financial report of 1907, which also estimates that, in that year, it could not be duplicated for less than \$70,000. It is interesting to note that the land values given in that same report are not significantly different from what they might be

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<sup>21</sup> Augustine Church, Nineteenth Annual Report, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Hosse', op.cit., p. 134.

today. The frontage on River Avenue was valued at \$90 per foot and the rear lots on Royal Street at \$45 per foot which placed the value of the Church land at \$13,455.<sup>23</sup>

The area was building rapidly and the Free Press special building edition of 1906 called attention to this fact.

Starting out of the eastern confines of Fort Rouge and steering west by south, it is doubtful whether a more brilliant prospect of residential worth will be found in our modern city, either on this or the other side of the 'States' border... One of the distinguishing features of the Fort Rouge building programme during the past year has been the number of substantially built residential blocks or suites of apartments which have come into existence, notably on River Avenue.<sup>24</sup>

The Augustine area was predominantly residential, and in 1909, the La Verendrye School was one "two magnificent new schools erected, where a few years ago there was not a pupil within blocks and blocks."<sup>25</sup> Osborne Street had a marked concentration of commercial establishments and continued to gain in importance as a major artery to other residential areas, and as a link with the old Pembina Road which later became part of an international highway. This was given further impetus by construction of the present-day Osborne Bridge in 1913. "It replaced a privately owned bridge built in the early eighties and purchased by the city in 1883."<sup>26</sup> This early bridge was found to be too light for the streetcars and the increasing traffic.

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<sup>23</sup> Augustine Church, Twentieth Annual Report, p. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Winnipeg Free Press (Special Building Number), Dec. 6, 1906.

<sup>25</sup> The Winnipeg Telegram, May 12, 1910.

<sup>26</sup> Hosse, op.cit., p. 158.

By the beginning of World War I, the area had been almost fully settled. Some light industry was established along the railroad lines, some of which has not disappeared, to be replaced by commercial enterprises. Where the Winnipeg Paint and Glass once stood, Muttart's Lumber Co. has now taken over. Where the Arctic Ice and Fuel Co., once had large warehouses, a giant supermarket now stands.

In the period between the wars, the Augustine area remained relatively stable and outwardly unchanging. The earliest settlers along the river remained in their homes until well on into the 1930's, when that area began to convert into new apartment blocks, or houses were converted into suites. The area south of River Avenue had been settled by stable, workingmen's families, most of whom lived in large single-family dwellings. This area, too, changed very little until the beginning of World War II, when it began to convert to multiple occupancy. As an example of this, the old manse, directly behind the Augustine Church, a 3-storey single-family dwelling, was sold, and at present houses three families.<sup>27</sup> The Church membership rose steadily, from 401 in 1905 to a peak of 1,040 in 1955. But it is noted that for the past decade many members have not lived in the Augustine area itself, although they continued their affiliation with this Church.

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<sup>27</sup>

Interview with Mrs. C. Horsburgh, Augustine Church secretary, March, 1959.

The Westminster Area (Tract 34)

With the exception of Sherbrook Street, which developed during the land boom of the 1880's, this area was not settled until after the turn of the century. The major reason, as noted previously, was that the Hudson Bay Company held the river lots in reserve or they were occupied by company pensioners. By 1897, one of the first-class residential districts was in Armstrong's Point, bordering on the Westminster area<sup>28</sup>, and this, in part, made Sherbrook an important artery. Maryland was called Boundary Street and, in fact, it was just that.

By the turn of the century, there was a distinct movement westwards. Beyond the Hudson Bay reserve, and on the north side of Portage, there had been a rapid development. This was due, partly, to the early urban transportation facilities such as streetcars and bicycle paths, and partly because of the reduced flood danger, since it was at higher elevation than most parts of the city. In addition, the areas north and south of Portage were free of railway tracks and industry, which would have blocked urban expansion.<sup>29</sup>

Part of the river lots had been subdivided during the land boom of the 1880's. But the greatest part, particularly the lots west of Maryland Street, were subdivided and sold in the period between 1902 and 1913.

The rapid increase of Winnipeg's population, and the prevailing tendency to settle in the western part of the city, brought about a situation in the real-estate business, which resembled the land boom of the early eighties. The former river lots of the Hudson Bay Co. pensioners west of Colony Street had been rapidly subdivided into small 25-foot lots, and were sold to people of the middle class income level. The result of these uncontrolled land transactions was, and still is, an unfortunate overcrowding of the lots in this area.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Hosse, op.cit., p. 135.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, pp. 162-163.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p. 168.

Building proceeded rapidly, and the Free Press special building edition made specific reference to this fact and wrote at length about it:

South of Portage, Sherbrook Street and Maryland have practically been built up this year (1906). On Walnut and Chestnut Streets there are scores of new houses. On Broadway, west of Maryland, many fine houses have been built, costing anywhere from \$5,500 to \$8,000.

West of Sherbrook Street near the Point, a large addition to the Catholic maternity hospital has been built; and a baptist church has been built on the corner of Walnut and Broadway.

... Until 1903 Sherbrook Street was the westerly limit of any active demand for realty and beyond that thoroughfare, property, either as acreage or lot, were scarcely saleable at ridiculously low figures... Lipton Street lots were \$5 to \$7 per foot in 1903 and now in (1906) are \$17 per foot... On Maryland prices are higher but in the same proportion as Lipton.<sup>31</sup>

During this period, and since 1893, the Westminster Church had been located on Notre Dame and Charlotte. By 1909, their original membership had trebled, the building had become inadequate, and a branch Sunday School was opened on Furby, in recognition of the congregation's growth westward. In 1910, there came a recommendation from the presbytery that one of the downtown churches be removed to some site south of Mulvey School. In that same year, approval was given to building the new Westminster Church on the north-west corner of Maryland Street and Buell (later Westminster) Avenue. Mr. J.H.G. Russell, the architect of Augustine Church, was appointed architect for Westminster as well. The cornerstone was laid in 1911, and the new church was formally opened on June 16, 1912. In 1913, the manse was built on the corner of Maryland and Purcell, at a cost of \$13,221.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Winnipeg Free Press, op.cit., p. 58.

<sup>32</sup> Westminster Church, op.cit.,



The completion of the Church reflected also the fact that the area was now almost fully settled and stabilized.

There were few outward changes from this point on. By 1913, retail trade had expanded along Portage Avenue as far west as Maryland Street.<sup>33</sup> In 1918, the first motor bus route in Winnipeg was begun on Westminster Avenue,<sup>34</sup> marking the beginning of the modern era of transportation. In 1921, the present-day Maryland Bridge was built to replace the steel structure which had been erected in 1894.<sup>35</sup> It may be noted that this was built during the minor depression of the 1920's and it is said that this was a public works project in an attempt to ease the unemployment situation.

The Westminster area, like Augustine, changed little during the period between the wars. It was populated by stable, middle-income families, and the area was primarily composed of large, single-family dwellings. There were a large number of white-collar workers, people in managerial positions, salesmen, schoolteachers, and some doctors and lawyers.<sup>36</sup> Since the Ford plant was not too far distant, it is conceivable that some of their employees also lived in this area, as well as north of Portage.

Dr. G. Pincock, a former resident in the area, recounts that high school students in the district attended either Kelvin or Daniel McIntyre High Schools, since Gordon Bell was originally opened as a junior high school. It became a senior high school only around 1934 or 1935.

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<sup>33</sup>Hosé, op.cit., p. 175.

<sup>34</sup>Interview with Mr. Davis, Public Information Officer, Greater Winnipeg Transit Commission, March 31, 1959.

<sup>35</sup>Information received from the City of Winnipeg Engineering Dept., Bridges Division.

<sup>36</sup>Interview with Dr. G. Pincock, former resident, January, 1959.

Commercial enterprises centred in Sherbrook Street and Portage Avenue. One of the oldest drug stores in the city, opened their first store on Sherbrook and Westminster around 1900. Breen Brothers on Broadway and Sherbrook was the first and the largest car business in Canada, at that time.

Land Use

The pattern of analysis was, to present the data on land use in each category for 1958, and following that, to indicate the change in the amount and proportion of each land use category between 1930 and 1958. Each area was analyzed separately, beginning with Augustine.

Table I indicates the amount and proportion of land in each of the major use categories and subcategories for 1958, and the land use map presents similar information in graphic form.

TABLE I  
1958 LAND USE BY CATEGORIES FOR  
THE AUGUSTINE AREA

Use Category	Area in Acres	Percent of Total
<u>Residential</u>		
Single Family Dwelling.....	34.07	21.22%
Two Family Dwelling.....	.87	.54
Three Family Dwelling.....	1.99	1.24
Multi. or Apt. Dwelling....	18.28	11.40
<u>Commercial</u> .....	7.27	4.50
<u>Industrial</u> .....	11.03	4.87
<u>Railroad Property</u> .....	20.79	13.00
<u>Streets and Alleys</u> .....	39.94	24.90
<u>Public and Institutional</u>		
Parks.....	5.69	3.50
Schools.....	1.37	.85
Church.....	2.47	1.60
Hospital.....	1.37	.85
Clubs, Lodges, Public Bldgs	3.36	2.10
<u>Vacant</u> .....	12.00	7.43
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>160.50</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Residential use in 1958 occupied a larger proportion than that occupied by any other major land use in the area. Single and Multiple family dwellings were the largest subcategories. The land use map indicates that, with the exception of the area south and east of the C.N.R. tracks, residential was interspersed with industrial, commercial, and institutional land use throughout the tract.

Commercial use was concentrated mainly along Osborne Street, from River Avenue to Corydon Avenue, and was also interspersed with apartment and residential sections along River Avenue and Main Street.

Industrial Use was primarily concentrated on the periphery of the C.N.R. tracks. This was interspersed mainly with single family dwellings, as in the area between Osborne and Donald Streets, and Wardlaw and McMillan Avenues.

Railroad and public utilities are concentrated along the entire south-eastern boundary of the Augustine area, and east of Main Street between the Red and the Assiniboine Rivers.

Public and Institutional land is primarily concentrated in the residential area bounded by the Assiniboine River and River Avenue, and by Osborne and Donald Streets.

Vacant or undeveloped land is concentrated primarily along the Assiniboine River.

#### Change in Land Use in Each Category - Augustine Area

Between 1930 and 1958, there was a net increase in every land use category except that of single, two, and three family dwellings and that of vacant land.<sup>37</sup> This is shown in Table 2.

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<sup>37</sup>Single, two and three family dwellings were grouped together into one category in the 1930 Land Use Map, and were therefore grouped together for 1958 land Use for comparative purposes.

TABLE 2

CHANGES IN LAND USE BY CATEGORIES FOR THE AUGUSTINE AREA  
1930 - 1958

Use Category	Change in Acres 1930 - 1958	Percent Change of Each Category, 1930-1958	
<u>Residential</u>			
Single Family Dwelling.....	-11.43	-23.6%	
Two Family Dwelling.....	}		
Three Family Dwelling.....			
Multi.Aor Apt. Dwelling.....		+ 5.64	+44.7
<u>Commercial</u> .....	+ 2.23	+44.2	
<u>Industrial</u> .....	+ 1.25	+12.7	
<u>Railroad Property</u> .....	No Change	.....	
<u>Public and Institutional</u>			
Parks.....	No Change	.....	
Schools.....	No Change	.....	
Churches.....	}		
Hospitals and Nursing Homes..		+ 3.56	+97.8
Clubs, Lodges, Public Bldg.,.			
<u>Streets and Alleys</u> .....	+ 2.34	+ 6.2	
<u>Vacant</u> .....	-3.59	-29.4	

Residential use increased in the subcategories of multiple family or apartment dwellings and accounted for much of the decrease in single, two, and three family dwellings. With the building of the Mid-Town Bridge and the extension of Donald Street, several single family dwellings were torn down and replaced by the Winnipeg Winter Club, light industries, and more street acreage. Multiple or family dwellings increased primarily along River Avenue and Roslyn Road.

Increase in commercial land use is accounted for, mainly, by the conversion of an industrial yard at Corydon and Osborne into a supermarket.

Public and institutional increases appear to have been concentrated in the area from the Assiniboine River to Bell Avenue, and from Donald Street to Main Street.

Streets and alleys increased by 2.34 acres. This change was primarily brought about by the replacing of older, narrower streets with the wider, longer Donald Street. Streets in the area were classified as:

1. Major through Streets - in this category were placed:

Osborne Street	River Avenue
Donald Street	Stradbroke Avenue
Main Street	Corydon Avenue
	McMillan Avenue

With the exception of Stradbroke Avenue, these streets carried bus routes.

2. Residential Access Streets - There were none of these in the Augustine area.
3. Circulation Routes Within Residential Areas - All other streets were included in this category.

Vacant land increased by 3.59 acres or 29.4% between 1930 and 1958.

For the Westminster area, Table 3 indicates the amount and proportion of land in each of the major use categories and subcategories for 1958. The land use map presents similar information in graphic form.

TABLE 3

1958 LAND USE BY CATEGORIES FOR THE WESTMINSTER AREA

Use Category	Area in Acres	Percent of Total
<u>Residential</u>		
Single Family Dwelling.....	52.67	44.11%
Two Family Dwelling.....	3.03	2.50
Three Family Dwelling.....	2.93	2.45
Multi. or Apt. Dwelling.....	3.99	3.30
<u>Commercial</u> .....	6.72	5.60
<u>Industrial</u> .....	.58	.50
<u>Streets and Alleys</u> .....	38.95	32.60
<u>Public and Institutional</u>		
Schools.....	4.56	3.80
Hospitals and Nursing Homes..	2.82	2.40
Churches.....	1.77	1.48
Clubs, Lodges, Public Bldgs..	.43	.36
<u>Vacant</u> .....	1.14	.95
<b>Total</b> .....	<b>119.39</b>	<b>100.00</b>

In 1958, Residential land use occupied a larger proportion than that occupied by any other major land use category in the area.

Commercial land use was concentrated mainly along Portage Avenue, Sherbrook Street and Maryland Street.

Industrial land use was the smallest category of land use in the Westminster area.

A large proportion of public and institutional land was facing on Maryland Street, and another large portion between the Assiniboine River and Wolseley Avenue.

Vacant land was primarily alongside the Assiniboine River.

Change in Land Use in Each Category - Westminster Area

Between 1930 and 1958, there was a net increase in every land use category with the exception of that of industrial and of vacant land. This is indicated in Table 4.

TABLE 4

CHANGES IN LAND USE BY CATEGORIES FOR THE WESTMINSTER AREA  
1930 - 1958

Use Category	Change in Acres 1930 - 1958	Percent Change of Each Category, 1930-1958
<u>Residential</u>		
Single Family Dwelling.....	+ 6.68	+12.8%
Two Family Dwelling.....		
Three Family Dwelling.....		
Multi. or Apt. Dwelling.....		
<u>Commercial</u> .....	+ 1.12	+ 38.0
<u>Industrial</u> .....	+ 4.18	+164.5
<u>Public and Institutional</u> .....	- .85	- 59.4
Parks.....	None	....
Schools.....	No Change	....
Churches.....		
Hospital and Nursing Homes.....		
Clubs, Lodges, Public Bldg.....	+ .83	+19.8
Streets and Alleys.....	No Change	....
<u>Vacant</u> .....	-11.79	-81.1

Increase in use of Residential land is primarily accounted for by occupancy of previously vacant land in the Canora-Maryland, Wolseley-Broadway area.

Commercial land use increased by 4.18 acres, or 164.5 percent. This proportional increase is exceptionally large and is the highest proportional increase of any category in either the Augustine or the Westminster area, between 1930 and 1958.

Industrial land use decreased by .85 acres during this period.

Streets and alleys showed no significant change. The street car tracks had been removed from Portage Avenue, thus permitting a freer flow of traffic. The over-all width of the street, however, remained the same. Maryland Street was slightly widened by pushing back the curb on either side, but the change did not appreciably affect any other land use category. Therefore, for purposes of this report, the acreage occupied by streets and alleys was considered unchanged from 1930 to 1958. The widening of Maryland also permitted a freer flow of traffic.

As with the Augustine area, streets in this area were classified as:

1. Major Through Streets - in this category were placed:

Portage Avenue  
Maryland Street  
Sherbrook Street

Maryland and Sherbrook are one-way streets. They connect the Maryland Bridge with Portage Avenue, thus increasing the flow of traffic through the area.

2. Residential Access Streets - in this category were placed:

Wolseley Avenue  
Westminster Avenue  
Broadway Avenue

3. Circulation Routes Within Residential Areas - All other streets were included in this category.

Figures in Table 4 suggest that the decrease in vacant land is due primarily to increase in residential and commercial land use categories.

### Types and Conditions of Buildings

As the hypothesis of this study is that these are areas in transition, the number and types of various structures within them is of great importance. Data obtained from the 1958 Assessment Rolls of the City of Winnipeg showed that both areas are predominantly residential in character: in the Westminster area, over 90% of the structures are used for living purposes while in the Augustine area, 85% fall in this category. The data also pointed out a contrast between the areas, for 13% of the structures in Augustine area were used for industrial and commercial purposes compared to just 7% in the Westminster area.

A major criterion of deterioration in a residential area is an increase in multiple housing. First, there is the trend towards 'multiple dwellings', that is to say, dwellings constructed so as to accommodate more than one family. From the data available in the Assessment Rolls, it was found that, in the Augustine area, 28% of the buildings used for dwelling purposes fell into this category as compared to 16% of the buildings used for dwelling purposes in the Westminster area. This may be compared to the findings of the Vancouver Study where, in an area considered to be markedly blighted, 21% of the dwellings were of this multiple type.<sup>38</sup>

On the other hand, this criterion may also be considered in the sense of 'multiple occupancy', that is to say, where a dwelling is occupied by more than one family. This will include more than multiple dwellings as two or more families may occupy what is structurally a

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<sup>38</sup> City of Vancouver, Planning Dept., Vancouver Redevelopment Study.



single family dwelling. Information on this was gathered from a survey of Henderson's Directories for the years 1938, 1946, and 1958.

TABLE 5  
MULTIPLE OCCUPANCY IN DWELLINGS

Year	Augustine Area		Westminster Area	
	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total
1958	18	5%	40	6%
1946	60	17%	51	9%
1958	73	20%	87	15%

As the table illustrates, both areas show a definite increase in the percentage of dwellings with multiple occupancy. This would tend to confirm the other evidences of deterioration seen in the Augustine area but would also show a growing trend towards deterioration in the Westminster area.

On the other hand, the increase in apartment blocks may be seen as a sign of self-renewal in an area. This is most evident in the Augustine area where the number of apartment blocks has increased from 36 in 1946 to 58 in 1958. The trend towards multiple housing and multiple occupancy is aided by the fact that the zoning regulations allow for this use. As the accompanying maps illustrate, the Augustine area is entirely R3 (multiple family) for residential purposes while, even in the sections of Westminster zoned R2 (two-family dwellings), there are many zoning infractions.

Finally, the data obtained from a "windshield survey" of the quality of the housing in the two areas showed more evidence of blight, particularly in the Augustine area. The ratings used here are based on the Vancouver Study and are defined as follows:<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., pp. 22-25.

Good - the dwelling may be regarded as having a life of twenty or more years, given proper maintenance.

Fair - the dwelling is vulnerable to blight and may already be showing signs of it.

Poor - the dwelling is badly deteriorated and is likely to cause the spread of blight to surrounding structures.

Very Poor - the dwelling is markedly substandard and is not likely to be capable of rehabilitation.

TABLE 6  
QUALITY OF HOUSING BY WINDSHIELD SURVEY

Rating	Augustine Area		Westminster Area	
	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total
Good	31	9%	129	22%
Fair	236	68%	460	77%
Poor	61	18%	6	1%
Very Poor	18	5%	--	--

The accompanying maps give a general picture of the location of the blighted areas. From Table 6, it can be seen that the Augustine area is showing considerable signs of blight. Only 9% of the dwellings were rated good while 23% were considered badly deteriorated, or worse. On the other hand, while the Westminster area is free of any serious blight, 77% of its housing is in the fair category and, therefore, potentially susceptible to deterioration.

Population Characteristics

Demographic Characteristics

Having developed in Chapter II a measurement by which demographic characteristics of people can be classified, and armed with the theoretical expectation as to the spatial distribution of population, we now have the tools with which to analyze the distribution of people in both areas under study.

The first task to be considered to analyze the increase of population in both areas during the period from 1951 to 1956, as compared with that of Winnipeg proper.

TABLE 7

POPULATION IN WESTMINSTER AND AUGUSTINE AREAS, AND  
IN WINNIPEG IN THE YEARS 1951 and 1956.

Area	Years		Increase	
	1951	1956	Numbers	Percentage
Winnipeg Proper	235,710	255,093	19,383	7.6
Westminster Area	4,512	4,724	212	4.5
Augustine Area	4,537	4,829	292	6.4

Table 7 shows a marked difference between the growth of population of Winnipeg proper and of these two areas. This is particularly true between Winnipeg and Westminster area.

Population growth in a particular city or area may be related to several demographic factors, such as birth, death, or population movements in and out. Whatever the reasons for differences, the population growth in the two areas under study, and particularly in Westminster area, has been considerably smaller than that for Winnipeg proper.

The next table gives the distribution of population by sex in these two areas as compared with Winnipeg proper. Table 8 shows a disproportion in sex ratio in the Westminster and Augustine areas. In Canadian as well as in American cities, relatively unequal sex ratios have been the rule rather than the exception. This is evident to a slight extent in the distribution of people by sex in Winnipeg proper, where the females constituted 52.3% of the total population in 1951, and 51.4% in 1956.

TABLE 8

POPULATION BY SEX IN WESTMINSTER AND AUGUSTINE AREAS, AND IN WINNIPEG, 1951 and 1956.

Area	1951		1956	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Winnipeg - Total No.	235,710	100.0%	255,093	100.0%
	Males 112,513	47.7	124,036	48.6
	Females 123,197	52.3	131,057	51.4
Westminster Area	Total No. 4,512	100.0%	4,724	100.0%
	Males 1,775	39.3	1,948	41.2
	Females 2,737	60.7	2,776	58.8
Augustine Area	Total No. 4,537	100.0%	4,829	100.0%
	Males 1,961	43.2	2,195	45.4
	Females 2,576	56.8	2,634	54.6

The unequal distribution of population by sex in these two areas is, however, considerably greater than in Winnipeg or in Canada as a whole. In 1951 the proportion of males to the total population for Canada was 50%. In 1956 it was 50.7%. In 1951, Manitoba had 50.8% male and 49.2% female, and in 1956, 50.9% male and 49.1% female.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup>Canada, Dominion Bureau of Vital Statistics, Canada Year Book: 1957-58, Chapter III, Section 9, p. 133, Table II.

In 1951, the female population constituted 60.7% in the Westminster area, 58.8% in the Augustine area. There is a slight improvement in sex ratio in 1956 in both areas, but this is a general trend in Winnipeg, where the proportion of males to the total population had increased.

The age distribution of a population is fundamental to most other analyses, as this inevitably effects the social, economic and political condition of any particular area or city, in a variety of ways. The age factor influences employment, marriage, birth and death rates, education, and all activities of significance in the life of a particular community.

TABLE 9  
POPULATION BY AGE IN WESTMINSTER AND AUGUSTINE  
AREAS AND IN WINNIPEG FOR THE YEARS 1951 - 1956.

AGE GROUPS	WINNIPEG		WESTMINSTER AREA		AUGUSTINE AREA	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1 9 5 1						
Total Number	235,710	100.0%	4,512	100.0%	4,537	100.0%
0-4	21,766	9.1	253	5.6	327	7.2
5-9	15,791	6.7	155	3.4	173	3.8
10-14	12,527	5.3	125	2.8	174	3.8
15-19	15,389	6.5	335	7.4	252	5.6
20-24	20,386	8.7	594	13.2	454	10.0
25-34	39,598	16.9	816	18.1	768	16.9
35-44	34,445	14.6	549	12.2	602	13.3
45-54	27,427	11.6	504	11.2	536	11.8
55-64	24,839	10.6	526	11.6	529	11.7
65-69	10,241	4.3	245	5.4	233	5.1
70 & over	13,301	5.7	410	9.1	489	10.8

Table 9 Continued on Page 77.

AGE GROUPS	WINNIPEG		WESTMINSTER AREA		AUGUSTINE AREA	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
	1 9 5 6					
Total Number	255,093	100.0%	4,724	100.0%	4,829	100.0%
0-4	24,315	9.6	341	7.2	425	8.8
5-9	21,675	8.5	181	3.8	230	4.8
10-14	16,357	6.4	168	3.6	177	3.7
15-19	15,744	6.2	331	7.0	233	4.8
20-24	20,563	8.1	729	15.4	592	12.3
25-35	39,645	15.5	868	18.4	801	16.6
36-44	36,179	14.1	482	10.3	557	11.5
45-54	29,550	11.6	514	10.9	477	9.9
55-64	23,338	9.1	427	9.0	475	9.8
65-69	10,665	4.2	224	4.7	235	4.8
70 & Over	17,062	6.7	458	9.7	627	13.0

Table 9 shows the population of Westminster and Augustine areas, classified by five-year age groups, for the years 1951 and 1956, as compared with those of Winnipeg proper.

An observation of notable significance, in this table, appears to be that the percentages of population of the age groups 0-4, 5-9 and 10-14 are very low in both areas as compared with those of Winnipeg proper, while the percentages of the population of the age groups 65-69, and particularly 70 and over, are relatively high. Numbers in the age group 20-24, show that the population in this age group in both areas has been increasing. In both areas there has also been a relatively large increase in the age groups 0-4 and 70 and over, during the period from 1951 to 1956. In the Augustine area particularly, notable changes have taken place.

For greater clarity, the population has been classified into three categories in Table 10: those under fifteen years of age, the working age group from 15-64 years, and persons 65 years of age and over.

TABLE 10

POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS IN WESTMINSTER AND AUGUSTINE AREAS AND IN WINNIPEG IN 1951 and 1956.

AREA	YEAR	AGE GROUPS		
		0-14	15-65	65 and Over
Winnipeg	1951	21.1%	68.9%	10.0%
	1956	24.5	64.6	10.9
Westminster Area	1951	11.8	73.7	14.5
	1956	14.6	71.0	14.4
Augustine Area	1951	14.8	69.3	15.9
	1956	17.3	64.9	17.8

Table 10 shows clearly that, in both areas, the proportion of the group under fifteen years of age to the total population is very low as compared to Winnipeg. It constitutes only 11.8% of the total population in the Westminster area and 14.8% in the Augustine area in 1951. There was a slight increase in this age group in 1956, but it seems that this increase was a general trend in the city as a whole. This increase may be related to a high birth rate together with a low death rate among children between 1951 and 1956, which raised the proportion of this group to the total population from 11.8% to 14.6% in Westminster and from 14.8% to 17.3% in the Augustine area.

This low percentage of the population under 15 years of age is more clearly evident when we compare these figures in Table 10 with those of Canada, where 30.2% of the population were children under 15 years of age in 1951 and 32.5% in 1956.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 133.

On the other hand, the proportion of the working-age groups - 15 to 64 years - is relatively high in comparison to Winnipeg proper as well as to Canada as a whole. In Canada this group was 61.9% in 1951 and in 1956, 59.8% of the total.<sup>42</sup>

The proportion of persons 65 years of age or over in both areas is considerably higher as compared to Winnipeg proper. The percentage of elderly people in relation to the total population in both areas is almost twice as high as in Canada as a whole, and is over one and one half times that of Winnipeg proper.

TABLE 11

POPULATION BY MARITAL STATUS IN WESTMINSTER AND AUGUSTINE AREAS AND IN WINNIPEG IN YEARS 1951 and 1956.

AREA	SINGLE			MARRIED	WIDOWED	DIVORCED
	Total Number	Under 15 Years of Age	Over 15 Years of Age			
1 9 5 1						
Winnipeg	42.9%	21.2%	21.7%	50.4%	6.1%	0.6%
Westminster Area	46.1	11.9	34.2	44.1	9.2	0.6
Augustine Area	40.2	14.9	25.3	48.1	10.8	0.8
1 9 5 6						
Winnipeg	43.7%	24.4%	19.2%	49.4%	6.4%	0.5%
Westminster Area	45.2	14.6	30.6	45.2	8.9	0.7
Augustine Area	41.0	17.2	23.8	46.4	11.5	1.1

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.,



In Table 11 the distribution of population by marital status is shown. The significance of the differences in marital condition is to be found chiefly in their effects on natality and mortality rate. In general we may say that, where a high proportion of the population is married, the crude birth rate is higher. Again both males and females who are married have lower death rates than single, widowed and divorced persons of the same age.

When we compare the figures in Table 11, on marital situations in both areas, with those of Winnipeg proper, the most striking difference is seen in the large number of single persons of 15 years of age and over. In the Westminster area there was 34.2% of single people as compared with 21.7% in Winnipeg, for 1951. This percentage of single population declined to 30.6% in 1956, while the proportion of married persons increased slightly from 44.1% in 1951 to 45.2% in 1956.

There is a marked difference in the percentage of married persons in both areas for 1951 and for 1956 as compared with Winnipeg for the same years. A tendency towards a decline in the married and an increase in the single population in the Augustine area is noted. Much of this difference is in the population under 15 years of age as the percentage of single population of 15 years and over, in this area, declined by only 1.5% during the same period.

These slight differences are not of significance as they bear no relation to any specific factors. The differences in marital composition, like all other characteristics, are subject to natural fluctuation and usually change from time to time.

There is a relatively high percentage of widowed population and a tendency to an increase in the number of divorced persons, in both areas.

These statistics of marital status are significant in helping us to understand the low increase in population during the period from 1951 to 1956.

The next question to be looked at is the characteristics of the families by number of persons per family and by number of children per family.

In Table 12, families are classified according to the number of persons per family.

TABLE 12

THE AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILIES IN WESTMINSTER AND AUGUSTINE AREAS AS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF WINNIPEG, MANITOBA AND CANADA FOR THE YEARS 1951 to 1956.

YEAR	CANADA	MANITOBA	WINNIPEG PROPER	WESTMINSTER AREA	AUGUSTINE AREA
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
1951	3.7	3.6	3.1	2.8	2.8
1956	3.8	3.6	3.2	2.8	2.9

The figures in Table 12 show that the families in both areas are relatively small as compared with those of Winnipeg proper as well as of Manitoba and Canada. There is a consistent trend towards larger families in 1956 as compared with 1951. In the Westminster area, the average size of family remained stable over the five-year period. In the Augustine area there was a slight increase in the size of the families as the number of persons in a family rose from 2.8 in 1951 to 2.9 in 1956. IT is difficult however to determine whether there is a trend towards larger families in this area or whether this slight change is only the result of natural fluctuations.

Table 13 shows the size of families by number of children. In both areas over 50% of families consisted only of husband and wife in 1951, as compared with 40.6% in Winnipeg.

TABLE 13

FAMILIES BY NUMBERS OF CHILDREN IN WESTMINSTER AND  
AUGUSTINE AREAS AND IN WINNIPEG  
IN 1951 and 1956.

Number of Children In the Family	WINNIPEG		WESTMINSTER AREA		AUGUSTINE AREA	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1 9 5 1						
0	25,596	40.6	572	52.7	589	50.2
1-2	29,941	47.3	437	40.3	508	43.2
3-4	6,655	10.6	70	6.5	66	5.6
5 -	925	1.5	6	0.5	12	1.0
Total Families	63,117	100.0	1085	100.0	1175	100.0
1 9 5 6						
0	26,095	39.6	572	50.8	585	49.5
1-2	29,811	45.1	475	42.1	482	40.7
3-4	8,729	13.2	73	6.5	98	8.3
5n-	1,384	2.1	7	0.6	18	1.5
Total Families	66,019	100.0	1127	100.0	11183	100.0

There are also striking differences in the proportion of the other three groups of families with children in both areas as compared with Winnipeg. These differences are more evident in the Westminster than in the Augustine area. When we compare the figures of 1951 and of 1956 in both areas, we can see a trend toward larger families. This trend has been somewhat more marked in the Augustine area than in the Westminster area. These differences in size of families, by number of children, may be related to several economic, social, vocation, and religious factors. Whatever the underlying factors, the fact remains that both areas are populated by families with small number of children. The trend toward larger families in both areas during the five-year period is evident in statistics of Winnipeg proper. Thus, it appears that this is a part of the general trend in the city, and is not specific to either area under the study.

TABLE 14

OCCUPATIONS IN WESTMINSTER AND AUGUSTINE AREAS, AND IN WINNIPEG IN 1951 and 1958

OCCUPATION	WINNIPEG		WESTMINSTER AREA				AUGUSTINE AREA			
	1951		1951		1958		1951		1958	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Per.	Number	Per.	Number	Per.	Num.	Per.

M A L E S

Proprietary	8908	11.5%	133	9.9%	142	9.9%	176	13.0%	179	12.1%
Professional	4787	6.2	120	9.1	118	8.3	113	8.3	87	5.9
Clerical	8248	10.7	167	12.5	186	13.0	162	11.0	225	15.2
Primary	1016	1.3	17	1.3	2	0.1	10	0.7	5	0.3
Manufacturing & Mechanical	14705	19.1	209	15.7	225	15.8	197	14.6	231	15.6
Construction	3956	7.7	111	8.3	121	8.5	111	8.2	156	10.5
Transport & Communication	8641	11.2	154	11.6	136	9.5	165	12.2	161	10.9
Financial & Commercial	5947	7.7	161	12.1	150	10.5	140	10.3	127	8.6
Service	6545	8.5	101	7.6	119	8.3	102	7.5	98	6.7
Personal	4195	5.4	60	4.5	81	5.7	69	5.1	84	5.7
Labourers	8018	10.4	98	7.4	147	10.3	107	7.9	128	8.6
Total	76966	99.8	1331	99.9	1427	100.0	1352	99.8	1481	100.0

F E M A L E S

Proprietary	1054	1.9%	28	1.8%	27	1.7%	29	2.7%	24	2.1%
Professional	5006	9.0	193	13.2	171	10.8	140	13.0	121	10.6
Clerical	17415	31.3	519	35.5	657	41.8	385	35.9	464	40.5
Primary	126	0.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Manufacturing & Mechanical	6340	11.4	114	7.8	90	5.6	71	6.6	77	6.7
Transport & Communication	885	1.6	19	1.3	32	2.0	25	2.3	32	2.8
Construction	61	0.1	2	0.1	1	0.6	---	---	---	---
Financial & Commercial	5602	10.0	118	8.1	111	7.1	97	9.0	80	7.0
Service	9318	16.7	231	15.8	196	12.5	159	14.8	144	12.6
Personal	9204	16.5	229	15.7	278	17.7	158	14.7	202	17.6
Labourers	626	1.1	7	0.5	3	0.2	5	0.5	---	---
Total	55628	99.8	1460	99.8	1566	100.0	1072	99.8	1144	99.9

Table 14 deals with occupations. The various types of occupations which fall under the categories given in the tables are taken from the Census of Canada.<sup>43</sup>

The material dealing with occupation was obtained from two different and unrelated sources, the Census of Canada for the year of 1951, and the Provincial Voters' List for the electoral districts within which the two areas lay, in 1958. Therefore, in analyzing Table 14, it must be remembered that the data for the year 1958 does not include persons under the age of 21, or others not eligible to vote. This may tend to distort the picture somewhat.

Both areas had, in 1951, a higher percentage of males in the professional, clerical, construction, and financial and commercial categories, than did Winnipeg proper.

Between the years 1951 and 1958, there has been a rise in the number of males engaged in clerical work in both areas. In 1951, the "clerical" category, was 12.5% for the Westminster area, and 11.0% for the Augustine area. In 1958, the percentages had risen to 13.0% and 15.2% respectively. Increases of a similar nature are evident also in the categories "construction" and "labourers", although they are not as high.

Table 14 shows that, in 1951, there was a higher ratio of females engaged in clerical work in the two areas studied, than in Winnipeg proper. This also applied to the category "professional." However, in the years 1951 to 1958, the percentage of females in the "professional" category decreased from 13.2% to 10.9% and from 13.0% to 10.6% for the Westminster and Augustine areas respectively.

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<sup>43</sup>Canada, Dominion Bureau of Vital Statistics, Ninth Census of Canada: 1951, Characteristics of the Labour Force by Census Tracts, Winnipeg.

During the same period the percentage of females in the "clerical" category increased from 35.5% to 41.9% for Westminster, and from 35.9% to 40.5% for Augustine.

A general observation of occupational status in each of the two areas studied shows that there has been a decrease in the "professional" category, and an increase in the "clerical" category. Although there have also been changes in other categories, these latter are not so marked.

The data presented in Table 15 was obtained from the Census of Canada for 1951 and from the sample survey for 1958. Because returns from the sample were small, the accuracy of the percentage for 1958 is somewhat doubtful.

TABLE 15  
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN WESTMINSTER AND AUGUSTINE  
AREAS IN 1951 and 1958

AREA	YEAR	BAPTIST	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	GREEK ORTHODOX	LUTHERAN	JEWISH	MENNONITE	PRESBYTERIAN	ROMAN CATHOLIC	UKR. GREEK CATHOLIC	UNITED CHURCH	OTHER
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>Westminster Area</u>	1951	2.4	22.1	1.1	5.1	0.9	0.9	6.2	16.2	3.0	37.9	4.1
	1958	---	7.8	2.0	3.7	---	3.9	3.9	21.6	7.8	33.3	5.9
<u>Augustine Area</u>	1951	2.8	18.9	2.8	6.6	0.5	1.6	6.7	13.9	3.4	39.7	2.9
	1958	2.6	15.0	3.5	6.2	---	4.4	0.9	11.5	---	47.8	7.9

In 1951, the largest denomination in both areas was the United Church, with 39.7% of the recorded population in the Augustine area, and 37.9% of the population in the Westminster area as adherents. The second largest was the Church of England with a percentage of 18.9% and 22.1% for the Augustine and Westminster areas respectively. The smallest denomination for both areas was the Jewish, with only 0.5% in Augustine and 0.9% in Westminster.

In 1958, in the Augustine area, the United Church denomination accounted for 47.8% of the recorded population, a marked increase. The Memmonite denomination increased from 1.6% to 4.4%. There was a decrease recorded for the Church of England denomination, the Presbyterian denomination, and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic denomination. Other denominations recorded little change.

In 1958, in the Westminster area, the Lutheran denomination showed a large increase, from 5.1% in 1951, to 13.7% in 1958. The Mennonite denomination similarly showed an increase from 0.9% to 3.9%. The Roman Catholic denomination showed an increase from 16.2% in 1951 to 21.6% in 1958, and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic denomination showed an increase of 4.8% (from 3.0% in 1951 to 7.8% in 1958). The Church of England showed the highest incidence of decrease - from 22.1% in 1951 to 7.8% in 1958. The Presbyterian denomination showed a decrease from 6.2% in 1951 to 3.9% in 1958. The remainder of the denominations showed little significant change from 1951 to 1958.

The final category studies was the distribution of people by ethnic origin. For census recording, a person's origin is traced through his father, and wherever possible, it is verified by asking the language spoken by the person's paternal ancestor who first came to Canada.

For the purpose of this discussion, we will use the terms "origin" and "ethnic" as interchangeable.

TABLE 16

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY ETHNIC ORIGIN IN WESTMINSTER  
AND AUGUSTINE AREAS AND IN WINNIPEG IN 1951.

ORIGIN	WINNIPEG		WESTMINSTER AREA		AUGUSTINE AREA	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
British Isles a)	119,367	50.6%	2,885	63.9%	3,006	66.2%
French	9,898	4.2	198	4.4	279	6.1
German	17,461	7.4	242	5.4	186	4.1
Italian	1,743	0.7	48	1.1	36	0.8
Jewish	15,552	6.6	28	0.6	35	0.8
Netherlands	4,146	1.8	108	2.4	91	2.0
Polish	13,889	5.9	172	3.8	168	3.8
Russian	2,009	0.9	47	1.0	27	0.6
Scandinavian b)	9,261	3.9	273	6.1	214	4.8
Ukrainian	32,272	13.7	357	7.9	229	5.0
Other European	5,750	2.4	117	2.6	141	3.1
Asiatic	1,653	0.7	22	0.5	13	0.3
Other and not Stated	2,709	1.2	15	0.3	112	2.4
TOTAL	235,710	100.0	4,512	100.0	4,537	100.0

\*a) Includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh.

b) Includes Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish.

Immigration to Canada has in the past been a major factor in shaping the size and composition of population. The rapid increase in population of cities was found to be due not to natural increase, i.e., excess of birth over deaths, but to an increasing stream of European immigrants. Therefore, we have, in Canada and in the U.S.A., larger and more diverse foreign-born elements in our population than in any other country.

The figures presented in Table 16 show that the population in both areas was more homogeneous than that of Winnipeg proper in 1951. Certainly, both areas contained a great variety of ethnic groups, but this condition could probably be found in any part of the city, as heterogeneity was, and will remain, one of the significant characteristics of Canadian urban life. However, 63.9% of the total population in the Westminster area,



and 66.2% in the Augustine area, were of British Isles origin, as compared with 50.6% in Winnipeg proper.

It would appear that in 1951 all minority ethnic groups were equally distributed in both areas and in Winnipeg proper, except those of Jewish and Ukrainian origin. These latter two ethnic groups were less well represented in both areas studied, as compared with the city as a whole.

Table 17 represents an attempt to determine the trend in population distribution by ethnic origin in the Westminster and Augustine areas, during the period from 1951 to 1958. Information for 1958 was gathered from the sample survey, therefore it might be considered relatively tentative.

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY ETHNIC ORIGIN IN WESTMINSTER AND AUGUSTINE AREAS IN 1951 and 1958.

AREA	YEAR	BRITISH ISLES	FRENCH	GERMAN	ITALIAN	JEWISH	NETHERLANDS	POLISH	RUSSIAN	SCANDINAVIAN	UKRAINIAN	OTHER EUROPEAN	ASIATIC	OTHER AND NOT STATED
<u>Westminster Area</u>	1951	63.9	4.4	4.5	1.1	0.6	2.4	3.8	1.0	6.1	7.9	2.6	0.5	0.3
	1958	49.0	9.8	7.8	---	---	2.0	2.0	2.0	5.9	3.7	7.8	---	---
<u>Augustine Area</u>	1951	66.2	6.1	4.1	0.9	0.8	2.0	3.8	0.6	4.8	5.0	3.1	0.3	2.4
	1958	65.5	4.4	4.4	---	0.9	6.2	3.5	1.8	6.2	1.8	3.5	---	1.8

In 1958, in the Westminster area, the population of British Isles origin, according to the sample, showed a marked decrease, while the population of French, German, and Ukrainian origin increased considerably.

In the Augustine area, there were few significant changes from 1951 to 1958, except in groups of Netherlands and Scandinavian origin, which increased notably, while the French group decreased by 1.7%.

Once again, the figures presented in Table 17 for 1958 must be considered as of uncertain validity.

Mobility

The latest statistics available, on the mobility of population for Winnipeg, were taken from the 1951 Census where the rate was found to be 25.3%. The current average urban mobility for Winnipeg is at present not available, but the average rate for the United States taken for the year 1949-1950 was approximately 17%.<sup>44</sup>

TABLE 18

RATES OF GENERAL MOBILITY FOR WESTMINSTER, AUGUSTINE & CITY OF WINNIPEG AREAS

YEARS	WESTMINSTER AREA		AUGUSTINE AREA		CITY OF WPG.	
	Mobile Group	%	Mobile Group	%	Mobile Group	%
1950-1951	425	36.6	460	35.5	24370	25.3
1957-1958	460	43.3	750	53.5		

Table 18 shows an increase of 6.6% in the mobility of the Westminster area during the past decade, and an increase of 18% for the Augustine area. Figures for Winnipeg for the year 1957-1958 were not available, but in 1950-1951, the rate of mobility for Winnipeg was approximately 10% lower than for either area.

In the Westminster area, approximately 2 of every 5 householders were mobile during the year, while in the Augustine area, approximately 1 of every 2 were similarly classified.

<sup>44</sup> University of Michigan, Department of Sociology, A Social Profile of Detroit. . 9.

The following tables 19 and 20 deal with movement out of the two areas.

TABLE 19

OUTWARD MOBILITY FOR THE YEAR 1957-1958

AREA	Total	Moved Out	Percentage
Westminster Area	106	27	25.4
Augustine Area	140	78	35.7

Table 19 indicates that in the Westminster area, 1 of every 4 resident householders left the area during the year.

Table 19 also indicates that, in the Augustine area, approximately 1 of every 2 resident householders left the area during the year.

In comparing these groups in the two areas for 1957, a marked divergence of mobility is evident. The Westminster area shows a rate of 25.4%, while the Augustine area shows a rate of 55.7%. Both areas show a trend towards maintaining a high rate of outgoing mobility of population, but the rate in the Augustine area is more than double that of the Westminster area.

The pattern of movement in Table 20 is based on data obtained by sampling the vertical and horizontal movement of out-going householders in each area for the year 1957 and 1958, and deals specifically with movement from one zone to another zone of higher, lower, or equal socio-economic status.

TABLE 20

DIRECTION OF MOBILITY OUT OF THE AREA AS RELATED TO CHANGE IN STATUS  
FOR THE YEAR 1957 - 1958

AREA	TOTAL	VERTICAL ASCENDING		VERTICAL DESCENDING		HORIZONTAL	
		Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate
Westminster Area	13	7	53.8%	4	30.7%	2	15.3%
Augustine Area	45	27	60	4	8.8%	14	31.1%

In the Westminster area, 53.8% of the mobile group improved their status by the move. As only 30.7% of the group moved in a vertical descending direction, one may assume that a current trend towards vertically ascending mobility has been established in the Westminster area.

In the Augustine area, 60% improved their status by the move. As only 8.8% of the group moved in a vertical descending direction, one may assume that a strong current trend towards vertically ascending mobility exists in the Augustine area.

Although both areas appear to have a high rate of vertical ascending mobility, this is more marked in the Augustine area.

It is presumed that, when people leave a neighbourhood and thereby improve their status, they are the ambitious and progressive members of that community, whose presence helps to keep it alive and vigorous. When this group leaves an area in such large proportions as indicated in Table 20, it is also to be assumed that the area suffers by the loss, and that a parallel trend towards decline will be evident. This being so, it is further logical to assume that in the Augustine area, where the rate of vertical mobility is the higher, the trend toward deterioration of the area should be more rapid. In the Westminster area, where the rate of vertical ascending mobility is lower, the trend toward deterioration, though indicated, should be somewhat more retarded by comparison.

Since no information was obtained with respect to the persons moving in to the areas to replace those who left, the foregoing assumptions were made with that limitation in mind.

### Social Problems

#### Child Neglect

In the period covered by the study, there were 309 courtcases where there had been a declaration of neglect or an order extending, or an order discharging a temporary order. Of these 309 cases, 4 originated in the Westminster area, 2 in the Augustine area and 227 in the remainder of Winnipeg proper.

The rates of child neglect computed on the basis of the number of courtcases per 1,000 children, 19 years and under, according to the 1956 census of population, were 3.92 for the Westminster area, 1.87 for the Augustine area and 2.99 for Winnipeg Proper.

The validity of the rates is open to question because of the small figures involved and because of the nature of the sample.

Dividing the cases into those involving children born in wedlock, and those involving children born out of wedlock, it was found that all of the cases of neglect originating in the two areas were due to illegitimacy.

The illegitimacy rate, on basis of the number of children born out of wedlock per 1,000 unmarried women, was 3.01 for the Westminster area, 1.82 for the Augustine area and 2.57 for Winnipeg Proper.

#### Infant Mortality

Data with regard to infant mortality is recorded by the City of Winnipeg Public Health Department, according to statistical districts.

The Augustine area is included in the Portage South district which comprises three census tracts. The Westminster area is included in the Riverview district which comprises two census tracts. The infant mortality rates for the period 1955 through 1957 were, 26.5 for the Portage South district, 25.2 for the Riverview district, and 26.2 for Winnipeg Proper.

These rates suggest little significant difference between the statistical districts in which the areas are included and the city proper. However, the rates are indicative of those for the two census tracts under study only to the extent that they are grouped in districts with census tracts that have characteristics similar to their own. Casual observation of these statistical districts suggests differences in housing, etc., between the census tracts under study and the remainder of the statistical districts in which they are included.

#### Juvenile Delinquency

For Greater Winnipeg there was a total number of 311 delinquents, for the Westminster area 6 delinquents, and for the Augustine area, 5.

The rate for the 10-14 age group was 3.93 for the Westminster area, 9.37 for the Augustine area and 1.10 for Greater Winnipeg.

The crude rate for the age group 10-18 was 4.00 for the Westminster area, 4.04 for the Augustine area and 2.06 for Greater Winnipeg.

In Greater Winnipeg, the major charge was theft (26.42 percent), in the Westminster area car theft, and in the Augustine area neither theft nor car theft occurred.

The seriousness of an offence, in a more absolute sense, can only be based on the particular offence and its circumstances.

In the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study car-theft was considered less serious than theft. On basis of this very limited observation, we then perhaps may say, that the majority of offences in the Westminster area are of a less serious nature than the majority of offences in Greater Winnipeg.

In the Augustine area there was no majority of a certain category of offence. The offences encountered were; two of discharging arrows, which we placed under the category of possession or use of an offensive weapon; two offences of disorderly conduct (trespassing), and one offence of incorrigibility. Using the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study as seriousness index, these offences rated equal or lower than the offences under the same category in Greater Winnipeg.

With reservation, we may thus say that the nature of offences in this area is not more serious than of the offences committed in Greater Winnipeg.

The age and sex of the offender, in relation to the offence committed in the Westminster area, corresponds to the findings for Greater Winnipeg.

The majority of car-theft cases were committed by boys in the 14-15 age group. While the majority of theft cases were in the 17 years age group. A number were found among the 12 year olds as well.

Offences concerning breach of the liquor act were found in the 16-17 age group. The findings for the Augustine area did not correspond.

With regard to delinquents having committed multiple-offences, no such delinquents were found in the two areas under study.

It could be said that the delinquent who commits multiple offences is not an accidental offender, but has accepted a more or less criminal attitude or at least lost the power of control to a larger degree than the one-offence-delinquent.

In Greater Winnipeg there were 45 cases of delinquents charged with multiple offences.

The older the delinquent is when he comes to the attention of the court, the more difficult it is to help him or her to readjust and to develop a code of behaviour in line with the code of society. It is also generally held that the community takes a different view of girls being apprehended, than of boys. Generally the number of boys appearing in court is much larger than the number of girls. The ratio across Canada is eight to one.

Juvenile of 13 to 15 years of age comprised the majority of delinquents in 1955.<sup>45</sup>

For Greater Winnipeg, we found that 55.7 percent, or 137 out of 246 delinquents were in the 16 to 17 age group. In the Westminster area 5 out of the 6 cases were in the age group 12 to 15, and in the Augustine area, all male cases, 4, were in the age group 13 to 14.

As for sex, the percentage of female delinquents for Greater Winnipeg is 14.14 percent, or 44 cases out of 311; or approximately one out of seven delinquents is a girl.

In the Westminster area there were no girls adjudged delinquent and

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<sup>45</sup>Canada, Dominion Bureau of Vital Statistics, Canada Year Book: 1957-58.



in the Augustine area one out of the total number of five cases was a girl.

The dispositions most frequently made are; probation, fine, and placement in an institution, not necessarily in this order. Cost of service can be measured in different ways. With respect to probation we may say that the cost of service can be expressed in the length of time and degree of professional skill required to give adequate service. The costs of institutional placement are much higher in terms of providing shelter, food and clothing, and time and skill of the professional worker. Imposing a fine would seem to be the least costly service given.

In Greater Winnipeg we found that 101 out of 311 cases, or 32.47 percent, were placed on probation; 140 out of 311, or 45.02 percent, fined; and 49 out of 311, or 15.73 percent, placed in an institution.

In the Westminster area three out of six cases, or 50 percent, were placed on probation, two were fined and one adjudged delinquent and reprimanded. Considering the small number of cases and the influence of each case on the total percentage, it cannot be said that the preponderance of the disposition of probation is much higher than in Greater Winnipeg.

In the Augustine area we found one out of five cases, or 20 percent, placed on probation; two, or 40 percent, were fined; and two, or 40 percent, were reprimanded.

It would seem that the cost of service in terms of time and skill, in general, is not higher in the Westminster and Augustine areas than in Greater Winnipeg.

We should also attach importance to the fact that in neither the Westminster nor the Augustine area was a delinquent placed in an institution.

### Economic Dependency

From examination of registrations of cases by the Winnipeg Public Welfare Department during the years 1955 to 1957 inclusive, it was found that for Winnipeg proper there was a total of 14,781 registrations. Of this total, 139 registrations originated in the Augustine area, and 190 registrations in the Westminster area. The rates of registration per 1,000 population were as follows: Winnipeg - 57.65; Augustine area - 29.41; Westminster area - 39.33. The rate for the Augustine area was about half of the Winnipeg rate, and for the Westminster area was about two-thirds of the Winnipeg rate. This indication of lower economic dependency rates for the census tracts than for Winnipeg proper was limited because it was based upon expressions of economic dependency as registered by only one agency.

From examination of Mothers' Allowance applications, made to the Provincial Public Welfare Division during the years 1955 to 1957 inclusive, it was found that for Winnipeg proper there was a total of 169 applications. Of this total, 3 applications originated in the Augustine area, and 8 applications originated in the Westminster area. The rates of application per 1,000 families having one or more children 14 years of age or under were as follows: Winnipeg - 5.41; Augustine area - 7.32; Westminster area 17.13. The rate for the Augustine area was slightly higher than was the Winnipeg rate, and the rate for the Westminster area was more than three times as high as the Winnipeg rate. This indication of a higher dependency rate for the areas than for Winnipeg was in contradiction to the findings with regard to Winnipeg Public Welfare Department registration rates. Because of the larger number of cases involved, the findings with regard to Winnipeg

Public Welfare Department registrations were considered the more significant of the two sets of findings.

In an attempt to confirm the findings with regard to Mother's Allowance applications, the numbers of families receiving Mothers' Allowance in Winnipeg and in the areas were tabulated for the months of January 1955 and December 1957. It was found that in Winnipeg proper there were 260 recipient families in January 1955. Of these, 1 family resided in the Augustine area and 6 families resided in the Westminster area. During December 1957 there were 249 families receiving Mothers' Allowance in Winnipeg. Of these, 4 families were in the Augustine area, and 4 families were in the Westminster area. The mean rates of recipients of Mothers' Allowance per 1,000 families having one or more children 14 years of age or under were as follows: Winnipeg - 8.24; Augustine area - 6.10; Westminster area - 10.70. The mean rate for recipient families in the Augustine area was lower than was the rate for Winnipeg, and the rate for the Westminster area was only slightly higher than was the rate for Winnipeg. Therefore, the rates with regard to recipients of Mothers' Allowance did not provide confirmation of our findings with regard to Mothers' Allowance applicants.

In comparing data with regard to Mothers' Allowance applicants and recipients, one fact of interest came to light. While the Westminster area had more recipients of Mothers' Allowance in January of 1955 than did the Augustine area, and had more applications for Mothers' Allowance during the following three years, there were the same number of recipients in each area in December of 1957. This may have been caused in part by high rates of mobility.

Leisure Time Activities

The following is the analysis of the data collected by means of a schedule, which was administered to a random sample of households in each of the areas. This data was analyzed according to the area from which it originated.

Westminster Area

The sample in the Westminster area was composed of 29 households which included 84 individuals (35 males and 49 females). There were 25 single persons including 12 children, 51 married persons and 8 who were widowed.

TABLE 21

DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUALS BY AGE AND SEX

AGE	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
5-12 years	3	3.6	3	3.6	6	7.2
13-19 years	2	2.4	4	4.8	6	7.2
20-39 years	15	17.6	20	24.0	35	41.6
40-64 years	12	14.4	11	13.0	23	27.4
65 and over	3	3.6	11	13.0	14	16.6
Total Number	35	41.6	49	58.4	84	100.0

In Table 21 it was found that only 14.4 percent of the total individuals interviewed were below 20 years of age. The teenagers 13 through 19 years of age made up 7.2% of the total sample. Nearly one half the group (41.6%) were between 20 and 39 years of age. Of the total 16.6% were over 65 years of age with 13.0% being female.

TABLE 22  
INCOME AND EARNINGS OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD FOR 1958

Income and Earnings	Number of Heads of Household	Percentage of Household Heads
UNDER \$1,000.00	1	3.6
\$1,000.-\$1,999.	3	10.3
\$2,000.-\$2,999.	8	27.5
\$3,000.-\$3,999.	5	17.2
\$4,000.-\$5,999.	8	27.5
\$6,000. and over	3	10.3
Not given	1	3.6
Total Number	29	100.0

Table 22 indicated that nearly one half of the householders (44.7%) had income and earnings between \$2,000 and \$4,000. There were 37.8% who reported having income and earnings over \$4,000. Those reporting income and earnings below \$2,000. totalled 13.9%. The median income and earnings was approximately \$3,400.

Table 23 is divided into five categories for purposes of analysis as follows:

Category I (Sports Activities)

Table 23 shows that 58.3% of the children in the sample participated in sports activities with this percentage remaining fairly constant for both sexes. The married individuals participated less than the children and, of the total group interviewed, 41.1% participated, and this again was constant for both sexes.

Of the young single adults (20-29) 66.6% participated in sports activities with the percentage being higher for females (80.0%) than for males (50.0%). We found from Table 23, category I, that 33.3% of the older

TABLE 23

## PARTICIPATION IN LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES BY CATEGORY, MARITAL STATUS, AND SEX

Marital Status	Total Sample	CATEGORY																		
		I Sports Activities				II Informal Activities				III Commercial Activities				IV Community Organizations				V Individual Activities		
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Children																				
Male	5	3	60.0			4	80.0			3	60.0			4	80.0			5	100.	
Female	7	4	57.1			2	28.5			6	85.7			6	85.7			7	100.	
Total Children	12			7	58.3			6	50.0			9	75.0			10	83.3		12	100.0
Married																				
Male	25	10	40.0			25	100.			12	48.0			15	60.0			25	100.	
Female	26	11	42.3			26	100.			15	57.6			15	57.6			26	100.	
Total Married	51			21	41.1			51	100.			27	52.9			30	58.8		51	100.0
Single Young People (20-39 yrs)																				
Male	4	2	50.0			3	75.0			3	75.0			3	75.0			4	100.	
Female	5	4	80.0			5	100.			5	100.			2	40.0			5	100.	
Total Young Single People	9			6	66.6			8	88.8			8	88.8			5	55.5		9	100.0
Older Single People (40+ over)																				
Male	1	1	100.			1	100.			1	100.			1	100.			1	100.	
Female	11	3	27.2			9	81.8			5	45.4			9	81.8			10	90.9	
Total Older Single People	12			4	33.3			10	83.3			6	50.0			10	83.3		11	91.7
Total Sample	84			38	45.2			75	89.2			50	59.5			55	65.5		83	99.7

single group (40 and over) participated in sports activities. In this age group 27.2% of the females and 100.0 percent of the males participated.

Category II (Informal Activities)

Fifty percent of the children participated in informal activities with a higher percentage of males (80.0%) than females (28.5%). We found that 100.0% of the married individuals showed interest in this type of activity. There was a similarity in the percentage of the young and older single persons participating in informal activities (88.8% and 83.3% respectively). The older single males and young single females both showed 100.0% participation.

Category III (Commercial Entertainment)

There was a high percentage of children (75.0%) and young single adults (88.8%) showing an interest in commercial entertainment with females being in the majority. The married and older single groups showed a similarity in interest in commercial entertainment (52.9% and 50.0% respectively). There was a difference in the sexes however, with 48.0% of the married males and 100.0% of the older single men participating. Of the females, we noted that 57.6% of the married and 45.4% of the older single females reported an interest in this activity.

Category IV (Community Organizations)

Of the total group in this category the children and older single adults reported equal participation (83.3%). Married and young single individuals had similar interests in community organizations (58.8% and 55.5% respectively). In each group the percentages of males and females were similar excepting in the young single group where 75.0% of the males and 40.0% of the females reported.

Category V (Individual Activities)

Every individual in each group except the older single group participated in some form of individual leisure time activity. Of the older single group there was however 100.0% of the males reporting. We noted that 90.0% of the females and 91.7% of the total group showed interest in this activity.

Summary

For the total sample Category V activities (individual activities) were engaged in by the highest percentage while Category I activities (sports) were engaged in by the lowest percentage except by the young single adults who preferred this category as second choice and the children who preferred it as fourth choice.

Category II activities (informal activities) was also a first preference of married and young single adults, second by the older single adults and least popular to the children.

Category III activities (commercial activities) was the third preference of each group except by young single adults who preferred it equally with informal activities and individual activities. Category IV activities (community organizations) was found to be the second most popular activities to all groups except young single people who preferred this activity least.

Augustine Area

The sample in the Augustine area was composed of 38 households which included 109 people (44 male and 65 female). There were 41 single persons, including children, 49 married persons, 17 widowed and 2 divorced.



TABLE 24

DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUALS BY SEX AND AGE

AGE	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
5-12 years	5	4.4	7	6.5	12	11
13-19 years	4	3.7	8	7.3	12	11
20-39 years	14	12.8	16	14.6	30	27.4
40-64 years	11	10.2	22	20.2	30	30.4
65 years and over	10	9.3	12	11	22	20.2
Total	44	40.4	65	59.6	108	100.0

In Table 24, we see that 53.6% of the sample is over 40 years of age with 20.2% over 65 years. Only 11% are teenagers and 22% under 20 years of age. Almost one third of the sample were females over 40 years of age.

TABLE 25

INCOME AND EARNINGS OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD FOR 1958

Income and Earnings	Number of Heads of Household	Percentage of Household Heads
Under \$1,000.00	5	13.2
\$1,000.-\$1,999.	3	7.9
\$2,000.-\$2,999.	7	18.4
\$3,000.-\$3,999.	8	21
\$4,000.-\$5,999.	9	23.7
\$6,000. and over	1	2.6
Not Given	5	13.2

TABLE 26

## PARTICIPATION IN LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES BY CATEGORY, MARITAL STATUS, AND SEX

Marital Status	Total Sample	Category																			
		I				II				III				IV				V			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Children																					
Male	9	6	66.6			7	77.8			7	77.8			9	100			9	100		
FEMALE	15	15	100			11	74			13	86			13	86			15	100		
Total Children	24			21	87.5			18	75			20	83.3			22	95			24	100
Married																					
Male	25	18	72			25	100			18	72			19	76			25	100		
Female	29	16	55.2			29	100			23	79.3			24	82.8			29	100		
Total Married	54			34	63			54	100			41	85.9			43	79.6			54	100
Young Single People (20-39 yrs.)																					
Male	6	6	100			6	100			5	83.3			3	50			6	100		
Female	5	2	40			5	100			4	80			3	60			4	80		
Total Young People	11			8	72.8			11	100			9	81.9			6	54.6			10	91
Older Single People (50 yrs. & over)																					
Male	4	3	75			2	50			1	25			1	25			4	100		
Female	16	3	18.7			16	100			6	37.5			13	81.2			16	100		
Total Older Single People	20			6	30			19	95			7	35			14	70			20	100
Total Sample	109			69	63.3			102	93.6			77	70.6			85	78			108	98.2

Table 25 indicates that 13.2% of the households have incomes of less than \$1,000. while 39.4% have income and earnings of between \$2,000 and \$3,999. Only 26.3% have incomes over \$4,000. The median income is approximately \$3,100.

Category I (Sports Activities)

In Table No. 26 we see that a larger percentage of children (87.3%) are active in sports activities than for any other group with the older single adults having the lowest percentage of their group (30%) active in this category, while the married group and the younger single adults show similar percentages (63% and 72.8% respectively). In all groups, except the children's group, a larger percentage of the men were involved than were the females with the difference in the single adults being the greatest. 100% of the younger and 75% of the older single male adults were active in sports activities compared with 40% of the younger and 18.7% of the older single females.

Category II (Informal Activities)

Everyone in the married and the younger single adult groups was active in visiting with friends or relatives either at home or away from home as well as 95% of the older single adults. Fewer of the children were involved in visiting but even here 75% of the total group spent time in this activity.

Category III (Commercial Entertainment)

Similar percentages of children, married people and young single adults reported an interest in the activities in this category (83.3%, 85.9% and 81.9% respectively) while only 35% of the older single adults reported any interest in the activities. In each group there were similar percentages of males and females reporting an interest.

Category IV (Community Organizations)

A larger percentage of the children were active in this category than in any other group, but in each case more than 50% reported an interest in some club or church activity. 95% of the children compared with 54.4% of the older single adults (which was the lowest percentage) showed an interest in the activities in this category.

Category V (Individual Activities)

Everyone in each group except the young single adults is engaged in at least one of the activities included in Category V and even 91% of the young single adults are engaged in one of the activities. This category has the highest percentage of the sample engaging in its activities.

Summary

For the total sample Category V Activities (non social) were engaged in by the highest percentage while Category I activities (sports) were engaged in by the lowest percentage. Category II activities (informal activities) was the second in preference followed by Category IV (community organizations) and then Category III (commercial entertainment).

Within the groups composing the sample there were three exceptions to the general pattern that are worth noting. For the children sports is listed as their third choice (last for the total sample) and informal activities as their last choice (second choice for the total sample). For the young single adults, club and church activities is their last choice (third choice for the total sample). The other categories within the four group are similar or vary only one position in preference.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS

#### The Westminster Area

This area lies between Portage Avenue, Sherbrooke Street, the Assiniboine River and Canora Street. It was established as a residential area after the turn of the century and it has remained predominantly residential in character. However, the study of land use revealed that land devoted to commercial use had increased since 1930. This commercial development was found to be confined mostly to Portage Ave., Sherbrooke and Maryland Streets--that is, it was confined mainly to the periphery of the area.

These streets are also the major thoroughfares carrying traffic through the area. Access to the area is also gained by Westminster and Wolsely Avenues which carry some through traffic too. Public transit operates on Portage, Sherbrooke, Maryland and Westminster.

The percentage of buildings used as multiple dwellings was found to be smaller than that used as a criterion of deterioration in a similar study in Vancouver.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, multiple occupancy of single family dwellings was found to have increased in the period 1938 to 1958 and a number of zoning infractions appeared.

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<sup>1</sup> City of Vancouver Planning Dept., Vancouver Redevelopment Study.

A "windshield survey" of the condition of dwellings revealed that somewhat more than three-quarters were in only fair condition with a very small proportion in poor condition. Slightly less than one-quarter were in good condition.

The analysis of demographical data revealed that the main features of the population were:

1. Growth--The rate of increase from 1951 to 1956 was smaller than that for Winnipeg proper.
2. Sex ratio--Females outnumbered males and the proportion of females was higher than that in the population of Winnipeg proper.
3. Age groupings--The proportions of the population in the groups 0-15 and 35-64 were smaller than those in these groups in the population of Winnipeg proper. The proportions of the population in the groups 20-35 and 65 and over were higher than those in these groups in the population of Winnipeg proper.
4. Marital status--Married people made up a smaller proportion of the population than in Winnipeg proper, where they formed about one-half of the population. There was a higher proportion of single, divorced and widowed persons in the population than there was in Winnipeg proper.
5. Family size--The size of the average family was smaller than that for Winnipeg proper and about one-half of the families were childless, which was a considerably higher proportion than that found for Winnipeg proper.
6. Occupational groupings---These appeared to be mainly the clerical, service, personal services, semi-skilled labor and labor classifications. The proportion of laborers had increased while the proportion of the

professional groups had decreased in the period 1951-1958.

7. Ethnic groupings--In both 1951 and 1958 by far the largest groups were comprised of persons with origins in the British Isles, although the sample of the 1958 population indicated that this group had declined in numbers. The next largest groups were Ukrainian and French. Most other groups making up the total population of Winnipeg were represented but in small numbers.

8. Religious affiliations--A sample studied in 1958 suggested that almost one-half of the population claimed adherence to the United Church of Canada. The next largest groups were Anglicans and Roman Catholics.

The study of the pattern of population movement revealed a steady, though comparatively slow, increase in the rate of mobility in the Westminster area. During recent years this rate had tended to level off into a plateau, which was still considerably in excess of the average rate for Winnipeg proper. The movement was found to be in a predominantly outward vertical direction away from the area to a district of higher socio-economic status.

By and large, the data concerning the incidence of social problems was so sparse that no firm conclusions could be drawn. The rates of child neglect, juvenile delinquency and mother's allowances applications were all higher than those for Winnipeg proper. On the other, hand, cases were registered by the City Public Welfare Department at a rate lower than that for Winnipeg proper. Because of the larger numbers involved and the use of data from a total three-year period, this last rate appeared to have more validity than any of the other rates.

A picture was obtained then, of an urban area which was beginning to show some signs of physical deterioration. It was inhabited by a somewhat mobile population made up of people who, after a brief stay, moved to better districts. There was a disproportionate number of females to males in this population and a disproportionate number of persons over the age of 65.

The relatively high proportions of the population, which were single adults and childless married couples, suggested a district in which multiple-occupancy of single family dwellings tended to predominate. This characteristic can be expected to continue as can the predominantly residential character of the area. This last is likely an advantage gained from the fact that major traffic arteries, to which commercial development is largely confined, are on the periphery of the area and do not criss cross it. In the past this same factor may have prevented as rapid a deterioration as might have been expected from an area lying so close to the centre of an expanding metropolitan area. The population will be relatively mobile but it will also be economically homogeneous, being comprised generally of people in the lower income groups.

#### The Augustine Area

This area is bounded by the Assiniboine and Red Rivers, Mulvey Avenue and Osborne Street. A relatively large part of the area is occupied by the CNR tracks and it is traversed by the major traffic arteries of the Midtown route, River and Stradbroke Avenues. Osborne Street, one of the boundaries of the area, also is a major thoroughfare. Public transit operates on all of these routes.

The area began as a select residential district as early as 1882 and, by the beginning of World War I, was almost completely settled. In 1958



a larger proportion of land was still used for residential than for any other purpose and by far the greater number of structures were used for dwellings. It was found, however, that there had been a decrease in the land used for residential purposes in the period 1938-58, while that used for commercial, industrial, public and institutional purposes had increased. This development appeared to have occurred mainly along the major thoroughfares.

Of the residential structures, something over one quarter were found to be multiple family dwellings. This was greater than the proportion used as a criterion of deterioration in the Vancouver study. Multiple occupancy in former single family dwellings had also increased. Some of the older dwellings were replaced by apartment blocks and there were over  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times as many of these as there had been in 1946.

The "windshield survey" of the condition of dwellings showed that less than one tenth were in good condition and almost one quarter were either poor or very poor. The remainder were in only fair condition.

The outstanding features of the population were found to be:

1. Growth--The rate of increase from 1951 to 1956 was smaller than that for Winnipeg proper.
2. Sex ratio--Females outnumbered males to a greater extent than in Winnipeg proper.
3. Age groupings--The percentages in the age groups 0-15 and 35-64 were smaller than those in similar groups in Winnipeg proper. The proportions of the population in the groups 20-35 and 65 and over were higher in the population of Winnipeg proper.
4. Marital status--Married people made up a smaller proportion of the population than in Winnipeg proper, where they formed about one-half of the population. There was a higher proportion of single, divorced and widowed

persons than in Winnipeg proper.

5. Family size--The size of the average family was smaller than that Winnipeg proper. About one-half of these families were childless which was a higher proportion than that found for Winnipeg proper.

6. Occupational groupings--These appeared to be mainly the clerical, service, personal services and labor classifications. The proportion of these had increased while the professional groups had decreased for the period 1951-1958.

7. Ethnic groupings--In both 1951 and 1958 about two-thirds of the population were of Anglo-Saxon origin. The sample of the 1958 population studied suggested that the next two largest groups were of Scandinavian and Netherlands origins. Similar groups to those making up the total population of Winnipeg were represented in smaller numbers.

8. Religious affiliations--The United Church claimed the largest number of adherents. The next two largest groups were the Roman Catholic and Anglican groups.

It was found that, over the past decade, there had been a steady and rapid increase in the rate of the mobility of the population. At the beginning of the decade the annual rate was well in excess of the average rate for a metropolitan area. By 1958 this movement had increased to the point where almost three fifths of the population moved each year. This mobility involved people who moved into the area and then left it after a relatively short space of time to go to a higher status districts.

As for the occurrence of social problems, only juvenile delinquency

and the mothers' allowances applications occurred at rates higher than those for Winnipeg proper. Child neglect and cases registered by the City Public Welfare Department occurred at rates lower than those for Winnipeg proper. Again, these rates, except that for economic dependency, were based on data so sparse that valid conclusions were impossible.

From the point of view of land use, condition of dwellings and mobility of population, the area showed many signs of deterioration. Because of the location of the CNR tracks and the fact that from its beginning the area was crossed by a major traffic artery (River Ave.), the area appeared to have a predisposition to deterioration. Further impetus was added when other traffic arteries (Stradbroke Ave., and the Midtown Route) came into being. The R.R. tracks attracted light industrial and heavy commercial enterprises and the major routes brought heavier traffic through residential areas, which resulted in the encroachment on residential property by commercial and other non-residential development.

As the area thus became a less desirable residential district, the substantial one family dwellings became more susceptible to conversion for multiple-occupancy. This type of dwelling attracted single adults and families in the lower income groups. It was a mobile population which moved to better districts as soon as economic factors permitted.

The high mobility of the population may also have been related to the building of modern apartment blocks, which replaced some of the older one family dwellings. Such building was an indication of self-renewal, to the extent that apartment blocks are preferable to overcrowded, deteriorating, older housing. Apartment blocks do serve the needs of that proportion of the population which, for various reasons, will always be mobile.

It can be expected that the trend to construction of apartment blocks in the Augustine area will continue and, that they will be interspersed with commercial and institutional establishments and deteriorating, older housing. In outward appearance, the area will therefore present contrasts: new modern apartment blocks adjacent to overcrowded, older housing and to both old and new commercial establishments.

These visual contrasts will be matched by contrasts in the educational, occupational and income composition of the population. The new apartment blocks are likely to be inhabited by persons with fairly high income levels, while the deteriorating housing will attract the persons with lower incomes, and the single adults. This heterogeneous population will necessarily be highly mobile and will therefore, lack any strong sense of community identification.

#### Leisure Time Activities in the Two Areas

The study of leisure time activities showed that people in both areas spent most of their leisure in solitary, non-social activities at homes, as well as in informal social activities abroad, such as visiting relatives and friends. Participation in social clubs and church activities rated in the middle of the scale, while interest in formal organized sports rated the lowest.

The small samples studied made it difficult to use these findings in drawing conclusions that, as a result of the low rates of participation in formal, social leisure time activities, the areas studied were in a state of social disorganization. Nevertheless the findings had sufficient validity to suggest the presence in both areas of a trend toward a state of disorganization, characteristic of areas in transition.

When the Augustine and Westminster areas were compared with each other it was found that, the former showed a greater percentage of children participating in the first four categories of the leisure time activities. In the last category which included individual, non-social participation, children in both areas showed the same degree of participation.

Married people in the Augustine area also participated to a greater extent in such leisure time activities as sports, commercial entertainment and club and church activities. For the other two categories, the same degree of interest was shown by people of both areas.

Single people in the Augustine area participated in leisure time activities with their relatives and friends to a greater degree than did those in Westminster.

The only leisure time category in which people, living in the Westminster area, showed a remarkably greater participation, as compared with those living in the Augustine area, was the commercial entertainment of single people. In the Westminster area the same group of individuals out-matched the corresponding group in the Augustine area, although, to a somewhat smaller degree, in their club and church activities.

On the basis of the above findings, the conclusion may be drawn that, there is a greater participation in various categories of leisure time activity by the residents of the Augustine area even though it is somewhat less organized than in the Westminster area. This differs from other findings of the study as will be indicated below.

#### General Conclusions

The study began from the general hypothesis that both the Westminster and Augustine areas were areas in transition. Thus the study was designed to determine whether the usual characteristics of deterioration were present

in either area and, if so, to what degree.

Some evidence of deterioration was found in both areas: the majority of dwellings were in less than good condition, many single-family dwellings had been converted to multiple-occupancy, and the population included disproportionate sex ratio and there was a larger proportion of single adults and childless married couples than in the population of Winnipeg proper. By its nature, this population has a fairly high rate of mobility and, it was thus not surprising, that this feature was demonstrated in that aspect of the study concerned with population movement.

The characteristics of deterioration were more marked in the Augustine area and, there appeared to be two main reasons for this: first, it became a residential area some ten to fifteen years before the Westminster area, and second, the Augustine area is crossed by several major thoroughfares, whereas, in the Westminster area, these thoroughfares lie on the periphery.

Physical deterioration in the Augustine area may be halted to some extent by the construction of apartment blocks. This building appears to have been accelerated in recent years. A similar trend has not been so marked in the Westminster area. Perhaps this is related to the fact that its dwellings are somewhat newer than those in the Augustine area, and, thus, are not yet ready for replacement. Therefore, Westminster area can be expected to continue to be characterized by multiple occupancy of older, deteriorating, single family dwellings, for some time to come.

This type of housing will attract persons in the lower income groups but, they will be a homogeneous population. This differs from the type of population that can be expected in the Augustine area, where the mixture of various types of dwellings will attract a heterogeneous population. Persons resident in the Augustine area will also tend to have a higher rate of mobility than those in the Westminster area.

The section of the study concerned with social problems did not provide data, which could be interpreted as suggesting that either area was deteriorating. It is interesting to note, however, that the incidence of economic dependency (on which the most reliable data were obtained) was higher in the Augustine area than in the Westminster area. This tended to confirm findings, from the other sections of the study, that characteristics of deterioration were more marked in the Augustine area.

The presence of characteristics of deterioration in both areas was confirmed, in a limited way, by the findings of the study of leisure time activities. One conclusion drawn from this section of the study was, that there was a trend toward social disorganization in both areas. Such disorganization is characteristic of transitional areas. The findings of this section of the study did differ from the findings of the other sections, in that, the social disorganization was found to be more marked in the Westminster area than in the Augustine area. This difference may be related to the contrasts in the various population groupings in the Augustine area, mentioned earlier, in this study.

The hypothesis, that each of the Westminster and Augustine areas were areas in transition, was therefore proved with respect to both areas. Each area was found to have a number of characteristics of areas in transition. These characteristics appeared to be more marked in the Augustine area but were nevertheless present in the Westminster area to a lesser degree. These characteristics are likely to remain for some time to come. While there is some renewal in the Augustine area, as a result of construction of apartment blocks, there are districts, such as the triangle south of Wardlaw, which are likely to become totally commercial in the near future. There is a little sign of similar renewal in the Westminster area, and it seems likely that there will be none in the immediate future. Thus a gradual deterioration of this area can be expected over the next few years.

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**APPENDIX I**

**GENERAL LAND USE CLASSIFICATIONS**



## APPENDIX I

### GENERAL LAND USE CLASSIFICATIONS<sup>1</sup>

#### Residential

Single Family Dwelling. A structure housing one family in one complete living unit.

Two Family Dwelling. A structure such as a duplex or a flat housing two families, each in a complete living unit.

Three or Four Family Dwelling. A structure such as housing three or four families, each in a complete living unit.

Multiple Family Dwelling. A structure such as three storey walk-ups or apartment blocks, housing more than four families, each in a complete living unit.

These general classifications do not take into consideration such cases as a structure housing two or more families in one complete living unit.

#### Commercial

For purposes of the two census tracts in question:

Those business activities which provide necessary shopping facilities and services for the daily needs of a local area such as banks, grocery stores, drug stores; those business activities which depend on more than the local area for support, such as theatres, gasoline stations, doctors' offices, etc.

#### Industrial

Light Industrial. Areas which include warehouses and light industrial

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<sup>1</sup>Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater Winnipeg, Guide to the Use of Color in Land Use Mapping.

uses of such scale that they present no serious hazards to neighboring properties either from smoke, noise, odor, or fire.

Heavy Industrial. Usually includes industrial activities such as oil distillation, packing plants, factories, chemical plants, which may be of a nuisance or danger producing character.

#### Public Utilities and Railroads

These are distinguished from industrial classifications due to the fact that these utilities serve the needs of the general public and of necessity must be located in close proximity to residential or other restricted areas.

For the purposes of clarity, and because several of the following sub-categories are grouped together in the 1930 Land Use Map, they are being included under the one broad category of Public and Institutional.

#### Public and Institutional

##### Parks

Playgrounds. includes tot lots, tennis courts, community clubs, etc.

Schools. not including commercial schools.

##### Hospitals.

Clubs and Lodges. including various fraternal, and mens' and womens' organizations, etc.

Public Buildings. Buildings operated with public funds in order to carry on government functions or serve the general public.

**APPENDIX II**

**WINDSHIELD SURVEY: CHECK LIST OF DEFICIENCY ITEMS**

## APPENDIX II

### WINDSHIELD SURVEY: CHECK LIST OF DEFICIENCY ITEMS<sup>2</sup>

Specific items to be noted as they apply to original construction and/or state of repair of buildings.

#### Foundation

Seriously cracked or broken, with holes, open cracks, loose or missing material over a considerable area.

#### Walls

Principle exterior material: brick, wood, or stucco. Holes in or through construction. Evident signs of wear -- mortar gone from bricks, plaster off in patches, stucco cracked and missing, wood slabs loose. Outside paintwork deteriorated--peeling, not painted in last five years. Support deteriorated--deep wear in wood, out of plumb, holes.

#### Roof

Covering, shingles or tiles broken, loose or missing.

#### Gutters and Downspouts

Broken, loose, blocked, or missing.

#### Chimney

Masonry missing or cracked, out of plumb, unsafe or makeshift.

#### Windows

Frames or sash rotting and/or unpainted, broken or loose. Panes broken or missing, temporary repairs, e.g. stuffed with paper, cardboard.

#### Porch, Railings, Steps

Broken, shaky, rotted or unsafe. In need of paint.

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<sup>2</sup>City of Vancouver, op.cit., p. 112.

**APPENDIX III**  
**SUMMARY OF ZONING REGULATIONS**

APPENDIX III

SUMMARY OF ZONING REGULATIONS

District	Use	Height in feet	Front Yard in feet	Side Yard in feet	Rear Yard in Feet	Lot Area per Family in sq. Feet
R1	One Family-One family dwellings, schools, churches, libraries, etc.	35	25	5	25	4400
R2	Two Family-uses permitted in R1 district plus two family dwellings.	35	25	5	25	2200
R3	Multiple Family-uses permitted in R2 district plus multiple family dwellings, boarding and lodging houses, hospitals, hotels, institutions, private clubs, etc.	45	20	5 ft for interior two stor-lots-25 eyes; 6 ft corner for three lots-15 storeys		800
C2	Commercial-uses permitted in C1 district; all other retail uses, theatres, department stores, restaurants, etc.	building bylaw	None unless commercial district joins dwelling district		interior lots-25 corner lots-15	800
C3						400
M1	Light Industry-uses permitted in commercial districts, and any use not offensive because of emission of odor, dust, smoke, gas or noise.	45	none unless industrial district adjoins dwelling district.			800
M2						400

**APPENDIX IV**

**MAPS**

