

AN EXAMINATION OF PUBLIC SECTOR ATTEMPTS TO
IMPROVE WINNIPEG'S DECLINING INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS

by

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Abstract

The focus of this thesis is an examination of public sector attempts to improve the physical living environment of Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods. It is contended that the public sector has shown little responsibility to date for the deteriorating conditions in the inner city, so that efforts addressing the problem have been directed at alleviating the symptoms of decline without addressing the underlying causes of the problem.

The study begins with a review of the literature on Canadian inner cities in Chapter II, including a brief exploration of the concept of 'inner city'. The various explanations of inner city decline that emerge from the literature are identified and discussed in order to shed some light on the problem of inner city decline in Winnipeg. Chapter III is essentially an overview of the conditions, problems, and issues that are confronting Winnipeg's inner city specifically. The chapter begins with a brief historical account of inner city development and then turns to a discussion of the housing market processes operating in the area. Finally, the specific causes of neighbourhood decline in Winnipeg's inner city are identified. This is followed in Chapter IV with a review of past and present public sector area improvement interventions. This review concentrates on those aspects of neighbourhood decline that are identified in Chapters II and III. The chapter concludes with a cursory comparison of area improvement efforts in relation to the underlying causes of decline. In Chapter V, there is a discussion of the level of political support that these efforts have received, and a few basic suggestions for

-improving present efforts are made.

The literature review of Canadian inner cities found that there are at least eight underlying causes of neighbourhood decline. A further review, of the historical development and present-day conditions of eleven of Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods, revealed that all eight of the causes of decline have been operating upon Winnipeg's inner city. Finally, the examination of public sector efforts to improve these neighbourhoods were examined and the conclusion was reached that the underlying causes of inner city decline have remained largely unaddressed in Winnipeg.

The overwhelming conclusion of the thesis is that there has been a general lack of political commitment toward revitalizing Winnipeg's inner city. While this lack of commitment has been apparent at all three levels of government, the biggest shortcoming has been at the municipal level. Winnipeg City Council has adopted a very passive role in relation to housing and neighbourhood improvement. Associated with the lack of political will has been a lack of overall planning direction which in turn has prevented public sector improvement efforts from addressing the underlying causes of inner city neighbourhood decline. Instead, Council's piecemeal approach of initiating neighbourhood and housing programs has resulted in a very narrow focus that has directed improvement efforts merely at alleviating the symptoms of decline.

The thesis concludes with a set of recommendations for future area improvement intervention and also with a discussion of the prospects for change.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PROBLEM STATEMENT

This thesis concerns the older residential neighbourhoods located adjacent to Winnipeg's downtown core. Fundamental changes in their nature have been occurring since the end of the second world war. While newer suburban areas continue to show signs of strength and vitality, many inner city neighbourhoods are caught up in a cycle of physical decline resulting from the aging of the built environment coupled with a concentration of social and economic problems. Acting together, these factors have led to a highly polarized population structure between inner city and more outlying neighbourhoods, leading to even further decline in the living environment of the inner city.

By sustaining and enhancing the physical environment of various inner city neighbourhoods, a local sense of community, and hence commitment, could hopefully be fostered among inner city residents. This, in turn, would produce a stabilizing effect on the inner city that would slow down the out-migration of residents and help attract new residents to the area. These are all essential requirements of overcoming neighbourhood deterioration and making Winnipeg's central city a more viable residential community.

The focus of this thesis is an examination of public sector attempts to improve the physical living environment of Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods. It is the contention of this thesis that the public sector has shown little responsibility to date for the deteriorating conditions in the inner city, so that efforts addressing the problem have been ad hoc and reactive in nature, as opposed to interventionist

and comprehensive. As such, they have been directed at alleviating the symptoms of decline without addressing the underlying causes of the problem. It is also contended that there has been a failure to get the private and public sectors working effectively together to solve inner city problems.

SCOPE OF STUDY

While the physical quality of the neighbourhood environment and housing stock greatly influence the quality of life experienced by city dwellers, physical improvement of the residential environment alone is a rather narrow objective to hold. The social and economic well-being of inner city residents are important aspects to consider as well. Therefore, overcoming the decline of inner city neighbourhoods must be seen as a complex process involving three overlapping strands, namely: revitalization of the physical environment, expansion of employment opportunities, and social support programs. Improvements to the neighbourhood environment and housing stock will help alleviate social and economic problems, just as neighbourhood revitalization will follow from improvements in social and economic conditions.

While the need to consider all three aspects of neighbourhood decline is recognized in this thesis, it should be pointed out that the intent is to examine only public sector attempts at revitalizing the physical environment of residential areas in the inner city. Thus employment programs and the delivery of social services are not considered to be within the scope of this particular research effort.

Admittedly, such a focus avoids addressing the much larger question of total inner city revitalization. On the other hand, by placing emphasis on only one component of central city decline, it is hoped that a more complete and thorough understanding can be gained of this particular subject area. Furthermore, the following examination of efforts to improve the physical environment of Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods is strongly influenced by social and economic considerations.

The examination of public sector improvement efforts begins with a review of the literature on Canadian inner cities in Chapter II. This review contains a brief exploration of the concept of 'inner city'. Then, the various explanations of inner city decline that emerge from the literature are identified and discussed in order to shed some light on the problem of inner city decline in Winnipeg. Chapter III is essentially an overview of the conditions, problems, and issues that are confronting Winnipeg's inner city specifically. In order to gain a greater depth of understanding, the chapter begins with a brief historical account of inner city development. As well, the housing market processes that are leading to the undesirable demographic and socio-economic polarization occurring in Winnipeg are discussed and finally, the specific causes of neighbourhood decline in Winnipeg's inner city are identified. This is followed in Chapter IV with a review of past and present public sector interventions aimed at overcoming the decline that has, and is, occurring in Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods. This review concentrates on those aspects of neighbourhood decline that are identified in Chapters II and III. The

chapter concludes with a cursory comparison of area improvement efforts in relation to the underlying causes of decline. In Chapter V, the concluding chapter, there is a discussion of the level of political support that these efforts have received, and a few basic suggestions for improving present efforts are made.

In order to quantify the various trends that are occurring in Winnipeg's inner city, a study area has been defined consisting of eleven centrally-located Winnipeg neighbourhoods. Its areal extent and boundaries are shown in Figure 1. on the next page, while Figure 2. on page 6 shows its location in relation to downtown and the rest of the built-up area of Winnipeg. Appendix I contains a discussion of how the Study Area was defined, as well as a comparison of its boundaries with those of the area that has been most frequently referred to as Winnipeg's inner city.

One final comment is necessary before proceeding further. It must be recognized that when one considers the present distribution of income and nature of private property in Canada, attempts to improve inner city areas cannot be expected to bring about a significant degree of long-term improvement. While problems such as poverty, crime, social and ethnic segregation, and unemployment are nation-wide in scope, and among the most severe that confront Canadian society, they are also concentrated in the inner cities of the country. So until governments in Canada make an earnest commitment to overcoming these problems, there can be no widescale improvements in the living conditions of our inner city areas. Furthermore, the revitalization of depressed inner city regions is simply not, at present, a priority of the

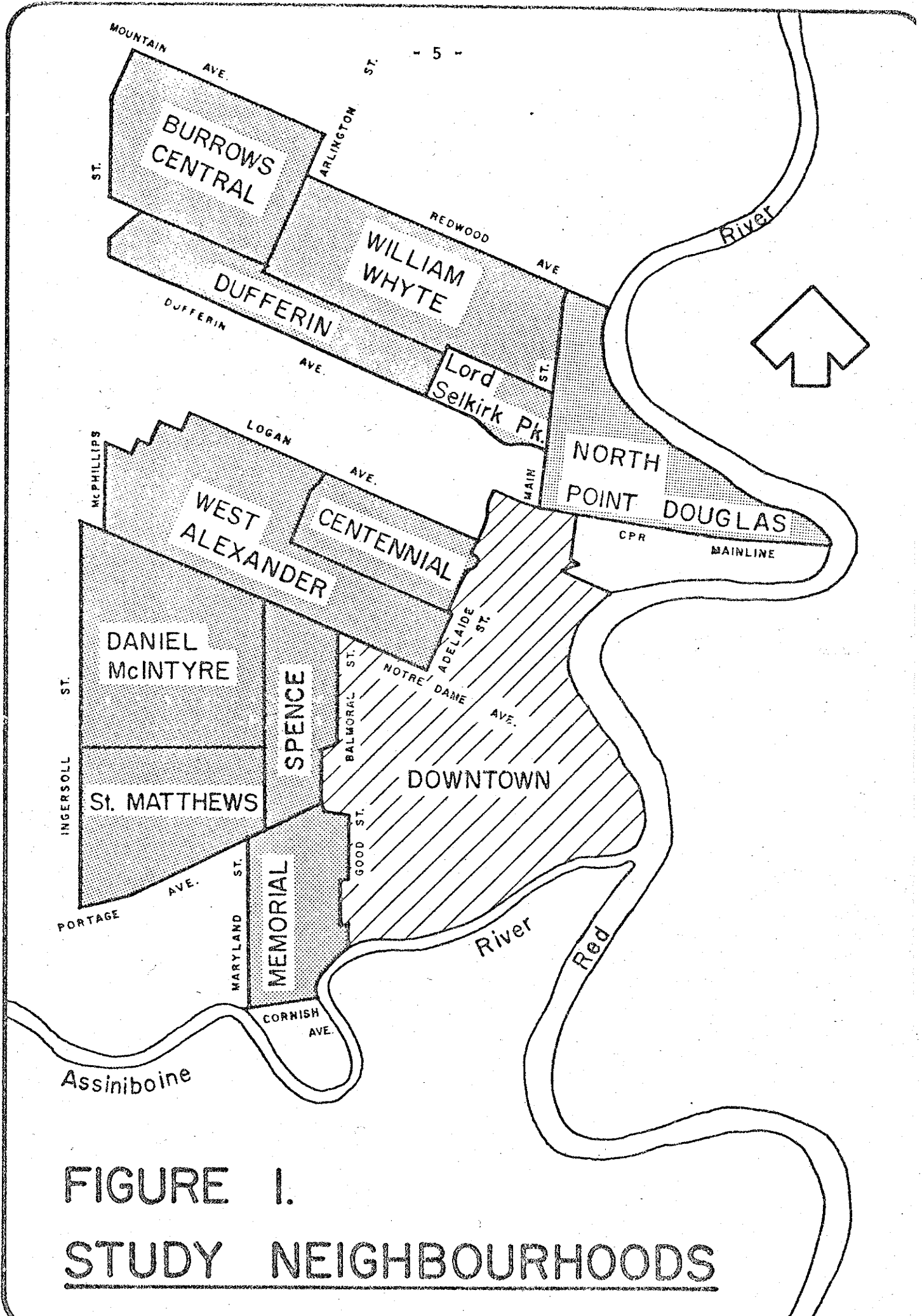


FIGURE I.
STUDY NEIGHBOURHOODS

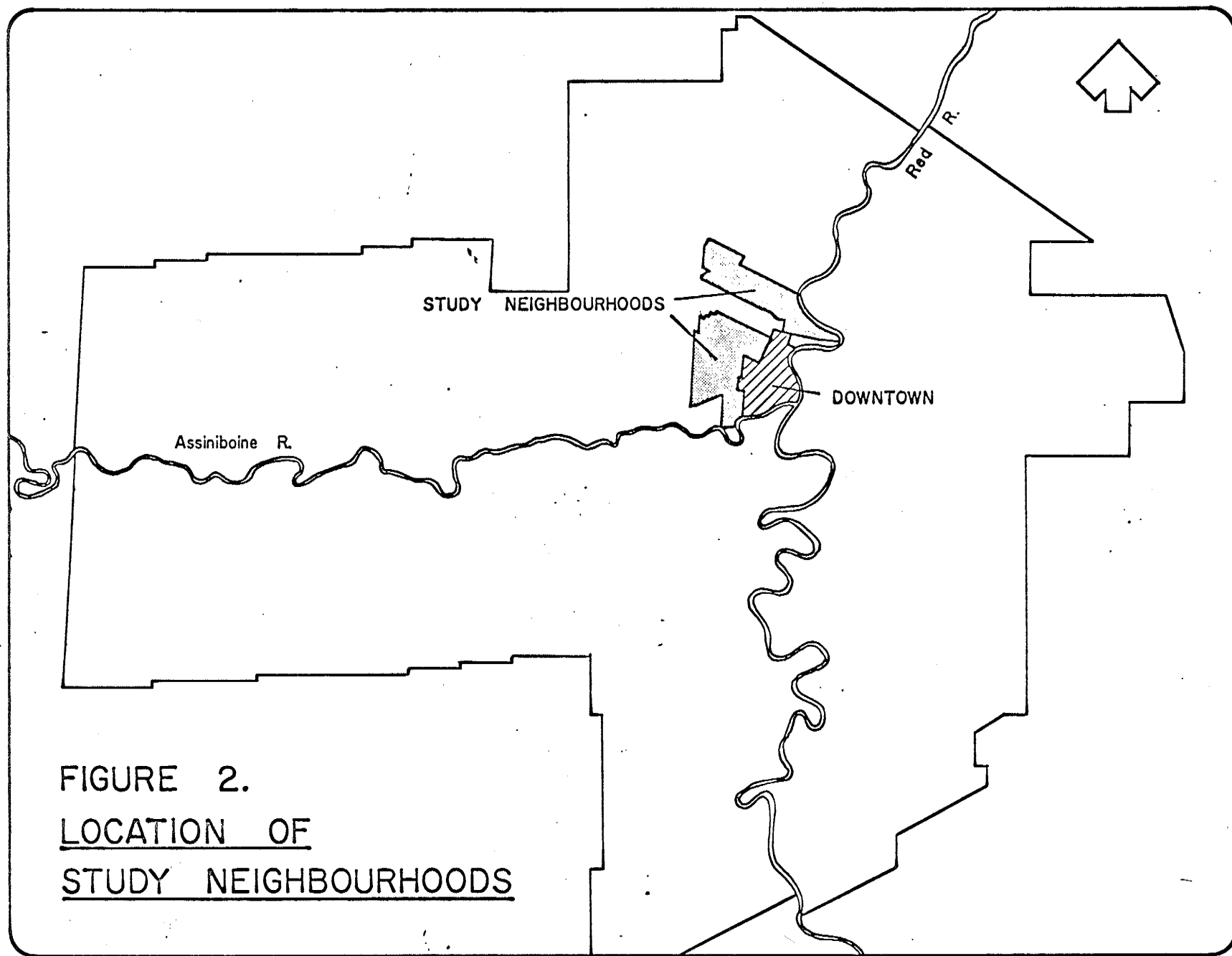


FIGURE 2.
LOCATION OF
STUDY NEIGHBOURHOODS

public sector. This fact is borne out by a cursory examination of government expenditures. For example in 1979, out of a total of \$52.4 billion, only .25% of the Federal government's gross national expenditure was spent directly on inner city revitalization, and the Province spent an even smaller proportion. (1) With this major caveat in mind, it can be seen that the challenge of current neighbourhood improvement efforts lies in how to maximize the relatively mild degree of improvement that can be expected to occur when considering the minimal inputs being provided. Despite the rather limited prospects, efforts could be more effective than they are at present by re-evaluating and subsequently revamping the existing range of government policies and programs to produce a more co-ordinated attack on the underlying causes of inner city decline.

WHY REVITALIZE INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOODS?

There are a number of reasons that are cited in planning reports and the broader literature on Canadian inner cities to justify the allocation of scarce public sector resources to aid in the revitalization of inner city areas. To begin with, one must consider the role that these older residential areas fulfill in terms of the city as a whole. Inner city neighbourhoods, some of which date back to the 1800's in Winnipeg's case, are the product of many years of both public and private efforts and investment. Thinking in these terms, our inner city neighbourhoods represent a vital historical resource, adding both diversity and interest to the city. Many of these neighbourhoods have

an underlying beauty and character not possessed by newer residential areas, exhibiting a wide variety of housing styles and attractive tree-lined streets. They also provide us with examples of what our new neighbourhoods might be like. More of our inner city neighbourhoods could fulfill such a role if appropriate actions are taken soon to prevent further decline.

Winnipeg's central city neighbourhoods are a valuable resource to the city in that they provide a significant portion of the city's housing stock, encompassing a diverse range of types and costs. Today, these neighbourhoods possess desirable locational advantages as they are near the downtown and have ready access to most areas of the city. Substantial amounts of housing accommodation are in close proximity to major centers of employment; ie. downtown; the Health Sciences Center; and the St. James, Inkster, and St. Boniface industrial areas. Inner city residential locations may also become increasingly desirable now that the era of relatively cheap energy appears to be coming to a close.

If existing inner city populations could be encouraged to remain, and possibly a portion of residential and employment growth encouraged into selected inner city neighbourhoods, then the home-to-work transportation problem might be eased and the use of public transit encouraged. Furthermore, the revitalization of the inner city neighbourhoods surrounding the downtown core could provide a great impetus to the revitalization of Winnipeg's central business district. The revitalization of established neighbourhoods, coupled with the rehabilitation of older housing, would provide an alternative to

suburban areas as a place to live, thereby increasing the living choices open to city dwellers. In Winnipeg, this might also remove some of the pressure for peripheral development, thereby reducing the city's escalating servicing requirements, and hence costs, for new growth.

(2)

The question must also be addressed as to whether a municipal government has a redistributive role to play in terms of housing and neighbourhood environment. Winnipeg's inner city contains one-fifth of the city's total population -- quite a sizable proportion. The urban environment and its quality will largely determine the quality of life for these Winnipeggers. Past and present trends will

"... have a depressing effect on the general environment, which would reinforce the migration of people and employment out of the core area, and the downward spiralling condition of the environment and the quality of life would continue." (3)

There is also the danger that less stable social and economic conditions will spread to inner city neighbourhoods which are stable at present. The City has adopted the following as its primary criterion for guiding urban growth decisions ... "To preserve and improve the quality of life for all urban dwellers." (4) This criterion alone dictates that action should be undertaken by the City in order to revitalize its older neighbourhoods. Furthermore, from a purely moral standpoint, if inner city decline is directly attributable to public sector policy-making, as is suggested later in this thesis, then it is the responsibility of the public sector to take whatever actions are required to rectify the problems it

has caused by its own actions.

The inner city neighbourhoods of Winnipeg also warrant revitalization efforts simply from the point of view that in these times of increasing resource scarcities and declining energy reserves, it makes a lot of sense to maintain the existing built-up area of a city and thereby maximize the usage that we get out of our existing neighbourhoods and housing stock. This is opposed to expanding to new residential areas which are farther and farther out from the city center while leaving the established areas behind to decline. In Winnipeg, this will become particularly apparent since a large portion of the city as it will exist at the end of the century is already built, and in the next two decades a growing number of existing structures and service systems will need major repair or replacement. (5)

Thus even during a period of financial restraint, there are many sound reasons why Winnipeg's municipal government should do something about neighbourhood and housing problems being faced by its people. As will be pointed out in the following chapters, there are numerous measures of low or moderate cost that could be implemented to aid in the revitalization of Winnipeg's inner city.

C.I FOOTNOTES

1. According to the Public Accounts of Canada, the Federal government's 'gross national expenditures' totalled \$52.4 billion in 1979.

The CMHC 'Annual Report' of 1980 indicated that some \$133.3 million was directly expended by the corporation on community revitalization. These expenditures were broken down as follows:

neighbourhood improvement grants	\$31,100,000
residential rehabilitation grants	\$97,100,000
urban renewal grants	\$4,900,000
<u>community services</u>	<u>\$200,000</u>
Total	\$133,300,000

2. refer to Greater Winnipeg Development Plan Review - In Perspective

This document identifies the escalating costs of providing physical and social services, coupled with Winnipeg's eroding tax base and economic constraints, as precluding a 'business as usual' approach to urban growth management.

According to the Urban Growth report, the costs of continued suburban development are disproportionately high so that Canadian cities cannot afford to enter into programs designed to alleviate problems in their inner cities while still undertaking the capital development programs required to support current levels of suburban development. (page 13)

3. Winnipeg Core Area Initiative Policy Committee, page 6
4. Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Urban Growth, page 33
5. Dept. of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, Plan Winnipeg - An Introduction to the Greater Winnipeg Development Plan Review (1981), page 4

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL VIEWS OF THE INNER CITY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is based upon a review of recent literature on Canadian inner cities. It is divided into three parts, the first exploring the concept of what an inner city is, the second discussing the various types of declining neighbourhoods, and the third examining the various reasons that are put forward in the literature to explain why so many inner city neighbourhoods in Canada are undergoing varying states of decline. As such, this chapter will provide the necessary backdrop required before examining the specific reasons for, and extent of, the decline that is present in Winnipeg's inner city today. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications that arise from the literature with respect to approaches to neighbourhood improvement.

DEFINING THE INNER CITY

There are a number of ways of defining what constitutes the inner city area of a large Canadian city. The most simplistic way -- in a purely geographical manner -- sees the inner city as constituting the mature residential neighbourhoods surrounding the central core of a large city. A more meaningful approach takes into account various demographic and socio-economic factors before determining the areal extent and boundaries of the inner city. Usually, such definitions see the inner city as an area in which a number of social, economic, and

physical problems are concentrated. Although these problems may not be confined to the geographic area defined as the inner city, they are most often especially severe there.(1) This approach is very similar to the definitions of the inner city that are used by planning departments in large cities across the country.

Other methods of defining Canadian inner cities utilize historical aspects. These include studies emphasizing the roles traditionally fulfilled by inner city areas or approaches relating the inner city to the older central area of a census metropolitan area (e.g. the area corresponding to the first political unit of a metropolitan area; the areal extent of the built-up urban area at the end of the Second World War; or older, central areas having compact urban forms based on multifunctional spaces, on public transit and walking, and on the high mixture of land uses).(2)

Finally, there is what has been termed the 'process approach', reflecting the unique processes that are present in the inner city and constantly at work redefining its character. In particular, the following three processes have been identified:(3)

- i) the aging and obsolescence of housing, social services, infrastructure, and the industrial base;
- ii) demographic transition, notably the aging of the population and the loss of family households;
- iii) land use competition through the expansion of central area commercial functions, highways, and institutional uses.

Although areas with the above attributes are mainly clustered in an area surrounding the central business district, they are not confined to

the inner city. However, the inner city has unique characteristics not necessarily shared by inner city type areas outside its boundaries, including severe pressures related to mixed and changing land use patterns; wide disparities in land prices; redevelopment pressures; and transportation, congestion, noise, and pollution problems.(4)

Most studies share the notion of centrality: that the inner city is composed of the older portions of the urban area adjacent to and surrounding the central business district (the CBD may or may not be included). As well, inner cities are historically among the first areas of a city to be developed. These early dates of development -- characterized by rapid and uncontrolled economic growth, unplanned and often poorly constructed working-class neighbourhoods, and the inadequate provision of social services -- have led to many of the problems which are evident in inner city areas today.(5)

Furthermore, when Canadian inner cities are considered on an aggregate basis, it is found that they fulfill a common set of roles, exhibit similar characteristics, and suffer from similar problems. In terms of roles, inner cities are seen to be the traditional location of working class communities enjoying good access to most of the city, as receiving areas for immigrants allowing gradual adaptation to their new environment, and as the home of many disadvantaged, low-income groups. Low rents, the cheapness of the cost of living, and the convenience to downtown are seen as attractions for people with little likelihood of any social mobility.(6)

When compared to the rest of the city, Canadian inner cities tend to exhibit above-average concentrations of deteriorated housing units,

aging structures, and apartments; higher rates of change and pressures for redevelopment; a greater mix of land uses; higher land prices; and congestion problems. On an overall basis, inner city populations are characterized by greater concentrations of immigrant and ethnic groups, tenants, the poor, the less educated, the unemployed, the elderly, and single persons. Families with children and young adults are found in much greater concentrations in the suburbs. In recent years, Canadian inner cities have typically experienced absolute declines in population; very high degrees of in- and out-migration among particular groups (e.g. rural migrants, upwardly-mobile families, native people, and immigrants); and shifting community structures, both ethnic and socio-economic.

In a recent study, L.S. Bourne of the University of Toronto listed the following problems which are either unique to, or especially severe in, most Canadian and American inner cities:(7)

- i) a declining economic base, loss of blue-collar jobs and high unemployment;

- ii) an overall loss of population, particularly in the most productive age groups, which undermines both the demand for social and retail services and the social diversity needed to maintain an attractive residential environment;

- iii) the in-migration of low income, unskilled groups, producing a mis-match between workers' skills and the kinds of jobs available;

- iv) absolute poverty and the disproportionate concentration of society's most economically disadvantaged;

v) crime, disease, social pathologies, and the fear of ethnic or racial groups which are seen to be different;

vi) physical deterioration of buildings, roads, and of social services such as schools, police, fire, and garbage collection;

vii) environmental pollution, litter, and noise; and

viii) discrimination by private lending agencies and government housing programs.

Not only are these problems deemed to be among the most severe that confront our society, but they are also seen as constituting meta-problems -- i.e. a cluster of inter-related problems whose solution requires a comprehensive rather than a piecemeal attack. Furthermore, these problems are intensifying under present economic conditions of high inflation, high unemployment, economic uncertainty, and slower population growth.(8) This concentration of severe problems in inner city areas tends to lend support to the definition of the inner city as a geographic area exhibiting a high incidence of interrelated problems. However, a problem-based definition does not take into account the heterogeneity that exists in inner city areas. Care must be taken so as not to stereotype all inner city neighbourhoods as declining or problem areas. High socio-economic status neighbourhoods are also present in Canadian inner cities and stable, low-income working class communities usually comprise the majority of inner city populations.

From the preceeding discussion it is apparent that there is no single definition or concept of the inner city which can be applied universally. Rather, the term has to be defined from a specific point of

reference. However, any definition of an inner city must at least take into account the notions of centrality and early historical development. The specialized roles, traits, problems, and processes commonly associated with inner city areas should be viewed as symptoms, rather than as determinants, of an inner city area.

TYPES OF DECLINING NEIGHBOURHOODS

The literature on Canadian inner cities generally recognizes four idealized inner city neighbourhood types: decline, stability, revitalization, and massive redevelopment, as first postulated by McLemore et al in 1973. (9) Distinctions between the various neighbourhood types are made on the basis of physical, social, and economic factors. However, this four-pronged typology is based on idealized neighbourhood types. In reality, distinctions between different neighbourhoods are not so straight forward as neighbourhoods usually exhibit traits associated with two or more idealized types.

Declining neighbourhoods are seen to be experiencing a 'culture of poverty' in which physical, social, and economic problems reinforce the intensity of each other. Briefly, these neighbourhoods are experiencing varying degrees of the following: continuing and worsening physical deterioration; inadequate neighbourhood facilities; an outflux of the economically mobile population; the development of serious social problems (e.g. poverty, unemployment, overcrowding, delinquency); a lack of community organization; and high rates of

tenancy and transiency. In short, declining neighbourhoods are visually and economically the worst areas of a city. Such conditions may intensify if the causes of decline are not addressed by strong public sector action.

In Winnipeg, the Department of Environmental Planning has developed a typology of neighbourhood types through its Area Characterization Study, recognizing six different kinds of neighbourhoods.(10) In contrast to McLemore's definitions which are strictly morphological, this typology is 'programmatic', being based on various scales and types of municipal action deemed appropriate. Four of these six neighbourhood types are viewed as exhibiting varying degrees of decline. The degree of decline becomes progressively worse as one passes from Conservation and Rehabilitation neighbourhoods to Major Improvement and finally to Redevelopment neighbourhoods. The inner city neighbourhood study area used in this thesis is composed of one Conservation neighbourhood: North Point Douglas; four Rehabilitation neighbourhoods: Burrows Central, Lord Selkirk Park, Daniel McIntyre and St. Matthews; and six Major Improvement neighbourhoods: William Whyte, Dufferin, Centennial, West Alexander, Spence, and Memorial (refer to Figure 3. on the next page).

The Department of Environmental Planning has defined the various types of neighbourhoods as follows. (11) Conservation neighbourhoods typically show signs of initial decline, but for the most part are still self-sufficient. Rehabilitation areas show a greater degree of decline, usually reflecting the greater age or lower standard of initial construction of dwellings and support services. Major Improvement

neighbourhoods are older areas of the City where decline is considerable both in extent and intensity. Refer to Appendix II for a discussion of the criteria used to designate each of these neighbourhood types.

The differing conditions of each declining neighbourhood must be taken into account in order that appropriate improvement inputs are formulated for specific neighbourhoods. A neighbourhood planning approach is appropriate as it avoids standardized solutions while taking into account the differing strengths and problems of various inner city areas. Accordingly, the Winnipeg Area Characterization Study identifies several broad recommendations for area improvement, based on the differing degrees of decline that exist in inner city neighbourhoods. Since only a minor degree of decline is evident in Conservation neighbourhoods, it is felt that the emphasis of improvement programs should be on supporting and strengthening the status quo, with minimal public capital input. In Rehabilitation neighbourhoods, the aim is to either stop further decline from occurring, or at least to substantially reduce the rate of decline. This calls for a comprehensive improvement effort addressing physical, social, and economic needs, which is considered by council to be beyond the present resource capability of the City of Winnipeg. As for Major improvement neighbourhoods, the City feels that their problems are so severe that they can only be solved through the direct injection of new capital for rehabilitation, new housing, new support services and facilities, and the rejuvenation of the neighbourhood's economy.

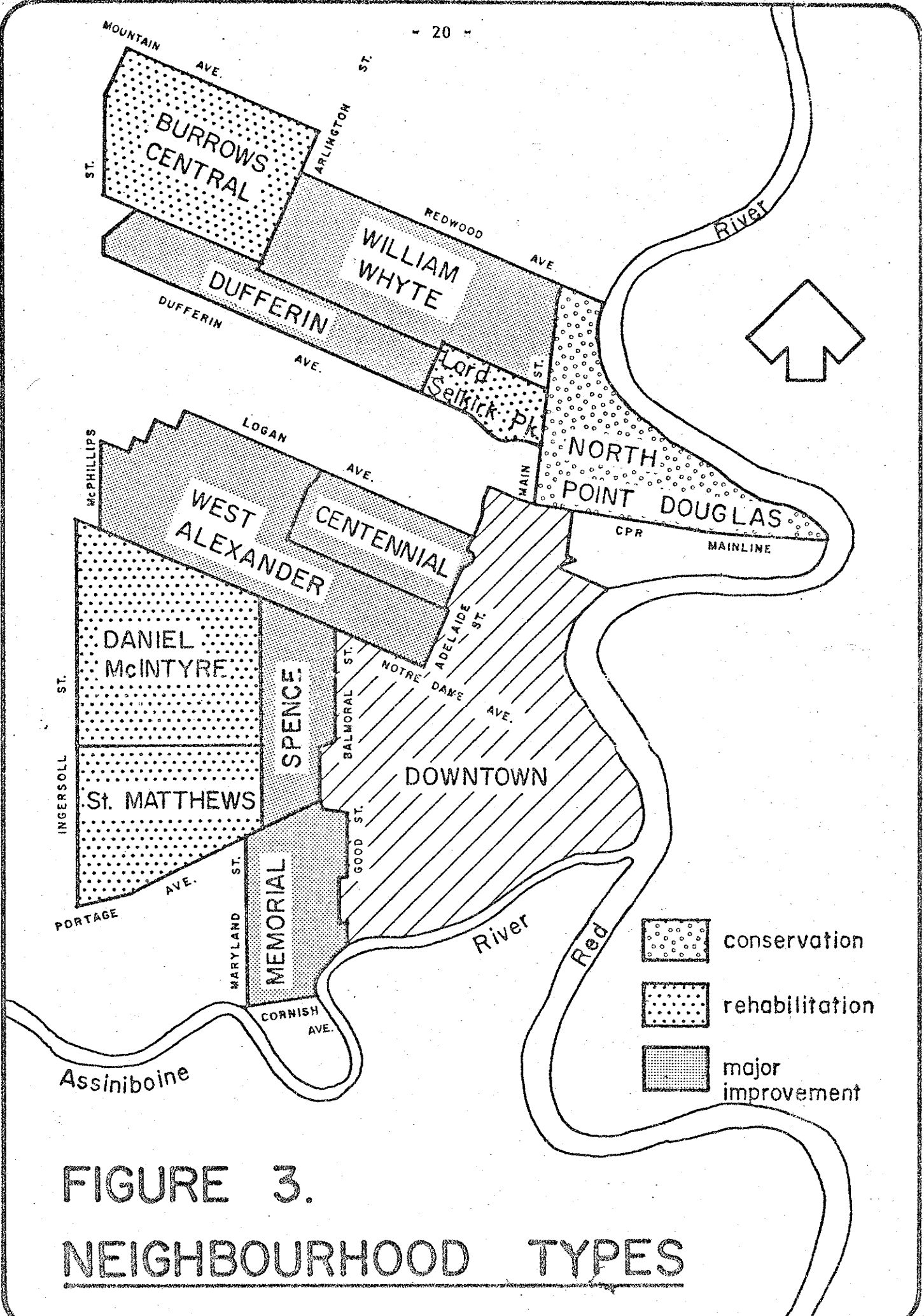


FIGURE 3.
NEIGHBOURHOOD TYPES

EXPLANATIONS OF INNER CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD DECLINE

Numerous factors have been cited in the literature on Canadian inner cities to explain why large portions of these areas undergo decline. In fact, a review of planning reports from large cities in western Canada and Ontario reveals that on the whole, inner city areas in both of these regions are undergoing various stages of decline in relation to more outlying neighbourhoods. (12) In the discussion that follows, the major explanations of inner city neighbourhood decline are briefly reviewed. As many of these causes are inter-related, distinctions between them are not clear-cut.

Urban Growth Pressures: The process of urban growth in large Canadian cities has involved the outward expansion of CBD-related (central business district) functions and the large-scale spread of suburban areas, leaving inner city areas caught between. The expansion of commercial and high density CBD functions leads to the intrusion of incompatible land uses into surrounding older residential areas and to problems associated with rising land values. These include losses of low density housing and historical structures, the loss of privacy in existing residential areas, the spillover of commercial traffic and parking onto residential streets, and uncertainty as to the future of transitional areas between high intensity and low density residential uses (transitional areas are typically poorly maintained). Large portions of inner city neighbourhoods are also overzoned for their present use. If portions of a neighbourhood's low density housing

stock are actually zoned for commercial, industrial, or higher density residential usage, the net effect can be to encourage neighbourhood decline due to escalating property values and future uncertainty. Furthermore, increasing commuter traffic between the suburbs and the central business district passes through the inner city. As the number of these trips increases, problems associated with heavier flows of traffic increase, such as noise, less safe pedestrian and residential environments, and possible pollution. Further encroachment results from expansions of the road transportation network, which can physically and perceptually separate community elements and ruin much of the existing environmental quality, as well as depress land values and physically destroy existing social infrastructures.

Macro Changes: Decline can also occur in connection with macro shifts in the structure of the national economy and in national demographic trends. The decentralization of manufacturing, warehousing, and wholesaling activities from central city to suburban locations throughout Canada in the post-war years has meant the decline of the industrial and employment base on which many inner city neighbourhoods were founded. The post-war years have also witnessed the exodus of important segments of inner city populations to newer suburban areas, again across the country, resulting in a large-scale 'thinning-out' of the population of inner city neighbourhoods. The rapid growth of incomes during the 1950s and 1960s, coupled with more liberalized mortgage terms and massive government subsidies (refer to the 'unintended consequences' explanation of decline on page 27), allowed people to

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consume more housing in terms of quality and size than would otherwise have been possible. This greatly increased the demand for suburban single family homes. The demand for suburban housing was further strengthened due to the unprecedented rise in family formation and birth rates that occurred in the same period. The decentralization of jobs and population have been mutually-reinforcing. The net result has left central city areas drained of much of their potential investment, contributing to deterioration, under-development, and neglect.

As for demographic trends, recent years have witnessed sharp declines in population growth rates. Since Canadian inner city areas have been characterized by high turnover and out-migration in recent years, they are consequently among the first areas to feel the effects of slower population growth. (13)

Shifts in the relative strengths of regional economies can exacerbate negative pressures on inner city areas. In less favoured locations of regions in which the growth of population and jobs continues to taper off and public sector cutbacks persist, "... surplus housing becomes more common, maintenance levels decline, and prices fall. As a result, residential segregation will likely increase and have a negative effect on the local economy, on levels of public and private investment, and on the quality of urban living environments."(14)

Housing Consumer Preferences: This explanation of inner city decline, related to the preceeding explanation, looks at the preferences of Canadian housing consumers. A number of 'pull' factors are seen to be drawing consumers to suburban areas while a combination of 'push'

factors are encouraging out-migration from the inner city. The attractiveness of suburban residential locations has been attributed to many factors: the great desirability and popularity of the single-detached housing form; larger lots; lower densities; newness of the overall living environment; play areas for children that are perceived to be safer; and greater environmental amenities (more open space, grass, and trees). In terms of 'push' factors, the following inner city characteristics have been cited: physical deterioration of the built environment; congestion; crime; the lack of neighbourhood amenities such as parks, playgrounds, and schools; heavy traffic volumes; poor services; the intrusion of incompatible land uses resulting in a generally non-residential character; the influx of large numbers of native people; and inner city social problems.

Another important consideration in the discussion of housing preferences is the 'family mobility cycle' as postulated by William Michelson of the University of Toronto. Basically, Michelson has found that the different phases of the family life cycle have varying housing requirements so that certain housing forms are not appropriate for particular household groups.(15) For example, highrise apartments are deemed to provide unsuitable living environments for families with children, but to be adequate for young, non-family households. Single-family housing forms on large suburban lots are seen as being very desirable for families with children leading to strong preferences for suburban locations by this group. The problem is compounded as people are restricted by the limited range of housing types that has actually been produced. Housing forms deemed appropriate for families

with children are only located in large numbers in the suburbs, largely due to their present land-consumptive designs. Theoretically a range of housing alternatives could exist, but in fact rarely does in most Canadian cities.(16)

The result of the strong shift in the preferences of North American housing consumers toward suburban housing forms has been that increases in housing quality in the post-war years have been made largely by relocation to the suburbs rather than by improving central city units.(17) Thus the demand for inner city housing has fallen, leading to housing deterioration and abandonment in many areas.

The Lack of Gradual Investment: The lack of a gradual influx of investment money has been cited as a major cause of inner city neighbourhood decline. Two primary kinds of money are identified by Jane Jacobs as shaping most of the changes that occur in residential and business properties: the credit extended by conventional, nongovernmental lending institutions, and the funds provided by government.(18) While these two kinds of money behave differently in important respects, Jacobs sees both forms of money shaping cataclysmic changes and relatively little gradual change. However, building upon and supplementing what exists in a neighbourhood is a gradual process, requiring gradual influxes of investment money.

In some cases, inner city neighbourhoods are 'red-lined', whereby conventional lending institutions lose confidence in the future vitality of a neighbourhood and refuse to approve mortgage loans for the entire area. Unfortunately, 'red-lining' accelerates neighbourhood decline by

cutting off funds to undertake new construction, expansion work, and rehabilitation. It also encourages the turnover of property to speculative owners and leads to a growth in absentee ownership. If speculative owners (investors) must hold their properties for several years while awaiting an opportunity for redevelopment, deterioration often occurs. This, in turn, may produce a loss of confidence and a reluctance on the part of local owners to invest in their properties, as well as an exodus of mobile families.

As for public sector funds, Jacobs feels that they are usually only available to older neighbourhoods when serious and widespread problems already exist. In other words, public sector funds are only available when it is too late -- they are not available on a steady and gradual basis. Governments have been at fault in another respect: their over-generous guarantees of conventional mortgages for suburban development have led to the diversion of much money that could have been financing gradual change in those inner city neighbourhoods where it has been lacking. However, this problem stems from the fact that the federal government has no jurisdiction at the municipal level and therefore does not recognize such a problem. On the other hand, provincial governments have traditionally left such problems to the municipal councils.

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Unintended Consequences of Government Policy: As Bourne points out, the indirect effects of certain government policies, acting in combination, have had the side-effect of creating or accelerating many inner city problems.(19) In particular, two government policy streams have had dramatic impacts: housing and transportation (especially highway improvements).

Housing policies at all levels of government have concentrated on encouraging the construction of new owner-occupied homes in suburban locations. A variety of measures have been used to accomplish this objective, including tax concessions, subsidized services, and the generous guarantees for inexpensive mortgages. (20) However, the indirect affect of all of these incentives -- which were accompanied by the unfavourable tax treatment of improvements to older housing and the restrictions and greater costs of financing older housing -- was to divert capital from, and substantially reduce the desire for, existing housing units in older neighbourhoods.(21) In other words, these policies led to an absolute decrease in the number of people wanting to live in the inner city. This, in turn, led to reduced incentives to maintain the older housing stock of inner city neighbourhoods. A more mixed government policy of encouraging both new housing construction and rehabilitation of the existing stock would not have produced such negative side-effects on Canadian inner city areas. From the point of view of the building industry, government programs made suburban areas much more desirable locations in which to undertake development.

As for transportation policy, vast sums of money have been spent by all three levels of government in providing the transportation

networks necessary in order to improve the accessibility of suburban residential and work areas. In combination, these efforts have made suburban development possible on a large scale and thus have encouraged decentralization of the urban structure by reducing the relative locational advantages of central city areas. Bourne notes that spending large sums of money on highway construction also diverted funds from other objectives such as improving public transit, further reducing the attractiveness of the inner city.(22) In some large Canadian cities, the construction or expansion of highway networks has had the direct effect of destroying portions of the neighbourhoods they pass through.

Other government policies and actions have had negative impacts on inner city neighbourhoods. These include tax policies which discourage reinvestment in older, smaller businesses and in the existing building stock; the fight against inflation and the rising costs of public services with resulting cutbacks in existing city areas; immigration policies which do not provide services for new immigrants; and a failure to address the restrictive policies of financial institutions in lending to inner city properties and households.(23)

The Loss of Diversity: An important aspect of community vitality that emerges from the literature is the close relationship between city vitality and diversity (the high degree of mixture of different land uses and socio-economic groups). Perhaps the two foremost writers in this respect are Jane Jacobs and Richard Sennet. The heart of Jacob's argument is that each area of a city needs a diversity of uses that give

each other mutual economic and social support, with people using public streets and spaces in common and at differing times of the day.(24) Urban areas lose vitality when these conditions are lacking. This is borne out by the downtowns of large North American cities which have become too predominantly devoted to 'nine-to-five' work uses to the point where they contain few people after working hours. As for neighbourhood vitality, a mix of housing forms in terms of bulk, design, age, and cost is seen to permit a more diverse, and hence more stable, resident population to form. Jacobs also identifies 'borders' (massive single elements) as a powerful force behind neighbourhood decline. Railroad tracks and public housing projects are classic examples of borders. The trouble is that they represent barriers to most people, thus reducing interaction between people and uses and causing greater isolation.

According to Sennet, old city neighbourhoods were complex because no group had the economic resources to shield itself from groups of lower socio-economic status or of different ethnicity by simply 'moving-out'. (25) However, with the unprecedented growth of incomes in the post-war period and matching government subsidies for suburban development, desires for coherence and sameness were played out on a massive scale. The result, in Sennet's view, is that there has been a 'brutal' simplification in the mix of living, working, and recreational uses. Whole areas of North American inner cities are today old and worn out. They are largely the home of the poor and other disadvantaged groups. Many jobs have long since departed for more outlying locations, leading to an even less diverse mix of land uses and

fewer employment opportunities. In contrast, the suburbs are little more than "isolated, disconnected islands of houses which undermine the formation of human contacts in a devastating way." (26) Sennet describes the simplification of the suburban environment as follows: "... physical space becomes rigidly divided into functional areas: there are wide swatches of commercial development concentrated in that unique suburban institution, the shopping center or shopping strip; schools are similarly isolated, usually in a parklike setting. Within the housing sectors themselves, new homes have been built at homogeneous socio-economic levels." (27)

The literature is also very critical of the post-war development industry in Canada. The industry has failed to provide a diverse range of residential development forms and hence very little degree of housing choice to Canadians (for a further discussion, refer to the 'macro change' explanation of decline). (28) Industrial parks, one of the industry's few major innovations, have facilitated the further relocation of light industry from central city locations. And shopping centers, characterized coast-to-coast by massive chain operations competing with volume economies of standardized goods, have led to financial difficulties for small and diverse business establishments. (29) They have also absorbed such a large percentage of total retail spending that the vitality of downtown and traditional shopping districts is seriously being undermined. (30) The point of the matter is that both inner city and suburban neighbourhoods could benefit from the introduction of more diverse, yet sympathetic, socio-economic groups and uses.

Aging and Physical Deterioration: There is considerable validity to this argument as inner city areas are among the oldest portions of a city. Over time, the physical condition of housing and neighbourhood facilities and services will deteriorate somewhat. In addition, many inner city neighbourhoods were developed as working class neighbourhoods with poor original housing construction, low quality services, and few controls governing development standards. As a result, they are faced today with deteriorating housing, municipal services that are deteriorating or over-loaded, few environmental amenities such as park space, inadequate and deteriorating neighbourhood facilities, and intrusion by non-compatible land uses and heavy traffic flows which erode the residential character over time. As individuals move out of central city locations, there are increasing pockets of vacant or underused land. Functional obsolescence may also occur whereby existing physical elements are no longer desirable because of design, location, or demand.

Deteriorating neighbourhood environments can be self-perpetuating due to the effects that they have on their inhabitants. Undesirable environmental conditions tend to discourage a sense of social responsibility and encourage indifference. These in turn feed back on levels of private investment, building maintenance, social service needs, and possibly most important, the local population's commitment to improving the public environment.(31) Thus run-down properties and neighbourhood conditions can have a negative impact on surrounding properties, causing deterioration to spread spatially.

Poverty and Exploitation: This view sees the decline of some inner city areas as the result of the concentration of disadvantaged groups in the inner city and their exploitation by powerful outside forces. Increasing segregation occurs as middle-income groups are often better informed and have greater resources to take advantage of opportunities such as government subsidies (e.g. for single detached houses in the suburbs). Other groups are simply left behind in the inner city. Due to the lower incomes of inner city residents, housing maintenance and repair expenditures are frequently deferred when in fact the older inner city housing stock generally requires higher per unit maintenance expenditures. At the same time, low income residents can only afford low rents, often leaving landlords with limited revenues to maintain their properties. As well, inner city residents, who on average have fewer resources, must cope with its declining economic base, environmental deterioration, and increased residential segregation.

Another stream of thought stresses the inner city as the entry point into the city of immigrants and other disadvantaged groups such as native and rural migrants. These groups tend to occupy older areas and inexpensive housing which are situated near the commercial core. Higher income groups historically moved to more outlying areas when the first low income groups began to move in. This leaves the urban area stratified into concentric zones of increasing social status outward from the center. Moreover, the inner city, which is characterized by problems that are quite different from and more severe than those confronting other areas of the city, becomes increasingly inhabited by a population that is severely handicapped in being able to cope with these

problems.

Inner city neighbourhoods are also seen to typically lack organization and decision-making power, greatly weakening the neighbourhood's ability to lobby for needed changes. Decisions are largely made on their behalf by people who do not live there. This limited ability to influence decisions affecting the local neighbourhood often leads to indifference among residents. This is not so surprising when one considers the large concentrations of socially and economically disadvantaged people that often reside in the inner city and the high degree of mobility they exhibit. According to Bourne, the inner city suffers from many of the problems common to frontier regions: high disease, inadequate social services, economic uncertainty, and exploitation by a distant (in cultural, not physical terms) elite.(32)

McLemore notes the 'culture of poverty' that makes the poor culturally distinct in certain respects: "Apathy, lack of education, attachment to outmoded values, and distrust of the outside world may be present, inhibiting change and preventing people from taking advantage of opportunities even when they do exist." (Healthy, productive traits may also be present).(33) Secondly, McLemore sees the disadvantaged position of the poor in society as being perpetuated by the wider processes of society. These processes may include the behaviour of higher strata which act to maintain their own privileged position; the exploitation of poor areas by more affluent areas and private companies; discrimination because of colour, national origin, or language; and bureaucratic inertia on the part of governmental organizations serving the local area.(34)

IMPLICATIONS FOR NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT

This chapter consists of three major sections. In the first, there is a discussion of the various concepts that have been used to define Canadian inner cities. The second section looks specifically at the various kinds of declining inner city neighbourhoods that have been identified by the Department of Environmental Planning. The third section, which constitutes the bulk of this chapter, identified eight underlying causes of inner city decline that have been put forward in the literature on Canadian inner cities. To summarize, these underlying causes consist of the following: 'urban growth pressures', 'macro changes', 'housing consumer preferences', 'the lack of gradual investment', 'unintended consequences of government policy', 'the loss of diversity', 'aging and physical deterioration', and 'poverty and exploitation'.

It is the consensus of the literature that there is no single explanation that totally accounts for the decline of so many of these neighbourhoods. Instead, it is felt that decline in one neighbourhood is not necessarily triggered or influenced by the same set of causes present in another declining neighbourhood. Furthermore, many of the problems confronting these neighbourhoods are mutually-reinforcing. For example, problems associated with the aging and functional obsolescence of the physical environment are greatly compounded when incomes are low. A weak regional economy, coupled with a slow growth rate and an emphasis on suburbanization, results in an inner city being

abandoned and with little demand to fill the gap. A further consideration arises from the recognition that many of these forces are operating from outside of individual neighbourhoods. Considering the inter-related and often external nature of the negative pressures operating upon declining inner city neighbourhoods, a concentration of policy and program efforts is required, addressing the full range of physical, social, and economic problems, at both the local neighbourhood and citywide levels.

Before closing the discussion on Canadian inner cities in general, it is appropriate to note that while decline is a natural, inevitable process, so too is renewal. The widespread degree of decline that currently plagues our inner city areas is due to our present economic system and government spending priorities that remove resources on a large scale from inner city areas.(35) There is no reason why established neighbourhoods -- given the proper public sector supports -- could not provide desirable residential environments. The perpetuation of inner city decline has been the result of a number of conscious decisions and actions. A different view of the future shape of the city, accompanied by a different set of decisions and actions, can reverse much of the decline that has been experienced to date.(36) As Bourne states, "At a minimum, we should acknowledge that the inner city is a product of our design efforts and that we can in turn redesign an alternative model if we wish to do so."(37)

The discussion will now turn from an exploration of the underlying causes of inner city neighbourhood decline to a review of the actual conditions that exist within Winnipeg's inner city.

C.II FOOTNOTES

1. McLemore et al, page 5
2. see, for example: - Ministry of State for Urban Affairs (MSUA)
Inner City Research: Research Theme #2
- Brown & Burke, The Canadian Inner City: 1971-1976 A Statistical Handbook
- I.N.R.S., Univ. of Quebec, as quoted in McLemore et al, page 6.
3. Bourne, Perspectives on the Inner City: It's Changing Character, Reasons for Decline and Revitalization, page 6.
4. Institute of Urban Studies, Univ. of Winnipeg, Housing: Inner City Type Older Areas, page 2.
5. Bourne, op. cit., page 1
6. see, for instance, Vincent, in L. Axworthy et al, The Citizen and Urban Renewal.

It is also interesting to note that the same features are attracting 'starter' households with good prospects for upward movement.

7. Bourne, op. cit., pages 9 and 10
8. Ibid., page 1.
9. McLemore et al, op. cit., section IV.

Stable neighbourhoods are usually inhabited by well-established residential communities and social and economic problems and physical deterioration are not so severe. These neighbourhoods are generally characterized by small-scale population losses, fairly stable tenure, modest (but below metropolitan average) incomes, adequate neighbourhood facilities, greater community cohesiveness and morale, and low pressures for redevelopment.

Neighbourhoods undergoing revitalization are subject to activities which slowly improve their physical quality and change their population composition. (McLemore et al, page 18) Such neighbourhoods often possess certain attributes that make them more amenable to the revitalization process, such as environmental amenities, central locations with convenient

access to the central business district and citywide facilities, and architecturally attractive housing. Revitalization can involve the displacement of existing residents by wealthier and professional households -- a process termed 'whitepainting' in Canada. While the incoming residents rehabilitate existing homes, preventing neighbourhood deterioration, housing costs rise rapidly and significantly reduce housing opportunities for low and moderate income families. (Gertler & Crowley, pages 332 and 333)

In massive redevelopment neighbourhoods, high-intensity developments generally intrude into areas of primarily low-density residential uses. There are advantages to this process, as it produces housing with good access to the central business district for non-family households and the elderly and also results in needed commercial and office space, but it often destroys viable old neighbourhoods and squeezes out uses which cannot cope with increasing costs. (MSUA - Canadian Inner Cities: Problems and Responses, page 4) As well, the relocation of low income families can become a major problem and it can also trigger decline when they move in large numbers to another part of the city.

10. For a summary, refer to the Winnipeg Area Characterization Study, Department of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg

11. Ibid., pages 10 to 16

12. See, for example:

Department of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg:

- Plan Winnipeg: Options for the Future
- Plan Winnipeg: Summary & Recommendations of the Study Team
- Housing & Neighbourhood Strategies
- Synopsis: Housing Background Paper
- Winnipeg Area Characterization Study

Housing Department, City of Toronto:

- St. Lawrence

Planning Branch, City of Ottawa:

- Demographic & Housing Changes in Ottawa-Carleton
- Instability & Tenant Displacement Within the Inner City Rental Market
- Public Funding of Private Renovations in Ottawa

Planning Department, City of Calgary:

- Revised Proposed Inner City Plan

Planning Department, City of Edmonton:

- Edmonton General Plan - A Citizen's Preview
- Older Neighbourhoods Volume I - Planning Perspective
- The Inner City - Issue Paper No. 3

Planning Department, City of Vancouver:

- Understanding Vancouver's Housing

Winnipeg Core Area Initiative Policy Committee:

- Proposed Winnipeg Core Area Initiative

Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs:

- Housing
- Plan Winnipeg: A Status Report
- Urban Growth

13. Bourne, op. cit., page 45

14. Bourne, Designing the Future: A Perspective on Recent Trends & Emerging Issues in Ontario's Urban Environment, pages 16 & 17.

15. refer to Michelson. The same assumption is implicit in the Downtown Winnipeg Plan of 1969.

16. Lorimer, page 220

17. Bourne, Perspectives on the Inner City: ..., op. cit. pages 34 and 37.

18. Jacobs, J. refer to the chapter on 'Gradual and Cataclysmic Money'

19. Bourne, op. cit., page 36

20. In particular, the AHOP and ARP programs were heavily weighted in favour of encouraging suburban development. Governments also heavily subsidized the infrastructure necessary for the undertaking of large-scale suburban development -- schools, recreational facilities, roads, municipal services, etc.

21. Bourne, op. cit., page 37

22. Ibid., pages 37 and 38

23. Ibid., pages 38 and 39

For instance, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board in the U.S.

issued several 'fair housing legislation' regulations in 1978

that prohibit discrimination solely because of property location. The major provisions include: i) prohibiting member institutions from automatically refusing a loan because of the age or location of a dwelling; ii) requiring member institutions to maintain written loan underwriting standards which are available to the public upon request; iii) prohibiting loan decisions that are based on appraisals that include discriminatory factors such as age or location; and iv) requiring member institutions to tell potential borrowers that they have a right to file a written loan application, in order to discourage prescreening of potential loan applicants. (source: Fact Sheet, Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Washington, D.C., May 18, 1978)

24. Jacobs, op. cit., Chapter I
25. Sennet, pages 46 and 47
26. Alexander, pages 27 to 29. See also Jacobs, Sennet, Lorimer and Alexander & Chermayeff.
27. Sennet, op. cit., page 63
28. Lorimer, page 220 According to Lorimer, the industry has only managed to produce five innovations in major new building forms in the post-war period, of which two are residential -- the suburbs and highrise apartments.
29. Sennet, op. cit., page 67
30. For example, refer to the Downtown Winnipeg Plan (1969), Planning Division, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, pages 7 to 11.
31. Bourne, Designing the Future: ..., op. cit., page 19
32. Bourne, Perspectives on the Inner City: ..., op. cit., page 49
33. McLemore, page 5.
34. Ibid., page 5
35. Bourne, Perspectives on the Inner City: ..., op. cit., This view is a composite of two of Bourne's arguments, the 'Natural Evolution Hypothesis, pages 31 and 32, and the 'Exploitation Hypothesis, pages 40 to 43.
36. Planning Division, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Downtown Winnipeg Plan
37. Bourne, Perspectives on the Inner City: ..., op. cit., page 70

CHAPTER III

NEIGHBOURHOODS IN DECLINE:

WINNIPEG'S INNER CITY

INTRODUCTION

In the preceeding chapter, Canadian inner cities were examined on a generalized basis. In the sections that follow, the specific changes that have been occurring in Winnipeg's inner city will be examined in a descriptive manner. From this overview, areas that need to be addressed by public sector improvement efforts will be identified. This shall be accomplished by looking at the historical development and present-day dimensions of the physical living environment of the eleven inner city study neighbourhoods, as well as by examining the housing market forces that are affecting inner city neighbourhoods. The chapter concludes by identifying which explanations of decline raised in the previous chapter have been responsible for causing decline in Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods and with a discussion of ensuing implications for neighbourhood improvement.

EARLY HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF WINNIPEG'S INNER CITY

In order to obtain a broader perspective of the conditions which exist in Winnipeg's inner city today, this section will briefly examine the effects that the city's historical development has had on its inner city neighbourhoods.

The early 1880s witnessed the arrival of the CPR railway in Winnipeg, leading to tremendous increases in the city's population and built-up area. It was during this period that large numbers of middle and working class homes were built in the vicinity of the CPR tracks

for railway workers and for those working in the industries located along the rail line.(1)

Due to the city's relatively young age, a large stock of old housing did not exist to accommodate the thousands of people who were entering the city. A great demand arose for new and cheap dwellings and in response, developers and real estate interests undertook the development of a supply of cheap homes and boarding houses in the North End.(2) The quality of residential buildings constructed in the area was well below the general quality of the housing stock in the rest of the city. As pointed out by Artibise and Dahl, "None of the rules of good design were followed: the grid street pattern was dull and monotonous; the narrow lots presented a terribly cramped appearance since the houses, apartment blocks and other buildings were usually built very close to the edge of the property; the facade and design of the frame dwellings showed little diversity of building shapes and styles; the homes were usually all placed at the same distance from the street line; and open spaces, such as parks and playgrounds, were conspicuously absent since land was meant to be used, not wasted."(3) As the building boom and its accompanying speculation left many houses without the amenities of normal city life, it produced conditions "ripe for early obsolescence".(4)

However, it was the presence of the railroads that had the greatest blighting effect on Winnipeg's inner city. Large rail facilities were located in other parts of the city, but in the inner city these facilities were located in the heart of the district as opposed to on the extremities. In the North End, "No one could enter that portion of the

city without becoming vividly aware of the mass of buildings and tracks, noise, dirt, and smell." (5) The CPR tracks and yards cut the North End off from the rest of the city, slowing down development in the northern sector of Winnipeg as well as lowering real estate values. (6) In fact, the yards are a classic example of what Jane Jacobs refers to as 'borders', reducing interaction between the North End and the rest of Winnipeg.

When the CPR was joined to the transcontinental network during the 1880s, it sliced the Point Douglas area in half, establishing much of the area as a manufacturing and warehousing district. Together with the area bordering the CPR tracks and west of Main St., Point Douglas became Winnipeg's first 'blighted' area. Industrial and commercial land uses engulfed residential neighbourhoods, leaving 'islands' of housing to deteriorate and a fragmented pattern of residential lands that inhibited neighbourhood cohesion. (7) Industrial encroachment also prevented the further growth of residential areas to a stage where community facilities such as parks, schools, and shops, could be supported. (8) As non-residential uses began to locate in those districts where the initial development had been mainly residential, high income families began to leave and re-establish in more stable and attractive areas. The original residents were often replaced by lower-income families, leading to some of the original dwellings being acquired and operated by absentee landlords as revenue-bearing properties with little maintenance being undertaken. (9).

As in the North End, residential areas in and around the central core began to show symptoms of decline. The portion of the central

core between Notre Dame and Broadway began to experience the rapid growth of entertainment, commercial, and institutional uses during the 1890s. With these uses came crime and overcrowding, reducing the central core's appeal as a prime residential area.(10) According to Artibise, the decline of the central core as a desirable residential area was also due to the city's rapid population growth coupled with a concern for quick profits. This led to a great increase in the demand for housing, resulting in vacant lots being occupied and earlier lot size limitations being disregarded.(11) This process of subdivision was not confined to land as many larger homes were also divided and their rooms rented.

It appears, however, that it was the railway again that had the greatest affect upon the area. The construction of Union Station and its yards in 1904 took up a great amount of riverfront land along the Red River, hastening the growth of the north-south split in Winnipeg, with attractive residential locations concentrating around the Assiniboine River.(12) The Midland Railway was constructed in the early 1900s and its right-of-way ran almost the whole length of the area. As occurred in the North End, industrial-type buildings were built along the tracks leading to the deterioration of adjacent residential areas.

In contrast to the inner city, large portions of the South and West ends of Winnipeg were developed with wider streets, larger lots, and frequent building restrictions so that only the more affluent could afford to move to them. There was relatively little industrial or commercial development in these areas as they were inhabited primarily by more affluent commuters who travelled long distances to their places

of work.(13) With all of these initial 'advantages', many of these neighbourhoods maintain a high status even today. Other neighbourhoods of the South and West ends were not developed to such high standards. There were also large numbers of more modest residences built, particularly in the study neighbourhoods of Spence, Memorial, Daniel McIntyre, and St. Matthews. However, both the South and West ends were generally developed in a manner that was very different from the North End and Central area.

By the outbreak of World War I, Winnipeg's boom years were over and the basic spatial and social pattern of development that still exists today had been established. According to Artibise and Dahl, "Many of the familiar problems of urban life were beginning to emerge: the sudden withdrawals of whole segments of neighbourhoods' populations; the rapid decay of entire sections of the city; the spread of the metropolis beyond its political boundaries; and above all, the fragmentation of the population into specialized occupational categories, home environments and community relationships. As a result Winnipeg developed distinctive and mutually exclusive neighbourhoods, marked by unequal social services and amenities."(14) Further inequalities resulted between different areas due to the unequal distribution of municipal services. (15) There was a distinct north-south dichotomy present and a certain stigma was attached to the North End as being a clearly inferior area of the city to live in -- a stigma that still persists today.

In comparison to the earlier period, the years from 1915 to the present have been characterized as years of gradual growth for Winnipeg, marked by a large degree of suburban expansion. The

effects of this decentralization were noted in Chapter II and will be discussed further in the third section of this chapter. In the following section, the changes that have occurred in Winnipeg's inner city in post-war times shall be discussed at greater length.

PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS IN THE INNER CITY

The purpose of this section is to analyze the nature of the physical living environment being provided in the eleven inner city study neighbourhoods at present. In particular, major problem areas are identified and linked to the underlying causes of inner city neighbourhood decline.

Neighbourhood Satisfaction: One of the major findings of the Winnipeg Public Attitude Survey is that residents of the inner city are considerably less satisfied with conditions in their neighbourhoods than are residents of other areas.(16) In particular, the two most important areas of dissatisfaction concern neighbourhood character and the quality of housing. Other problems identified by the inner city's residents include untidy yards and boulevards, an increasing number of old vacant buildings, too much traffic, vandalism, and a lack of good schools and community clubs. Finally, the Survey found that inner city residents place a higher priority on neighbourhood improvement, including such items as recreation facilities, parks, the general character of the area, the condition of homes, and neighbourhood shopping.

* Condition of Residential Buildings: One of the most serious problems confronting the inner city is its badly deteriorated housing stock which contributes significantly to neighbourhood erosion and the loss of family households. This problem is evident to varying degrees in all eleven of the study neighbourhoods. The analysis that follows employs a four-level scale for measuring housing quality: 'good', 'fair', 'poor', and 'very poor'. The four terms are defined in detail in Appendix III.

Winnipeg has a significantly higher proportion of its housing stock in poor condition than other large Canadian cities, with the majority of these units being located in its inner city neighbourhoods -- almost seventy per cent of the citywide total.(17) For instance, some 2790 residential buildings located within the study neighbourhoods are in poor or very poor condition, or twenty-three per cent of the total study area stock of 12,009 buildings.(18)

The disparity between housing conditions in the inner city and the city as a whole can be expected to worsen for a number of reasons. A much greater percentage of inner city structures are old and this gap is expected to widen in coming years.(19) The fact that incomes are much lower in the inner city also compounds the problem of housing deterioration as homeowners have less disposable income to use in maintaining or rehabilitating their homes. Further decline may occur due to the lower proportion of homeownership in the inner city.(20) A greater proportion of rental units are usually found to be in poor condition as there is little motivation for renters to undertake expensive, major repairs. At the same time there is a high incidence of

absentee landlords in Winnipeg's inner city and they have little incentive to undertake major repairs which reduce immediate profit margins.

Since housing quality was one of the major determinants used to define the different neighbourhood types in the Area Characterization Study, it is found that housing quality steadily decreases as one moves from Conservation and Rehabilitation neighbourhoods to Major Improvement neighbourhoods. The relationship for the study area is summarized in the table below. (21) However, it should be noted that there is variation among the different neighbourhoods in each neighbourhood type.

TABLE 1. CONDITION OF RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS IN STUDY AREA
BY NEIGHBOURHOOD TYPE

	conservation	rehabilitation	major improvement	study area total
good	286 40%	1765 30%	1032 19%	3083
fair	341 48%	3106 53%	2689 50%	6136
poor	70 10%	971 17%	1514 28%	2555
very poor	13 2%	39 1%	183 3%	235

Deteriorated housing may have the more obvious effects of providing unsafe or unsanitary living environments for its inhabitants, but it can also have a series of wider effects upon the surrounding

neighbourhood. Poorly maintained properties lead to visual blight and a generally deteriorated appearance of the neighbourhood. This, in turn, produces a loss of confidence in the local neighbourhood and associated problems. Poor quality housing also prompts households to move more often, further reducing neighbourhood stability.(22)

Population Decline: Another pressing inner city problem has been the rapid and sustained loss of neighbourhood residents over the past four decades. From 1941 to 1981, the inner city population declined by thirty-six per cent while the outer areas of Winnipeg registered an increase of well over two hundred per cent.(23) More importantly, losses have accelerated dramatically since 1971, totalling thirteen per cent from 1971 to 1976 and a further ten per cent from 1976 to 1981.(24)

During the 1971 to 1976 period, the collective population of the study neighbourhoods dropped to 58,885 from 69,140, a loss of 10,255 persons or fifteen per cent.(25) The extent of this loss is shown by neighbourhood type for the study area in Table 2. below. As with housing condition, there is significant variation among the various neighbourhoods within each neighbourhood type.

TABLE 2. POPULATION LOSS IN STUDY AREA, 1971 - 76.
BY NEIGHBOURHOOD TYPE

conservation	rehabilitation	major improvement	study area total
-670 (-16%)	-2560 (-9%)	-7025 (-19%)	-10,255 (-15%)

Inner city population losses have been particularly large amongst families. Between 1971 and 1976, the inner city study area lost 2435 families from a total of 15,570, a loss of sixteen per cent.(26) All eleven neighbourhoods in the study area showed an absolute loss of family households.

The loss of family households from the inner city has led to disparities between the age structure of the inner city and that of the rest of the city. The study area has a lower proportion of children (0-14 years) and of the 25-44 age group (the family formation age group).(27) Conversely, it has a much higher proportion of the elderly.

Sustained inner city population losses raise the possibility that some community facilities may have to be closed due to under-use. This would tend to detract from the attractiveness of the local neighbourhood, possibly resulting in the loss of even more family households. The loss of existing community residents is often accompanied by the loss of well-established community linkages, activities, and participation -- further undermining community cohesion and stability. Sustained population losses also result in the creation of the inner city's image as an undesirable residential area.

Poverty: Poverty is the third major problem confronting Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods. In 1971, the last year that figures are available for, all eleven neighbourhoods comprising the study area had average family incomes well below the city average.(28) There is a downward progression in average family incomes as one moves through the various neighbourhood types, as shown in Table 3. below.

TABLE 3. AVERAGE FAMILY INCOMES, 1971, FOR STUDY AREA
BY NEIGHBOURHOOD TYPE

conservation	rehabilitation	major improvement	study area average	city average
\$6,577	\$7,454	\$6,614	6,943	(\$10,024)

Furthermore, those households relocating from inner city neighbourhoods to more outlying areas are generally those with

sufficient resources, leaving behind a population with proportionately fewer resources and skills. Hence, as inner city depopulation continues, there is an increasing concentration of high needs groups in the inner city. The disparity is further increased as foreign and native migrants continue to locate primarily in the inner city.(29) Other high needs groups, including low income households, single parents, the unemployed, and the elderly, show high concentrations within Winnipeg's inner city as well.

Closely related to the problem of low incomes is that of housing affordability. It has been found that housing affordability may be the most serious problem faced by inner city residents since nearly one in three households experience this problem to varying degrees.(30) In Winnipeg's case, this problem is more the result of low incomes than of excessive housing costs.(31) Affordability problems are exacerbated by the lack of low income housing being produced in the inner city.

Land Use: The compatibility of land uses surrounding residential properties is another important aspect of the quality of the neighbourhood living environment. The Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, in a 1979 study, revealed that for the city as a whole, there is a fairly constant trend of increasing incidences of non-compatible land uses moving from Conservation to Rehabilitation to Major Improvement neighbourhoods. (32)

Disparities between existing land uses and current zoning generally take the form of overzoning which permits the haphazard introduction of more intense and incompatible land uses -- such as

industrial, commercial, and high-density residential -- into areas of housing which in turn contributes to uncertainty, instability, and low maintenance of the housing stock. While there generally has been little redevelopment to higher densities in Winnipeg's inner city in comparison to other large Canadian cities, there can be significant pressures exerted on portions of residential areas by commercial corridors and non-conforming industrial land uses. (33)

Municipal Infrastructure: The replacement and upgrading of the municipal infrastructure in older neighbourhoods is an essential component of revitalization efforts, especially with respect to increasing neighbourhood populations through infilling. This infrastructure is considerable, including streets, lanes, sidewalks, watermains, storm sewers, etc. Problems regarding this infrastructure stem from aging and consequent physical deterioration as well as from out-of-date or inadequate initial development standards.

In particular, numerous streets within inner city neighbourhoods require major upgrading due to the heavy traffic flows they receive as a result of suburban to downtown commuter traffic as well as from truck and vehicular traffic generated by local industrial and commercial uses. Many of these streets are old and were not originally designed to accommodate large traffic flows or truck traffic. Some lanes are still gravel surfaced and isolated cases of deteriorated sidewalks exist throughout the area. As for watermains, there still remains a large number that are old and undersized and due to be replaced. Inadequate storm sewers have caused problems of basement flooding.

Public Open Space: Winnipeg's Department of Environmental Planning uses the general criterion of five acres per one thousand persons to determine whether an area has adequate public open space. The study area as a whole falls short of this mark, averaging 3.6 acres per thousand of population.(34) More specifically, seven of the eleven neighbourhoods comprising the study area do not meet the minimum five-acre standard, and another barely does so. And satisfying the five-acre requirement suggests that only minimal recreation space is being provided.

In many inner city neighbourhoods, initial development provided very little open space as these areas were developed prior to government open space requirements. While in some of these neighbourhoods the minimum park space requirement is met, large numbers of residents have poor access to this space. In contrast, present-day suburban neighbourhoods are designed with a total land use plan so that recreational areas are distributed throughout an entire neighbourhood, increasing accessibility. The deficiency of park and open space in the inner city is compounded by a shortage of community club facilities. (35)

The need for accessible neighbourhood open space is reflected in the results of the Winnipeg Public Attitude Survey, which found small neighbourhood parks to be one of the two most popular recreational facilities in terms of frequency of useage.(36) Thus the provision of neighbourhood recreational space can alter the desirability of a neighbourhood as a residential location. This is particularly important

in terms of attracting young families back into the inner city as it has been found that households with children and teenagers use these facilities most often.(37) Despite major barriers to providing accessible open space in inner city neighbourhoods, it is important that the issue be addressed in light of the much greater densities of these neighbourhoods.(38)

Elementary Schools: The large-scale movement of young families with children out of most inner city locations may cause school closure. As noted by Winnipeg's Social Planning Council, "With the closing of the school, the neighbourhood loses its capacity to draw new young family households and hence its capacity for a recycling of its family housing stock to young family households of the next generation." (39) Also, as inner city school enrollments decline, school space becomes increasingly under-utilized and the per capita student costs borne by these schools increases. This can have the affect of lowering educational quality and acting as a further barrier to attracting young families to the inner city. Furthermore, as per capita costs increase, so too does the tax burden on the local property owners.(40)

Largely as a result of the end of the baby boom and the trend to smaller family households, there was a six per cent drop in elementary school enrollments for the entire city during the 1971 to 1976 period.(41) However, the study area showed a combined decrease of twenty-two per cent in the number of children attending elementary schools during the same period.(42) In other words, the proportional decrease in the school-child population of the inner city study neighbourhoods has been

over three times as great as for the rest of the city in recent years.

THE INNER CITY HOUSING MARKET *

This section begins with a brief review of projected housing market activity for the city as a whole until 1999 --the horizon year used by the City of Winnipeg in its development plan review. This will provide an overview before examining the proportion of anticipated growth that can be expected to occur in the inner city, and what form this residential development can be expected to take. As well, a number of inner city housing issues will be discussed, most importantly the great dominance of suburban growth, the lack of mortgage financing in inner city neighbourhoods, the demolition and closure of low-income housing units, and the displacement of low income households.

Future Housing Market Trends: As in the rest of Canada, from now until 1999 the rate of population and household growth in Winnipeg is expected to decline.(43) The trends toward decreased population growth and household formation are directly reflected in a sharp reduction in housing unit requirements in Winnipeg up to the year 1999, as shown in Table 4 below.(42) Total requirements will fall from the current high of 3960 units annually to a low of 617 units annually between 1996 and 1999. There will also be a dramatic shift to single detached units after 1986.

TABLE 4. PROJECTED NEW ADDITIONS TO WINNIPEG'S HOUSING STOCK BY TYPE

BY 5-YEAR PERIOD (1981 - 1999)

	<u>1981 - 86</u>	<u>1986 - 91</u>	<u>1991 - 96</u>	<u>1996 - 99</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Type</u>					
single	9,500	11,900	5,600	1,600	28,600
semi	1,400	800	600	100	2,900
row	1,200	600	100	20	1,920
apartment	7,700	2,500	400	130	10,730
Total	19,800	15,800	6,700	1,850	44,150

While approximately 12,000 acres of land will be designated for suburban residential development to 1999 if Plan Winnipeg is adopted in its present form, new residential land consumption for the entire city is only expected to total between 7229 acres and 8918 acres.(45) These figures in turn suggest that there will be no significant restrictions upon suburban development in the next couple of decades. This being the case, and considering the expected shift in new construction toward single detached dwelling units (of which new starts are concentrated in the suburbs), it is reasonable to conclude that without major public sector intervention, the proportion of new growth occurring in the inner city will decline from now until the end of the century.

Suburban Growth and Its Effects on the Inner City: The growth of the

suburban population and housing stock has far exceeded that of the inner city over the past two decades. A number of market forces are seen to be reinforcing this trend, one of the most significant being the great desirability of housing in suburban locations and hence its easy marketability by developers (in relative terms). (46) Large tracts of vacant land are available in the fringes of Winnipeg's built-up area, allowing land to be more easily consolidated. As well, the vast majority of committed subdivisions and virtually all unused regional services in ground and planned in the city are located in the suburban fringe.(47) These suburban services are sufficient to meet Winnipeg's forecasted growth requirements to the end of the century.(48) In addition, there are no real transportation disincentives to suburban living as commuting times in Winnipeg between the downtown and suburban areas are relatively short.

There are many prevailing disadvantages to developing inner city sites. Land costs are relatively higher in the inner city, as are construction costs due to the small volume, custom nature of inner city residential development and the relatively constrained sites.(49) Land assembly is difficult and there is usually more opposition from nearby residents than is the case with suburban developments.(50) Compounding the problem of higher development costs in declining inner city neighbourhoods is the fact that they are generally characterized by weak housing markets, with many dwellings available and relatively few households seeking to remain. Thus resale values of residential properties are relatively low, making it even more difficult for private developers to construct cost competitive units. The inner city housing

market is further weakened as prospective new homeowners fear that they will receive an inadequate return on their investments due to the low resale values.

In terms of infill development, developers point out that there is low market demand and acceptance of such projects in Winnipeg -- neither the public nor the City seem particularly predisposed to this type of housing.(51) The lack of previous private sector infill development in Winnipeg does not encourage developers to think seriously about infill projects as opposed to 'proven' methods which work for suburban development.(52)

When the forces just discussed are coupled with the fact that large portions of the inner city are perceived as being undesirable areas in which to live (refer to the 'housing consumer preferences' explanation of inner city decline in Chapter II), it becomes evident that the trend toward decentralization of residences is not likely to be altered without intervention. As a result, there is relatively little new private residential development or rehabilitation activity occurring in most of Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods. For instance, the recent pattern of development has seen only two per cent of Winnipeg's family-oriented housing development constructed in the inner city, as was six per cent of the row house development and thirty-nine per cent of the apartment development (much of this occurring in the downtown).(53)

Apartments have comprised the vast majority of inner city housing starts in recent years and they constitute the only new housing planned to be built in the inner city in any significant numbers. (54) Furthermore, it is probable that many of these new apartments will be

built on land that is now occupied by family housing and that most of the apartments will be in highrise buildings unsuited to family living.(55) The result is that once family formation begins these groups tend to leave the area, leading to a less diverse resident base and the inability of neighbourhoods to provide a variety of lifestyle opportunities for different socio-economic and lifecycle groups. Such consequences suggest the need to maintain existing single family neighbourhoods in the inner city as well as to encourage a greater mix of housing types to lessen the income and socio-economic stratification that is occurring.

In the inner city specifically, over eighty per cent of the housing starts were sponsored by the public sector during the 1972-78 time period, largely as a result of the continuing inability of the private and third sectors to address the problems of low income households.(56)

The need for appropriate and affordable housing for low income households, coupled with this inability, necessitates continued public sector assistance programs and funding.

Financing: Private financial institutions play an extremely important role in the inner city housing market. The level of confidence that they place in a particular neighbourhood determines their willingness to provide mortgage funds and rehabilitation loans to local property owners. If these institutions perceive investments in a particular neighbourhood to be of high risk, then they charge local property

owners higher interest rates and downpayments, as well as require shorter repayment periods. Some of the factors which reduce a financial institution's confidence in a neighbourhood include high levels of tenancy, signs of instability, concentrations of unemployed and low income persons, and outward signs of decline.(57)

There is evidence that financial institutions are 'red-lining' particular areas of the inner city, i.e. they withhold lending activities on an area-wide, rather than on an individual, basis. In fairness, it should be mentioned that red-lining is not an arbitrary policy but rather is the direct result of weak market conditions which increase the possibility of mortgage defaults. However, the unavailability of loans for home ownership acts as a major disincentive to new families who may wish to move into central neighbourhoods and difficulties in securing rehabilitation loans form a significant barrier to rehabilitating older homes. Both lead to further neighbourhood deterioration and loss of confidence. As well, the turn-over of properties to speculative owners and the growth of absentee ownership are encouraged, leading to decreased levels of maintenance and the exodus of mobile portions of the local population. Those specific areas identified as being red-lined are almost totally located within the study area.(58)

Demolitions and Closures: The problem of low levels of residential construction in Winnipeg's inner city is being aggravated by the increasing problem of demolitions and closures. Two main trends are apparent: first, the rate of building demolitions and closures is increasing and second, the problem is particularly acute in terms of the

loss of rental units.(59) Furthermore, the number of housing units lost through demolition and closure is frequently greater than the number of new units constructed in declining inner city neighbourhoods.(60) Losses of such magnitude may result in a shortage of units, thereby increasing pressures for the conversion of larger homes into apartments and rooming houses which in turn would reduce the quality of the inner city stock.

Demolitions and closures occur as older apartment buildings age and their condition deteriorates. In many cases, the buildings are over-financed, which leaves lenders with assets worth less than the value of the mortgage investment in the case of mortgage default.(61) Perhaps not surprisingly then, financial institutions are especially reluctant to make loans on older apartment buildings in declining neighbourhoods. This difficulty in securing financing prevents landlords from continuing to maintain their properties. As well, tax legislation is unfavourable to older apartment blocks and their re-sale market is unpredictable.(62) Federal housing policy, which concentrates on the direct encouragement of new construction while devoting only a small proportion of resources toward the rehabilitation of the existing housing stock, only serves to compound the demolition and closure problem.(63) However, while the root cause of demolitions and closures is usually related to economic factors, the various city upgrading by-laws are often the precipitating agents.(64) Landlords claim that they cannot carry the cost of the required repairs and still continue to make an adequate return on their investment, or else they cannot secure the necessary financing for the repairs.

Unfortunately, the vast majority of the lost units, while being of the lowest quality, also provide relatively low-cost accommodation to low income groups. Many of the people being displaced are single people and couples who do not qualify for family public housing or for senior citizen public housing.(65) The prospects faced by these displaced tenants are usually either increased rents for comparable accommodation elsewhere, or paying comparable rent levels while having to accept inferior accommodation.

CAUSES OF DECLINE IN WINNIPEG'S INNER CITY

In Chapter II there was an examination of the nature of Canadian inner cities and of the various reasons for inner city neighbourhood decline. So far this chapter has presented an overview of the decline that has occurred in Winnipeg's inner city specifically. In this section, the decline of Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods will be related to the underlying causes that were identified in Chapter II.

The historical overview presented at the beginning of this chapter tends to reinforce the validity of the 'aging and physical deterioration' explanation of decline. The greater age and lower initial development standards of Winnipeg's inner city have combined to bring about the physical obsolescence of the built environment. The 'poverty and exploitation' explanation is also very relevant to Winnipeg, as evidenced by the fact that the problem neighbourhoods are all low income ones (although not all low income areas are necessarily problem areas).

The shift to suburban areas has been particularly dramatic in Winnipeg's case. Coupled with slow growth rates and a relatively weak regional economy in recent years, the emphasis on suburbanization in Winnipeg has resulted in widescale inner city abandonment and a general lack of new investment in inner city neighbourhoods. Furthermore, housing policies of all levels of government have concentrated on encouraging the construction of new housing units in suburban locations all across the country, rather than on maintaining and improving the existing housing stock. A variety of subsidies has been used to accomplish this objective. The locational preferences of housing consumers in the post-war period have also been an important factor behind the decentralization that has occurred in Canadian urban centers. And while Winnipeg has a large stock of older, inexpensive poor quality housing, consumer preferences have been such that there have been few spontaneous attempts at rejuvenating or 'whitepainting' this older stock.

The brief review of Winnipeg's housing market showed that the pre-occupation with suburban growth has diverted large amounts of investment from Canadian inner city areas. But it has also been found that many inner city neighbourhoods in Winnipeg are being red-lined by private financial institutions, cutting off large portions of the inner city from much needed new investment. Furthermore, new additions to the City's stock of the highly-popular single detached housing form are concentrated in suburban areas. In contrast, relatively few housing units are being constructed in the inner city, and the vast majority of these are apartment units. Thus market forces are leading to a less

diverse mix of housing forms in both the central and suburban areas of Winnipeg. This, in turn, is re-inforcing the increasing polarization of income groups between the inner and outer city, and leading to a less diverse (in terms of income and household structure) and less stable population mix in inner city neighbourhoods.

The growth of the city as a whole, as in other large Canadian cities, has tended to exert negative pressures upon inner city neighbourhoods stemming from increased commuter traffic passing through inner city streets. However, outside of the River Osborne area, there are relatively few problems resulting from the expansion of central business district functions into surrounding neighbourhoods. Of the eight underlying causes of decline, the 'urban growth pressures' cause has had the least negative effects on Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods.

The primary conclusion to be drawn at this point is that there has been no singular cause of decline in Winnipeg's inner city. Rather, there have been a variety of inter-related factors that have acted in combination to bring about this decline. In fact, all eight of the major explanations of inner city decline that were found in the literature on Canadian inner cities in Chapter II are found to be relevant to the Winnipeg context in varying degrees. The following underlying causes of decline have been particularly problematic for Winnipeg's inner city: 'aging and physical deterioration', 'poverty and exploitation', 'macro changes', 'unintended consequences of government policy' and 'housing consumer preferences'.

The scenario of the near future is for the continuance of slow

growth rates nationally, of Manitoba's relatively weak regional economy, and of public sector cut-backs in levels of services. If the public sector continues to support and encourage a decentralized urban structure under such circumstances, the prospects will be for continued decline in Winnipeg's inner city - the further migration of people and employment out of the area and the further decline of the quality of neighbourhood living environments. Now that the causes and symptoms of decline have been identified, the discussion will turn to the public sector area improvement interventions that have been undertaken in Winnipeg's inner city to date. These efforts will then be examined to see if they have addressed the underlying causes of inner city neighbourhood decline.

C. III FOOTNOTES

1. Much of this early residential and industrial development was located within the study area, in the Lord Selkirk Park and Dufferin neighbourhoods. The area north of Notre Dame, in the present-day study neighbourhoods of West Alexander and Centennial, generally became the home of Winnipeg's early middle class. According to Gerson, there were no controls over lot sizes, which were consequently narrow and without lanes.
2. Artibise and Dahl, page 53.
3. Ibid., page 53
4. Bickel, Lord Selkirk Park, Winnipeg, Manitoba -- An Urban Renewal Project, page 9.
5. Artibise and Dahl, op. cit., page 41
6. Gerson, page 10.
7. Bickel, op. cit., page 11
8. Ibid., page 9
9. Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Lord Selkirk Park Renewal Scheme, page 8.
10. Artibise, page 154
11. Ibid., page 155
12. Ibid., page 154
13. Ibid., page 166
14. Artibise and Dahl, op. cit., pages 14 and 15
15. Artibise, op. cit., pages 151 and 165
16. Ruston / Tomany, & Associates, executive summary
The proportion of inner city residents expressing outright dissatisfaction with their neighbourhood is twice as high as for the rest of the city.
17. P. Barnard and Associates, page 10.
18. Department of Environmental Planning, Winnipeg Area Characterization Study, compiled from various neighbourhood profiles.

19. Compiled from P. Barnard & Associates, exhibit 2.5, page 25b, and from the Department of Environmental Planning, Winnipeg Area Characterization Study.

Seventy per cent of the inner city housing stock is over twenty-five years old -- an age considered critical in terms of housing condition -- compared to approximately forty-four per cent for the city as a whole.

20. According to various neighbourhood profiles of the Winnipeg Area Characterization Study, sixty-two per cent of the dwelling units in the study neighbourhoods are rented, compared with a figure of forty-two per cent for the entire city.
21. Department of Environmental Planning, Winnipeg Area Characterization Study, compiled from various neighbourhood profiles.
22. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, Human Needs and City Planning, page 8.
23. Johnston, F. and Statistics Canada, Census of Population (various years) and Selected Populations for Winnipeg CMA by Census Tracts, 1981
24. P. Barnard and Associates, op. cit., page 3 and Statistics Canada, op. cit.
25. Department of Environmental Planning, Winnipeg Area Characterization Study, compiled from various profiles.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Urban Growth, page 28.
30. P. Barnard and Associates, op. cit., page iv, summary and Institute of Urban Studies, op. cit., page 86.
31. Institute of Urban Studies, op. cit., page 20.
32. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, Housing Conditions in Winnipeg: The Identification of Housing Problems and High Need Groups, pages 52 and 53.
33. Department of Environmental Planning, Winnipeg Area Characterization Study, various neighbourhood profiles
34. Ibid.
35. Ruston / Tomany and Associates, op. cit., page H-2
36. Ibid., page 35

37. Ibid., page 39.
38. Some of the major problems that must be confronted in providing new open space in the inner city are as follows. The relatively high cost of inner city land means that relatively large amounts of money are needed to acquire land for open space. Secondly, there is little vacant land available in the inner city, and the little that is available may not be situated in appropriate locations. If the lack of vacant land means that existing buildings must be torn down, a conflict could result between the need for preserving the existing housing stock and the need for providing more open space.
39. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, Human Needs and City Planning, page 9.
40. Ibid., page 9
41. Ibid., page 100
42. Department of Environmental Planning, Winnipeg Area Characterization Study, compiled from various neighbourhood profiles.
43. These trends will be attributed to low birth rates and to the aging of the post-war baby boom which will result in the rapid decline of the proportion of the population in the key household formation age group of 20 to 30 years of age.
44. Dept. of Environmental Planning, Plan Winnipeg: Options for the Future, plate 5.
45. Ibid., plate 10 and the Department of Environmental Planning, Plan Winnipeg: Summary and Recommendations of the Study Team, page E.P.8
46. Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, op. cit., page 28
47. P. Barnard and Associates, op. cit., page 31
48. Ibid., page 37
49. CMHC, Sensitive Infill Study, page 3.16
50. Ibid., page 4.7
51. Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Housing, pages 11 and 12.
52. CMHC, op. cit., pages 3.19 and 3.20
53. Department of Environmental Planning, Plan Winnipeg: Options for the Future, page 77.
54. Permits Branch, City of Winnipeg, December 1978 to 1981.
55. Whittle, Milgram and Barber, page 108
56. Department of Environmental Planning, Plan Winnipeg: Summary and Recommendations of the Study Team, page E.P.8

57. Bossen, as cited in Core Area Report, pages 18 to 20.
58. Ibid., pages 18 to 20.

Red-lined neighbourhoods within the study area include all of North Point Douglas, Lord Selkirk Park, and Centennial, and portions of Dufferin, William Whyte and West Alexander.

59. Department of Environmental Planning and the Institute of Urban Studies, page 25.

The primary reason for both of these trends is the extremely high proportion of aging structures in the inner city.

60. Ibid., pages 29 and 30.

For example, during the 1976 to 1978 period, demolitions and closures of affordable rental units in the former Community Committees of Midland and Centennial (including the study neighbourhoods of Spence, Memorial, St. Matthews, Daniel McIntyre, Centennial, West Alexander, and Logan-CPR) exceeded the construction of new units by almost four hundred units. The actual figures are below:

	# of units
demolitions + closures	1064
newly constructed units	688
net loss	-376

While Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods continue to lose much of their low cost rental housing stock from the factors described, pressures for redevelopment to high-intensity uses (which have forced low cost housing off the market in other large Canadian cities) are relatively absent in Winnipeg.

61. Ibid., page 1
62. Johnston, page 17
63. Department of Environmental Planning and the Institute of Urban Studies, pages 8 to 11.
64. Ibid., page 27

These civic by-laws are: Apartment Upgrading By-law
Minimum Maintenance By-law

65. Department of Environmental Planning, Synopsis: Housing Background Paper, page 2

CHAPTER IV

NEIGHBOURHOOD IMPROVEMENT INTERVENTIONS IN WINNIPEG'S INNER CITY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the efforts of the three levels of government to address the problem of decline in Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods. The evolution of national area improvement policy is described, as is the particular response that has occurred in Winnipeg. These efforts are then evaluated in relation to how well they have addressed the underlying causes of decline.

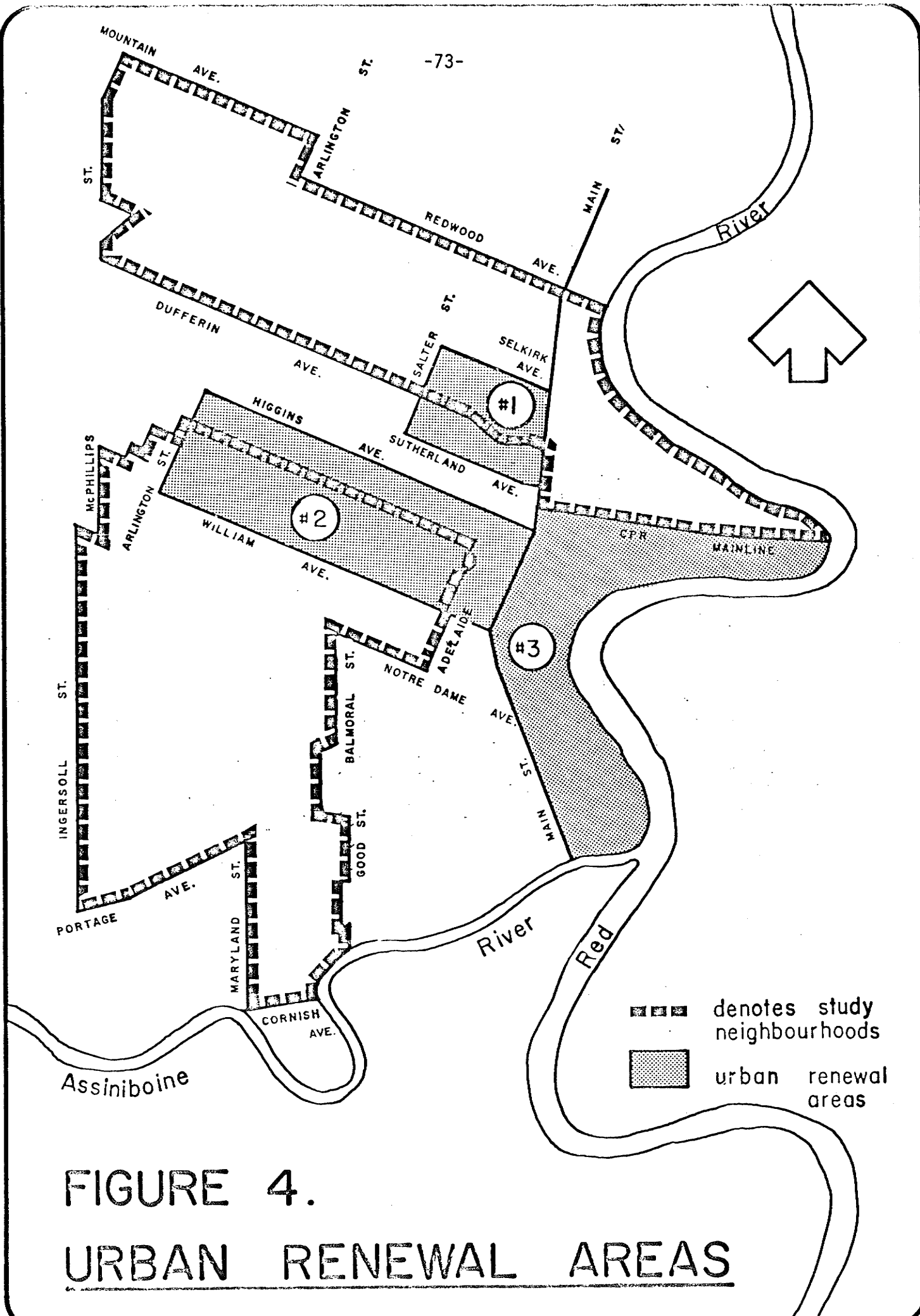
Due to Canada's particular constitutional framework, federal intervention in the formation of neighbourhood improvement strategies has necessarily been in the form of providing financial assistance to the provinces and municipalities with conditions attached.(1) In turn, provincial and municipal governments can choose to initiate local actions and share costs. A particularly nagging problem that has arisen from this arrangement is that municipal governments, which are closest to problems and therefore more capable of identifying and relating to local conditions, have neither the direct responsibility to act nor the ability to generate substantial revenues. This problem will become more apparent later in this chapter.

Early attempts at area-wide improvement in Canada came in the form of urban renewal.(2) In the twenty-year period following the second world war, a number of amendments to the National Housing Act provided for senior government grants to help cover municipal costs of preparing urban renewal studies, acquiring and clearing 'slum' areas, and providing new municipal works and services in renewal areas. While rehabilitation and conservation schemes were possible under urban

renewal legislation, in practice clearance and redevelopment were usually carried out.(3)

Due to the high costs associated with urban renewal, such schemes usually entailed the clearance of large areas of deteriorated housing in order to gain economies of scale. It was precisely this large-scale, cost-efficient approach that led to the considerable disruption and destruction of existing neighbourhoods.(4) Canadian urban renewal policy was also criticized on the grounds that it produced fewer housing units than it was responsible for destroying, amounting to a net reduction in the supply of low income housing.(5) The high-density housing projects produced usually provided inhumane 'project' environments and were particularly unsuited to family households.(6)

Winnipeg's involvement with urban renewal was minimal in comparison with that of other large Canadian cities, due largely to its limited financial resources.(7) In total, comprehensive renewal plans were drawn up for only three areas of Winnipeg: Lord Selkirk Park (urban renewal area #1), the Midland Railway Area (area #2), and South Point Douglas (area #3). Areas 1 and 2 are located within the study area, as shown in Figure 4. on the next page. Only the Lord Selkirk Park scheme was actually implemented before the federal clearance program was cancelled. A number of older homes and small industries were cleared in order to provide the site for this project and the Burrows-Keewatin housing project was built in order to accommodate those households that were displaced.(8)



CHANGING DIRECTIONS IN IMPROVEMENT POLICY (1968 - 1973)

Public dissatisfaction with urban renewal became widespread in Canada during the latter half of the 1960s. It had become evident in many sectors that the urban renewal program was largely unrelated to the social issues of inner city neighbourhood deterioration.(9) Mounting federal expenditures related to the program were causing concern among government officials, as was the realization that despite the very large scale of operations, the program could not even keep pace with the rate of housing decay.(10) The costs of pursuing a rehabilitation and improvement approach were seen to be far less expensive and yet this approach would help to preserve community identity and cohesiveness and provide more suitable housing forms. In early 1969, the federal Task Force on Housing and Urban Development reported its findings. This report, referred to as the Hellyer Report, recommended that public urban renewal schemes be suspended entirely and that greater emphasis be placed on housing rehabilitation and the enforcement of minimum property standards.(11) In response to these mounting pressures, the federal government cancelled its urban renewal program in late 1969.

At the same time, a shift was developing in area improvement policy at the municipal level in Winnipeg, from a redevelopment approach to one stressing conservation. An Urban Renewal and Research Section was established to explore the possibility of addressing neighbourhood deterioration with only minimal redevelopment measures and a greater emphasis on social aspects. A pilot study was

conducted in North Point Douglas between 1968 and 1970 and from this study emerged a preliminary plan for 'neighbourhood improvement' that incorporated many of the fundamental elements of Winnipeg's present-day approach to area improvement.

The North Point Douglas plan stressed the need for measures that would preserve stable residential communities before problems become so severe as to require full-scale renewal.(12) It recommended that future improvement actions be based on two main principles: i) that both physical and social aspects be addressed and as such, the local community be involved in the planning process; and ii) that physical improvement take a subtle approach, emphasizing rehabilitation and conservation.(13)

The importance of local participation in the improvement program stemmed from a recognition that proposed solutions could only be effective if the local population was interested and concerned about their community. Thus efforts were first directed toward instilling neighbourhood confidence to assure residents that personal improvement efforts, such as maintaining homes and properties or even remaining in the area, were not in vain. One method identified whereby the City could demonstrate concern for the area was by providing a higher level of municipal services through its various departments. A program of community development was initiated whereby local residents and groups were encouraged to identify neighbourhood problems and possible solutions. In order to increase local vitality and a sense of belonging, the range of neighbourhood activities was extended and residents were encouraged to become involved. As well, relevant social and

government agencies concentrated and co-ordinated their efforts on the social problems of the area.

As for housing, a separate study was carried out and completed in 1971 that outlined a number of possible improvement options, ranging from an extensive rehabilitation program to the limited clearance and replacement of buildings which were uneconomical to maintain.(14) In particular, two of the low-cost steps that the City undertook were an inspection and by-law enforcement campaign to deal with absentee-owned properties and the rezoning of large portions of the area from industrial to residential use in order to reinforce residents' confidence.

The City was not able to implement the entire set of broad-ranging improvement actions advocated in the North Point Douglas plan due to the limited financial resources at its disposal.(15) While the measures that were implemented were considered to be a holding action until anticipated senior government measures provided the necessary financial resources for a more active improvement strategy, they set the pattern for future neighbourhood improvement efforts in Winnipeg.(16)

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONAL AREA IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMMING IN WINNIPEG

Federal initiatives for neighbourhood improvement and housing rehabilitation were finally forthcoming with amendments to the NHA in the summer of 1973 that created two linked programs -- the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) and the Residential

Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP). In contrast to urban renewal, NIP and RRAP stressed the preservation and improvement of declining neighbourhoods and their housing stocks, keeping the disruption of existing communities and residents to a minimum.(17)

NIP went a step beyond the former 'bulldozer' approach by recognizing that neighbourhood decline could not be solved by simply attempting to renew the physical environment -- aspects of community development and the provision of social and recreational services must also be encompassed. In any one neighbourhood, improvement action was to be concentrated into a four-year time frame and relatively large sums of money were to be invested in order to improve neighbourhood facilities to high standards and to achieve high program visibility. As in North Point Douglas, the NIP approach expended much effort in fostering local confidence and a sense of community in order to facilitate the improvement process, limit out-migration, and ensure that improvements remained after the termination of the program. The participation of neighbourhood residents in the planning and implementation stages was an integral part of the NIP renewal process, strengthening community spirit even further.

In terms of funding, the federal government, through CMHC, provided grants to municipalities covering fifty per cent of the costs of administration, planning, and selection of neighbourhoods, and towards the following aspects of the implementation stage: provision of neighbourhood social and recreational facilities; acquisition of sites for community facilities and low-income housing; clearance of properties deteriorated beyond economic repair; development of maintenance and

occupancy standards; relocation of persons displaced by the program; and improvement of neighbourhood commercial premises.(18) Twenty-five per cent federal grants were available to cover the costs of providing or improving public utilities and infrastructure (hard services) and of the acquisition of land for the purposes of eliminating noxious land uses. Generally, the province and municipality halved the remaining costs not borne by the federal government. The differing levels of federal contribution were aimed at maximizing improvements to social aspects while downplaying, somewhat, improvements in hard services.(19)

The Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program formed an integral part of NIP and designated areas automatically received RRAP funding. RRAP, which is still in operation today, has the objective of "improving the housing conditions of low and moderate income people through assisting in the repair and conservation of existing buildings."(20) Low interest loans and/or forgivable grants are extended to low income households to aid in the rehabilitation of their homes by bringing them up to minimum standards and increasing their useful life by at least fifteen years.(21)

Basically, RRAP offers loans of up to \$10,000 to eligible homeowners of which a portion is forgivable, depending upon 'adjusted family income'.(22) Families having an annual income of \$13,000 or less receive the maximum grant of \$5,000, as long as the repairs cost that much. The grant is reduced by \$500 for every \$1,000 of income over \$13,000 so that families with incomes of \$23,000 or more are not eligible for any grant money. In order to prevent speculative sales of

rehabilitated houses, the forgivable grant is earned at the rate of \$750 for each year the original owner continues to occupy the house after the improvements are made.

The program also addresses the problem of deteriorated rental units. Loans of up to \$10,000 can be attained for each dwelling unit that a landlord improves, and no income limitations are imposed. Landlords are eligible for a forgivable grant of half of the rehabilitation costs for each unit, up to a maximum of \$3,500 per unit. However, in order to prevent ensuing rent increase, landlords must agree to undergo rent controls.

Winnipeg's involvement with area improvement through NIP and RRAP was in marked contrast to its former low-keyed approach under urban renewal. As Winnipeg had been anticipating the new federal initiatives that were introduced in 1973, it was the first city in Canada to avail itself of the NIP program.(23) The Neighbourhood Improvement Branch was created in September, 1973 within the Department of Environmental Planning to administer NIP. A 'total' approach to area improvement has been advocated in Winnipeg ever since the formulation of the North Point Douglas strategy in 1970. Under NIP and RRAP, this 'total' approach evolved to encompass numerous aspects of community development and a wide-ranging social plan for each area was implemented.(24)

In order to facilitate greater community involvement, area improvement programs in Winnipeg are administered directly from a site office located within each area. The site office adds to program visibility and residents are encouraged to drop in and discuss their problems. The improvement staff attempt to visit every household within each area to promote housing and neighbourhood improvement. These visits are followed up with a series of public meetings from which a residents' committee is eventually elected. This committee is subsequently involved in the planning and implementation of actual improvements, originating and/or altering improvement proposals. The Committee also provides a 'watchdog' function as it is consulted on all development and zoning variance applications made in their neighbourhood to ensure that such changes will not adversely affect the area.

Several other means are utilized to develop a sense of community in improvement areas, including community newsletters and the addition of community development and social workers to the site office planning teams. Local social facilities and services are improved, or new facilities provided, by drawing on aid from other public agencies. Some examples include new and/or improved community, day-care, and drop-in centers; tot lots, playgrounds, and parks; job skills training through local schools; the use of local schools for after-hours activities; and special sports and recreation programs through the Parks and Recreation Department. These attempts relate back to the North Point Douglas strategy of 'stacking' the activities of municipal area-based programs on top of the physical improvements brought about by area

improvement efforts, in order to achieve a more comprehensive improvement effort.

Major physical improvements provided directly through Winnipeg's area improvement programming range from the provision or upgrading of community facilities to new or improved municipal services. The activities of all municipal service-providing departments are also co-ordinated with area improvement efforts. To assist the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch of the City in reaching decisions regarding the form of improvement action to be undertaken by the various civic departments involved, a Civic Advisory Committee has been formed with representatives from the various departments.(25)

The biggest outside contribution has come from the Manitoba Housing and Renewal Corporation (MHRC).(26) MHRC has undertaken a large-scale program of erecting new public housing units on scattered sites within improvement areas that are either vacant or that resulted from small-scale clearance. These sites are acquired by the City, either by purchase using area improvement funds or through tax defaults, and are then made available to MHRC. This 'new building' program provides new investment in declining neighbourhoods, helping to achieve tangible signs of improvement and public confidence in the area. As well, efforts are directed at designing units so as to fit in with surrounding neighbourhoods. Local residents are given preference when finding occupants for this housing.

Another key aspect of Winnipeg's neighbourhood improvement efforts has been the strong enforcement of minimum standards by-laws, specifically the Maintenance and Occupancy (M+O) by-law and the

Apartment Upgrading by-law. In concert with RRAP loans and grants, these by-laws represent a 'stick and carrot' approach to encouraging the rehabilitation of neighbourhood housing stocks. Such a strategy stems from the fact that once a number of housing units in any one area become deteriorated, these conditions often spread to surrounding areas. Inspection under the Apartment Upgrading by-law, which is carried out by civic Fire Department inspectors, is closely co-ordinated with the general inspection program of improvement areas under the M+O by-law. While both of these by-laws apply throughout all of Winnipeg, areas undergoing improvement efforts are given priority -- largely in order to aid in the improvement efforts, but also because these areas have the highest concentrations of sub-standard residential buildings.

Unfortunately, private absentee landlords have constituted a major barrier to rehabilitation efforts as a disproportionate number of their units are in poor or very poor condition.(27) A systematic inspection of all privately-owned rental properties within the area is carried out by site office inspectors who meet with owners of below-standard properties and remind them of the RRAP program to encourage voluntary improvement action. If improvements are not forthcoming within a fairly short period of time, then M+O by-law enforcement action is taken. Provisions are also made within the M+O by-law whereby dwelling units which cannot be brought up to minimum standards can be demolished to make way for new infill housing. In situations where these dwellings are occupied, relocation assistance is available.

The general policy taken with respect to the post-improvement

stage has been that the improved neighbourhoods should be able to 'stand on their own two feet'. Much emphasis is placed during the improvement phase on community development so that further direct public sector intervention should not be required. The objective is to establish a group of community leaders who will have developed a knowledge of how to get things done for their area once the improvement program has ended.(28) This community development work should also have raised the level of residents' commitment toward their improved neighbourhood. Furthermore, the area improvement program will have provided for a wide range of new and/or improved community facilities and services, both social and physical, which will continue to operate in the renewed areas and will have provided an element of newness.

FEDERAL DISENTANGLEMENT

NIP, as initially conceived, was to operate for five years and toward the end of this period an evaluation of the program was to be conducted. In response to so-called abuses of the program by rural municipalities, NIP as a separate program was terminated in the spring of 1978 and in its place, the federal government introduced the Community Services Contribution Program (CSCP) in 1979.(29) Under these new arrangements, neighbourhood improvement represented only one of ten categories of municipal service programs eligible for funding. In a manner similar to NIP, CSCP was directed at neighbourhoods in

need of assistance for their continued stability and livability. However, there was an important distinction: NIP entailed a comprehensive improvement program while CSCP was primarily project-oriented and had a time frame of only one-and-a-half to two years.(30) In light of the number and nature of former programs that CSCP replaced, it was evident that funding was limited and that fewer neighbourhoods could be designated for improvement than before.(31) However, in Winnipeg, the Department of Environmental Planning continued its intensive approach to neighbourhood improvement in CSCP areas (called CIP areas) as it had in the earlier NIP areas, although funding levels were not as high. A total of \$19.7 million was expended on the first six improvement areas under NIP, and another \$14 million has been either spent or targeted to be spent in the remaining six CIP areas under CSCP and the Core Area Initiative. Additional large sums of money are provided in all improvement areas for housing rehabilitation under RRAP. For an actual breakdown the funding in each area, refer to Appendix IV.

Cost-sharing arrangements under CSCP were similar to those of NIP, however federal funds now came in the form of annual block grants to individual provinces. It was left to each province to decide how it would distribute these funds amongst individual municipalities. The federal government maintained that such changes allowed municipalities greater flexibility in working out spending priorities since they were no longer tied to all of the specific conditions of NIP. While these changes were consistent with the federal government's move toward disentanglement in the field of housing, they also represented a

definite downgrading of the priority attached to area improvement in national housing policy.

At the end of 1980, the federal government cancelled the Community Services Contribution Program so that no federally-initiated program for community rehabilitation remained, although RRAP continues to be administered as a separate program. This move down-graded area improvement activities even further and it seriously undermined the ability of municipalities, who have relatively limited resources, to undertake neighbourhood improvement in any systematic and comprehensive fashion.(32) It also left considerable uncertainty as to whether future federal government housing policy would continue to address the issue of area improvement. However, a number of appeals from provincial and municipal governments were able to persuade the federal government to continue allocating CSCP-like block grants despite the cancellation of the program.(33) Through the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (the CEIC), Winnipeg received \$2 million to undertake area improvement in 1981, and another \$2 million has tentatively been allocated for 1983. However, the City's request for funds in 1982 was turned down by the Commission. This source of funding is tenuous to say the least and it in no way compensates for the loss of previous federal initiatives in area improvement.

MUNICIPAL INITIATIVES IN AREA IMPROVEMENT

So far, the area improvement efforts that have been reviewed have

been related to senior level government initiatives. In this section, a number of measures related to area improvement that evolved totally at the municipal level are discussed.

The origin of municipal area improvement (as opposed to urban renewal) efforts in Winnipeg can be traced back to the early 1970's, with the formulation of the North Point Douglas plan and the establishment of the District Planning Branch in 1973. The latter event, which was originally concerned with preparing 'district' and 'action area' plans, marked the beginning of local area planning in Winnipeg. Essentially, district plans formulate proposals regarding land use; transportation; and physical, social and economic improvements to the environment at the district level.(34) An action area plan, which is a set of implementation programs for a specific area over time, is a subset of a district plan.(35)

While it is at the action area level that neighbourhood conservation or improvement schemes are most effectively formulated, only six such plans have been drafted of which only two were adopted by council.(36) Despite the potential utility of formulating a set of action area schemes for the inner city, it appears that no more such plans will be produced. The general feeling of council is that these plans are too costly to produce and that the program packages necessary to implement them would be too costly to the municipality. Consequently, due to a lack of political commitment, district and action area plans are very few in number, and those that do exist are without much power.(37)

The emphasis of the District Planning Branch has gradually shifted away from the role of district and action area planning toward a less

interventionist role of area characterization.(38) Under the area characterization process, social, demographic, physical and economic information was compiled for the entire city on a neighbourhood basis. This information forms a data bank facilitating policy decisions and recommendations related to supportive interventions that can be made at the local level to enhance neighbourhood viability and vitality (for example, housing improvements, the corodination of municipal services, and zoning revisions).

The next major municipal initiative came in December of 1978, when Winnipeg City Council adopted a set of 'Guidelines for Housing Involvement' which became the official housing policy of the City. These 'Guidelines' are contained in Appendix ~~V~~^I. The Guidelines prescribed a passive role for the City, emphasizing the cost conscious mood of Council.(39) Due to the fact that both senior levels of government were pursuing a policy of disentanglement in the field of housing and area improvement at this time, coupled with the belief that City resources were too scarce, the thrust of the guidelines was to entice the private sector into revitalizing inner city neighbourhoods through the creation of a number of special development incentives.(40)

The next event to occur at the municipal level was the review of the Winnipeg Development Plan. Out of this review emerged a study in late 1979 entitled 'Housing and Neighbourhood Strategies' in which a strategy was developed to maintain and improve the quality of declining neighbourhoods and their housing stocks in accordance with the framework of the 'Guidelines'. The study proposed a number of targets related to municipal services, amenities, and public safety. These

recommendations were approved by Council in December of 1979, becoming the City's new official policy relating to its older neighbourhoods.

In brief, the following set of programs was proposed in the 'Housing and Neighbourhood Strategies' study, again with an emphasis on generating private sector investment in the maintenance and revitalization of older neighbourhoods: i) co-ordinating all aspects of planning and housing within existing neighbourhoods (e.g. planning control; building & occupancy standards; and utilizing the resources of municipal departments; other government agencies and the private sector) through the creation of a Housing and Community Renewal Division; ii) promoting private development in inner city neighbourhoods by creating incentives (e.g. tax concessions, development bonus rights, and seed money for innovative programs); iii) providing assistance to private non-profit housing groups; iv) continued support and use of senior-level improvement programs (i.e. RRAP and CSCP); v) lobbying senior level governments for more aid and the provision of incentives to rehabilitation and new residential construction in existing neighbourhoods; vi) sale of city-owned surplus lots for infill housing; and vii) the continuance of monitoring and inspection programs already implemented by the City under its maintenance and up-grading by-laws.(41)

In response to the study, the Neighbourhood Improvement Branch of the Department of Environmental Planning became the Housing and Community Improvement Branch. The mandate of the new Branch was expanded to include responsibility for older neighbourhood planning.

In this endeavour, a number of Action Areas were defined, each comprising a group of neighbourhoods contiguous to a NIP or CIP neighbourhood. Summary profiles on each neighbourhood were compiled through the Winnipeg Area Characterization Study, which helped to identify the type and timing of improvement programs to be implemented in the action areas. These action areas thus form the basis on which improvement programs are delivered to Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods that are not receiving intensive improvement programming.

The proposed strategy of lobbying senior level governments was deemed less pressing as a result of the signing of the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative (CAI) since this was to involve close tri-level consultation. It was decided not to develop incentives to the private sector as it was felt that greater benefits could be achieved by concentrating existing civic resources on the Initiative.(42) As for removing disincentives to private sector infill, both NIP and now the CAI have undertaken the expediting of infill development proposals through administrative and technical support. Both programs have also made city-owned lots available as infill sites. *As mentioned earlier* ~~As will be seen in the next section concerning the Winnipeg CAI,~~ the monitoring and inspection of housing and enforcement of maintenance and upgrading by-laws continues to be a priority of the City. In terms of assistance to non-profit groups, several measures are provided under the CAI. The Housing and Community improvement Branch staff act as a resource group for the City's non-profit housing corporation and provide technical and administrative support on a demand basis to private

non-profit groups. Finally, the City of Winnipeg has continually taken maximum advantage of any senior level improvement programs that have been put into place.

In addition to the measures implemented through the 'Housing and Neighbourhood Strategies' report, further benefits have been provided to older established Winnipeg neighbourhoods through the implementation of a Storm Sewer Relief Program and through the establishment of an equity principle in the provision of swimming pools and arenas.(43) Another important development has been the establishment of the Winnipeg Housing and Renewal Corporation (WHRC) with the following inter-related goals: i) promoting home ownership among lower income families and increasing the availability of adequate, affordable rental shelter for lower income families; and ii) assisting in the stabilization of neighbourhoods.(44) However, the scope of activities undertaken by WHRC was very minimal during its initial few years and it was subsequently disbanded following a recommendation in the 'Housing and Neighbourhood Strategies' report. WHRC was later re-activated, but lay dormant due to a lack municipal support from city council.(45) With expanded funding under the Core Area Initiative and a greater degree of support from city council, the Corporation is really just beginning to commence full-scale operations.

One final municipal initiative that will affect the vitality of Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods substantially is the forthcoming revised Development Plan -r Plan Winnipeg. While this document to date has only received second reading from City Council, it will become the City's long-range planning document once it is formally adopted.

According to Plan Winnipeg, due to slow population and economic growth forecasts, the future of the city now lies in its existing neighbourhoods and infrastructure and not in the suburban periphery.(46) As such, it identifies the following as the major urban development issue: "What is the most effective strategy for encouraging the maintenance and revitalization of older established neighbourhoods?"(47) Several alternative approaches to growth management were formulated, including 'Business as Usual', 'Directed Suburban', and 'Containment'. From these options, 'Containment' was identified as the preferred alternative with respect to older neighbourhoods, since the other two options did not address the problems of the inner city at all.(48)

The Containment option, in turn, was composed of several strategies itself, of which the Infill / Revitalization strategy was deemed to be the most effective and appropriate. This Infill / Revitalization strategy calls for both direct municipal involvement in support of older neighbourhoods and for incentives to attract private sector investment in older neighbourhoods. More specifically, the objective is to attract twenty per cent of the anticipated suburban growth to the end of the century into older neighbourhoods to support revitalization efforts.(49) A range of improvement measures is proposed, depending upon the level of need in each particular neighbourhood. All of the policies and programs proposed in the 'Housing and Neighbourhood Strategies' study are included. Basically, Plan Winnipeg calls for the continued reliance upon the neighbourhood planning and intensive area programming approach in NIP and CIP areas for high need level neighbourhoods. In neighbourhoods undergoing initial decline, minimal involvement programs

based on differing local conditions are advocated including monitoring and inspection, zoning rationalization, and the co-ordination of existing municipal activities that have relevance to the target neighbourhood.

In addition to the above measures, a Co-ordinated Neighbourhood Infrastructure Program is proposed in which the City would expend \$30 million per year over a five year period on infrastructure maintenance and improvements in older neighbourhoods, including the following items: the Community Improvement Program; the Storm Relief Program; sewer, watermain and street renewal; hydro; and transit.(50) The Parks and Recreation Department will also spend \$2 million per year on improving and providing parks and recreation facilities. The objective of these two programs will be to undertake capital improvements in older neighbourhoods on a priority basis with the purpose of creating maximum visible improvement impact.

Many of the proposals put forward in Plan Winnipeg with regard to improving inner city neighbourhoods overlap with those of the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative. It is difficult to determine at this point whether Plan Winnipeg will be revised so as to co-ordinate its improvement measures with those of the Initiative. The discussion will now turn to the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, the final development to date in the evolution of area improvement programming in Winnipeg.

THE WINNIPEG CORE AREA INITIATIVE

In the face of federal government disentanglement from program delivery at the municipal level, and consequently from area improvement programming, one finds a unique situation existing in Winnipeg -- the Core Area Initiative (CAI). The Winnipeg CAI represents a new approach that is more comprehensive than any improvement effort before it. It involves the three levels of government working together to develop a co-ordinated, overall improvement strategy for the renewal of an entire^{inner} city area. Improvement efforts have branched out to encompass not only physical aspects of neighbourhood revitalization, but also social and economic concerns. The boundaries of the core area, which are the same as those of the area defined as Winnipeg's inner city, are shown in relation to the eleven study neighbourhoods in Figure 5. on page 102.

The Initiative is actually a tri-level agreement committing the Federal, Manitoba, and Winnipeg governments to contribute \$32 million each (\$96 million in total) toward the improvement of conditions in Winnipeg's inner city over a five-year period ending in March, 1986. A Policy Committee, composed of the federal minister of Employment and Immigration, Manitoba's Urban Affairs minister, and the mayor of Winnipeg, is charged with overseeing the management of the agreement. There is also a Management Board, which is responsible for approval and supervision of all projects.

The stated objective of the CAI is "to provide increased employment opportunities, to encourage appropriate industrial,

commercial, and residential development in the core area, and to facilitate the effective social and economic participation of core area residents in development opportunities." (51) In order to achieve this rather broad objective, the Initiative is divided into three sectors -- Sector I: Employment, Housing & Neighbourhood Revitalization (allotted \$37 million); Sector II: Economic Stimulus Through Key Site Development (allotted \$54 million); and Sector III: Management & Consultation (allotted \$5 million). (52) Each sector is made up of several programs having their own specific objectives. Since the emphasis of this thesis is on examining public sector attempts at improving the physical living environment of Winnipeg's declining inner city neighbourhoods, only the Sector I programs, concerning area improvement directly, will be examined in detail. The important point to note as far as the entire Initiative is concerned is that it goes a step beyond the NIP and CSCP approach by offering an even broader attack on the problems facing declining inner city neighbourhoods. This broader scope encompasses economic aspects of community improvement, especially the encouragement of greater employment opportunities, and it stresses social aspects to a greater degree than previous efforts.

One of the major objectives of the Sector I programs is to "create an improved living environment in core area communities." (53) Four of the Sector I programs are directed towards this objective: Community Improvement (CIP) Areas (allotted \$6 million); Community Facilities (\$5 million); Community Services (\$5 million); and Housing (\$11.5 million).

Under the Community Improvement Areas Program, improvement action will be extended to sixteen central city neighbourhoods

designated as 'action areas'.(54) The location of these areas is shown in Figure 5. on page 102 . These areas will be the subject of comprehensive yet flexible neighbourhood plans identifying specific strategies to be employed in each area. The physical environment will be improved through concentrating capital expenditures for municipal services and facilities upgrading, including such items as parks, recreation facilities, municipal infrastructure, and streetscaping. This is to be accomplished in consultation with local residents in the form of neighbourhood advisory bodies.(55) However, participation will not be stressed to nearly the same degree as in NIP and CIP areas.

Another aim of the neighbourhood plans would be to create an atmosphere in which private sector money would be attracted to facilitate neighbourhood revitalization.(56) As such, several special incentives may be initiated within an action area to promote private investment. For example, appropriate infill and redevelopment sites will be identified within the context of the overall area plan, and administrative and technical support will be provided by the City to expedite infill proposals.(57) In addition, RRAP eligibility will be extended to all action areas that extend outside of the CAI boundaries. All in all, improvements are of a much less intensive nature than in other improvement areas since the emphasis has more to do with re-inforcing the status quo in order to prevent further neighbourhood decline from occurring. Nonetheless, this program will bring to thirty-two the total number of Winnipeg neighbourhoods that have been designated for improvement efforts, representing a very substantial and impressive renewal effort.

The Community Facilities and Community Services Programs will further support area improvement efforts by providing financial contributions towards the costs of new or expanded community facilities and services. This is in order to foster a greater participation of core area residents in community life.

KJ Finally, the Housing Program calls for a broad range of measures to improve the central city housing stock and thereby strengthen the improvement efforts of the other three Sector I programs just discussed. The Program's target is to rehabilitate approximately 4,000 housing units over the Initiative's five-year term in order to stabilize and strengthen core neighbourhoods. The CAI has allocated funds in order to expand the RRAP home repair program throughout the entire core area. Some of these funds are used to finance the Core Area Initiative Home Repair Program (CAIHRP) and Core Area Initiative Grant for Home Ownership (CAIGHO) which add further subsidies to enhance the scope of the RRAP program. Under CAIHRP, the provincial government subsidizes the interest rate on the repayable portion of RRAP loans. For families with incomes of less than \$10,000, an additional \$1,250 non-repayable 'hardship' loan is available. The hardship grant can be 'stacked' onto the forgivable portion of the RRAP loan. The CAIGHO Program offers conditional grants of \$5,000 for the purchase of newly constructed homes in the inner city and \$2,500 for the purchase of existing inner city homes requiring major rehabilitation.

Further impetus to housing rehabilitation will be given by a co-ordinated program of housing inspection and by-law and code

enforcement under the Core Area Residential Upgrading and Maintenance Project (CARUMP). This program will utilize the 'carrot and stick' approach used in NIP and CIP areas, although it will be more comprehensive. Teams consisting of a housing inspector, a social worker, and a homemaker will examine the housing stock on a door-to-door basis throughout the entire core area. Certain target neighbourhoods will be designated for priority action.(58) The team will provide counselling and homemaking services for homeowners and tenants and it will also provide for the involvement of outside agencies when necessary. There will also be relocation services and assistance to occupants displaced as a result of by-law enforcement causing building closure.

Further measures under the Housing Program provide funding to existing housing rehabilitation agencies (e.g. the Winnipeg Housing & Rehabilitation Corporation, Kinew Housing Corporation) to assist in the acquisition and upgrading of substandard housing which is eventually to be rented out or sold. There will also be start-up funds made available to newly-formed non-profit housing corporations.

→ The Housing Program also has the target of constructing approximately four hundred new infill homes on scattered lots throughout the inner city, in order to enhance neighbourhood character and offset the effects of previous losses to the housing stock. It is hoped that by offering good housing at affordable prices, families will be attracted. Through the CAIGHO Program and other assistance, the cost of these units will be reduced to the \$35,000 to \$40,000 range. The City has already made eighty-four core area lots available for new

house construction under this program.(59)

In addition to the Sector I programs just discussed, Sector II calls for the redevelopment of the Logan-CPR area to an industrial park. The objective of this program is to attract light industries to the core area in order to increase inner city employment opportunities. While this proposal is not a direct attempt to counter prevailing trends of the decentralization of jobs and industry, it does represent one of the few efforts that has been made to overcome the unemployment problems that continue to plague the inner city. However, even though the objective of the program is a very worthy one, the proposal has been the subject of much controversy. The Province is now developing a site plan for a substantially reduced industrial park while the residential portion of the area will be retained and reinforced.(60)

The three levels of government have indicated that they will undertake further programs or projects in Winnipeg's core area during the next five years, over and above their CAI commitments. CMHC has committed funding toward additional forgivable RRAP grants and it has indicated that it will construct five hundred non-profit housing units (100 per year) in the core area to serve elderly, native, and displaced households, and other special needs groups. The CEIC may provide additional block grants to the City in order that it can undertake further intensive area improvement work in CIP areas.

The Province is funding a Buy & Renovate Program, administered through MHRC, that applies to existing homes costing under \$30,000 in which a minimum additional \$15,000 is to be invested in rehabilitation work, to a maximum combined cost of \$64,000. Under this program, a

fully-insured five-year mortgage at reduced interest rates can be obtained to cover the combined purchase and rehabilitation costs. Further mortgage subsidies are available if monthly payments exceed thirty per cent of family income. While the program applies to all locations within the province, further provisions apply only to Winnipeg's core area where the downpayment requirement is only ten per cent of the purchase cost or ten per cent of household income, whichever is lower.(61) The Province has also made a commitment to provide the Winnipeg Housing & Rehabilitation Corporation with additional funding over a five-year period. Further provincial assistance to people purchasing new inner city homes will provide an 'equity guarantee' whereby buyers are guaranteed reimbursement of their original downpayment (excluding grants) in the event of resale. As well, lots will be sold at very low costs.

Another provincial initiative, an Infill Architectural Design Competition, offers immense potential for the revitalization of declining inner city neighbourhoods. The competition, sponsored by MHRC and the Manitoba Association of Architects, was organized to generate creative new designs for affordable housing that complement and enhance surrounding neighbourhoods. The winning home designs will be used to construct homes under the CAI's Infill Program. The design plans will be published in a booklet and made available to home builders wishing to undertake their own infill projects in inner city neighbourhoods. These designs mark the first concerted effort to modify existing housing forms to help attract middle-income and family households back into inner city neighbourhoods.

MHRC will also support improvement efforts in any Community Improvement (CIP) area designated during the life of the Initiative by contributing grants to automatically match any City of Winnipeg CIP expenditures.(62) As for the City of Winnipeg, it has committed funds through its 1981-85 Capital Works Program in order to undertake CIP programs in the Dufferin, King Edward, and St. Johns areas. It is intended (finances permitting) that improvement efforts in these CIP areas shall take the same 'total' approach as followed in previous improvement areas in the city. Four more areas are proposed as future CIP areas, depending upon the availability of funds: the Spence and Memorial areas located within the study area, and the Lord Roberts and Weston areas (see Appendix IV for further details on the proposed improvement programs for these areas).

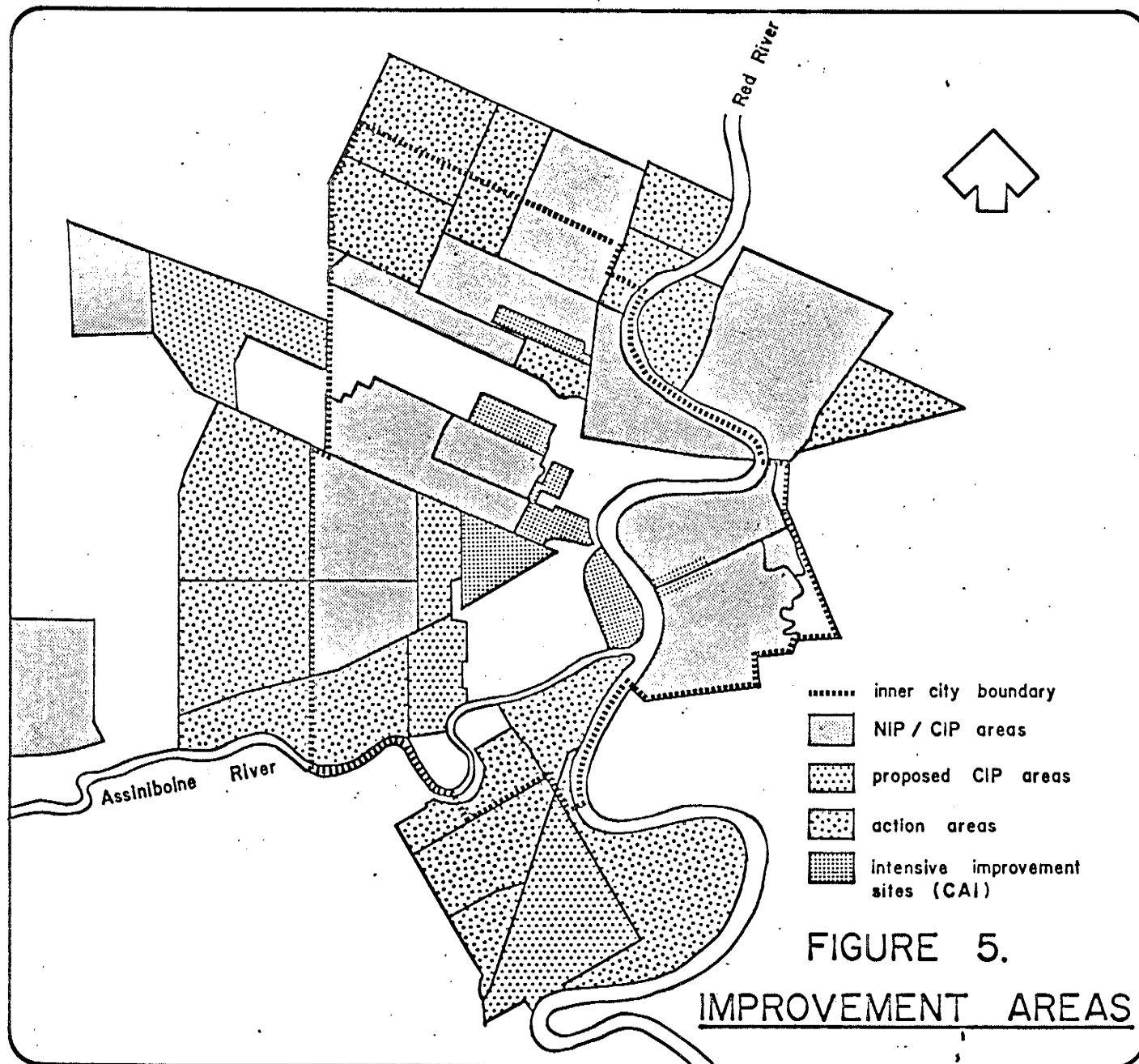
Before closing the discussion on Winnipeg's Core Area Initiative, one more point is in order, and that is the importance of attracting private sector activity. One of the main purposes of the whole Initiative is to act as a catalyst for the infusion of additional private sector investment into Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods.(63) This, in effect, would lever the limited amount of public sector resources available and help achieve a more widespread improvement effort. However, concrete and workable incentives must be put into place by the public sector first, and additional public sector support will also be required.

AREA IMPROVEMENT EFFORTS IN WINNIPEG IN RELATION TO THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF DECLINE

AGING & PHYSICAL DETERIORATION

The aging and physical deterioration cause of inner city decline has received, by far, the most attention from public sector improvement efforts to date in Winnipeg. To overcome the associated problem of physical deterioration, an intensive approach to area improvement was developed under the NIP and RRAP programs, and this intensive approach has been maintained in the form of CIP programming under CSCP and now the Core Area Initiative. As a result, substantial upgrading of the physical environment has occurred in designated inner city neighbourhoods, in the form of rehabilitated housing, improved municipal infrastructures, new and improved neighbourhood amenities and recreation facilities, the elimination of non-conforming land uses, and the provision of some new infill public housing.

In total, twelve areas in Winnipeg have been designated for intensive area improvement programming to date and another four have been proposed. Figure 5. on page ¹⁰²Λ shows the location of these areas in comparison to the study neighbourhoods. Summary statistics describing the improvement program for each area are presented in Appendix IV. It is evident from Figure 5. that by the time existing and proposed improvement programming comes to a close, it will have encompassed all of Winnipeg's residential inner city neighbourhoods and



even a number of neighbourhoods extending beyond the area. This, in turn, indicates that Winnipeg's neighbourhood improvement strategy is a systematic attempt at improving the quality of all of its older, declining inner city neighbourhoods.

Turning to housing rehabilitation specifically, Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods have shown a wide variability in the number of units upgraded through RRAP. (64)

In total, area improvement programs have come to a close in five neighbourhoods. In North Point Douglas and Centennial respectively, ninety-two per cent and forty-four per cent of the housing units requiring major rehabilitation have been upgraded through RRAP.

In the remaining three neighbourhoods -- North St. Boniface, West Alexander, and William Whyte -- less than twenty per cent of the units in need have been RRAP'ed. Although the latter three areas have not had very much success with RRAP, it must be remembered that the program has not been offered for as long in these areas and that RRAP is still on-going throughout the entire inner city under the Core Area Initiative.

RRAP take-up has been more extensive than the above figures seem to indicate. While it was estimated by the Department of Environmental Planning that a total of 770 housing units in the above-mentioned five neighbourhoods were in need of rehabilitation, a total of 952 units had been rehabilitated in them as of December, 1982 using RRAP funding. (65) It is evident that many units in 'fair' and 'good' condition which did not require major rehabilitation were improved under RRAP. Thus RRAP, coupled with intensive area improvement programming, has

brought about significant housing improvements in selected areas of Winnipeg's inner city.

Unfortunately, publicly sponsored housing rehabilitation efforts may not be proceeding quickly enough in light of the effort required to improve the total inner city housing stock. While 1372 inner city housing units had been upgraded with RRAP assistance as of December, 1982, this figure represents only thirty-three per cent (one-third) of the total of 4200 inner city housing units in need of major repair.(66) As already noted, not all of the units receiving assistance are among the 4200 most in need, and those units in 'very poor' condition, for which it is felt that economic rehabilitation is not feasible, are not included in the total.

As for privately-initiated rehabilitation activity, there are visible signs of such activity occurring in a number of inner city neighbourhoods.(67) Some of this private rehabilitation has been the result of encouragement provided by public sector area improvement programs within these areas or in surrounding areas. Thus while spontaneous private rehabilitation also serves the goals of area improvement, it reduces the apparent success rate of public sector programs.(68)

Private non-profit rehabilitation activity has been minimal in the past as the City has not actively encouraged or aided such groups.(69) However, start-up aid is now being provided under the CAI and will hopefully provide sufficient incentive to expand private non-profit activity. Winnipeg's experience with its municipal non-profit housing corporation has also been minimal. If adequate funding is provided to

WHRC under the CAI, it could prove to be a very effective tool for improving the quality of Winnipeg's inner city housing stock, as has been the experience in other Canadian cities.(70) By expanding the role of WHRC, a demonstration of municipal commitment and project feasibility could be achieved that would encourage greater activity from private non-profits.(71)

The main point to note with respect to the degree that the City has utilized non-profit housing corporations to improve the inner city housing stock is the low level of interest that has been exhibited. Although the City has consistently cited its lack of resources as the major reason for its non-involvement in the housing field, numerous measures have been available that could have been implemented to encourage non-profit groups that would have involved relatively minimal costs.(72)

Code enforcement in Winnipeg has not been linked to repair programs as well as it may have been. For instance, compelling apartment owners to spend money on bringing their units up to minimum standards has imposed financial hardships of sufficient magnitude in some cases that the closure of apartment buildings has resulted, leading to tenant displacement and to eventual building demolition. Increased rents resulting from the costs of upgrading can also force tenant dislocation, although CMHC's evaluation of RRAP indicated that only a minority of tenants were dislocated or experienced high rent increases as a result of the program.(73) Once again, if the City had been seriously interested in addressing this problem, it could have implemented several measures, some of which would have been relatively

low in cost.(74)

There is also a need in Winnipeg for the on-going monitoring of housing conditions, but no organized system exists at present. Such a system is needed in order to detect early signs of decline and to designate priority areas for housing upgrading and maintenance, as well as to measure improvement progress. There is also a need for actual housing targets to be set in order to provide a clearer statement of Council intentions and to assist in monitoring program progress.

In addition to housing deterioration, the aging process inevitably leads to the physical deterioration of the wider physical environment of neighbourhoods -- industrial and commercial properties, parks and recreation facilities, and municipal services.

While the Neighbourhood Improvement Program made loan provisions for the improvement of local commercial properties as part of the overall improvement effort, these provisions were not used anywhere in the country.(75) Despite this apparent shortcoming of the program, there have been noticeable private improvements to commercial properties in Winnipeg NIP areas.(76) The Main Streets Revitalization Program of the CAI is to provide greater public sector aid and stimulus to the improvement of commercial properties and is to act as a further catalyst to private improvement. However, this program is limited to only four particular streets -- Osborne, Main, Provencher, and Selkirk -- and so far little action has been taken.

As for industrial properties, improvement efforts in Winnipeg have concentrated on persuading local industries to voluntarily maintain their properties in an acceptable state. Some firms were very co-operative

and upgraded their properties through the use of cosmetic measures, while other firms were very unco-operative. In general, area improvement efforts in Winnipeg have not really addressed the problem of substandard industrial premises. Extending improvement and rehabilitation programming to industrial and commercial properties is an area that will require greater input in the future since there is such a high degree of land use mixture in Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods. The upgrading of industrial and commercial properties should become a greater priority as improvement efforts expand their scope so as to address economic and employment concerns.

Apart from new or expanded park and recreation facilities in NIP and CIP areas, little has been done to correct the problem of park and open space deficiencies in the inner city. Plan Winnipeg recommends that park deficiencies be identified and then corrected by a program of land acquisition and development. However, it still remains to be seen whether or not municipal commitment to this objective will be forthcoming. In fact, a disproportionately smaller amount of municipal recreation funds are being spent in the inner city at the present time.(77)

As for municipal services, significant improvements through NIP and CIP have resulted in more visually attractive neighbourhoods with a marked effect on neighbourhood image and resident satisfaction. The City's Storm Sewer Relief Program is also contributing to the overall renewal of inner city services.

URBAN GROWTH PRESSURES

In contrast to the 'aging and physical deterioration' cause of inner city neighbourhood decline, the 'urban growth pressures' cause has received minimal attention from improvement initiatives. Although negative pressures exerted on inner city areas by the outward expansion of central business district uses are generally of low intensity in Winnipeg, they nonetheless do exist. However, outside of designated improvement areas, the City has failed to review the zoning in inner city neighbourhoods for many years. This is in spite of the finding of the Area Characterization Study that the majority of 'poor' condition residential buildings are found in over-zoned areas.(78) A general program of down-zoning in low-density residential areas of the inner city, while being politically difficult to implement, would entail very minimal costs while encouraging greater stability.(79)

Largely due to the lack of a firm expansion policy designed to minimize disruptive effects on central neighbourhoods, the random expansion of heavy traffic arteries to accommodate suburban-to-downtown and cross-town commuters still continues. And while a partial solution to the problem lies in encouraging a greater use of public transit, which the City is on record as being in support of, "there is a widely held attitude that more and bigger roads are inevitable, and piecemeal but persistent implementation of an improved road network continues."(80) Such an approach to transportation will also serve only to encourage the further decentralization of Winnipeg's urban structure.

MACRO CHANGES, HOUSING CONSUMER PREFERENCES, & UNINTENDED
CONSEQUENCES

Public sector actions across the country have actually fuelled the 'macro changes', 'housing consumer preferences' and 'unintended consequences of government policy' causes of inner city neighbourhood decline. In the past, no specific attempts were made to modify those programs having negative impacts on inner city areas, and it has only been relatively recently that efforts have been made to develop offsetting programs more favourable to the inner city.

While the negative impacts of some government policies and programs on the inner city were surely not intended, they point to a failure on the part of all three levels of government to think the ramifications of their actions completely through. This shortcoming is largely a result of Canada's constitutional framework in which the various levels of government are only concerned with their own spheres of influence. There is a need for greater tri-level consultation, which is hopefully being achieved through the Core Area Initiative. There is also a need for a thorough review of government policies impacting on large Canadian centers to determine if they might have any negative effects on inner city areas. A major start in correcting the imbalance of present policies could be made by shifting the emphasis of the entire housing policy and program field from the provision of new housing to the maintenance and improvement of the existing supply and

neighbourhoods. Such a shift would be especially appropriate in the face of declining growth rates and limited municipal resources, and could be tied to employment creation through the encouragement of a rehabilitation industry.(81)

In Winnipeg, as in most large Canadian cities, City Council gave further emphasis to suburban expansion when it formulated its existing Development Plan (By-law 1117) back in 1968, a time of rapid residential and industrial growth. The Plan placed an almost exclusive emphasis on accommodating new growth through suburban expansion, shifting the emphasis away from existing neighbourhoods. Many of the problems that have occurred in the inner city since that time are closely tied to the neglect of older inner city environments that resulted from the pre-occupation with extensive suburban development. Despite the problems being caused, the current approach of Council to urban development is still heavily influenced by the growth mentality of the late sixties and early seventies, and the adoption of Plan Winnipeg (the revised Development Plan) is more than five years overdue. Even if Plan Winnipeg is finally adopted by Council without any major changes, it will remain to be seen whether there will be an earnest political commitment to implementing the recommended Containment option.(82) To date, Council has not assumed any responsibility for effective urban growth management. Instead, it has merely provided regional services in response to the development industry's preferences, leading to an accommodation of the demand for new housing in the suburbs.(83)

Four alternative courses of action have been identified that the City could pursue in order to direct a greater proportion of its new

growth into the inner city: i) limit the number of suburban units approved; ii) a policy of discouraging suburban growth; iii) a strategy of actively encouraging private infill development; and iv) the direct municipal undertaking of infill development.(84) The first two alternatives are seen as being very unpopular politically, and both would lead to increases in the cost of central area land. The fourth alternative runs counter to the City's 1978 housing involvement guidelines (or rather, non-involvement guidelines). Thus Plan Winnipeg recommends the Containment growth option to be implemented through the use of various incentives to attract private infill activity. But as was pointed out earlier in this chapter, such a strategy has been proposed in the past but has met with little action.

In the long-run, the second option of discouraging suburban growth appears to be the most appropriate and probably the most effective course of action. First, the City has the necessary mechanisms at its disposal: decisions regarding the size and location of physical services such as sewer, water, and transportation facilities; zoning which regulates the use of land; and subdivision regulations which control the sequence and timing of development. Secondly, the City could implement specific programs aimed at enhancing inner city neighbourhoods or at addressing problems faced by these neighbourhoods. This approach would also be much less contentious than applying a blanket restriction on further suburban development. Perhaps most importantly, the simultaneous discouragement of suburban development and encouragement of development in existing neighbourhoods would address the 'macro changes', 'housing consumer

preferences', and 'unintended consequences' causes of inner city neighbourhood decline. A strategy of encouraging private infill development, while encouraging suburban development as well, simply would not address these causes.

THE LACK OF GRADUAL INVESTMENT

Aside from the infusion of public sector funds into designated improvement areas, attempts at improving the flow of investment into declining inner city neighbourhoods have been negligible in Winnipeg. The public sector has passively sat back while private financial institutions have refused to invest in entire inner city neighbourhoods. At the same time, the only efforts that have been made to overcome the inherent disadvantages of developing and investing in inner city locations have been those directed at improving the physical environment of designated neighbourhoods to a high degree in order to act as a catalyst to encourage further private sector maintenance and investment. While this approach has worked to some extent, it certainly has not gone far enough in correcting the present imbalance.

A particularly effective strategy to inject new investment into declining inner city neighbourhoods on a large scale would be for the City to actively encourage the construction of infill housing in older neighbourhoods. However, while many mutually-reinforcing measures could have been implemented to encourage infill development over the years, very little support was given by the public sector. It is

estimated that Winnipeg's established neighbourhoods could accommodate approximately 10,000 additional dwelling units at normal densities and of these, 1700 could be located within the inner city.(85) A further 5000 units could be accommodated in the inner city during the Plan Winnipeg period if projected demolitions are replaced at similar densities.(86) This means that approximately twenty per cent (6700 units) of the total new dwelling units required in Winnipeg until the end of the century could be accommodated within inner city neighbourhoods at present densities.(87) Just under fifty per cent of total unit requirements could be provided by accommodating infill units within established neighbourhoods.(88) Furthermore, these figures do not include the accommodation of new residential units in the downtown area. Even greater numbers of infill units could be accommodated in the inner city by pursuing the strategy of clearing pockets of deteriorated structures and redeveloping at higher densities in micro environments.

However, it must be stressed that the infill market in Winnipeg is not well developed as yet, and many supportive measures would be required. Providing incentives to undertake infill and rehabilitation in inner city neighbourhoods will only go part way towards creating a suitable development climate to stimulate private sector investment. Efforts must also be directed at overcoming the numerous prevailing disadvantages of inner city development that were noted in Chapters II and III. By adopting the Containment growth option of Plan Winnipeg, a major impetus would be given to channelling new growth and investment into the inner city.

The lack of investment in Winnipeg's inner city also underlines the

need for greater tri-level government consultation to solve inner city problems. For instance, with greater co-operation and consultation, the federal government could have located the Canadian mint and taxation data center, both massive employment centers, in appropriate inner city locations. Instead, both were located in outlying areas of the city. These two facilities alone provide more employment than the entire Core Area Initiative could ever hope to create in the inner city in the near future.

LACK OF DIVERSITY & POVERTY

These two underlying causes of inner city neighbourhood decline are closely related in that the poverty conditions which are so concentrated in the inner city can only be alleviated under present public sector spending priorities by encouraging a greater diversity of socio-economic groups. While public sector improvement attempts have not addressed the issue of population loss directly (which is leading to the less diverse resident base), they have addressed it in an indirect and ad hoc fashion by attempting to improve the physical environment of some inner city neighbourhoods to make them more attractive as residential locations. However, outside of improvement neighbourhoods, nothing at all is being done to address the problem and to date no direct attempts have been made to attract population back into the area. This is despite the fact that a range of alternatives exist that could be used to attract 'stabilizing' socio-economic groups.(89)

It is difficult at the present time to evaluate how successful

improvement attempts have been in reducing population losses since intensive area improvement programming did not get underway in Winnipeg until 1974. Furthermore, the 1981 census population data has not been broken down on an individual neighbourhood basis in Winnipeg yet, so it cannot be determined at this point whether population losses have been reduced in areas receiving intensive improvement programming. However, Winnipeg's inner city as a whole exhibited a further population decline between 1976 and 1981 of ten per cent.

The only real solution to the problem of inner city depopulation ultimately lies in first reducing the losses of neighbourhood residents and then attracting selected household groups back into inner city neighbourhoods to achieve a more diverse resident base. In order to achieve this objective, the extent of housing closure and demolition, especially of family accommodation, must be significantly reduced. Neighbourhood living environments must also be made more attractive, particularly to families and homeowners. This calls for an analysis of individual neighbourhoods as well as of the entire inner city that would identify those resources, amenities, and services that are presently lacking or deficient, but which are required to act as incentives to different life cycle groups to locate or remain in the inner city. Another useful analysis would identify the strengths and incentives which draw people to the area so that efforts could be made to capitalize on them. Such analyses could be carried out by means of local area planning and through the formulation of an overall plan for Winnipeg's inner city area. As well, those factors influencing housing consumer preferences away from the inner city so strongly must be

addressed.

Public housing, which is extremely concentrated in a few areas of the city, is leading to a further loss of diversity in terms of the mix of socio-economic groups. The pattern of distribution of public housing units shows a central core concentration.(90) Even further stratification of socio-economic groups occurs as the inner city contains a high proportion of senior citizen housing but a low proportion of family public housing units.(91) If anything, these proportions should be reversed as the inner city population is at present composed of a much higher concentration of senior citizens while family households are relatively few in number, leading to the closure of inner city schools.

A more dispersed provision of public housing units is therefore required. Past proposals in Winnipeg have called for the creation of scattered public housing units through rehabilitating existing housing rather than through new construction. Although the provision of public housing on a random or scattered basis would provide numerous advantages, little action has been taken on these proposals to date.(92) Further alternatives to public housing projects exist in the form of shelter allowances or the integration of subsidized units into new developments.

The City of Winnipeg, which does not consider itself as having any direct responsibility in housing matters, has therefore committed few resources toward overcoming the affordability problems of low income households, who are concentrated in the inner city. The City makes only a minor contribution towards the provision of public housing as it considers this to be a senior government responsibility. At the same

time, the City has provided little assistance to non-profit and co-operative groups in the past. In the face of declining senior level support of public housing, non-profits, and co-operatives, there is an increasing need for the City to depart from its passive role in housing toward a more active role in order to solve the housing problems of low income households. The affordability problems of inner city residents can also be addressed by minimizing the extent of housing unit closure and demolition that is occurring in the inner city. What is needed is a more flexible administration of minimum standards by-laws in order to encourage a greater degree of rehabilitation. Greater efforts must be directed at correcting the imbalance of code enforcement being most strongly aimed at rental properties while rehabilitation assistance being most strongly directed toward owner-occupied single family houses.(93)

CONCLUSION

Despite what would seem to be an extensive improvement effort, serious problems still confront Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods and many areas are undergoing further decline. The explanation for this apparent paradox lies in an examination of the public sector's area improvement efforts in relation to the eight underlying causes of inner city neighbourhood decline. Of the eight causes of decline that were identified from the review of the literature on Canadian inner cities in Chapter II, the discussion in this chapter has revealed that only the 'aging and physical deterioration' cause has been addressed directly in Winnipeg. In fact, the federal programs developed to date to improve

deteriorated neighbourhood environments, along with the program delivery approach that has evolved in Winnipeg, have been particularly good ones. Conditions in the inner city would have been a lot worse had it not been for these efforts. A rather impressive program base for improving deteriorated neighbourhood environments now appears to have been put into place with the implementation of the Core Area Initiative, although it is still too early to expect any dramatic improvements in inner city neighbourhood living environments to have occurred.

However, the 'urban growth', 'poverty and exploitation', 'lack of diversity', and 'lack of gradual investment' causes of decline have not been addressed directly so that they have received only minimal efforts, if any at all. And it was found in the case of the 'macro changes', 'unintended consequences of government policy' and 'housing consumer preferences' causes of decline that public sector policies and programs have actually strengthened their negative effects upon inner city areas. Thus in Winnipeg, the vast majority of neighbourhood improvement efforts have been addressed at treating the symptoms of aging and physical deterioration while the underlying causes of inner city decline have remained largely unaddressed.

No matter how intensive public sector area improvement efforts become, if they continue to focus solely on conditions within neighbourhoods they will continue to address only the symptoms of the decline problem. However, in order to achieve any degree of long-term improvement in neighbourhood conditions, the macro aspects of decline must also be addressed and modified by appropriate public sector

interventions. By concentrating on the symptoms of the problem, efforts will achieve little more than one-shot, temporary improvements that are fairly limited in scope. Such an approach, while bringing about some improvement in neighbourhood conditions in the inner city, will be self-defeating in the long-run.

In the next (and concluding) chapter, a set of recommendations is formulated that could serve as a preliminary basis for shifting the focus of current neighbourhood improvement efforts from the current one concentrating on symptoms to one addressing the underlying causes of decline as well. In this manner, major progress will hopefully be made toward achieving some long-term improvement in the conditions prevailing in Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods.

1. The implementation of housing programs is a provincial responsibility as a result of provisions in the old British North America Act covering property and civil rights.
2. The issue of deteriorated neighbourhood living environments had become more pressing as a result of the Depression and World War II, during which housing and infrastructure maintenance were deferred and neighbourhood conditions worsened substantially in many areas. Further neglect of deteriorated urban areas resulted from the federal government's total pre-occupation with new construction, versus a mixed strategy of new construction and rehabilitation, to satisfy the great demand for housing that had arisen with the war's end. This was due to the beneficial effects of new construction of spurring employment and economic expansion. (Dennis & Fish, page 293).
3. Barber, page 21
4. Social links were broken as neighbourhood residents were dispersed. This dispersion was particularly devastating to local businessmen who had built up their clientele over many years. Displaced residents, usually of low income, faced abrupt changes in their living patterns as well as numerous hardships in finding new accommodation due to inadequate compensation. Further disruption resulted due to the fact that renewal projects took several years to complete, with some projects stretching out over more than a decade. In the interim, residents lived in a prolonged state of anxiety and many lost their incentive to maintain their properties, leading to increased deterioration.
5. This is largely explained by the high residential densities of the inner city neighbourhoods where renewal projects took place. The problem was further aggravated when amendments to the NHA in 1964 allowed deteriorated residential areas to be redeveloped without replacing lost housing units. As well, pockets of relatively good condition housing were removed along with the bad housing.
6. Other criticisms centered around the lack of usable open space and supportive social services, the failure to blend in with the surrounding neighbourhood, and the fact that projects were composed primarily of rental units that resulted in net decreases in the proportion of owner-occupied dwelling units (and consequently in further neighbourhood instability).
7. Young, page 28

8. Both the Lord Selkirk Park and Burrows-Keewatin public housing projects have been criticized for their standardized and depressing designs and living environments, as well as for their insular qualities. For example, refer to Bickel, Public Housing: Redemption or Adversity and to the Winnipeg Area Characterization Study, Lord Selkirk Park neighbourhood profile.
9. The avoidance of resident participation in the preparation of renewal schemes further removed social considerations from being an element of concern.
10. Barber, page 8
11. Hellyer, pages 64 to 68
12. North Point Douglas was adjacent to urban renewal areas #1 and #3.
13. Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Neighbourhood Improvement - North Point Douglas, page 61.
14. The Study was entitled North Point Douglas Housing Program.
15. Ibid., page 2
16. Barber, page 77
17. In terms of eligibility, neighbourhoods designated as NIP areas were to exhibit the following seven characteristics: predominantly residential in land use; a significant proportion of the housing stock in need of rehabilitation; the physical environment in need of improvement; inhabited largely by low and moderate income residents; a deficiency of neighbourhood amenities; the area has a stable planning future; and a clear definition in geographic, physical or social terms. (NIP Operator's Handbook)
18. Neighbourhood and Residential Improvement Division, CMHC, Evaluation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, National Housing Act, Main Report, pages 2 and 3.
19. Ibid., page 37
20. Neighbourhood and Residential Improvement Division, CMHC, RRAP Delivery Handbook, Section A1.
21. Work to improve the exterior appearance of dwelling units and their immediate surroundings may also be eligible as this assists in improving the surrounding neighbourhood's appearance, again adding to program visibility.
22. personal communication with Mr. R. Bickel, planner, Housing and Community Improvement Branch, City of Winnipeg

23. By early 1974, a set of priorities for future improvement areas had been established and the first two areas -- North Point Douglas and Centennial, both located within the study area -- had been declared.

24. Barber, page 89

Some aspects of the community development included health and social service delivery, education, job training and employment, increased police protection, and recreation activities.

25. Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Neighbourhood Improvement - North Point Douglas, op. cit., page 13.

The Civic Advisory Committee included representatives from the following departments: works and operations; parks and recreation, budgets, health, environmental planning, police, libraries, land surveys and real estate, and transportation.

26. Barber, page 92

27. Department of Housing and Urban Renewal, Neighbourhood Improvement - North Point Douglas, op. cit., page 54

28. For example, upon completion of formal improvement programming in North Point Douglas, the NIP residents' committee became involved in the issue of inner city schools and worked toward the provision of a new community center and park.

In Centennial, many members of the NIP committee moved on to the executive of other community agencies.

29. Barber, page 27

Basically, these so-called abuses of the program centered around smaller municipalities utilizing NIP funds to finance local physical service infrastructures.

30. Furthermore, the three areas in Winnipeg that were designated under CSCP -- St. Matthews, Daniel McIntyre, and Chalmers -- were larger than the previous NIP areas in order to allow a greater number of households to participate in the RRAP program. Consequently, Winnipeg's CSCP areas did not have a residents' committee. (Bostock, project leader, et al, page 124)

31. Frenette, page 21

32. Association of Municipalities of Ontario, page 29

33. personal communication with Mr. R. Bickel

34. Frenette, page 50

35. Action Area plans may advocate either improvement, development, or redevelopment.

36. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, Human Needs and City Planning, op. cit., page 170

It is at this level that citizens can clearly perceive their stake in neighbourhood issues.

37. Ibid., page 110

These plans are seen as suffering from several problems:

- they are often too general to be of use
- most important elements are eliminated before final approval
- zoning takes precedence over the plan

38. Frenette, page 52

While the area characterization role of the District Planning Branch is less interventionist than its former role of district and action area plan facilitator, the new approach has some merits too:

- the rigid and lengthy, yet ultimately largely ineffectual, action area planning process may be avoided.
- developing characterization on a citywide basis may lead to a more consistent approach to the problems of the inner city, while retaining the flexibility needed to identify the issues facing individual neighbourhoods.

39. P. Barnard and Associates, op. cit., page 40

40. Department of Environmental Planning, Status Report on Municipal Programs with Respect to the Involvement of the City of Winnipeg in the Provision of Housing in Relation to the Guidelines Approved by Council, page 1.

The proposed incentives included the following: expediting private infill development proposals through administrative and technical support; tax concessions; development bonus rights; seed money grants; and sale or lease of publicly-owned land, at market rates or less, for the construction of new housing.

The importance of involving the private sector in inner city revitalization stems from two primary considerations. First is the desire to minimize the costs that must be borne by the public sector -- especially in these times of financial restraint. In this endeavour, incentives to the private sector

would seem to be a logical choice of policy direction, provided that large-scale public subsidies are not called for. Second, there is the consideration that private sector development activity is itself a very powerful force behind neighbourhood decline and revitalization. Such activity can (and often does) run counter to public sector intentions. It is assumed that by co-ordinating investment by both sectors, a much more powerful revitalization effort can be achieved than that possible in the case of only one sector working on its own.

41. Department of Environmental Planning, Housing and Neighbourhood Strategies, pages 23 to 34.
42. Department of Environmental Planning, Status Report on Municipal Programs with ..., op. cit.
43. Department of Environmental Planning, Plan Winnipeg: Options for the Future, op. cit., pages 6 and 7
44. Sub-Committee of the W.H.R.C., page 1
45. W.H.R.C., Brief to the Core Area Initiative Public Hearings
46. Department of Environmental Planning, Plan Winnipeg: Summary and Recommendations of the Study Team, page E.P.6
47. Ibid., page E.P.6
48. Ibid., page E.P.8

The Business-as-Usual option does not address the problems of the inner city at all. Plan Winnipeg summarizes the impacts of this option upon the inner city and the band of surrounding mature neighbourhoods as follows:

- population loss of about 37,000;
- demolitions would outnumber constructions by about 45,000;
- the greatest relative losses will take place in those neighbourhoods in the greatest decline; and
- substantial population and housing losses will result in an ever-increasing concentration of high-needs groups in the older neighbourhoods.

In contrast, the Containment option is projected to stabilize these trends:

- population losses will be minimized (to about 6400);
- constructions will outnumber demolitions by about 7000; and
- this, in turn, can be expected to have a moderating affect upon the serious social impacts implicit in the Business-as-Usual option.

49. Department of Environmental Planning, Plan Winnipeg: Summary and Recommendations of the Study Team, page E.P.21

50. Ibid., page E.P.24
51. Winnipeg Core Area Initiative Policy Committee, page 7
52. Ibid., page 8
53. Ibid., 8
54. Ibid., 10
55. Ibid., page 10
56. Department of Environmental Planning, Housing and Neighbourhood Strategies, page 40
57. Department of Environmental Planning, Status Report on Municipal Programs with ..., op. cit.
58. Once again, if voluntary compliance with by-laws is not forthcoming from landlords, strict enforcement action will be taken.
59. Real Estate News, February 4, 1983
60. In the meantime, an industrial technology training center, which was proposed along with the industrial park, has been cancelled and it appears that the industrial park will be scaled down considerably.
61. This is opposed to the 20% downpayment required in other areas.
62. personal communication with Mr. R. Bickel, planner, Housing and Community Improvement Branch, City of Winnipeg
63. Department of Environmental Planning, Status Report on Municipal Programs with ..., op. cit.
64. According to the Bostock study, the following levels of approved RRAP loans as a percentage of total housing units requiring RRAP upgrading have been observed:

North Point Douglas	92%
Centennial	44%
North St. Boniface	11%
West Alexander	1%
William Whyte	5%
65. Institute of Urban Studies, Housing: Inner City Type Older Areas, page 26 and figures provided by the Department of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg
66. Institute of Urban Studies, Housing: Inner City Type Older Areas, page 80
67. Ibid., page 32; Johnston, page 93; and Bostock et al, page 109

These neighbourhoods include North Point Douglas (NIP), Centennial (NIP), North St. Boniface (NIP), River-Osborne, Spence (CIP), Memorial (CIP), Westminster, Dufferin (CIP), Burrows Central, and St. John's.

68. While it is believed that private rehabilitation activity has been more extensive than public sector activity, municipal building permit information unfortunately does not show a sizeable portion of rehabilitation activity carried out by individual property owners.

69. P. Barnard and Associates, page 35

This is in spite of the fact that the encouragement of private non-profit corporations appears to be the most cost-effective strategy for rehabilitating the existing stock.

70. The rehabilitation of housing utilizing a municipal non-profit housing corporation is a somewhat more expensive, but also more effective, rehabilitation strategy than encouraging private non-profit corporations, and it is still less costly than public redevelopment. It has the advantage of providing the municipality with a direct lever for improving particular neighbourhoods.

71. The utilization of a municipal non-profit housing corporation provides several advantages:

- it provides an excellent opportunity to preserve existing neighbourhood character.
- it ensures increased municipal control over the type, location, and social composition of assisted rental housing developments.
- if the activities of the municipal corporation are focussed on specific neighbourhoods, significant improvements could be accomplished that would restore private sector confidence and alter the attitude of private lenders presently unwilling to finance home improvements in some declining neighbourhoods.

72. A municipal program of encouraging private non-profit groups to acquire and rehabilitate housing could have been embarked upon, using all or a combination of the following measures: property tax concessions, technical advice, zoning change assistance, assembly assistance, and start-up grants.

73. Social Policy Research Associates, page xi

The same evaluation, however, found that negative experiences occurred frequently enough to cause concern.

74. For instance, many of Winnipeg's non-complying structures could be brought up to acceptable standards at very modest costs. (Johnston, page 164)

Some measures might include greater financial aid for upgrading (grants and low-interest loans), more flexible building codes (recognizing lower initial construction standards in many inner city units), and lobbying financial institutions or insuring rehabilitation loans for older buildings.

75. Neighbourhood and Residential Improvement Division, CMHC, page 76
76. Barber, page 95 / Bostock et al, page 158
77. Johnston, page 88
78. Dept. of Environmental Planning, Winnipeg Area Characterization Study, various neighbourhood profiles
79. A longer-term approach to dealing with the problem may lie in reducing the indiscriminate mixture of land uses found in the inner city. The acquisition of sites in residential neighbourhoods at present occupied by non-conforming or noxious uses could be carried out in conjunction with the encouragement of infill housing. Another possibility is for the City to offer incentives to the owners of particularly noxious uses to relocate to more suitable locations.
80. Lehrman, page 52
81. Yet the current approach of Council to urban development is still heavily influenced by the philosophy contained in the 1968 Development Plan. (Plan Winnipeg: Options for the Future, page 16)
82. As noted earlier, housing consumer preferences will continue to support the demand for housing in suburban locations (chapter III) and virtually all unused regional services in ground and planned are located in the suburban fringe.
83. Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Urban Growth, page 5
84. P. Barnard and Associates, page 42

Many of the measures listed below would help to reduce the differential between inner city and suburban development and also make infill development more attractive to private developers:

- land assembly assistance;
- sale or lease of publicly-owned lands at or below market rates;
- reduce conditions on infill development by modifying existing land use regulations;
- tax deferrals for infill projects;
- make building codes more flexible to respond to new ideas and to reduce costs;
- provide civic guarantees for private sector funding of infill development;
- public sector lobbying of financial institutions to encourage greater lending activities in red-lined neighbourhoods;
- facilitate and encourage small private contractors, non-profits and co-ops to undertake infill;
- specify Canadian inner city areas only as eligible for provisions similar to the former MURB, AHOP, and ARP provisions;
- create micro environments in which the physical environment is upgraded to a high degree with services and amenities in order to act as a catalyst to attract private infill projects;
- innovative demonstration infill projects constructed by the public sector in order to stimulate projects by the private sector;
- establish an inner city development corporation to undertake infill development; and
- reduce incentives for new residential construction and increase incentives for rehabilitation of the existing stock and/or conversion of existing non-residential buildings to residential use.

85. Dept. of Environmental Planning, Plan Winnipeg: Options for the Future, page xxiv

86. Ibid., page 172

87. Ibid., page 172

88. Ibid., page 172 and xxv

89. Some of these alternatives include the following: the provision of amenities and services that are lacking; the greater encouragement of homeownership; strategies to prevent inner city school closures; an innovative housing program to develop a wider range of housing forms in inner city neighbourhoods, especially those that can meet the needs of particular 'target' households in dense inner city environments; municipal encouragement of an infill housing program and greater housing rehabilitation activities; the protection of existing low density residential areas that are particularly well-suited to family households (possibly by extending the powers of the City's demolition control by-law which at present is use only to control the demolition of historic buildings); and limiting

the expansion of suburban residential areas. This is, of course, only a partial list to serve as an example, and efforts would also have to minimize or eliminate the many disincentives that exist with respect to living in the inner city. As well, many of the improvement strategies cited throughout this chapter would give further impetus to living in Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods.

90. Johnston, page 60

91. Ibid., page 60

92. The establishment of public housing on a random or 'scattered' basis would add great impetus to improving older housing units that respect surrounding neighbourhood character. It would also result in substantial cost savings. (Dennis, page 125 in Innovative Strategies for the Renewal of Older Neighbourhoods) It would also provide anonymity to public housing tenants, avoiding stigmas from being attached to neighbourhoods where concentrations of public housing exist, as well as eliminating public housing projects which act as intense barriers to community interaction at the neighbourhood level. Such a strategy would also provide a greater variety of dwelling types to tenants and would enable a randomized start to a housing program at costs lower than would be required by new construction. (North Point Douglas Housing Program) Limited purchases by the public sector of existing houses would have the added advantage of helping to stimulate and stabilize neighbourhood housing markets, thereby encouraging better standards of maintenance. (Ibid., page 13) Other additional advantages include the possibility of providing private yard space for family and other households and the avoidance of the depressing 'project' environments that have characterized so much public housing in the past. Also, existing houses often provide many bedrooms which are particularly well-suited to large families and for elderly person homes.

93. For example, rooming houses are not eligible for RRAP funding.

A program of municipal loans in those cases where difficulties are being experienced by landlords facing upgrading orders would be a very effective strategy for curbing the demolition and closure problem, especially in view of the fact that many non-complying structures could be brought up to acceptable standards at relatively modest costs. Another strategy is to extend the powers of the City's demolition control by-law. The revamping of existing income tax provisions to prevent the owners of demolished buildings from claiming demolition expenses as tax deductions would be a further step.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

So far, this thesis has examined the literature on Canadian inner cities (Chapter II) and found that there are at least eight underlying causes of inner city neighbourhood decline. The historical development and present-day conditions of eleven of Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods were then examined (Chapter III) and it was revealed that all of the eight causes of decline have been operating upon Winnipeg's inner city. Finally, public sector efforts to improve Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods were examined (Chapter IV) and the conclusion was reached that the underlying causes of inner city decline have remained largely unaddressed in Winnipeg. In view of the fact that many possible directions for addressing these underlying causes exist, the questions now arise "Why have area improvement efforts in Winnipeg not addressed the underlying causes of decline, and what can be done to overcome this shortcoming?"

THE LACK OF POLITICAL COMMITMENT

It is my view that the answer to the above question lies in the fact that there has been a general lack of commitment toward revitalizing Winnipeg's inner city, exhibited by all three levels of government. The federal government is following a general policy of disentanglement from the field of housing and neighbourhood improvement. It showed a spurt of concern for Canadian inner city areas during the early 1970s with the founding of an inner city research branch at the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs (MSUA) and with the linked RRAP and NIP programs. However, MSUA was

dismantled and the Neighbourhood Improvement and Community Services Contribution programs cancelled, leaving no area improvement programming at the national level. Even when these programs were active, it appears that the amount of funds made available was strictly limited.(1) Furthermore, little attempt has been made by CMHC to co-ordinate other NHA or federal programs with its area improvement programs. As for the Province, it has always maintained a passive role, being content to cost-share improvement grants and to provide public housing on land assembled under NIP and CIP.

The biggest lack of commitment to improving Winnipeg's declining inner city neighbourhoods, however, has come at the municipal level. Winnipeg City Council feels that it is not their business or their responsibility, nor within their ability, to become involved in housing matters.(2) It has therefore adopted a very passive role in relation to housing and neighbourhood improvement. The lack of commitment at the municipal level is the most inexcusable of all, since it is the municipal government that is closest to the problem and its whole 'raison d'etre' is to look after the welfare of the people it represents. This passive role stems from Council's outmoded conception of its duties, which it sees as comprising an essentially 'housekeeping' role.(3) The main preoccupation of this limited role of civic government is the efficient delivery of services while at the same time keeping property taxes low.(4)

There are numerous negative effects that this failure to accept responsibility has had on Winnipeg's inner city. Two of the examples already touched upon include the shaky start of the Winnipeg Housing

Rehabilitation Corporation (WHRC), which was not created until eight years after the enabling legislation was passed (5), and Council's inaction with respect to reviewing out-dated zoning by-laws despite the harmful affects being caused by the overzoning of residential areas (the City's complacency is particularly difficult to understand considering the minimal costs required to rectify the situation).

While the examples cited above are serious enough in the implications they have for the inner city, there are much more serious underlying problems resulting as well. Council's housekeeping mentality and its lack of commitment to revitalizing the inner city have led to a policy void in the housing field. Those housing and neighbourhood policies which do exist are not backed up by staff or budgetary resources.(6) Of the ten largest cities in Canada, Winnipeg is the only one that does not have a municipal housing department.(7)

The policy void is further reflected by a lack of planning direction in the city, as witnessed by the fact that Plan Winnipeg is more than five years past its legally mandatory deadline. When it did emerge for public perusal, it was obvious that there was little tie-in with the Core Area Initiative and that it contains very little in the way of concrete programs addressed to solving inner city problems. A comprehensive inner city plan has yet to be formulated. Thus neighbourhood improvement efforts have no overall vision of the role that the inner city is to play in terms of the city as a whole, at the present time or in the future. The absence of this overall vision has meant that area improvement interventions in the inner city have been fragmented and ad hoc.

Individual improvement plans, formulated under area improvement programming, have been carried out in relative isolation from the inner city as a whole. An overall plan for the inner city, therefore, is badly needed. There is an absence of housing targets and a monitoring process as well, making it difficult to measure whatever improvement progress may have been made. And the majority of the Department of Environmental Planning's resources have been devoted to new suburban developments to the point where planning efforts in the inner city are not well co-ordinated or focussed.(8)

Another example of City Council's lack of action is its continued reliance on private sector involvement to solve the problem of neighbourhood decline. More of the same is recommended in Plan Winnipeg and the Core Area Initiative. There is nothing wrong with involving the private sector in neighbourhood improvement efforts or rather, it is very desirable and probably necessary. However, outside of participation in government area improvement programs, Winnipeg City Council over the years has relied almost totally on encouraging the private sector to improve its declining inner city neighbourhoods for it. What is perhaps even more indicative of Council's ad hoc approach to dealing with the inner city is that it has recommended a number of incentives to be put into place to encourage greater private sector development activity in the inner city but only a few of them have actually materialized. Private sector activity has instead been concentrated in the suburbs and in large projects in the downtown area.(9)

The promise of receiving complementary federal and provincial

dollars for each municipal dollar spent provides the explanation for why intensive area improvement activities have been so widespread in Winnipeg's inner city area despite the lack of Council support. The CMHC evaluation of NIP summarized the Winnipeg experience as follows: "...the municipality would not have become involved in neighbourhood improvement if federal funds had not been available." (10) Council has been aware of the problems that inner city decline has been causing in these neighbourhoods for some time, and it has also been aware of the fact that at some point in time it must face up to the problem. But Winnipeg's 'housekeeping' Council has been reluctant to commit scarce resources on inner city revitalization. Thus whenever a senior level improvement program is offered, Council jumps at the opportunity to receive funds to help it get a job done that it knows it must do eventually. If Council had not participated in NIP, RRAP, CSCP, and now the Core Area Initiative, it would have lost the opportunity to secure the complementary senior government funds offered. Very little effort has been put into neighbourhood improvement other than through direct participation in the above programs. A particular problem that has resulted from this approach is that federal government policy is leading municipal action, but it is the municipality that is closest to the problem and hence in the best position to initiate improvement action. The prevailing situation in Winnipeg is one where the initiation of municipal improvement programming has become dependent on federal aid rather than being the result of a comprehensively-designed municipal improvement effort.

The most serious shortcoming that has arisen from the lack of

political commitment and overall planning direction in Winnipeg has been that public sector attempts have failed to address the underlying causes of inner city neighbourhood decline. Instead, Council's piecemeal approach of initiating neighbourhood and housing programs has resulted in a very narrow focus that has directed improvement efforts merely at alleviating the symptoms of decline.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE AREA IMPROVEMENT INTERVENTION

Many complementary strategies could be utilized in order to broaden the scope of area improvement activities in Winnipeg's inner city so as to address the underlying causes of decline. Furthermore, many of the measures would cost very little or would only require legislative changes, and yet they would strengthen present improvement efforts immensely. This section contains a number of recommendations aimed at broadening the scope of present area improvement programming so as to address the underlying causes of decline.

The following general recommendations are made:

- ✓ 1. The beginning point for greater municipal responsibility in housing and neighbourhood matters should be the creation of a municipal Housing Department within the City administration. The new Department could initially concern itself with the following steps:

- ✓ - establishing a sound information base on inner city housing and neighbourhood conditions;
- ✓ - putting into place an effective monitoring system to assess neighbourhood improvement progress;
- ✓ - A co-ordinating function, liaising with other levels of government and other civic departments, reviewing housing policies, obtaining funding, evaluating existing programs, and generally co-ordinating inner city housing policies.

2. An overall Inner City Plan should be drafted in order to produce a more comprehensive and co-ordinated revitalization effort. Basic to the Plan would be a comprehensive inner city strategy that would provide the mechanism for addressing the underlying causes of decline which cannot be dealt with easily at the individual neighbourhood level. The Plan would view the entire inner city as a unique area of the city, and one requiring special planning attention. It would also provide a policy framework within which neighbourhood planning might better respond to broader city and inner city issues and objectives. Finally, the Plan would serve as a guide to the private sector, providing a statement of civic objectives in the area.

3. Provisions should be made to extend tri-level government consultation on neighbourhood improvement beyond the present

term of the Core Area Initiative. Two options exist: i) extending the present C.A.I. agreement or ii) setting up a tri-level Committee on Inner City Revitalization upon termination of the present agreement.

In order to address the 'Aging and Physical Deterioration' cause of decline, the following recommendations are made:

4. Greater emphasis should be placed on maintaining the municipal infrastructures of older neighbourhoods by civic departments, as these neighbourhood are currently under-served in comparison to newer suburban neighbourhoods. Constant upkeep is required in addition to 'one-shot' improvement efforts. This shift in priorities could be tied in with the adoption of the Containment growth option proposed in Plan Winnipeg.
5. In view of the high mixture of land uses within Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods, greater attention must be directed at improving commercial and industrial premises. It is recommended that the City contemplate improved enforcement of maintenance standards for these properties.
6. A long-term program aiming at the rationalization of land uses within the inner city should be contemplated. Such a program would include the acquisition of sites in residential neighbourhoods presently occupied by non-conforming or noxious

uses (to be carried out in conjunction with the encouragement of infill housing). Another possibility is for the City to offer incentives to the owners of particularly noxious uses to relocate to more suitable locations.

7. The following low-cost measures should be initiated in order to supplement the home improvement activity of RRAP:

- ▣ local housing clinics or a housing information center to provide technical advice on both do-it-yourself and contract-out housing repairs;
- ✓ ▣ a temporary moratorium on tax assessment increases;
- ✓ ▣ lobby local financial institutions in order to remove some of the barriers on lending in older neighbourhoods and on older properties;
- ✓ ▣ the establishment of a loan insurance fund to insure rehabilitation loans on older buildings.
- ✓ ▣ revisions to the federal Income Tax Act allowing rehabilitation activity to be written off against other sources of income (refer to recommendation #25).

8. The City of Winnipeg should ensure that continued support is

given to the Winnipeg Housing Rehabilitation Corporation (WHRC) past the term of the Core Area Initiative as this is a very effective lever in rehabilitating neighbourhood housing stocks.

9. The senior levels of government should consider strengthening the non-profit and rehabilitation programs which exist.
10. The City of Winnipeg should make its involvement with intensive area improvement programming under CIP an on-going commitment.

The following recommendations are made in order to address the 'Urban Growth Pressures' cause of neighbourhood decline:

11. In order to maintain the residential stability of existing inner city neighbourhoods, it is recommended that a 'local area plan' be formulated for each inner city neighbourhood identified by the Winnipeg Area Characterization Study. These plans would contain measures such as the following:

- the identification of predominantly residential areas where further commercial, industrial and parking development should be permitted only on a minimal level;
- The identification of areas appropriate for the creation of 'micro environments' which could be re-developed with a

variety of medium and high density residential uses and mixed use developments;

- the identification of low-density residential areas where down-zoning is required to protect residential stability;
- the identification of possible infill sites within those neighbourhoods that require new investment and population for their continued stability;
- controls on the encroachment of citywide facilities (e.g. the Health Sciences Complex and the University of Winnipeg) and auxillary uses into surrounding neighbourhoods.

12. In conjunction with the above recommendation, the proposed 'local area plans' should be formulated in consultation with neighbourhood resident committees. Further provisions of the local area plans would concern policy recommendations on specific neighbourhood problems of a social, economic or physical nature, and special neighbourhood projects or programs.
13. Neighbourhood planning shall be seen as an on-going, continuous process.
14. A firm expansion policy for heavy traffic arteries should be included as part of the proposed Inner City Plan (recommendation

#2) in order to minimize disruptive effects on central neighbourhoods.

The following recommendations are made in order to address the 'Macro Changes', 'Housing Consumer Preferences' and 'Unintended Consequences of Government Policy' causes of inner city neighbourhood decline:

15. Winnipeg City Council should adopt Plan Winnipeg as soon as possible and adopt the Containment growth option. Under the Containment option, there would be an emphasis on accommodating new growth in existing neighbourhoods. A firm political commitment to the Containment option is needed in order to change present attitudes toward the inner city. Such changes are fundamental to any strategy for the long-term revitalization of Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods.

✓ 16. Associated with the above recommendation, the City should consider revising the 'Urban Limit Line' proposed in Plan Winnipeg in order to limit further suburban sprawl and manage suburban growth in an effective manner. It is my feeling that the single course of action of limiting suburban growth while providing incentives to development in the inner city, would go further toward revitalizing Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods than have all the millions of dollars spent to date through NIP, CIP and RRAP.

17. In view of declining population growth and limited municipal resources, the senior levels of government should shift the emphasis of the entire housing policy and program field from the provision of new housing in suburban areas to the maintenance and improvement of the existing stock, as well as the provision of new infill housing in older and declining areas.
18. Greater efforts should be made to preserve existing commercial and industrial businesses located within the inner city that are compatible with their surrounding neighbourhoods, in order to prevent the further departure of inner city employment opportunities. Programs should be contemplated that would aid existing businesses to expand or upgrade their premises in a manner that is compatible with the surrounding area. Some measures might include land acquisition aid for existing industrial premises; relocation assistance to non-conforming uses; rehabilitation, improvement and beautification assistance; and the extension of the Main Streets Revitalization program of the Core Area Initiative to other streets within the inner city.
19. The federal and provincial governments should consult an Inner City Development Committee (outlined in recommendation #23) prior to locating any major facility in the city. Greater efforts should be expended on locating appropriate major facilities in the inner city.

20. Funding should be provided for further research and design work on new infill housing designed appropriate to inner city locations. The objectives would be to obtain a range of infill concepts that would be appropriate for the gradual rehabilitation and revitalization of older inner city residential areas. A specific goal would be to create housing opportunities for a wider range of income and lifestyle groups that are presently attracted to suburban neighbourhoods.
21. An in-depth study should be made of the factors influencing housing consumer preferences away from the inner city. This study would conclude with a set of interventions aimed at making inner city residential locations more desirable.

In light of the federal government's continued move toward disentanglement from funding municipal programs, a greater dependence will have to be placed upon private sector involvement to accomplish municipal objectives. The following recommendations aim at overcoming the economic disadvantages to undertaking development in inner city neighbourhoods:

- ✓ 22. A comprehensive system of incentives should be developed to encourage greater private sector investment in inner city neighbourhoods, including the following:

- land assembly assistance

- ✓ - long-term land leases
- ✓ - land cost write-downs
- ✓ - property tax deferrals and/or abatements
- ✓ - revision of land assessments
- ✓ - provision of public amenities and support facilities
- ✓ - special consideration to zoning, development, building and demolition permit applications
- commit locations of suitable government functions and programs within the inner city
- greater municipal support of older neighbourhoods in terms of more regular maintenance

23. An Inner City Development Committee should be established in order to develop and implement the comprehensive package of incentives listed in the recommendation above. This committee would be composed of private developers, local businessmen, community group representatives, planners, and representatives of the three levels of government. A secondary aim of the committee would be to promote greater co-operation between the public and private sectors.

24. The re-introduction of the AHOP, ARP, and MURB programs to the federal government would act as powerful stimulants to new investment. It is recommended that Winnipeg's inner city be designated as a special zone in which the above programs would be reactivated.

- ✓ 25. Revisions should be made to the federal Income Tax Act that would designate a special zone in the inner city, allowing rehabilitation and new residential construction to be depreciated and written off against other sources of income. Such tax treatments are an accepted government fiscal policy that have been accepted over the years as encouragement to investment in selective industries for selective purposes.
- ✓ 26. In order to prevent the red-lining of declining neighbourhoods, legislation should be enacted that would prohibit discrimination by private financial institutions solely because of property location or age.
- 27. The public sector must cease its arbitrary approach to program implementation and delivery. It cannot continue to 'change the rules of the game' without further compounding the atmosphere of uncertainty in which the private sector must operate.

In order to alleviate the concentration of poverty conditions in the inner city, a greater diversity of socio-economic groups should be encouraged in the inner city. Two basic program thrusts exist: i) attracting under-represented socio-economic groups to inner city locations and ii) reducing the out-migration of inner city residents to more outlying neighbourhoods. Specific recommendations include the following:

28. An analysis should be undertaken of individual inner city neighbourhoods as well as the entire inner city area, that would identify those resources, amenities and services that are presently lacking or deficient, but which are required to act as incentives to different life cycle groups to locate or remain in inner city locations.
29. An analysis should be made identifying the strengths and incentives which draw people to the inner city so that efforts could be made to capitalize on them.
30. In order to attract a portion of anticipated residential growth into the inner city, selected inner city areas could be re-developed and geared toward providing housing environments suitable to specific target groups. Identification of appropriate sites and the formulation of strategies to improve housing environments would be overseen by the Inner City Development Committee recommended in Recommendation #23.
- ✓ 31. A pool of risk funds should be established which would provide venture capital at subsidized interest rates for private developers willing to undertake innovative pilot infill projects in the inner city. These projects would aim at providing physical and social environments which better serve the needs of target groups such as child-rearing families. The administration of this fund would

be handled by the Inner City Development Committee.

32. In view of the great importance attached to local schools with respect to neighbourhood attractiveness, a temporary moratorium on inner city school closings should be put into place while a comprehensive study is carried out examining school closings in relation to neighbourhood improvement considerations. At the same time, moratorium should be imposed on the construction of new schools in the city.
33. Open space is deficient in the inner city. The City should embark on a program of land acquisition to increase the amount of park and open space in the inner city. As well, a comprehensive inner city park and open space plan should be developed as part of the proposed Inner City Plan.
34. Efforts should be made to significantly reduce the extent of housing closure and demolition in the inner city, especially of family accommodation.
35. New assisted housing units should be located so as to reduce their present concentration in inner city neighbourhoods.

The following recommendations are made in order to give inner city neighbourhood residents a greater voice in the future of their area:

36. In order to ensure that physical improvement efforts are sensitive to the local residents' concerns, it is recommended that neighbourhood resident committees (similar to those utilized under NIP, but more permanent) be formed. These committees would be involved in the planning and decision-making process.
37. The senior levels of government should make available a system of grants to local neighbourhood interest^{groups} to aid in the neighbourhood improvement process. Grants could be used to hire technical expertise, defray administration costs, advertise and pay for office space. Eligible community groups would be concerned with local projects, community-controlled economic development, and community development work.
38. The Department of Environmental Planning and neighbourhood resident committees should encourage private groups such as churches, clubs, and unions to sponsor housing projects and social services needed in the inner city.
39. A Citizen's Advisory Committee to the proposed Housing Department should be created.

THE PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE

In view of the federal government's move toward disentanglement, it remains to be seen whether the provincial government's role with respect to inner city neighbourhood improvement will evolve into more direct forms of intervention. It is apparent, however, that an increasing burden is being shifted onto the municipal level of government to pick up the slack left in the field of area improvement. The City of Winnipeg simply must provide greater direction and support in order to revitalize its inner city neighbourhoods as it can no longer expect the senior levels of government to do the job for it. Unless Winnipeg's City Council is willing to assume a greater responsibility, the prospects are for further deterioration of the inner city environment.

The opportunity to widen the scope of improvement efforts exists now, in the form of the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative and Plan Winnipeg. A strong political commitment to implementing the Containment growth option of Plan Winnipeg, coupled with the numerous incentives and programs being offered under the Core Area Initiative, could finally reverse the trend of massive decentralization which would be an important first step toward inner city revitalization. The formulation of an overall inner city plan, along with the other recommendations put forward in the preceeding section, could help achieve even greater improvement of inner city neighbourhoods.

Despite the many efforts of the Core Area Initiative and the

City's Housing and Community Improvement Branch, the prospects for major improvement in the conditions of Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods are limited at present. It must be realized that long-term improvement will not occur overnight, just as the original decline took decades to manifest itself. It has scarcely been ten years since intensive area improvement programming began in Winnipeg. The Winnipeg Core Area Initiative, which has now passed the half-way mark of its term, should not be viewed as a panacea for all of the inner city's ills. The amount of resources allocated -- \$96 million -- is not nearly enough to accomplish a task as large as the revitalization of Winnipeg's inner city. The important contribution, however, that the Initiative can make is that it could put into place a spirit, or attitude, that would finally overcome the City's pre-occupation with new growth. The quality and character of the existing built-up area simply must become Council's overriding urban development priority. The revitalization process, given the proper inputs, will feed on itself, so that the whole attitude toward living or developing in the central city would become more popular. Inner city revitalization will only follow when present attitudes change -- those of Council, the private sector, the senior levels of government, neighbourhood residents, and those of the citizenry at large. Another major contribution that the Initiative might make is that it could lead to a more co-ordinated approach to the problem of neighbourhood improvement by the various levels of government.

One thing is clear, the Initiative will have been a failure if it

does not attract private sector investment or new population growth to the area, if it does not stop the out-migration of residents from the area, and if it does not create new employment opportunities. It is difficult to tell whether or not the Core Area Initiative will be successful in accomplishing the above objectives. Again, it is evident that widescale results will not manifest themselves before the Initiative's termination.

One cannot say for certain what the future prospects are for the revitalization of Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods at this time. The pending civic election, with its possible introduction of formal party politics into city hall, could signify the beginning of a firm municipal government commitment to improving conditions in the inner city. Along with such a commitment, a number of the recommendations outlined in the preceeding section would have to be adopted in order for long-term improvement to occur in Winnipeg's inner city. One thing is for certain: the maintenance of the status quo at city hall would make the prospects for any major improvement in inner city conditions a dim prospect. It does not appear that there will be any fundamental changes occurring in the near future in widely-held social and political attitudes or in the structure of the country's economic system. However, the situation may arise after Winnipeg's civic election where the same formal political party that is in power at the provincial level will be in control of city council. In such an event, the prospects would be good for greater co-operation, co-ordination and commitment between the two levels of government to the objective of revitalizing

Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods. But this would only be half of the solution. Efforts to revitalize Winnipeg's inner city neighbourhoods will only be successful in the long-run if they address the underlying causes of decline.

C.V. FOOTNOTES

1. According to Axworthy, in 'Position Paper: Solutions', NIP was limited in scope primarily as a means of keeping budgets in line. (page 159) This view was echoed by J. Patterson (director of the Research Social Planning Council of Toronto), who saw NIP as a means of rationing expenditures for residential rehabilitation assistance. (page 147) Even more bluntly, McLemore et al stated back in 1973 that "The funds allocated for housing rehabilitation (RRAP) are hopelessly inadequate and should be increased. (page 86) A particular problem caused by this limiting of funds was that while RRAP was originally intended to be used in areas other than designated NIP areas, in practice it was almost totally restricted to only designated areas. Thus it was not available as a pre-emptive measure which could prevent non-NIP areas from deteriorating to the stage where full-scale area improvement action would be necessary. (Barber, page 111)

2. Whittle, Milgram, and Barber, page 83 and Frenette, page 49

However, Whittle, Milgram and Barber note that "It is a myth that the city is not involved in housing. Many of the factors which determine the shape and feasibility of not only new development but also the economics, existing quality, and future viability of the present stock are either regulated or directly operated by the city. This cause-effect relationship means it is involved not only in a positive, but also in negative ways. After all, the choice to allow the status quo to continue is just as much a decision as one to try to bring change about." (page 84)

They also note that the City regulates and sets many of the rules of the development process -- zoning, transportation and the property tax system to name a few.

3. Kiernan, M., Levin, E., and Taraska, P., Political Panel Presentation, Winnipeg: Challenge of the 80's conference,

4. Kiernan, op. cit.

5. Kiernan, op. cit.

6. Winnipeg Tri-Level Committee on Urban Affairs, Urban Growth, page 12

7. Institute of Urban Studies, Housing: Inner City Type Older Areas, page 67
8. Dept. of Environmental Planning, Housing and Neighbourhood Strategies, page 37 and Johnston, page 153
9. Johnston, pages 81 and 154, and the Institute of Urban Studies, Revitalizing the Core Area of Winnipeg: Issues and Options, pages ii and 3-3
10. Neighbourhood and Residential Improvement Division, CMHC, Evaluation of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program, National Housing Act, case study no. 411

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APPENDIX I

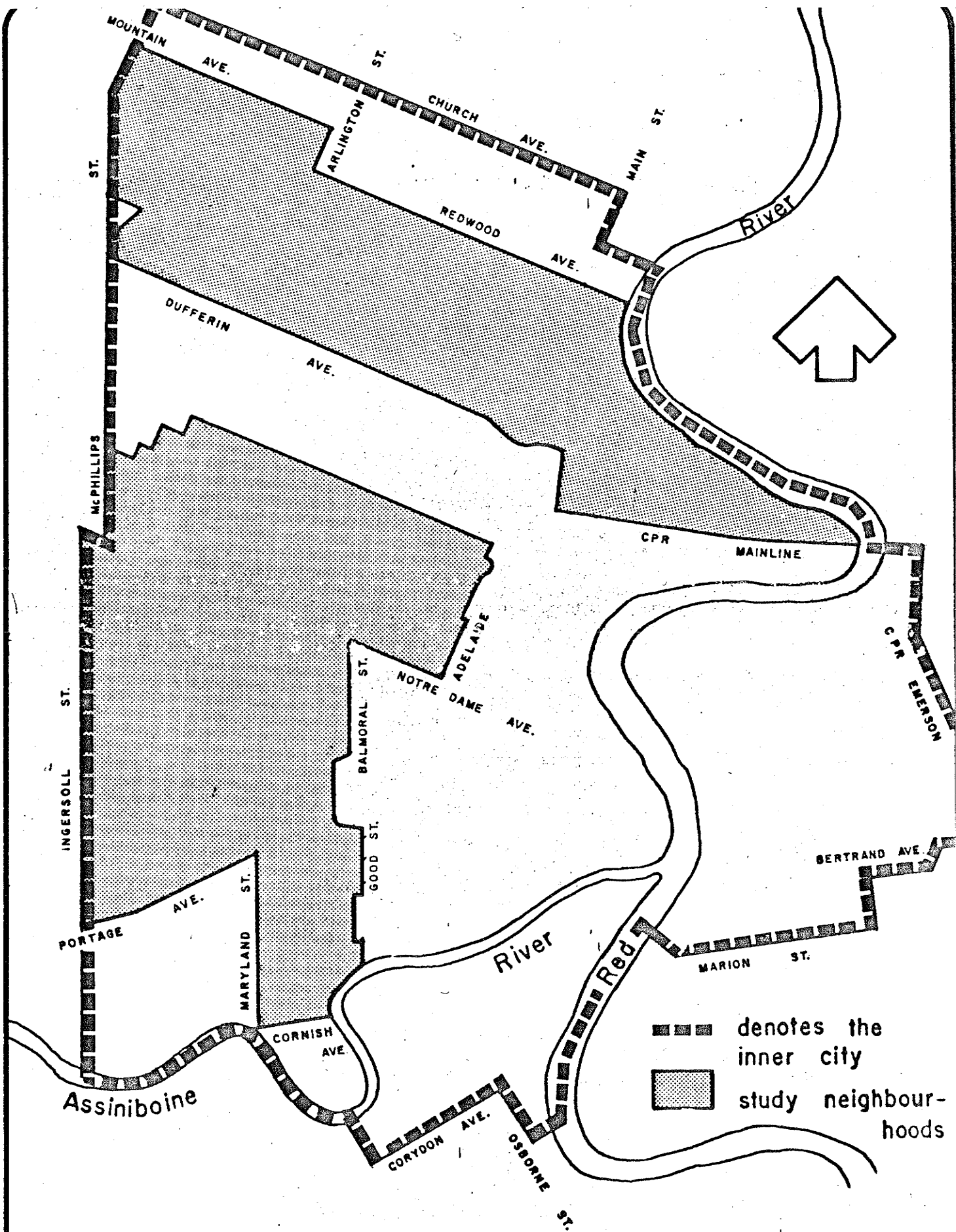
STUDY AREA DEFINITION

Appendix I

The Study Area used in this thesis is based largely upon the definition of Winnipeg's inner city that was formulated by the Institute of Urban Studies (IUS) at the University of Winnipeg. The two areas are compared in the map on the next page. The IUS's definition of Winnipeg's inner city comprises some twenty-seven centrally-located census tracts. Seven criteria were used to define as inner city any census tract with two or more of the characteristics listed below:

- housing built before 1901;
- 30% or more of the housing stock in poor condition;
- population loss of 15% or greater between 1971 and 1976;
- 25% or more of families at or below the poverty line in 1971;
- 60% or more of residential units occupied by tenants;
- population of more than 40 persons per acre; and
- household density of more than 10 households per residential acre.

The IUS's definition of Winnipeg's inner city was also the one used by various departments of the City of Winnipeg while conducting the Winnipeg Development Plan Review and is the same area that was defined as the core area by the Winnipeg Core Area Initiative.



COMPARISON OF BOUNDARIES

Several modifications were made to the IUS definition in order to arrive at the Study Area used in this thesis. First, it was decided for the sake of facilitating the analysis phase to use complete neighbourhood areas as defined in the Winnipeg Area Characterization Study. Thus only complete neighbourhood areas as defined by the Area Characterization Study were included in the Study Area. Second, the downtown and industrial areas of the CPR yards and South Point Douglas were excluded since this thesis is concerned only with the improvement of residential areas in the inner city. It was further felt that the IUS definition of Winnipeg's inner city was too broad, resulting in more modifications. Significant political and cultural differences can exist between the various municipalities that comprise large Canadian metropolitan centers. This is especially true in the case of the old City of Winnipeg and City of St. Boniface which historically developed as separate entities. Thus those neighbourhoods located in St. Boniface were excluded from the Study Area. Furthermore, the Red and Assiniboine Rivers historically acted as barriers to the urban development of the Winnipeg region. The area south of the Assiniboine River was developed at a much later date and in a much different fashion from those to the north. This qualification eliminated further neighbourhoods from the Study Area.

In summary, only neighbourhoods (as defined in the Winnipeg Area Characterization Study) having all of the following characteristics were included in the Inner City Neighbourhood Study Area: i) located within the IUS's definition of the inner city; ii) located within the

former City of Winnipeg; and iii) located north of the Assiniboine River.

APPENDIX II

NEIGHBOURHOOD TYPE CRITERIA

The following criteria were developed by the City of Winnipeg, Department of Environmental Planning, in its Area Characterization Study, in order to classify its neighbourhoods by type:

Criteria for Conservation Area designation include:

- i) majority of the housing stock is in good condition (60 - 70%),
- ii) land use/zoning anomalies may be present,
- iii) age of housing stock is beyond 25 years,
- iv) population characteristics and trends indicate that the area may be on the verge of a decline,
- v) turn-over in population,
- vi) pockets of deterioration or intrusions by incompatible land-uses or transportation routes,
- vii) private maintenance still generally evident,
- viii) a relatively high degree of self-sufficiency of the resident population,
- ix) few redevelopment pressures,
- x) land/building values for the most part are stable,
- xi) existing municipal services are in fair to good condition,
- xii) park development is adequate but less extensive than in stable areas.

Criteria for Rehabilitation Area designation include:

- i) majority of housing stock in fair or good condition (60 - 70%),
- ii) a significant proportion (30%+-) of housing stock requiring rehabilitation,
- iii) population characteristics and trends indicate a significant decline,
- iv) income information indicates an inability on the part of a proportion of the population to afford required maintenance of their dwellings,
- v) existing municipal services are in poor to fair condition,
- vi) land use/zoning anomalies are prevalent,
- vii) age of housing stock is pre-WWII,
- viii) spot redevelopment pressures are apparent,
- ix) relative decline in real land/building values,
- x) parks and recreation development is inadequate relative to the majority of the City,
- xi) intrusions by incompatible land-uses as transportation routes are jeopardizing neighbourhood stability.

Criteria for Major Improvement Area designation include:

- i) the majority of the housing stock in fair or poor condition (60 - 70%),
- ii) a major proportion (50% ±) of the housing stock requiring rehabilitation,
- iii) population characteristics and trends indicate a drastic shift and decline,
- iv) income information indicates an inability of the majority of the population to rehabilitate their homes without assistance,
- v) existing municipal services are in poor condition,
- vi) many land use/zoning conflicts are prevalent,
- vii) age of housing stock is pre - 1925,
- viii) spot redevelopment pressures are apparent,
- ix) a significant relative decline in real land/building values,
- x) a high proportion of absentee landlords,
- xi) parks and recreation development is grossly inadequate,
- xii) externally generated intrusions are jeopardizing neighbourhood viability,
- xiii) the major land use is residential, but significant amounts of non-residential uses may exist.

APPENDIX III

BUILDING CONDITION CRITERIA

The following criteria of housing condition are those employed by the Department of Environmental Planning, City of Winnipeg, in its Winnipeg Area Characterization Study. Units classified as being in 'good' condition do not require any major repairs. Units listed as 'fair' and 'poor' require rehabilitation in the near future. The only feasible alternative for 'very poor' units is redevelopment.

Good Housing of recent construction which has no defects or only slight defects which are normally corrected during the course of regular maintenance.

Fair Housing needs a little more repair than would be provided in the course of regular maintenance. It has one or more of the following minor deficiencies that must be corrected:

1. Holes, open cracks, rotted, loose or missing materials over a small area.
2. Broken or unsafe back shed, porch steps or railings.
3. Rotted, or loose window sash or frames.
4. Damaged, unsafe, or makeshift chimney.
5. Rotted eaves, loose, rotted, or missing gutter and downspouts.
6. Structure in need of complete cleaning and re-painting.

Such defects are signs of neglect which could lead to serious structural damage if not corrected.

Poor Housing has one or more of the following major deficiencies together with some minor deficiencies indicating inadequate original construction and continued neglect.

1. Walls obviously out of plumb, building settled and seriously deteriorated.
2. Rotted, loose or missing building members.
3. Holes, open cracks, rotted, loose, or missing materials over a considerable area.
4. Roof sagging, rotted, or of makeshift construction.
5. Rotted, or sinking foundation.
6. Rotted, or loose window frames.
7. Combination of 3 or more minor deficiencies.

These deficiencies could lead to serious structural damage if renovations are not done immediately. These deficiencies must be corrected if the unit is to continue to provide safe and adequate shelter.

Very Poor Housing does not provide safe and adequate shelter. Has three or more major deficiencies, cannot be renovated at reasonable cost, and should therefore be cleared.

A dwelling unit in need of major repairs as defined in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reports on Housing Characteristics, is a unit in a seriously run-down or neglected condition with at least one of the following major structural deficiencies:

- (a) Sagging or crumbling foundation.
- (b) Faulty roof or chimney.
- (c) Rotting door sills and window frames.
- (d) Interior badly in need of repair.

APPENDIX IV

SUMMARY INFORMATION ON
DESIGNATED WINNIPEG IMPROVEMENT AREAS

	Designation & Completion Dates	RRAP Loans Completed (to Dec. 31 '82)		RRAP Loans Approved (to Dec. 31 '82)		NIP/CIP Funds Allocated
		\$	#	\$	#	\$
<u>NIP AREAS</u>						
N. Pt. Douglas	Aug.'74 - June'79	1,948,340	422	2,149,509	465	3,500,000
Centennial	Aug.'74 - Jan.'79	775,695	140	829,488	166	2,900,000
N. St. Boniface	Dec.'75 - Sep.'81	588,151	143	720,606	179	4,900,000
Brooklands	Dec.'76 - Dec.'81	506,478	107	501,908	119	4,900,000
William Whyte	Sep.'77 - Apr.'82	806,078	168	763,729	178	1,900,000
West Alexander	Sep.'77 - Apr.'82	<u>342,077</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>356,402</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>1,600,000</u>
		4,968,509	1059	5,821,642	1195	19,700,000
<u>CIP AREAS</u>						
Chalmers	Jan.'79 - Sep.'83	1,097,281	231	1,048,866	260	3,300,000
Daniel McIntyre	Jan.'80 - Dec.'83	377,501	82	409,116	96	2,500,000
St. Matthews	Jan.'80 - Dec.'83	310,006	64	315,868	75	2,000,000
Dufferin	Jan.'82 - Dec.'84	17,435	3	27,833	5	1,000,000
King Edward	Jan.'82 - Dec.'85	189,997	32	631,443	99	2,700,000
St. John's	Jan.'83 - Mar.'87	<u>39,477</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>72,840</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>2,500,000</u>
		2,031,697	420	2,505,966	551	14,000,000
<u>PROPOSED CIP AREAS</u>						
Lord Roberts	Jan.'84 - Mar.'87	0	0	68,466	11	2,200,000
Weston	Jan.'85 - June'88	70,155	15	182,989	36	2,800,000
Spence	Jan.'86 - June'89	22,691	2	30,750	7	3,000,000
Memorial	Mar.'87 - Dec.'90	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>16,245</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3,000,000</u>
		92,846	17	298,450	56	11,000,000

APPENDIX V

SUMMARY OF:

GUIDELINES FOR HOUSING INVOLVEMENT

(adopted by Winnipeg City Council on Dec. 20, '78)

&

PROPOSED POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

in 'HOUSING AND NEIGHBOURHOOD STRATEGIES'

(August, 1979)

TARGET ISSUE: CO-ORDINATION

Guidelines as Approved by City Council on December 20, 1978	Proposed Municipal Policy	Proposed Municipal Program	OR	Proposed Municipal Action
1. Co-ordination of planning control, building standards, occupancy standards and resources of various existing municipal departments, other governments and agencies, and the private sector.	To provide a focus for co-ordination of all aspects of plan- ning and housing within existing neigh- bourhoods through the creation of a Housing and Community Renewal Division.			The creation of a Division of Housing and Community Improve- ment within the De- partment of Environ- mental Planning. Action Area Neighbour- hood planning.

TARGET ISSUE: NEIGHBOURHOOD QUALITY: HOUSING QUALITY

Guidelines as Approved by City Council on December 20, 1978	Proposed Municipal Policy	Proposed Municipal Program OR Proposed Municipal Action
2. Alteration of existing regulations and procedures where possible that are presently counter-productive and discouraging private development and investment.	To promote private development and investment by the alteration of those existing regulations which are a disincentive to private development and investment and to create others which would act as incentives to private development and investment.	Infill development. Selective small scale redevelopment. Services and facilities upgrading. Front end tax incentive. Rehabilitation assessment moratorium.

TARGET ISSUE: NEIGHBOURHOOD QUALITY: HOUSING QUALITY

Guidelines as Approved by City Council on December 20, 1978	Proposed Municipal Policy	Proposed Municipal Program OR Proposed Municipal Action
3. Creation of incentives for involvement by the private sector which is presently winding down building activity, either by tax concessions, development bonus rights, or by seed money grants for this implementation of innovative programs.	The creation of incentives to promote and maintain private sector involvement in all areas of housing.	Innovative Housing Program, including incentives such as: -tax concessions, -development bonus rights, -seed money grants.

TARGET ISSUE: HOUSING QUALITY: AFFORDABILITY

Guidelines as Approved by City Council on December 20, 1978	Proposed Municipal Policy	Proposed Municipal Program OR Proposed Municipal Action
4. General support of private non-profit housing groups through such means as long term leasing of surplus city-owned land at attractive rates in order to assist them in achieving economic project rents.	To provide general support and assistance to private non-profit housing groups to assist in the provision of economic project rents.	A) Land Lease/Land Sale Program. B) Technical and Administrative Non-profit Support Program.

TARGET ISSUE: NEIGHBOURHOOD QUALITY: HOUSING QUALITY

Guidelines as Approved by City Council on December 20, 1978	Proposed Municipal Policy	Proposed Municipal Program OR Proposed Municipal Action
5. Maximum utilization of N.H.A., Neighbourhood Improvement Program, R.R.A.P., and Community Service Grant monies, within the present administrative capacity of the city, and where senior governments will guarantee their portion of funding for the agreed term of the project.	To continue the emphasis on the neighbourhood as the basic approach to Inner City redevelopment and revitalization.	Continued utilization of, and support for, N.I.P. and R.R.A.P. programs at the neighbourhood level, and the maximum utilization of Community Services Contribution monies to support programming at the neighbourhood level.

TARGET ISSUE: NEIGHBOURHOOD QUALITY: HOUSING QUALITY

Guidelines as Approved by City Council on December 20, 1978	Proposed Municipal Policy	Proposed Municipal Program OR Proposed Municipal Action
6. Eliminate the activity of the city's non-profit Housing Corporation which at best would provide only a very nominal contribution to the housing stock, and for which the economics of their involvement are extremely questionable.		A re-examination of the economics of proceeding with a municipal non-profit housing corporation in light of recent amendments to the non-profit legislation within the National Housing Act.

TARGET ISSUE: NEIGHBOURHOOD QUALITY: HOUSING QUALITY

Guidelines as Approved by City Council on December 20, 1978	Proposed Municipal Policy	Proposed Municipal Program OR Proposed Municipal Action
7. Encourage senior levels of government to employ their legislative authority to create incentives in the following areas: a) for home owners on fixed income to maintain their present home, b) to assist first time purchasers of homes,	To lobby senior levels of government to create incentives and use their resources to deal with existing and potential problem areas in the Winnipeg Housing Situation.	Prepare a series of well researched and documented reports in order to effectively lobby the senior levels of government. These reports should illustrate the need, desirability and senior level responsibility for: a) home owners on fixed income, b) first time home purchasers,

TARGET ISSUE: NEIGHBOURHOOD QUALITY: HOUSING QUALITY

Guidelines as Approved by City Council on December 20, 1978	Proposed Municipal Policy	Proposed Municipal Program OR Proposed Municipal Action
c) amend rent control legislation to allow pass through of costs resulting from up-grading orders as rent increases, d) amend Income Tax Act to allow capital cost allowance taken on rehabilitation and up-grading costs to be offset against other income, e) encourage the expansion of the R.R.A.P. program to more effectively deal with apartment rehabilitation,		c) amendments to rent control legislation, d) amendments to Income Tax Act, e) expansion of the R.R.A.P. program,

TARGET ISSUE: NEIGHBOURHOOD QUALITY: HOUSING QUALITY

Guidelines as Approved by City Council on December 20, 1978	Proposed Municipal Policy	Proposed Municipal Program OR Proposed Municipal Action
f) amend Landlord and Tenant Act to allow for a 90 day eviction notice where buildings are to be closed or demolished voluntarily, g) the city should petition the Province for enabling legislation to institute an Anti-Demolition Control By-law.		f) amendments to Landlord and Tenant Act, g) senior citizen, single parent family and low income housing, h) Provincial Home Repair Program, i) R.R.A.P. outside N.I.P., j) guideline changes for R.R.A.P.

TARGET ISSUE: HOUSING QUALITY: AFFORDABILITY

Guidelines as Approved by City Council on December 20, 1978	Proposed Municipal Policy	Proposed Municipal Program OR Proposed Municipal Action
8. Encourage senior levels of government to utilize their greater financial resources in the provision of housing for: a) senior citizens, b) single parent families, c) low income families.	NOTE: This guideline will be covered by proposed Municipal Policy #7, i.e., to lobby senior levels of government to create incentives and use their resources to deal with existing and potential problem areas in the Winnipeg Housing Situation.	Preparation of well researched and documented reports illustrating the need, desirability and senior level responsibility for housing for senior citizens, single parent families, and low income families. These documents should be the basis of attempts to lobby the senior government levels.

TARGET ISSUE: HOUSING QUALITY: AFFORDABILITY

Guidelines as Approved by City Council on December 20, 1978	Proposed Municipal Policy	Proposed Municipal Program OR Proposed Municipal Action
9. Adoption of zoning and land use controls designed to allow flexibility on types, densities and occupancies of housing in response to specific requests. 10. Sale of city-owned surplus lots for infill housing, experimental housing and socially-assisted housing for low income families.	The intent of this guideline is covered by Policy #2 and its attendant programs, and this guideline is totally supportive of these programs. The intent of this guideline is covered by Policy #4 and its program of Land Lease/Land Sale.	

TARGET ISSUE: NEIGHBOURHOOD QUALITY: HOUSING QUALITY

Guidelines as Approved by City Council on December 20, 1978	Proposed Municipal Policy	Proposed Municipal Program OR Proposed Municipal Action
11. Continue the monitoring and inspection programs already implemented by the city under its maintenance and up-grading by-laws.	To continue the existing monitoring and inspection programs of the city under the maintenance and up-grading by-laws and to do so in a manner which is sensitive to the needs and potential of the neighbourhoods involved.	To continue a neighbourhood approach to the enforcement of maintenance and up-grading by-laws and to support a re-evaluation of the by-law enforcement process.